

REPORT
OF THE
THIRTIETH
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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BOMBAY

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27th, 28th and 29th December, 1915.



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REPORT

OF THE

THIRTIETH

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1915,

BOMBAY.

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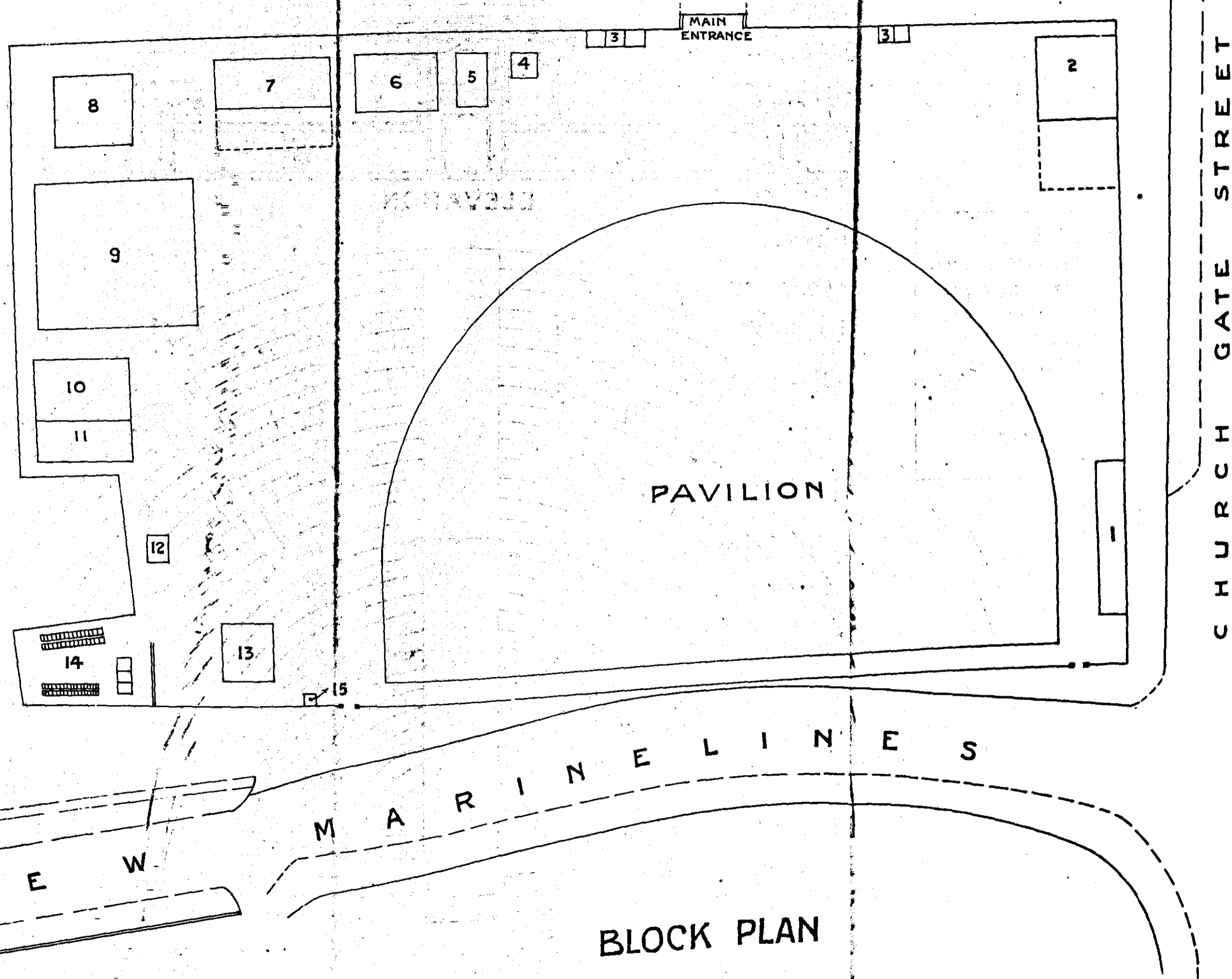
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THE 30TH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Scale 50' to an Inch.

REFERENCE.

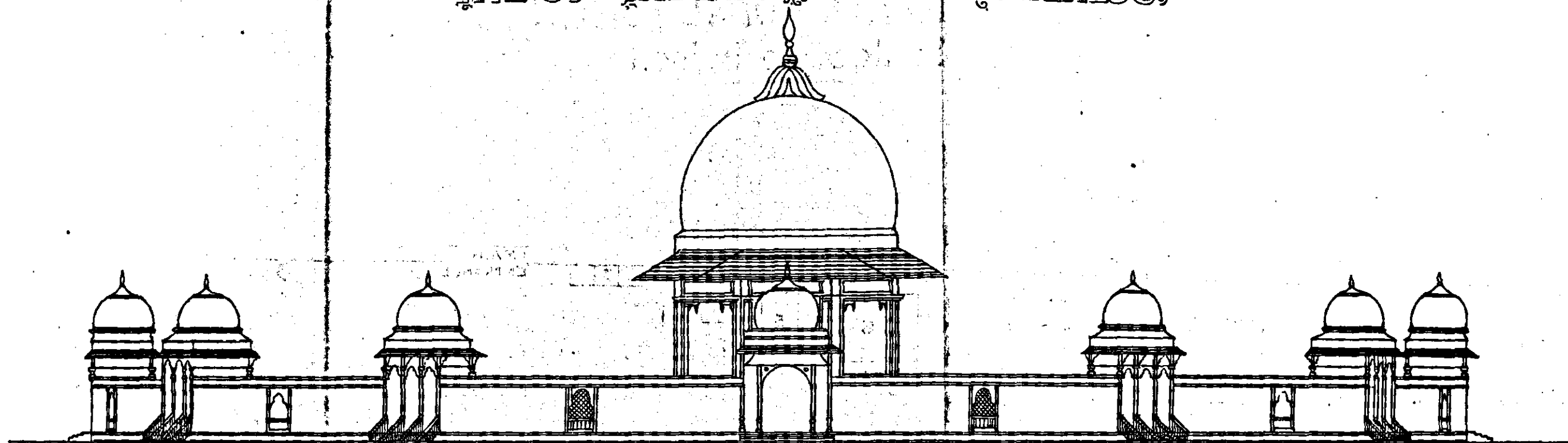
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- 14 SANITARY.
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BLOCK PLAN

BLOCK PLAN OF CONGRESS GROUNDS.

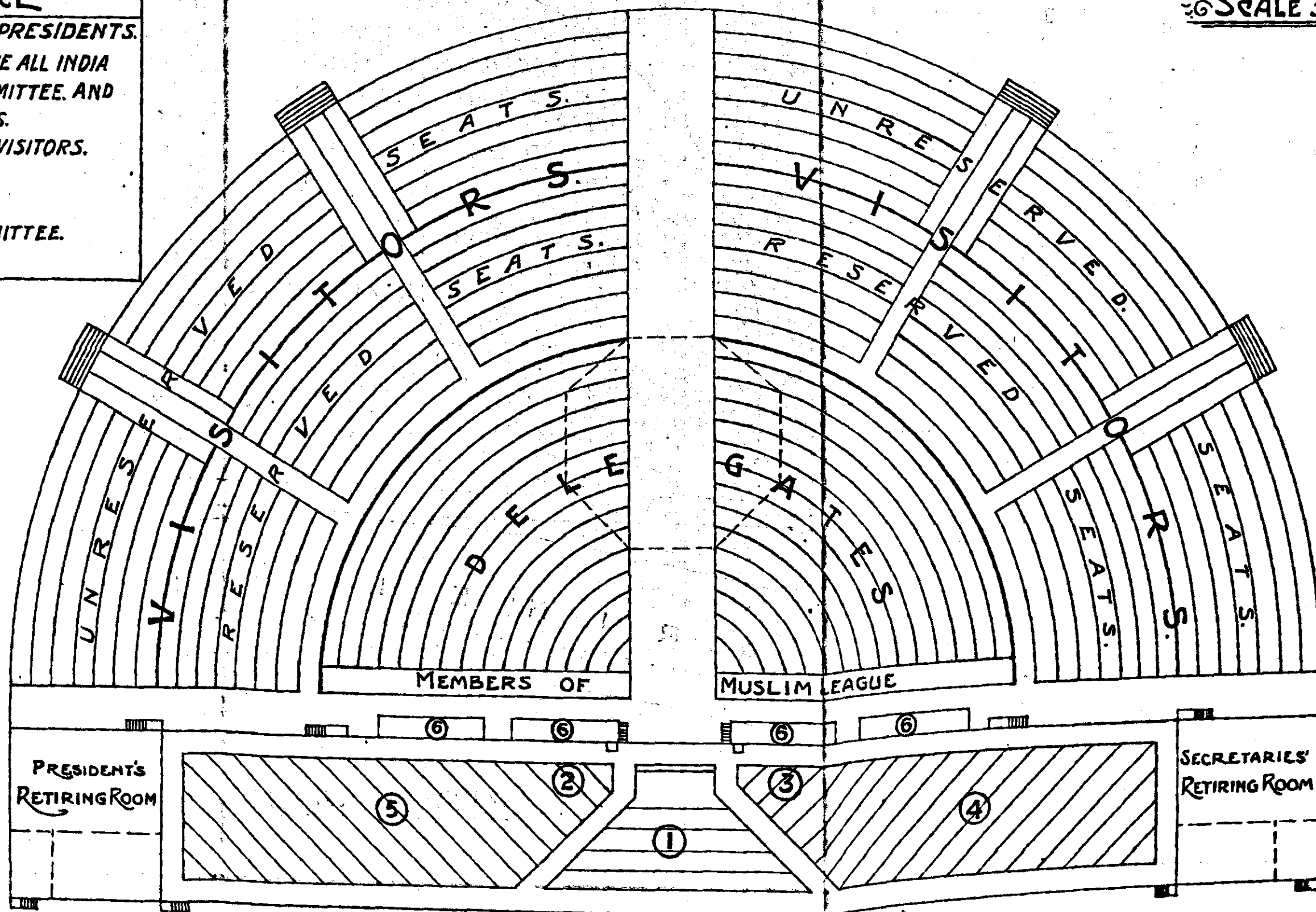
THE 30TH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.



ELEVATION

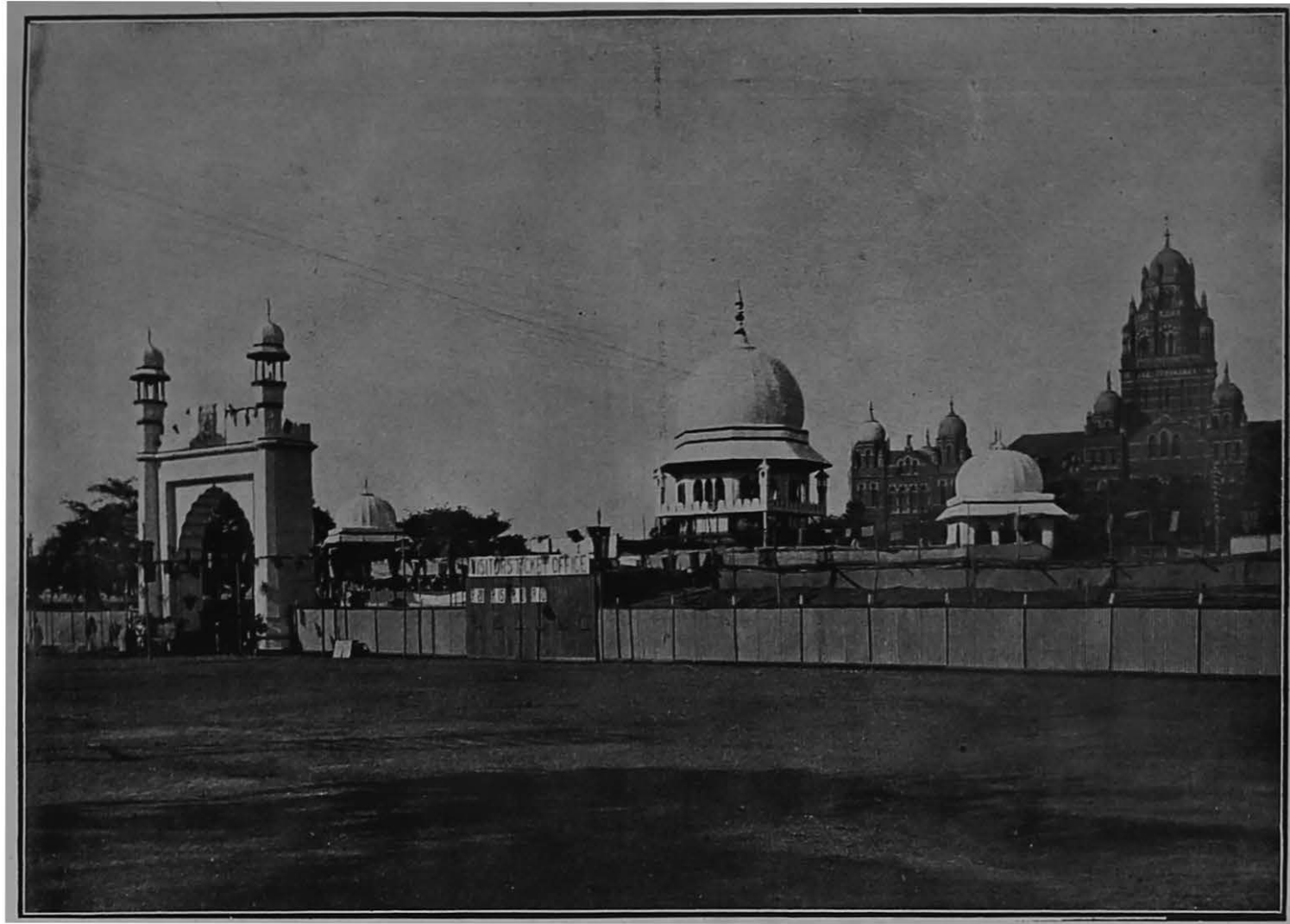
SCALE 30' TO AN INCH

REFERENCE	
1	PRESIDENT, EX. PRESIDENTS. MEMBERS OF THE ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE. AND OFFICE BEARERS.
2	DISTINGUISHED VISITORS.
3	DONORS.
4	LADIES.
5	RECEPTION COMMITTEE.
6	REPORTERS.



PLAN

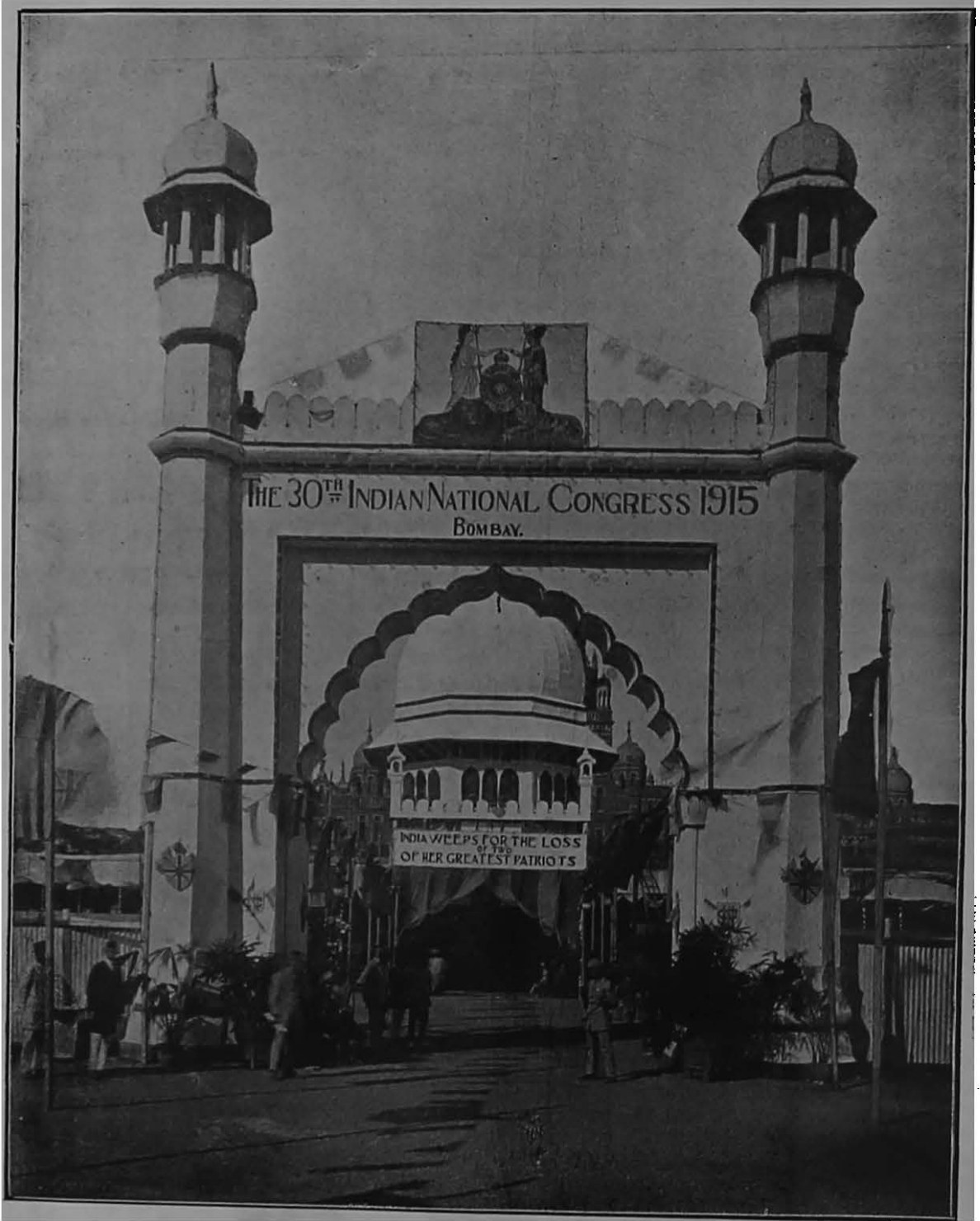
GROUND PLAN AND ELEVATION OF CONGRESS PAVILION.



Outside View of the Congress Pandal and Offices.
(30th Indian National Congress, 1915, Bombay.)

The Bombay Art Printing Works, Fort.

Photo by— Artistic Photo Co., Bombay.



View of and from the Entrance Gate of the Congress Pandal.
(30th Indian National Congress, 1915, Bombay.)

The Bombay Art Printing Works, Fort.

Photo by—Artistic Photo Co., Bombay.

INTRODUCTION.

It seems to me, brother delegates, that the only satisfactory form of Self-Government to which India aspires cannot be anything short of what President Lincoln so pithily described as "government of the people, for the people and by the people." (*Applause*). * * * * And by the people, I do not mean Civil Servants composed entirely of Indians but I mean the people who live in villages and till the soil. * * * * It is these people whom we want to take part in the government of the country. * * * * While we admit that the goal is not yet, we refuse to believe that it is so distant as to render it a mere vision of the imagination. (*Applause, and "hear, hear"*). We deprecate the impatience of those who imagine that we have only to stretch our hands to grasp the coveted prize. But we differ equally from those who think that the end is so remote as to be a negligible factor in the ordinary work of even present-day administration. * * * * The various concrete measures which the Congress advocates as an effective advance towards Self-Government on lines suited to India's special requirements—A decisive advance towards provincial autonomy, the liberalisation of the Council Regulations, establishment of elective as opposed to non-official majorities, an increase of their powers of control, specially in regard to finance, a larger representation of Indians in the various Executive Councils as also in the Council of the Secretary of State, the admission of larger numbers of Indians to all the higher branches of the public services, the long-delayed separation of judicial and executive functions, the expansion of primary, scientific and technical education, the abolition of indentured labour and the improvement of the position of Indians in other parts of the Empire. * * * * Commissions in the Army and Military training. * * * * 1st. We ask for the right to enlist in the regular army, irrespective of race or province of origin, but subject only to prescribed tests of physical fitness. 2nd. We ask that the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army should be thrown open to all classes of His Majesty's subjects, subject to fair, reasonable and adequate physical and educational tests. We ask that a military college or colleges should be established in India (*applause*) where proper military training can be received by those of our countrymen who will have the good fortune to receive His Majesty's Commission. 3rd. We ask that all classes of His Majesty's subjects should be allowed to join as volunteers, subject of course again to such rules and regulations as will ensure proper control and discipline, and 4th. We ask that the invidious distinctions under the Arms Act should be removed. (*Applause*). * * * * The opening of a military career will fire the imagination and stimulate the virility of India in a way that nothing else can do. And is it too much to ask for India to expect to be treated in the same way as Russia treats her subject races,—especially after the proof she has given of the prowess of her sons and their devotion and their loyalty to the Imperial standard? Reason and convenience, justice and necessity, all support every one of the claims I have ventured to put forward, and if a definite advance is not made in these respects, it will be difficult to believe that the War has changed the *angle of vision* of our rulers. (*Hear, hear*). It will be impossible to retain faith in what was proclaimed by the present Premier, Mr. Asquith "that the Empire rests, not upon the predominance, artificial and superficial, of race or class, but upon the loyal affection of free communities built upon the basis of equal rights." (*Hear, hear*).—The Hon'ble Sir S. P. SINHA, Kt.,
President, 30th Indian National Congress, 1915, Bombay.

The 30th Indian National Congress has been pronounced on all hands to be a great success. It was certainly a unique and memorable session in more respects than one. It was presided over by one of the most distinguished Indians,—The Hon'ble Sir S. P. Sinha, Kt.,—whose personality

contributed not a little to the success of the session. His selection for the Presidentship was first suggested by the late Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta, who desired that on this occasion the honour should be conferred on an Indian of culture and eminence and of capacity and judgment, who not only belonged to the Congress but had the advantage of having been admitted into the *arcana* of the Government of India and whose Presidential pronouncement, therefore, would compel attention and command respect in quarters in which alone rested the power to grant us the reforms we demanded. Bombay's choice was endorsed by Bengal, Madras, the Punjab, Behar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, Berar, and Burma, the only dissentient being the United Provinces. Thus eight out of the nine Provincial Congress Committees nominated him for the Presidentship and the Reception Committee of the Congress unanimously and enthusiastically accepted the nomination. Bombay did itself the honour of according a hearty reception to the President-elect worthy of the great city and befitting his high position. On his arrival on 25th December, he was taken in a procession through the streets to the palatial house in the compound of the Jaya Mahal Castle on Nepean Sea Road, which His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar had graciously placed at the disposal of the Reception Committee for his accommodation. A detailed description of the Reception will be found in the pages next following this Introduction. It was a most cordial and splendid ovation given to the President-elect by the citizens of Bombay. The great orator of the Congress, the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, gave expression to the enthusiasm of the reception and the appropriateness of the choice of the President-elect in words which it is difficult to resist the temptation of quoting. Said he:—

“What we think of him as our President-elect of the Congress was demonstrated the other day when thousands and tens of thousands of the citizens of Bombay gathered together to accord him a hearty welcome. (*Applause*). Brother-delegates, it was an ovation which kings might have envied. (*Loud Applause*). The victorious general returning from the field of his triumph, fresh with the laurels on his brow, could not have been acclaimed with greater alacrity and enthusiasm. (*Applause*). * * * * Brother delegates, we are on the eve of great possibilities of re-adjustment which will exercise a profound influence on the fortunes of this country for generations to come. At such a time, such a critical time, we need the sobering influence, the wise counsels and the statesmanlike guidance of such a man as our friend over here. (*Applause*). And it is therefore that we have acclaimed him with alacrity and enthusiasm to our place of honour and elected him as the President of the Congress. (*Long-continued applause*).”

The Presidential Address of Sir S. P. Sinha,—from which a few extracts are given at the commencement of this Introduction but which must be read in its entirety to be properly appreciated,—was a remarkable

pronouncement,—remarkable for its cogent reasoning, its cultured diction, its statesmanlike grasp of the realities of the situation, its candour and its virility.* While it was being delivered, it appealed to the audience as a thoughtful, lucid and courageous presentment of the just claims and immediate requirements of the people of India. The speech was delivered in a ringing voice which could be heard even beyond the farthest corner of the huge pavilion. And its powerful pitch remained the same throughout from start to finish. It lasted for nearly two hours and evoked, at its close, a tremendous ovation from the ten thousand persons assembled there, which testified to their grateful appreciation of the masterly address to which they had listened with delight and admiration. Not less impressive,—perhaps more moving,—was his concluding Address, which, though brief, went straight to the heart of the audience as an earnest appeal of a sincere patriot to his educated countrymen to “run to the help and the rescue of the poor and the weak,”—of “the people in the villages who toil with the sweat of their brow,” “whom we want to be capable of self-government,” and to work for their uplift: “day and night, patiently, persistently and strenuously” in order to achieve the object they professed, namely, “Government of the people, for the people and *by the people*.”

Great was the enthusiasm of the delegates and of the large numbers of visitors who paid for their seats in the huge pavilion and attended the sittings of the Congress for three successive days. Besides the personality of the President, there were other circumstances, mentioned in the sequel, which drew to the Congress a record number of delegates from all parts of the country. Never before in the thirty years' history of the Congress had such a large number of delegates and notable men in the country attended its session. Seven of these were Ex-Presidents of the Congress. Only two more were needed to complete the total number of Ex-Presidents in India who could have attended the Congress as delegates. There were others present, many of them being Bankers, Merchants or Landholders, who had never actively associated themselves with the movement before. The total number of delegates who attended the Congress,—as the voluminous roll annexed as Appendix G will show—was 2,259,—a number far in excess of that registered at any previous session of the Congress. The highest figure till then reached was 1,889 at the Bombay Congress of 1889, which was rendered memorable by the visit of Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M. P., of revered memory,—that true friend and tribune of the people, whose sincerity for the people's cause was free from the taint of personal ambition and egotism and whose powerful advocacy of Indian claims and aspirations was regulated and rendered the more effective by his balanced mind and sound judgment, which extorted the admiration

A record gathering of delegates.

and respect of even his opponents. His visit to the Congress of 1889 attracted to that session a large number of delegates from every nook and corner of this vast country. In those days,—and indeed till the *debacle* at Surat in 1907—there were no hard and fast rules for the election of delegates and no regularly formed electorates for the purpose. Owing to the experiences at Surat, the Constitution of the Congress, since framed, has invested only affiliated or recognised Electorates with the right to return delegates to the Congress. Since then, each Province has been passing through the constructive stage of electoral organisation; and the holding

A network of Congress organisation throughout the country.

of the session of the Congress accelerates the process in the Province in which it is held. Accordingly, during the year, a zealous endeavour was made,—mainly with the willing services and hearty assistance of members of the Servants of India Society—to widen the recruiting ground for the Congress by organising District Congress Committees wherever they did not exist, especially in the Town and Island of Bombay, the vast area of which was parcelled out into Congress Districts corresponding in most cases to the Municipal Wards of the City. This made it possible for a much larger number of delegates to be returned by the Electorates in the Province of Bombay in accordance with the Constitution of the Congress than would otherwise have been the case.* During the past eight years, a great deal of steady progress has been made in the direction of organising Congress Committees in the different Provinces, so that now a network of organisation has been spread throughout the country, of which the fifteen pages taken up by Appendix E will serve to give an idea. The details as to the 2259 delegates given in Appendix G bear testimony not only to the ramifications of the Congress organisation all over the country, but also to the great hold that the Congress movement has acquired on the people of India of diverse occupations and callings and of various stations in life, showing that the movement has become greater and stronger than it ever was before.

The fact that the All-India Muslim League was to meet, for the first time in the history of that Body, at the same place at which the Congress was to meet and the opportunity that the event afforded for *camaraderie* between Hindus and

The Congress and the Muslim League.

* The work of organisation done in Bombay has also set up a fresh machinery for political work, which has already shown good results. A General Secretarial Board has been formed from among the District Congress Committees in the Town and Island of Bombay. It has published a translation of Sir S. P. Sinha's Presidential Address into three different vernacular languages,—Marathi, Gujarati and Hindi,—and circulated it broadcast as an *anna* (that is to say, a penny) publication.

Mahomedans and for cordial co-operation between that Body and the Indian National Congress for the promotion of their common political aspirations, attracted to Bombay a large number of members of both the Bodies from the different Provinces. For the first time also in the history of the Congress, the representatives of the All-India Muslim League attended the Congress session in a body. They were allotted a conspicuous position in the Congress Pandal in front of the Congress delegates and were received by the vast assemblage with hearty applause and enthusiastic manifestations of cordiality as they entered the Pandal and took their seats in the prominent place reserved for them. Events during the past few years were gradually leading up to a fraternal coalition on the part of the two Bodies. And a definite advance in that direction was made by the All-India Muslim League at its sessions of 1912, when it formally adopted Self-Government within the British Empire as its ideal. This was immediately followed by a notable pronouncement from the Congress platform in the form of a Resolution passed at the Karachi Congress of 1913, warmly welcoming the advance made by the Muslim League and offering to it the right hand of fellowship for "joint and concerted action" in all matters affecting the national welfare. The All-India Muslim League did not hold its annual sessions in 1914. It was in 1915, therefore, that the leaders of that Body made up their minds to grasp the hand of comradeship offered by the Congress in 1913, and take steps for "joint and concerted action," which both Bodies have since resolved to do for formulating a scheme of reforms calculated to secure, for the people of India, a substantial step forward in the direction of Self-Government. This happy result could scarcely have been possible if the Muslim League had not held its meeting at all in 1915 or had met elsewhere than in the City where the Congress was to meet. The effect of the two Bodies holding their sessions in Bombay last Christmas was especially noteworthy in the case of the rising generation of the educated youth of the Hindu and Mahomedan communities. A genuine feeling of brotherhood prevailed among them, which manifested itself in various ways. The Congress Volunteers and the Muslim League Volunteers arrived at a "joint decision" that the Volunteers of the Congress as well as of the Muslim League should co-operate in the work of both the assemblies and work shoulder to shoulder and so they did. At a joint Hindu-Mahomedan Dinner, which was organised by some of the educated young men of either community, it was a gratifying and an inspiring sight to see the organisers wearing a brilliant badge which combined the Crescent with the Lotus, symbolising the union of the two faiths in the service of their Motherland and invoking the eye of the thinker to see therein the realisation of "Akbar's Dream" in the not distant future. The inauguration of this policy of "joint and concerted action" by the Congress and the Muslim League has thus been a memorable feature of the Bombay

Congress of 1915. It was in the fitness of things that this notable step should have been taken at the birth-place of the Congress movement, which was also the home of the late Mr. Justice Badrudin Tyebji and the late Mr. Rahimtulla M. Sayani,—the two great Mahomedan leaders of Bombay and Ex-Presidents of the Congress, who, in their days, laboured to persuade their co-religionist sallah over the country to join hands with their countrymen of the Congress and contribute their share to the regeneration of the land of their birth as children of one Mother. All honour to them as also to those patriotic Mahomedans of the present generation, who have striven to uplift their co-religionists to a correct sense of their duty to the Motherland.

An unfortunate feature of the 30th Congress was that it had the misfortune to meet under the Shadow of a Triple Tragedy.

The Shadow of a Triple Tragedy. Three great men,—distinguished Ex-Presidents of the Congress,—two of whom were India's greatest patriots,—passed away during the year—Mr. G. K. Gokhale, Sir Henry Cotton and Sir Pherozechah M. Mehta. This sad event made a silent appeal to all supporters of the Congress throughout the country to come and do honour to their sacred memory. The Congress recorded its deep sense of loss at the death of these three great men in Resolutions I, III and IV respectively. The Hon. Mr. D. E. Wacha, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in giving expression to his own grief at this heavy loss, voiced also the sentiment of the audience in feeling terms.

"It was a cruel stroke of fate," said he, "that deprived us, at the beginning of this year, of the youngest but the most faithful and indefatigable of workers in the person of the good and gentle Gopal Krishna Gokhale. (*Applause*). As if that was not enough, the hand of the Reaper deprived us only two months ago, as if in electric succession within eight days of each other, first of that great and sympathetic Englishman, no other than Sir Henry Cotton (*applause*) whose love for the people of this country in which he was born was as great as the zeal, loyalty and statesmanship with which he served his Government. And lastly, Sir Pherozechah M. Mehta, (*applause*) whose swift and sudden death has not yet dried the tears of millions of his countrymen whom he served so uninterruptedly and selflessly for well nigh half a century. * * * To me, I assure you the shock, coming as it does in the autumn of my life, has been so great that I feel dazed. It is impossible to realise the loss which the motherland has sustained by the death of her three sterling sons. * * * No storied urn or animated bust will ever bring the spirits of these dear departed friends—the benefactors of the Indian race—back to their mansions, but their good deeds will live from generation to generation in the hearts of the people. They have left foot-prints which the present and coming generations might in all humility tread if they wish to lead their country to a higher destiny."

To the organisers of the Congress in Bombay, the loss of Mr. Gokhale early in the year was a great blow. But there could not have been a more stunning blow to them than the passing away of their great leader and consummate organiser,—Sir Pherozechah M. Mehta,—at a time when the preliminary arrangements for the Congress had only just begun and when his guiding hand was most needed in shaping them and completing them. After recovering from the blow, his humble followers, inspired by the impelling voice within,

that they must spare no efforts to signalise the 30th Congress as an unparalleled success worthy of the great name of their departed leader, worked heart and soul, day and night, unmindful of their health and rejoicing in their labour of love. To all of them it was a matter of great gratification that their labours were crowned with success surpassing all expectations.

When the Congress of the previous year was held at Madras, the titanic and prolonged character of the Great War, the full effect of India's participation therein and its bearing on India's vast military potentialities had not perhaps become so marked as when the 30th Congress met in Bombay. Congressmen from all parts of the country were eager to meet together to demonstrate their unfaltering devotion and loyalty to the Throne and announce their determination to stand by England in the hour of her need at all hazards and all costs and proclaim their faith that in this terrible struggle, the righteous cause espoused by England and her Allies in support of the principles of justice, liberty and humanity was bound in the end to triumph. "We are all confident," said the Hon'ble Mr. Wacha, "that the end, whenever it comes, will be a triumph of those who are fighting for the emancipation of oppressed nationalities." "Our conviction is firm," said the President, "that, by the guidance of that Divine Spirit which shapes the destiny of nations, the cause of right will ultimately prevail and the close of the struggle will usher in a new era in the history of the human race." In Resolutions V and VI the Congress gave expression to its loyalty to the Throne, its abiding sense of the righteousness of the cause espoused by Great Britain and her Allies in this War, and its gratification and pride at the splendid achievements of the British Navy and at the heroism of British, Colonial and Indian soldiers and earnestly prayed that the cause of the Allies may be crowned with success.*

But while this was the sincere and unmistakable feeling of all Congressmen, it was equally obvious that they had come to the Congress with the dominant desire to demand, with greater emphasis than ever before, that the military disabilities to which the people of India had been subjected should be forthwith removed. Expression was given to this feeling by the Hon'ble Mr. Wacha in his speech as Chairman of the Reception Committee (*vide* p. 7)

India asks for the right to bear arms and for Military and Naval careers for her sons.

* A telegram was sent by the President on 28th December 1915 to His Excellency the Viceroy embodying the terms of these Resolutions with a request to transmit them to His Majesty the King-Emperor through the Secretary of State. The next day the President received the following telegram from the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy:—"I am desired to acknowledge the telegram of the 28th December to the address of His Excellency the Viceroy and to say that the loyal Resolutions therein referred to will be sent Home as desired."

and at great length, with forceful logic and in telling language by the President in his Inaugural Address (*vide* pp. 31—37), as also in the speeches of Sir N. G. Chandavarkar and others who addressed the Congress on Resolution VIII (*vide* pp. 50—61). Resolution IX, which related to the Arms Act, was put from the Chair. The attention of the reader is invited to a few extracts from the outspoken utterance of the Hon'ble Mr. Wacha and the straight and virile observations of the President on this subject. The Hon'ble Mr. Wacha said :—

In connection with this war there is but one serious disappointment to which I cannot refrain from making reference in this place. Many an enlightened and intelligent person, irrespective of caste or creed, in every province of the Indian Empire, has applied from the very date of the declaration of war, to go to the front and fight side by side with the soldiers of the regular Indian Army. Even to-day thousands on thousands are willing and ready to take up arms in the great cause for which the Allies are fighting. But unfortunately, the permanent Bureaucracy of the land have sternly, if politely, refused these applications, the why and the wherefore of which has never been made known. It is this attitude of the Government, in the midst of the great tragic crisis, that has given the bitterest disappointment to which many a leading organ of public opinion has given full expression. * * * I am only echoing the universal sentiments and feelings of our countrymen when I venture to say in this place that the Rulers of India still seem to mistrust the people. I will not enlarge on this subject, but I do trust and hope that wiser counsels will prevail at the seat of Government and a broad and statesmanlike policy will be soon adopted which will dismiss for ever this un-English spirit of mistrust and remove that galling disappointment which millions feel. * * * Is it necessary to say that with the millions of this country enrolled for war service, England can oppose her enemies, if need be, for the next quarter of a century without exhaustion? The British Government need never think of compulsory military service in the old country which has already sacrificed almost the whole flower of her manhood and youth, if it only contemplated without the least spirit of misgiving the overwhelming strength which could be secured by turning the Indian population into a voluntary army which might astonish, if not stagger, humanity. (Applause).

The extracts given below from the President's speech are intended as an incentive to the reader to read the whole of his spirited and reasoned discourse on the subject.

For what is the present condition of things? Except certain warlike races like the Sikhs and Rajputs, the people generally are debarred from receiving any kind of military training. Not only are they not allowed enlistment in the ranks of His Majesty's Army, but they are even precluded from joining any volunteer corps. Even with regard to the classes of men—Sikhs and Rajputs, Gurkhas and Pathans, etc.—who are taken into the regular army for the simple reason that the number of English troops is not in itself sufficient to maintain peace and order in this country (*applause*)—even with reference to these classes it is an inflexible rule that though they may now obtain the highest badge of valour *viz.*, the Victoria Cross, not one of them can receive a Commission in His Majesty's Army (*Cries of "shame"*) irrespective of birth or bravery, education or efficiency. While the humblest European and Eurasian and even the West Indian Negro has the right to carry arms, the law of the land denies even to the law-abiding and respectable Indian the privilege of possessing or carrying arms of any description except as a matter of special concession and indulgence, often depending on the whim and caprice of unsympathetic officials. (*Applause and "shame"*). To my mind the mere statement of the present system ought to be sufficient to secure its condemnation. * * * England has ruled this country for considerably over 150 years now, and surely it cannot be a matter of pride to her that at the end of this period the withdrawal of her rule would mean chaos and anarchy and would leave the country an easy prey to any foreign adventurers. There are some of our critics who never fail to remind us that if the English were to leave the country to-day, we would have to wire to them to come back before they got as far as Aden.

(*Laughter*). Some even enjoy the grim joke that were the English to withdraw now, there would be neither a rupee nor a virgin left in some parts of the country. For my part, I can conceive of no more scathing indictment of the results of British Rule. (*Applause*). A superman might gloat over the spectacle of the conquest of might over justice, and over righteousness but I am much mistaken if the British nation, fighting now as ever for the cause of justice and freedom and liberty, will consider it as other than discreditable to itself in the highest degree that after nearly two centuries of British Rule, India has been brought to-day to the same emasculated condition (*applause*) as the Britons were in the beginning of the 5th century when the Roman legions left the English shores in order to defend their own country against the Huns, Goths and other barbarian hordes. (*Applause*). * * * The resources for defence which India possesses even now do add to the strength of England as has been so amply proved in the present war. This strength could be multiplied a hundred-fold were our claims ever conceded. For, if the people of India are allowed and trained to bear arms, what nation is there on the face of the earth whose strength would compare with that of England? (*Applause*.)

The intensity of the feeling on the subject was a feature of this year's Congress which the authorities and the British Press will do well to note. It is not masculine statesmanship to deny to the people of India the right to bear arms. It is not wisdom to make them feel that they are debarred from being serviceable to their King and Country as soldiers of the Empire and as Defenders of their own Hearths and Homes. It is not political expediency but political shortsightedness to allow the vast military resources of multitudinous India to lie dormant instead of utilising them to the fullest extent to add immeasurably to the strength of the British Empire so as to make it impossible for any Power or combination of Powers to dream of attacking it. The rising generation of educated India is fired with the ardent desire to be enlisted as citizen soldiers of the Empire, to be trained for military and naval careers and to be given commissions in the Army and the Navy of their King-Emperor. Is it right to deny to them those openings and attractions to a life of utility, honour and distinction which the Army, the Navy and the Diplomatic Service make available to the sons of gentlemen of other nations? There is splendid material in India which remains unutilised under present conditions. The reader is invited to have a look at the photograph of "The Congress Volunteer Corps" printed behind that of Sir Pheroza Shah M. Mehta, who pleaded for volunteering facilities for his countrymen so far back as in 1877—eight years before the birth of the Congress in the City of Bombay. Referring to this ardent desire of the educated young men of India for a military career, Sir Narayanrao Chandavarkar, in moving the Resolution on Military and Naval Training and Volunteering, pertinently pointed out to the audience the military bearing and dash of the Congress Volunteers in their uniform and was enthusiastically cheered by the vast assemblage when he said :—

"Brother-delegates, if you want an object-lesson of this desire, this growing desire, amongst the educated youth of this country, you have only to cast your sight at these young men in their uniform before me as Volunteers, which is highly suggestive and provocative of the thought which is embodied in the terms of the Resolution which I have now placed before you for your acceptance. (*Applause*)".

The Hon'ble Mr. M. V. Joshi (of Amraoti), seconded the Resolution in Marathi in a thoughtful speech, of which a summary is given in English. " When Germany with its initial impetuosity overran Belgium, it relied," he said, "on two things, that Indians were ready to revolt against British rule and that Indians even if well disposed, were not qualified as a nation to fight. They were grievously wrong in the first but they were right as regards the second and right even to-day. And why? Because we had no military training and are not allowed to volunteer." Further on he observed: " If only India were ready, the six or seven millions of Germans could not avail. We could easily have spared 1 to 10 millions. Perhaps Germany might have never begun the War and the history of the world might have been otherwise. * * * The two things demonstrated in this War as necessary for offensive operations are long distance artillery and men. They have since produced shells but fighting men cannot be produced to order. * * * India can easily supply the want, only if opportunities were given."

Mr. R. C. Bonnerji (of Calcutta), who supported the Resolution asked a series of pointed questions in the course of his admirable speech :—

" Is it to be said that a country which has produced generals like Shivaji and Ranjit Singh (applause) is incapable of producing generals now? * * * Is it harder to heal the sick under cannonade, is it harder to direct a hospital which is being constantly shelled than to direct an army which at any rate has some means of protecting itself? Indians are allowed to have commissions to go into dangerous positions to heal the people. Are they to be refused positions to kill the enemies of the country? (Hear, hear). * * * Are we to be denied all possibility of learning how to protect ourselves and then to be told that we are not fit for Self-Government? It is as if we were to be kept away by artificial barriers from the sea and then to be told that we could never be sailors because we had not learnt to swim. (Applause). * * * If indeed it is necessary that the youth of the country should be trained to discipline, what better training can they have than the training of a volunteer?"

The next two speakers prominently brought out the great grievance that even communities who have—not in the remote past but in recent history—distinguished themselves on the battlefields of India or Afghanistan have no career in the Army now! Mr. Bahadur Chand (of Lahore) mentioned that, as far as the Punjab is concerned, some of the races, " which gave to the Sikh Army " of old " their best generals and their best soldiers," are conspicuous by their absence in the Indian Army of to-day. " It is plain," he said, " that in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh there was no restriction whatever on entry into the army and I can tell you that the greatest generals and soldiers of Ranjit Singh did not come from the Rajputs or the Jats but most of them were Kshatriyas." He then referred to the name and fame of Hari Singh Nalwa, the great General of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Punjab, and said :—" The wonder is that at this time the tribesmen of that great General

and even the descendants of that great General, who are now living, are debarred from entering the Army.”

The same is the grievance of that historic community which supplied to Shivaji some of his most trusted comrades and commanding officers who fought for him, shed their blood for him and helped him to found the Mahratta Empire. What career in the Army is now open to the castemen and descendants of Baji Prabhu Deshpande, the hero of the Mahratta Thermopylæ?

Mr. K. Venkatarreddi Nayudu (of the Madras Presidency) started his speech with the same complaint :—

“ I come from the Andhra land and to the Andhras this Resolution has special importance. It is this that for some years past, the descendants of those that won the Carnatic for the British have been excluded from the Army.”

The Resolution was further supported by Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra (of Lucknow,) who made a very effective speech in racy Hindustani.

Special importance has been given in this Introduction to the speeches on this Resolution because of the fact that, while there were other Resolutions, to be noticed hereafter, on which the Congress felt strongly, none among the Resolutions passed roused the feeling of the vast assembly so passionately as this one. It is to be hoped that the demands contained in the two Resolutions VIII and IX will be conceded by the authorities in the true interests of the Empire and a new era of trust and confidence inaugurated in India to the lasting credit of British statesmanship.

Another subject on which the Congress is keen is the demand for further and substantial measures of reform towards the attainment of Self-Government within the Empire and India asks for substantial measures of reform towards the attainment of that goal. of Self-Government for India as defined in Article I of its Constitution. Article I, to which every delegate to the Congress has to subscribe in writing, lays down that “ the Objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing Members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those Members” and says further that “ these Objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by a *steady* reform of the existing system of administration.” The Congress, as a body, is thus pledged to the policy of *steady* progress* but

* The same view was expressed by Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, who presided at the sessions of the All-India Muslim League. He said :—“ Gentlemen, our demands are neither immediate nor peremptory. * * * Of course, we cannot expect that India will change in the twinkling of an eye by some magical process, but we do hope that a new policy will be initiated which will end in Self-Government and give us the status and power of a living nation. The reforms must come steadily but surely.”

it is equally pledged to the view that the progress must be of such a character and so directed as to result, inevitably and assuredly, in making India a self-governing member of the British Empire. The experienced leaders of the Congress,—and indeed all thoughtful Congressmen throughout the country,—do not countenance any extravagant demands. They are alive to the fact that a full-fledged form of autonomous Government for India like that of the Colonies cannot be rightly claimed as the very next step in advance in her political evolution. But while they admit that the time is not yet for the fullest political autonomy to be conceded to India and that progress must proceed “from precedent to precedent,” they earnestly maintain and wish England to realise that immediately after the War, it is necessary to introduce substantial measures of reform which will constitute a great step forward in the direction of Self-Government for India. And in this connection, they urge that the time has arrived,—as mentioned in the preamble to Resolution XIX—“for reforming and liberalising the existing system of Government in India so as to secure to the people an effective control over it,” or, as the Hon’ble Mr. Wacha put it, “to respond to the popular appeal by laying down a far-seeing policy which will give a first instalment of genuine and living representation in the active government of the country broad-based upon the people’s will.”

England will have a great opportunity, when war is over, to captivate the mind of India and add to her own glory by initiating a broad-minded policy worthy of her freedom-loving instincts. The assurances of responsible British

A great opportunity for England to identify herself with India’s ideal of Self-Government within the Empire.

statesmen and the British Press that the War has changed their “angle of vision” in relation to India will have to be faithfully translated into action. British statesmanship will, it is to be hoped, rise equal to the occasion and make England’s response to India after the War as generous and whole-hearted as India’s response has been to England in the hour of her sorest trial. And in order that the response may appeal to the imagination of the people and gratify the better mind of India, the first thing needed, when war is over, is,—as suggested by the President in his Inaugural Address, (*vide*, p. 30),—that the British nation should “declare their ungrudging approval of the goal to which we aspire” and “that steps should be taken to move towards Self-Government by the gradual development of popular control over all departments of Government and by the removal of disabilities and restrictions under which we labour both in our own country and in other parts of the British Empire.” What is wanted is an authoritative pronouncement pledging England, unequivocally and irrevocably, to the ideal of Self-Government for India and enjoining the Minister and Officers of the Crown to work

for that ideal scrupulously and unceasingly, together with immediate introduction of substantial measures of reform in furtherance of that ideal.

Resolution XIX refers to the Constitutional Reforms needed for an effective advance towards Self-Government. The proposals of the Congress in that behalf are expected to be definitively formulated and made known at the next Congress. Meanwhile, the All-India Congress Committee has been authorised to frame a scheme of reform, having regard to the principles embodied in the Resolution, and submit its report, after conferring with the Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League for the same purpose. The principles embodied in Resolution

XIX will give the reader a fairly accurate idea of the lines on which the Congress desires the next instalment of Constitutional Reforms to proceed.

Those principles are :—

(a) The introduction of Provincial autonomy including financial independence ; (b) Expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils so as to make them truly and adequately representative of all sections of the people and to give them an effective control over the acts of the Executive Government ; (c) The re-construction of the various Executive Councils and the establishment of similar Executive Councils in Provinces where they do not exist ; (d) The reform or the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India ; (e) Establishment of Legislative Councils in Provinces where they do not now exist ; (f) The re-adjustment of the relations between the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India ; and (g) A liberal measure of Local Self-Government.

Quite a galaxy of speakers was chosen to speak to this Resolution :—

1. The Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, 2. Mrs. Annie Besant, 3. The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, 4. Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar, 5. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, 6. The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar and 7. The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Until a definite scheme is framed and passed by the Congress, the individual opinions expressed by the speakers are no doubt not binding on the Congress. But a perusal of their speeches, especially those of the three Ex-Presidents of the Congress,—the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea (pp. 116-124), the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar (pp. 134-135) and the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (pp. 136-138),—will enlighten the reader as to the details of the reforms which their experience suggests as necessary and desirable.

It will be seen that great stress was laid on the necessity of making a decisive advance towards Provincial autonomy in the real sense of the expression. This reform constitutes in reality the first definite step towards the ultimate evolution of India,—or rather the United States of India—as a self-governing unit of the British Empire. The introduction of Provincial autonomy is clearly promised in the great Despatch of 25th August, 1911 and,

Constitutional Reforms in the direction of Self-Government.—A scheme to be framed by the All-India Congress Committee after conferring with the Committee of the All-India Muslim League.

Introduction of Provincial Autonomy and Reform of Legislative and Executive Councils.

as the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea pointed out, the attempt made to attenuate the message contained therein, as a mere delegation of power from superior to subordinate authority, is not borne out by the contents. But whether borne out or not by the context, the expression, as the Congress understands it, does not and cannot mean the devolution of authority from the Supreme Government to Provincial Bureaucracies but it means the devolution of that authority to the chosen representatives of the people. And with this reform, therefore, is interlaced the reform of the Legislative and Executive Councils, as to which also the All-India Congress Committee is asked to frame a detailed scheme.

Resolution XIX, however, refers principally to only one part of the needed movement towards Self-Government, namely, as the President put it, "gradual development of popular control over all departments of Government," or, to make use of his happy phraseology in another part of his speech,

"the progressive nationalisation of the Government of the country." The other part refers to the "removal of disabilities and restrictions under which we labour both in this country and in other parts of the Empire," which also, as stated by the President, is a necessary step "to move towards Self-Government." As to this, the Congress passed, (besides Resolutions VIII and IX on the removal of the military disabilities of the people of India), the following Resolutions:—"Fiscal Freedom" (XVIII) and "Industrial Development" (XXI); "Imperial Conference" (XI); "India and the Colonies" (X); "Abolition of Indentured Labour" (XIII); and "Separation of judicial and executive functions" (XIV).

The Congress is of opinion that complete fiscal freedom in special reference to import, export and excise duties should now be conceded to the Government of India. The feeling on this subject, especially in the Indian commercial circles, is so strong that if this reform is withheld or denied, there will be acute discontent not only among the manufacturing community in India but also among the other thinking and intelligent classes all over the country. The economic and industrial growth and development of India being intertwined with this question, the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, who moved the Resolution in an able speech, hit the right nail on the head, when he said:—

Fiscal Freedom for India is necessary for her Industrial Development.

"I am convinced that under the existing conditions, when the manufacturing interests of Great Britain are so prominently represented in the House of Commons, it is hopeless to expect that full freedom in regard to our industrial development will be conceded, unless we take out of the hands of those interested people (*Hear, hear*) the power to regulate for us what we shall do in regard to our industrial development."

Prof. V. G. Kale (of Poona), the well-known writer on Indian economic questions, started his speech with the famous statement of the late Mr. Justice Ranade, that " the economic domination of one country over another is more insidious and detrimental than political domination," and urged, in the course of his speech, that fiscal freedom granted to the Government of India " will be entirely useless unless the people of this country have a very considerable voice in the Councils of that Government. "

Mr. A. P. Patro (of Berhampore, in the Madras Presidency) pointed out that it is necessary for the people of India " to possess the power to regulate tariffs and duties as a means of protecting struggling Indian industries and aiding indigenous manufacture as a guarantee for investment of indigenous capital. "

In this connection, the reader will do well to read the thoughtful and instructive speeches of the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar (of Amraoti) and the Hon'ble Sri K. R. V. Krishna Rao Bahadur (of Madras) on the Industrial development of India (Resolution XXI, pp. 144-151).

India must either enjoy legislative independence in fiscal matters or must be allowed direct and adequate representation in a federal Parliament. She must have a free hand in dealing with her excise and customs duties as against the other parts of the Empire and as against foreign countries including the present Allies, and, unless she has a voice in framing British commercial treaties, she must, in justice, be allowed the option of being excluded from their provisions. Thus will India soon begin—thus has the thinking portion of India already begun—" to syllogise unwelcome truths. " The solution of the question of India's industrial development will, as the President put it, test the altruism of England.

" It will test, as no other question has done, the altruism of English statesmanship, for in promoting and protecting Indian interests it may become necessary,—it *will* become necessary—to sacrifice the interests even of English manufacturers. (*Applause, and hear, hear.*)"

In regard to India's representation on the Imperial Conference, the Congress, in Resolution XI, urges that the persons selected to take part in the Conference on behalf of India should be, *not* officials, but two members at least to be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Council. Mr. B. G. Horniman, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, moved the Resolution in a telling speech. He quoted with great effect the following remark of the "*Montreal Free Press*" :—

" Men who die with us in defending the common flag should not be kept waiting a moment in the ante-chambers of our Councils. "

He then pointed out that the Resolution on the subject passed in the Viceroy's Council said that India should be "officially represented." That did not mean that India should be represented by officials. And he added :—

"But to my mind, and I think it will be the mind of this Congress, it is absolutely essential that, if India is going to be represented in the Imperial Council of British nations, if India is to speak for herself in the way that the people of this country would have her spoken for, then she must be represented by Indians (*applause*) and they must be sent up by such elective machinery as is now in existence. (*Applause*).

The Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao (of Madras), who seconded the Resolution, emphasised the view that if the representation of India at the Conference was to produce any substantial results, "the voice of the people should really be heard in the most satisfactory manner possible," and in order that the said voice may be true, the "elected members of the Imperial Council," should have the right to elect those who are to voice the people's view at the Imperial Conference.

Mr. D. C. Ghose (of Calcutta), who supported the Resolution, made a neat, tersely worded speech and was heartily cheered by the audience when he said :—

"Sir, an Imperial Conference without an Indian representation in the same is as ridiculous as would be the play of Hamlet with the part of the Prince of Denmark left out." (*Applause*).

Resolution X referred to the position and grievances of Indians in the Colonies. It was proposed by Mr. M. K. Gandhi, the famous leader of the Passive Resistance movement in South Africa, which resulted, after great hardships and a heroic struggle, in what is known as the Settlement of 1914, which restored legal equality in connection with emigration from British India and certain other things, for which the passive resisters were then fighting and nothing more. Mr. Gandhi said :—

India and the Colonies.

That legal equality has been restored, the other things granted, but the domestic troubles still remain. * * * They are in connection with the holding of landed property; they are in connection with men who, having been once domiciled in South Africa, return to South Africa; there are difficulties in connection with the admission of their children and in connection with trade licenses. These are, if I may call them so, bread-and-butter difficulties. There are other difficulties which I shall not enumerate just now. In Canada, it is not possible for those brave Sikhs who are domiciled there to bring their wives and children. (*Cries of "Shame"*).

The Resolution which the Congress passed this time was differently worded from the strongly worded Resolution which the Congress used to adopt for some years past. Mr. G. A. Natesan, the well-known Editor of the

Indian Review of Madras, who seconded the Resolution, referred to this welcome change and trusted that the expectations of Lord Hardinge and of Mr. Asquith to the effect that as the result of the war, the relations between India and the Colonies will soon be changed, will prove true. Mr. Jehangir B. Petit (of Bombay), in supporting the Resolution, rightly observed: "I refuse to believe that English public opinion is so hopelessly impotent as not to appeal to the self-governing colonies to legislate in a manner which will bring their legislation in consonance with the spirit underlying the British constitution." Mr. Arikshan Sinha (of Behar), who followed, narrated the grievances of Indians in the Colonies and said: "We want mutuality of treatment and nothing else. We plead for reciprocity on equal terms."

The Congress, in Resolution XIII, urged the abolition of the system of Indentured Labour as early as possible, "the system being a form of slavery which, socially and politically, debases the labourers and is seriously detrimental to the economic and moral interests of the country." The Resolution was moved by the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, President of the Servants of India Society. He put his case for the abolition of the system of indentured labour on three grounds :—

"First of all, it involves great injustice and great hardship to the labourers themselves; in the second place, it is a system that breeds immorality and debasement on a large scale; in the third place, it involves the degradation of our nation."

He made an effective speech in condemnation of the system, justifying his three grounds with his accustomed eloquence and lucidity. The Resolution was seconded by Mr. V. N. Tivari (of Allahabad), a member of the Servants of India Society, who exposed the evil effects of the system with facts and figures and said that "the system is incapable of being mended and it must be ended and ended immediately." It was supported by Mr. M. K. Padhye (of Nagpur) in an interesting speech.

The abolition of the system has since been clearly promised and it is to be hoped that the promise will be fulfilled without unnecessary delay and that no half-measures will be resorted to, which may not merely put off but destroy the possibility of the system being abolished.

Another reform necessary for a really effective advance towards Self-Government is that contained in Resolution XIV on the separation of the judicial and executive functions. It is an old demand of the Congress and repeated from year to year. But it has now assumed a new significance and has become an urgent one. The new significance lies in the fact that even if, in accordance with the demand of the Congress, the Legislative Councils

The long-delayed reform of the separation of judicial and executive functions has now become an urgent one.

are so enlarged as to give direct representation thereon to each District, the reform may be divested of much of its real value unless the representatives so elected are not only capable men but are placed in a position to be thoroughly independent in the discharge of their duties, and in order that this may be so, it is necessary that the Districts should be freed from the incubus of the present system which combines, in the District executive officers, revenue with magisterial powers besides placing the police under them. An urgent measure of reform, therefore, is, as proposed in Resolution XIV of this year, to have a reconstituted judiciary placed solely under the control of the Highest Court in every province, separate from and independent of the Indian Civil Service or the executive branch of the service and recruited partly by competitive examination and partly from the legal profession.

The various reforms noticed above will doubtless amount collectively to “an effective advance towards Self-Government.” India expects England to inaugurate all these reforms immediately after the War in a generous spirit. India expects England to inaugurate them immediately after the War, not in a halting and half-hearted manner and hedged round with restrictions which may rob them of their grace and render them of doubtful value but in a spirit of generous and courageous statesmanship. If they fall short of the expectations of men of light and leading in India, the consequences will be deplorable. Both the Hon’ble Mr. Wacha and the President have, in this connection, sounded a note of warning in no uncertain terms. The former has quoted pertinent passages,—one from the writings of that great American scholar and statesman, Mr. Lowell, (*vide* pp. 10-11) and another from Buckle’s “History of Civilisation” (*vide* pp. 12-13). Mr. Lowell has observed :—

“It is only by the instigation of the wrongs of men that what are called the rights of men become turbulent and dangerous. It is then only that they syllogise unwelcome truths. It is not the insurrections of ignorance that are dangerous but the revolts of intelligence. It is only when the reasonable and the practical are denied that men demand the unreasonable and impracticable; only when the possible is made difficult that they fancy the impossible to be easy.”

And the President (*vide* p. 24) said in clear terms :—

“I for myself say with all the emphasis and earnestness that I can command that if the noble policy of Malcolm and Elphinstone, Canning and Ripon, Bright and Morley, is not steadily, consistently and unflinchingly adhered to, the moderate party amongst us will soon be depleted of all that is fine and noble in human character.” (Applause.)

In Resolution II, the Congress placed on record India’s great sorrow at the death of Mr. Keir Hardie, who, in and out of the House of Commons, rendered valuable services to India. Resolution VII prayed for further extension of Lord Hardinge’s term of office.

The remaining Resolutions.

as Viceroy of India till after the present crisis was over. India would have rejoiced if the prayer had been granted. In Resolution XII, the Congress entered its emphatic protest against the action of the House of Lords in rejecting the proposal for the establishment of an Executive Council for the United Provinces and urged that the said Provinces be raised to the status of a Presidency under a Governor-in-Council with at least one Indian member of the Council. The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru (of Allahabad), who moved the Resolution, made an admirable, argumentative speech, in the course of which he effectually disposed of the frivolous objections urged against the measure by the two or three noble Peers of the House of Lords whose opposition resulted in its being put off on the ground that it was a controversial one. The Resolution was seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel (of Bombay) and supported by Mr. K. B. Dutt (of Calcutta), who pointed out that the presence of an Indian member in the Executive Council had become a necessity and that Hindus would be satisfied with a Mahomedan member and *vice versa*. Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar (of Madras) also supported the Resolution with his characteristic vigour and said that the noble Lords who had eaten the salt of India had upset the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission and negatived the prayer of the Secretary of State. Another urgent reform which has been put off on the same ground, not by Parliament, but by the Secretary of State, is that of converting the Punjab Chief Court into a chartered High Court. Resolution XV dealt with the matter and urged the same reform for Burma and the Central Provinces. Lala Nanak Chand spoke for the Punjab, Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit for the Central Provinces, and Dr. P. J. Mehta for Burma. The Swadeshi movement was the subject of special importance this time on account of the facilities which the stoppage of imports from enemy countries afforded for the promotion of indigenous industries. Resolution XVI was the usual resolution on the subject. The speeches on it, especially of the proposer, Mr. K. H. Vakil (of Bombay) and the seconder, Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu (of Calcutta) will repay perusal. The latter always speaks on the subject with earnestness and with great effect and each time with refreshing originality of exposition. Resolution XVII asks for the repeal of the Press Act (I of 1910). It was proposed by Mr. B. G. Horniman, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, in a vigorous and a closely reasoned speech and seconded by Mr. I. B. Sen (of Calcutta), whose speech was as humorous as it was incisive and was supported by Mr. K. N. Aiyar, who ably supplemented their arguments. The three speeches will be found at pp. 101-109 and the reader will find them not only interesting and instructive but such as to justify the demand for the repeal of the Act of 1910, which the Congress has been making for the past few years. In Resolution XX, the Congress urged that a reasonable and definite limit should be put on the land revenue demand of the State and that either a permanent settlement or a long-term settlement of 60 years

should be introduced and asked that effect be given to the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation that the general principles of land revenue assessment should be embodied in provincial legislation and that such legislation should state specifically the limit of enhancement, if any. This was a very important Resolution and the speeches of the three well-informed speakers from the three different Provinces, who placed it before the Congress, were able and weighty. The Hon. Mr. K. Chidambarnatha Mudaliyar (of Madras), who proposed it, put the case in a nutshell, when he said :—" What is really aimed at is that a greater portion of the result of the people's labour should be left to them. That would not only mean benefit to the people, it would mean benefit to the State as well." Rai Bahadur Hiranand Khemsing (of Hyderabad, Sind) urged :—" If there is any province which deserves a reform of the settlement, it is Sind, as it pays the highest rate of assessment and its soil is admitted to be poor." Rai Saheb Lakshmi Narayan (of Kampti, Central Provinces) made an excellent speech which has a special value, coming as it does from a highly respected and large land-holder. The reader should read it in its entirety (*vide*, pp. 141-143). A very important Resolution on an entirely new subject at this year's Congress was Resolution XXII, which referred to the grievances of Indian students who have gone or have to go to the United Kingdom for prosecuting their studies. The Resolution was proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, of the Senior Wrangler fame and Principal of the Fergusson College, Poona. It was his first appearance on the Congress platform but it was a highly successful one. His speech was a vigorous protest against the disabilities imposed on Indian students going to England for study. The Resolution was seconded and supported by Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta and Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta, both being recent arrivals in Bombay and well-known in England in connection with the agitation on this question among Indian students. They spoke with knowledge and information at first hand and put their view of the matter before the Congress with studied moderation. The present Education Member of the Government of India may be expected to do whatever is practicable to remove the soreness of the Indian students in England on this subject and it is to be hoped that early and effective measures will be taken which will remove all cause for legitimate complaint in this matter. By Resolution XXV, the Congress passed some amendments to the Constitution. Only one of them, which made the addition of a new clause at the end of Article XX, requires special mention. Article XX refers to the right of electing Delegates to the Indian National Congress. The addition to that Article made by the amendment under notice provides one more agency for the purpose with the right to elect not more than 15 delegates at a public meeting held under its auspices, due safeguards having been inserted in the amendment as to the status and political complexion of this new agency. At the Madras Congress of

1914, a Committee, consisting of three members to be elected by each Provincial Congress Committee, with the General Secretaries of the Congress as its *ex-officio* Secretaries, was appointed to consider the two amendments to Article XX which Mrs. Besant had proposed at the Subjects Committee of that year's Congress. Both the amendments proposed by Mrs. Besant were rejected by the Committee appointed by the Congress. And a Bombay member of the Committee brought forward an Amendment, which the Committee adopted and reported accordingly to the All-India Congress Committee which also adopted it. The amendment thus approved has been embodied in Resolution XXV of the Congress. By Resolution XXIII, the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahommed Bahadur and Mr. N. Subba Rao were re-appointed General Secretaries for the ensuing year. In Resolution XXIV the Congress recorded its high appreciation of the services of Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., and other members of the British Committee and resolved that the organisation of the British Committee and the newspaper "India" should be continued to be maintained. By Resolution XXVI, the next Congress was invited to meet at Lucknow. And the last Resolution was a cordial vote of thanks to the President, moved by Mr. H. A. Wadya and seconded by Sir N. G. Chandavarkar.

The Bombay Congress of 1904 was held on the plot known as "the Crescent," which has since been taken up for the Museum. The Reception Committee had, therefore, great difficulty in fixing upon a suitable site for the Congress. In their efforts to secure such a site, H. E. the Governor, Lord Willingdon, showed earnest solicitude and rendered whole-hearted assistance for which they are grateful to His Excellency. At his instance Mr. A. H. Whyte, Executive Engineer, Presidency District, interested himself in the matter and it was Mr. Whyte who kindly suggested the very convenient and prominent site (the Southern part of the Marine Lines Maidan), on which the Congress was held. That open plot belongs to the Board of Trustees under the City of Bombay Improvement Act, who kindly granted permission to the Reception Committee to use it for the purposes of the Congress in accordance with Section 60, Sub-section 5 of the Act, which empowers the Board to let it temporarily at such nominal or other rent as the Board may approve. The Reception Committee are thankful to the Chairman and members of the Board of Trustees for the permission granted.

The cordial thanks of the Reception Committee have already been conveyed to His Excellency the Governor-in-Council for the promptitude with which he set matters right in regard to the question as to the attendance of

Government officers as visitors to the Congress. (*vide*, Appendix F, pp. 218-224).

His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar had graciously placed his smaller Bungalow in the Jaya Mahal Castle Compound at the disposal of the Reception Committee for the accommodation of the President during the Congress week. A telegram of cordial thanks on behalf of the Reception Committee was sent to His Highness.

Thanks are due to Seth Mathuradas Gokuldas for giving his splendid car during the Congress week for the use of the President. The proprietors of the various Buildings which were kindly allowed by them to be used for the accommodation of delegates are also entitled to the thanks of the Reception Committee.

The cost of the Pandal and other structures and nearly every item of expenditure was this year greater than it was in 1904. The need for liberal donations for the Congress was, therefore, great and although, on account of the numerous calls during the year on the purse of the people, the total amount of donations did not mount up to the figure reached in 1904, the public-spirited citizens of Bombay made a ready response to the Reception Committee's call for funds, for which they are grateful to the various donors.

Mr. Jamshedji P. Mistri, B.A., L. C. E., of Messrs. Mistri and Bhedwar, Architects and Engineers, had, with commendable public spirit, prepared the plans and specifications for the Congress Pandal and other structures and had them erected under his supervision. According to his directions, the structures were erected and completed within a short time by Messrs. Jeewanjee Jamasjee & Co., Building Contractors, who worked day and night on the Congress grounds and spared no pains to make the Pandal a thing of beauty and a work of art.

The help given by Mr. E. A. Doran, C.I.E., Post Master General, Bombay, requires special mention and cordial acknowledgment. He readily made arrangements to open a combined Post and Telegraph Office on the Congress Grounds and to fix two Post-pillars in addition, from which clearings at frequent intervals were directed to be made.

Special Fire Brigade arrangements were made on the Congress Grounds during the Congress week, for which thanks are due to Mr. P. R. Cadell, C. I. E., I. C. S., who was then Municipal Commissioner as also to Mr. T. C. Greenop, Chief Officer, Fire Brigades, Bombay.

All the Office-bearers and members of the Executive Committee and of the various Sub-Committees and the Assistant Secretaries (*vide*, Appendix C)

deserve the cordial thanks of the Reception Committee for the work they did and the trouble they took to make the Congress the success that it was. The Assistant Secretaries in particular, to whom were assigned onerous duties of great responsibility, worked zealously, methodically, honestly and expeditiously and contributed largely to the efficiency of the organisation. The Congress Volunteer Corps and the Lady Volunteers also are entitled to hearty recognition of their services. They all worked at great personal discomfort and with perfect discipline.

The work of reporting the Congress proceedings was entrusted to Rao Bahadur N. C. Rajagopala Chariar, the well-known stenographer of Madras. He supplied the transcript with promptitude; and how well he has done his work is testified to by his *verbatim* report of the speeches made by the various speakers.

The heartiest thanks of the Reception Committee are due to the group of the Hindu, Mahomedan and Parsi ladies,—pupils of the Gândharva Mahâ Vidyâlaya of Bombay,—who opened the proceedings of the Congress on each day with a song sung by them with their combined “concord of sweet sounds” which not only delighted but enthralled the audience by its patriotic fervour and soul-stirring music.

In concluding this Introduction, nothing would perhaps be more appropriate than to quote the concluding sentence of the President’s
 Conclusion. Inaugural Address, in which he visualizes “an India of the future, answering our ideal, satisfying our aspirations and rising to the height of our noblest emotions” :—

It seems to me that, under the benign dispensation of an inscrutable Providence, we shall emerge into a new era of peace and good-will, and our beloved Motherland will occupy an honoured place in the Empire with which her fortunes are indissolubly linked, and we shall be the free and equal citizens of that great Empire, (*applause*) bearing its burdens, sharing its responsibilities and participating in its heritage of freedom and glory as comrades and brethren. (*Loud and long continued applause, a tremendous ovation from the vast assemblage*).

This is the preordained future which India, with the eye of faith, sees unfolded before her as effulging on the horizon.

Men of thought and men of action ! Clear the way.

N. M. S.

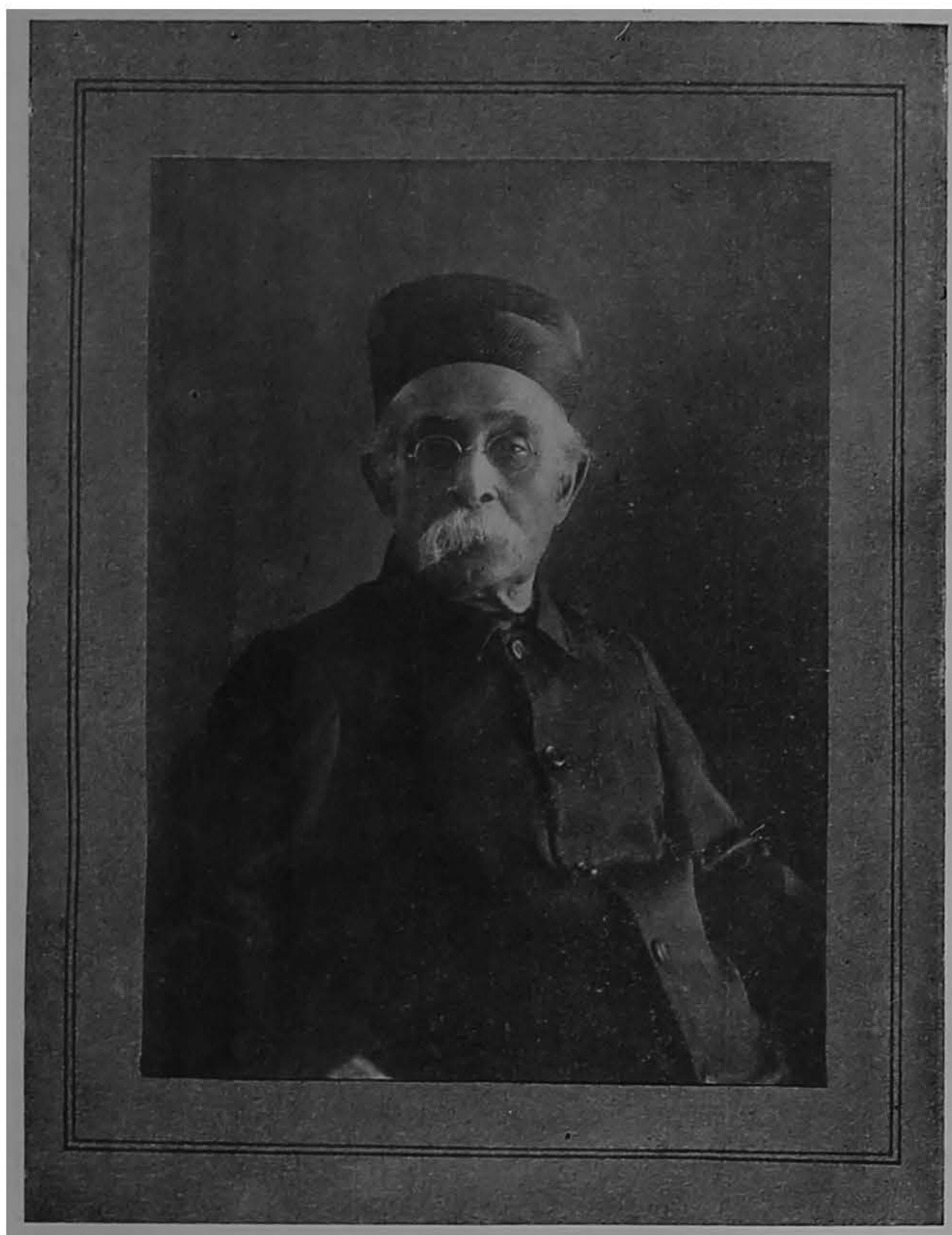


It is, of course, in consonance with the constitutional creed laid down by the Congress, that Self-Government under the British Rule is its *ultima thule* (Applause). * * * It is not the multiplicity of organisations which is wanted. What is most essential and of paramount importance is the concentration of responsible opinion, well-reasoned, well-balanced and well-directed, which might unmistakably reveal the fact that India is of one mind and one heart (Applause). * * * Self-Government is bound to come, I venture to say, (applause) albeit, by measured stages, from precedent to precedent. * * * As to the members of the distinguished Service, the men in power and authority, I need not say that it would be idle for them any longer to deny the ideal altogether to the Indians or to say that the country can never be ready for it or to put every obstacle in the way of its realisation. And the sooner, therefore, they prepare themselves to meet the wishes and sentiments of that New India, rising fast before it, the better it will be for their own existence and their reputation for administrative sagacity (hear, hear). In his memorable "History of Civilisation," the historian Buckle has observed: "Men have recently begun to understand that, in politics, no certain principles having yet been discovered, the first conditions of success are compromise, barter, expediency and concession. It will show utter helplessness even of the ablest rulers, when they try to meet new emergencies by old maxims. It will show the intimate connection between knowledge and liberty; between an increasing civilisation and an advancing democracy. It will show that for a progressive nation, there is required a progressive policy; that within certain limits, innovation is the solid ground of security; that no institution can withstand the flux and movements of society, unless it not only repairs its structure but also widens its entrance; and that even in a material point of view no country can long remain either prosperous or safe, in which the people are not gradually extending their power, enlarging their privileges, and, so to say, incorporating themselves with the functions of the State. Neglect of these truths has entailed the most woeful calamity upon other countries." Such is the undoubted truth which history has deduced from past politics of great States which, we faintly hope, will be ever present before the minds of the rulers of present India and serve as the basis of the coming policy of reconstruction. Let us earnestly pray that this terrible war now waging may by the mercy of Divine Providence be brought to a satisfactory and peaceful close whereby our rulers may be enabled to respond to the popular appeal by laying down a far-seeing policy which will give a first instalment of genuine and living representation in the active government of the country broad-based upon the people's will. (Applause).—THE HON'BLE MR. D. E. WACHA,

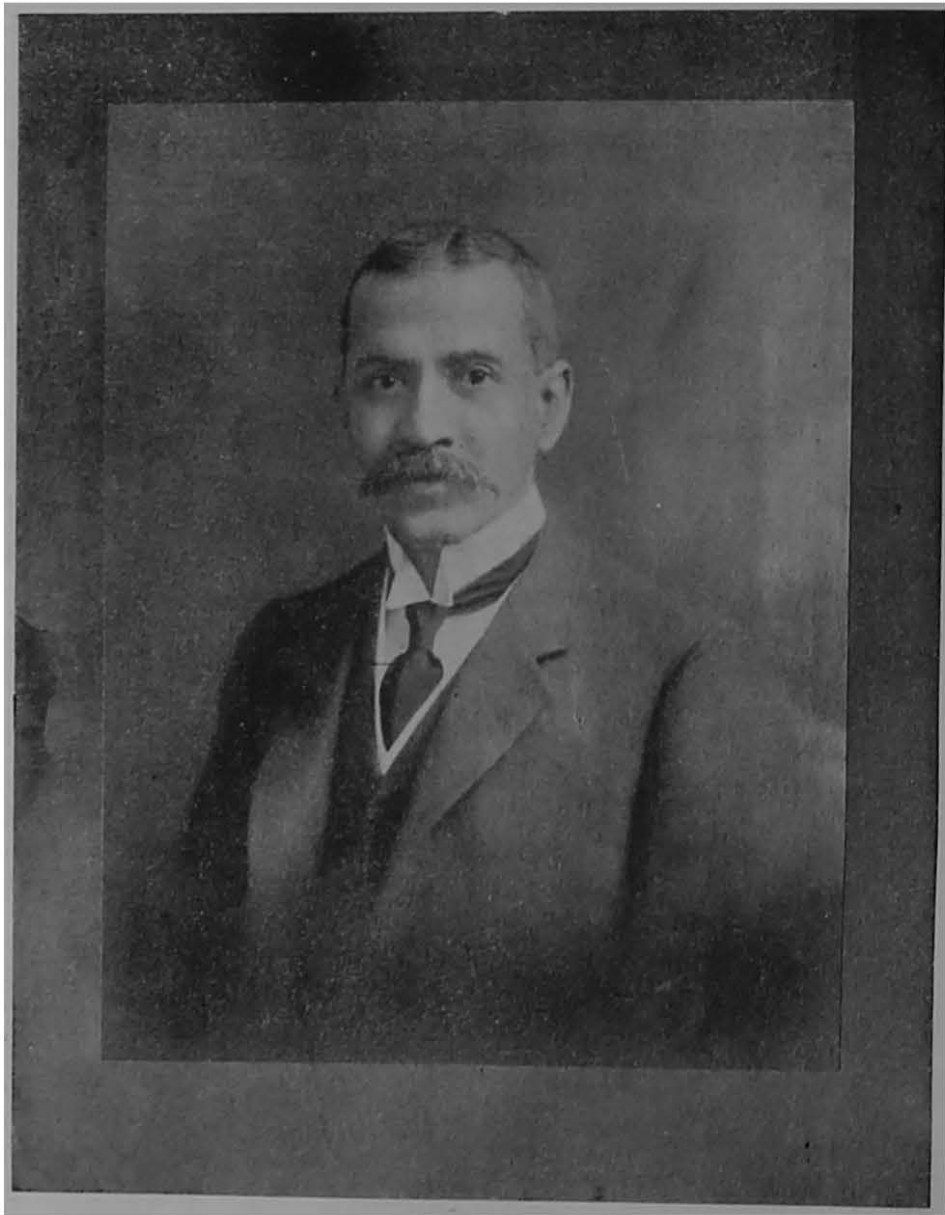
Chairman, Reception Committee,

30th Indian National Congress, 1915, Bombay.





The Hon'ble Mr. D. E. Wacha.
Chairman, Reception Committee,
30th Indian National Congress, 1915, Bombay.



The Hon'ble Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, Kt.
President, 30th Indian National Congress, 1915, Bombay.

Bombay Art Printing Works.

BOMBAY'S WELCOME TO THE PRESIDENT-ELECT.

A MOST CORDIAL AND ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION.

"Brother delegates, it was an ovation which Kings might have envied."—

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea.

The Welcome which Bombay gave to the Hon'ble Sir S. P. Sinha, Kt., President-elect of the 30th Indian National Congress, was so magnificent that it really beggars description. No one who has seen it will ever forget it. To those who were not privileged to witness it the following account may perhaps serve to give some idea of what it was like.

The President's train was timed to arrive at 1-30 P. M. on the 25th of December. A special platform at the eastern extremity of the Victoria Terminus Station was placed at the disposal of the Reception Committee by the Railway authorities and a batch of Congress Volunteers had taken possession of it from an early hour in the forenoon. Flags and bunting, the most prominent among which were the Union Jack and the Tri-coloured Stripes of our Gallant Allies, the French, lined the ceiling in tasteful abundance. A portion of the platform was reserved for the Reception Committee by a rope-railing. A few sofas and chairs and some pots of fresh foliage and the inevitable red cloth marked the place as prepared for a great event. Long before the scheduled time, large numbers of people gathered near the platform. The Volunteers guarded the rope-railing and tried their best to prevent outsiders from getting into the enclosed area. It was then announced by the Railway authorities that the train was late and would reach Bombay at about 4 P. M. The crowd began to swell enormously and by the time the train arrived at 4-15 P. M., the whole of the platform and the area around it was one seething mass of humanity. The members of the Reception Committee headed by their venerable Chairman, the Hon'ble Mr. D. E. Wacha, were on the platform awaiting the arrival of the train. So also were members of a Deputation from the Muslim League, headed by the Chairman of their Reception Committee, the Hon'ble Mr. Abdul Hussein. Adamji Peerbhoy. The Congress Volunteers and some of the Muslim League Volunteers were also in readiness to receive the President-elect. The train steamed in and there was such a tremendous rush from all sides that it was with great difficulty that the President-elect, who was garlanded on his alighting from the train, and the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea as also those on the platform who had come to receive them could find their way out. Sir S. P. Sinha was literally hurled into the car reserved for him. The Hon'ble Mr. Wacha, at that time with his eyesight impaired, was escorted somehow and deposited safely in one of the cars. For every one it was one of the greatest trials of his or her life. The energetic members of the Procession Sub-Committee had arranged the order in which the cars were to proceed and had allotted seats in each car to the principal officials of the Reception Committee. They had no idea of the magnitude of the confusion that awaited them. No pre-conceived plan could have met the situation brought about by this outburst of spontaneous enthusiasm on the part of the people

exceeding all expectations. Somehow, after much energetic elbowing, and in some cases not a little discomfort, each one of the principal officials got some place somewhere in the cars and the signal was given for the procession to start. It is remarkable that all this serious discomfort was endured by the thousands that had assembled at the Railway Station without the slightest complaint. So deeply were they all, men and women, Knights and Baronets, millionaires and multimillionaires, ladies of rank and position, drowned in the great tide of patriotic emotion which the arrival of their distinguished President-elect aroused in their minds. The signal for the procession to start was no doubt given, but the station yard, the grounds near the eastern gates of the Victoria Terminus and its northern approaches were converted into an impenetrable barricade of a compact mass of humanity, and great was the misgiving with which the organisers of the procession contemplated its march from the Railway grounds to the main road outside. And so was it all throughout the route, the more so in that part of it which lay through Sheikh Memon Street, Moti Bazar, and Bhuleshwar. Thousands and tens of thousands of people,—a seething, surging mass of humanity,—literally filled the streets. But somehow the people made way for the procession and the whole thing passed off without a hitch and without any serious accident, of which every one who was in the procession dreaded the possibility every moment. A batch of fifty Congress Volunteers on wheels led the way followed by a body of a hundred more, who walked on foot clearing the passage of the mass of men whose presence in the streets was a source of the deepest anxiety. The remaining 150 Volunteers had been sent ahead in batches to join the procession as it arrived at the places allotted to them. The pilot car occupied by the Chairman and Secretaries of the Procession Sub-Committee and a Captain of the Volunteers and a few others followed next. Immediately following the pilot car was the splendid car decorated with garlands of flowers and occupied by the President-elect, the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, Mr. H. A. Wadya and the other Captain of the Volunteers and some others. This was followed by the car in which were seated the Hon'ble Mr. Wacha and some of the Secretaries of the Congress. Several other cars followed one after another containing other Secretaries of the Congress, local worthies and other leading citizens. Thus the procession, at last, left the Railway yard, and commenced its journey through the streets amid the shouts of "hurrah" and the thundering applause of the assembled mass of men. On the road leading from the palatial building of the Municipal Corporation to the Crawford Market, the shop-keepers had profusely decorated their business premises with flags bearing inscriptions of welcome to the President. The manager of the Swadeshi Co-operative Stores was the first to greet the President with garlands of flowers. Next came the buildings of the Anjuman-i-Islam, in front of which were standing the Muslim League Volunteers, who gave a salute to the President, garlanded him and gave three hearty cheers as his car moved on. The manager of the Deccan Stores next garlanded the President and when the procession approached the Crawford Market, the fruit and flower merchants came with their presents of fruits and flowers to the President, and the procession then entered Sheikh Memon Street, from where to the end of Bhuleshwar, the whole route was converted into quite a fairy land. The streets were profusely and richly decorated throughout with flags, buntings and rich hangings of shop-materials interlaced with inscriptions on cloth in gold or red at

suitable intervals expressive of the patriotic feeling that the occasion inspired. The route lay through one of the richest and most active among the business quarters of the city, and the merchants and residents of the locality vied with each other in decorating their premises with their choicest articles, including pleasing Kashmir shawls of different colours and rich silks of various tints and dazzling golden brocades, which were the characteristic features of the decorations, especially in the Moti Bazaar, the great emporium of the pearl trade. The decorations all along the way were in complete harmony with the business of the locality. The vegetable vendors had their wreaths of vegetables and the sweetmeat shopkeepers their wreaths of sweets; the metal merchants had artistic wreaths of metalware hung across the streets; fancy cloths of different kinds, rich carpets of various elegant designs, photographs of Congress Presidents, betel-leaves, toys, glassware, and even account-books, so truly characteristic of commercial Bombay, were laid under requisition to add to the abundance of the variegated flags and buntings and arches throughout the streets. The flags and arches bore suitable inscriptions, too numerous to mention, the chief of which were:—"Long live King and Queen"; "Victory to the Allies"; "Victory to the cause of Righteousness"; "Hail Motherland"; "Hearty Welcome to Sir S. P. Sinha"; "God Bless the President of the 30th Congress"; "Bombay welcomes the first Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council"; "Salutations to the illustrious successor of Macaulay and Maine"; "Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, Christians are all children of the same Mother"; "Britain's cause is India's cause"; "Rally round the Congress Flag, Children of Hind"; "India aspires to have her right place in the Empire"; "India has responded right loyally and expects England to respond right royally." Let the reader add to this picturesque scene the stupendous mass of humanity in the streets, in the shops, in windows and balconies, on roofs, terraces and towers, leaving not an inch of space unoccupied, and picture also before his mind's eye joyous children in their holiday dress and ladies in their best attire of dazzling gold and all the colours of the rain-bow beaming out from the buildings on either side, some of them four storied and five storied high, and he will then have some idea of the gorgeous and bewitching panorama through which the President-elect and the procession passed. Every one of the spectators was eager to have the first glimpse of the chosen leader of their great national movement and to salute him. As the President's car approached each building, cheers and shouts of "hurrah" rent the air and the men, women and children respectfully saluted him. Sir S. P. Sinha stood up in his car all the time the procession passed through Sheikh Memon Street till it reached the C. P. Tank Road and returned the salutations on either side of the road bowing in the Hindu style with folded hands. It was a mode of acknowledgment truly expressive of the nobility of his character and his sincere humility and touched the hearts of the hundreds of thousands of persons who received his counter-salutations. Hardly had the wheels of the car taken a few turns, when struggling their way out through the mass of men in the streets, came a group of merchants or shopkeepers with floral offerings and rose-water and every time such parties approached,—and their number was to be counted by hundreds,—the car was stopped and the President-elect shook hands with the principal functionary, who sprinkled rose-water on him and either offered him his garland of flowers

or showered a basketful of flowers on him. At places, there were bands engaged by the people and they played a triumphal march welcoming the President as his car approached the building, the most noteworthy among these being the one engaged by the merchants of the Mangaldas Piece-goods Market. Thus the President's car slowly went on, laden with flowers, stopping and wheeling, wheeling and stopping, the President's party admiring the profuse decorations on the way and receiving demonstrations of confidence and devotion from all sections of the community and from every commercial and industrial interest congregated in that narrow street,—the centre of the inland commerce of the city, where, seated in their small rooms hardly a hundred square feet in area, the unpretending merchants carry on business transactions running into tens and hundreds of thousands a day. The passage in this street was punctuated almost every ten yards by garlanding parties often with a band playing in front of them and bringing offerings of their commodities in beautiful trays, all inspired by one motive and one only, namely, the worship of their illustrious President, symbolising, as he did for the occasion, the cause of Mother India espoused by the Indian National Congress. The procession then reached the Moti Bazaar, and the great merchants of the locality had, in their enthusiasm, made it in every way worthy of the occasion and worthy of their generous munificence. The decorations here were the richest of all. No word-painting, except perhaps from the gifted pen of a Kuskin, could do justice to the glittering and arresting scene. Costly silks and rich brocades, Kashmir shawls and Benares saris were hung across the street in dazzling splendour. And to crown all, when the President-elect reached the Offices of the Pearl Merchants' Association, **pearls and precious stones and artificial flowers of gold and silver, emblematic of cordial greetings, were showered on him** by Messrs. Mohanlal and Kanji, Messrs. Jayantilal & Co., Messrs. Narottamdas Bhow, and by the Zaveri Mandal. It was a sight for the gods to see. This was the climax of all the offerings made to the President throughout the route and he was visibly moved by this magnificent ovation. After this greeting, the President was welcomed and garlanded by a deputation from the Bombay Native Piece-goods Merchants' Association, which had superbly decorated their Bazaar with flags and buntings. The procession then passed on to the Bhuleshwar Road, at the entrance of which a beautiful arch was erected near the Bhuleshwar Market. Upon reaching the Bhuleshwar Road, not only was the President's car full of flowers but the three cars immediately following as also the pilot car in front were similarly full. Thus laden, the cars slowly proceeded, making their way with great difficulty through the dense crowds, who were undeterred by the chauffeur's constant sounding of the horn and the shouting of the Volunteers who all had, throughout the route, a very hard and trying task to perform in keeping off the crowds and preventing an accident, a work which they did with marvellous energy and tact. When the procession reached the Bhuleshwar Temple, the Priests came forward, chanted hymns and blessed the President-elect, invoking on him and the national cause he represented the blessings of Almighty God. A fancy garland of cardamoms and camphor was next presented to the President-elect by the Gandhis (vendors of spices and other groceries) of Bhuleshwar near the Khabutarkhana, the road near which had been decorated by them with artistic wreaths of their wares. At Hirachand

Building, the Secretary of the Aryan Union presented a bouquet of flowers on behalf of the Union and the people crowded there gave three cheers for the President. Then came the Jain Digambar Temple, which was also profusely decorated. The C. P. Tank Road and the Girgaon Back Road had their distinctive flags and buntings interspersed with inscriptions, some of which have been quoted above, demonstrating in an unmistakable manner the Intellectual background of the great welcome given by the patriotic citizens of Bombay to their distinguished President-elect. At the junction of Girgaon Back Road and Sandhurst Road, a beautiful arch had been erected near the Thackersey Mulji Sanatorium. Here the road being broad, ladies and gentlemen mostly from the west end part of the city had gathered to do honour to the President-elect, who was here garlanded, amid the prolonged cheering of the people around, by the Chairman of the Procession Sub-Committee, Mr. Hansraj Pragji Thackersey, to whom and to the energetic Secretary of the Sub-Committee, Mr. Motilal Vallabhji, the entire credit of the successful organisation of the procession is due. At this arch, the President-elect was then garlanded by several deputations, including that of the Servants of India Society. The procession, which took nearly two hours and a quarter to pass the route, terminated at the head of the Sandhurst Bridge, from where the cars moved briskly to the temporary residence of the President in the compound of H. H. The Maharaja Gaekwar's "Jaya Mahal Castle" on Nepean Sea Road.

Who could doubt or fail to understand the real import of this splendid ovation to the President-elect? The Hon'ble Mr. C. H. Setalvad, in moving the formal resolution requesting the President-elect to take the Chair, observed :—

"Gentlemen, the enthusiastic crowds that greeted the arrival of our worthy President (cheers), at the Railway Station and in the streets of Bombay throughout, demonstrated, if demonstration were needed, how high is the place the Congress continues to hold in the public mind." (*Applause*).

Mr. H. A. Wadya, in moving the vote of thanks to the President, referred to the demonstration and its significance in the following graphic and happy phraseology :—

My acquaintance with our President, ladies and gentlemen, was made under very strange circumstances. When our President arrived at the railway station, I went with you all to welcome him on behalf of this city; and the manner of my welcome was rather a perilous one. I was, as many of you were, rushed off my feet on the platform. I was luckily helped by a number of volunteers; I wish I could know their names or could remember their faces to thank them personally, for they saved me from being thrown off the platform; and the only escape they made for me was into the car of our President-elect. That is how I saw our President for the first time and made his acquaintance. It was a long acquaintance because we were in that car for two and a quarter hours together. I was there certainly an uninvited, an undesigned guest. But when I went with the President for those two and a quarter hours from Boribunder to Malabar Hill, what I witnessed in the streets of Bombay, in those crowded streets of our busy city, made me think of two things; first, it made me wish that those potent, grave and reverend good seniors, our great masters, who live on Himalayan heights and look down upon us in the plain below, and find that we are but a "microscopic minority," could have come and seen the way in which the President of the Congress was received in the streets of Bombay, not by hundreds, not by thousands, but by tens of thousands. (*Applause*). There

was evidence there of the "microscopic minority" which the Congress represents. The other thought that came upon me, ladies and gentlemen, was that fortunate was the man who could evoke from persons of every class, from men and women of this busy city in its crowded streets, such enthusiasm, such hopes, such aspirations, such offerings, and what was more, such blessings as I heard from different lips, from different classes of people—for the man who was to preside over this Congress. (*Applause*). That was indeed Sir Satyendra Sinha's good fortune. But, ladies and gentlemen, there was still greater good fortune for our President in this that all that was hoped of him that afternoon has been realised during these three days. (*Loud applause*).

Sir S. P. Sinha, in his concluding address, expressed in language of sincerity his "deep sense of gratitude" "for the kindness" shown to him and paid a high compliment to Bombay. He said:—

From the Railway Station up to now the kindness that I have received has been absolutely overwhelming and even if I had the sonorous eloquence of my friend Mr. Surendranath Banerjee (*applause*) or the silvery tones of my friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, I would be unable to express a hundredth part of the gratitude which I feel. I have received unbounded kindness not merely from the people but from the Ruling Chiefs and in particular one of the principal Ruling Chiefs of this Presidency, His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda (*applause*) in whose palatial house I have had the privilege of living during my stay in Bombay. High and low, young and old, man and woman, have vied with each other in showing me kindness. Pray accept in these poor words my deep sense of gratitude which I am unable to express more fully. And what shall I say about the Reception Committee? And these young gentlemen also whom I find before me—the Volunteers and their Captain—they have been ready to do every bidding of mine at any personal sacrifice and from morning till noon and from noon till night and past mid-night and almost till the morning, there have been numbers of them waiting to carry out any behest of mine. Fortunate do I consider myself in having lived to this day and never shall I forget it. (*Applause*). But pray do not imagine that I am wanting in that sense of humility which would convince any man that all this kindness is not due to any personal qualities, that it is not meant to be merely personal but that it is an index of your enthusiasm for the cause which is supposed to have waned.

Gentlemen, you in Bombay founded the Congress. The Congress held its first sittings here and to-day ends its thirtieth and not the least memorable sitting. It has been again held in Bombay. Bombay has set the political fashion and has been the leader of political thought in India not only for the last thirty years but for all the time that there has been any political thought in British India. "Long live Bombay," I say. (*Applause*).



RESOLUTIONS
PASSED AT THE
THIRTIETH
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
HELD AT BOMBAY,
on the 27th, 28th and 29th December 1915.

I.

The Late Mr. G. K. Gokhale.

This Congress desires to place on record its deep sense of the great loss the country has sustained by the death of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who was prematurely cut off in the midst of a career of great public usefulness. He enjoyed in an equal measure the confidence of the Government and the love of the people. His great abilities, combined with a rare modesty of character, his self-less devotion to the cause of his country and his inestimable services to the people will enshrine his name in their grateful recollections and will be an unfailing source of inspiration to distant generations of his countrymen.

[Put from the Chair.]

II.

The Late Mr. Keir Hardie.

This Congress desires to place on record India's great sorrow at the death of Keir Hardie, who, in and outside the House of Commons, rendered valuable services to this country which will be gratefully cherished by the people of India.

[Put from the Chair.]

III.

The Late Sir Henry Cotton.

This Congress places on record its deep sense of loss in the death of Sir Henry Cotton, whose active sympathy for the people of India and life-long devotion to the cause of Indian progress and good government will ever be remembered with gratitude in this country. His courageous advocacy of the cause of the Assam coolie will remain a memorable example of his undaunted courage and greatness of heart. He served India as faithfully in Parliament as he had done as a member of the Civil Service and India will long cherish his memory as a great administrator and a true friend.

[Put from the Chair.]

IV.

The Late Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta.

This Congress desires to express its profound sorrow at the death of Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta, who was one of its distinguished founders and staunchest supporters. His long and exceptional career in the Bombay Legislative Council, his remarkable work in the Imperial Legislative Council, and his other public activities, extending over a period of well nigh fifty years, were of the highest value to the country. His invaluable services in the cause of Local Self-Government, higher education and constitutional progress combined with a firm grasp of principles and broad outlook, made him one of the greatest and most brilliant of Indian leaders and will remain a splendid example and a rich heritage for the people of India whom he served with rare ability and disinterestedness, indomitable courage and sagacious statesmanship.

[Put from the Chair.]

V.

India's Loyalty.

This Congress places on record its profound sense of relief and thankfulness at the recovery of His Majesty the King-Emperor from his recent accident and respectfully begs to convey to His Majesty on behalf of the people of India, their deep loyalty and profound devotion to the Throne, their unswerving allegiance to the British connection and their firm resolve to stand by the Empire at all hazards and all costs.

[Put from the Chair.]

VI.

Success to Great Britain and her Allies in the present war.

This Congress places on record its abiding sense of the righteousness of the cause espoused by Great Britain and her Allies in support of the principles of liberty, justice and humanity, and while expressing its gratification and pride at the splendid achievements of the British Navy in consonance with its glorious traditions and at the heroism displayed by the British Indian and Colonial soldiers, earnestly prays that the cause of the Allies may be crowned with success.

[Put from the Chair.]

VII.

Extension of Lord Hardinge's Term of Office.

This Congress begs to place on record its sense of gratitude to His Majesty's Government for extending the term of office of

His Excellency Lord Hardinge as Viceroy of India till March next and prays that His Excellency's tenure of office may be extended till after the present crisis is over.

[*Put from the Chair.*]

VIII.

Military and Naval Training and Volunteering.

This Congress, while re-affirming its previous Resolutions on the subjects of Military training and Volunteering, urges on the Government

- (1) the justice and expediency of admitting Indians to Commissions in the Army and Navy and of throwing open to them the existing Military and Naval Schools and Colleges and of opening fresh ones in the country so that they may be trained for Military and Naval careers; and
- (2) the necessity of re-organizing the present system of volunteering with due regard to the right of the people of this country to enlist themselves as citizen-soldiers of the Empire without distinction of race, class or creed.

Proposed by Sir N. G. Chandavarker, Kt. (Bombay).

Secounded by The Hon'ble Mr. M. V. Joshi (Amraoti).

Supported by Mr. R. C. Bonerjee (Calcutta);

Lala M. Bahadur Chand (Lahore);

Mr. Venkatarreddi Nayudu (Madras); and

Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra (Lucknow).

IX.

The Arms Act.

In view of the hardship entailed by the Arms Act (XI of 1878) as at present administered and the rules made thereunder and the unmerited slur which it casts upon the people of this country, this Congress is of opinion that the said Act and the rules made thereunder should be so modified that any restrictions which may be considered necessary as to the possession and bearing and use of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India, and that all licenses should be liberally issued, shall not require renewal, shall operate within the whole of the province concerned and shall be revocable only on proof of misuse.

[*Put from the Chair.*]

“

X.

India and the Colonies.

This Congress regrets that the existing laws affecting Indians in South Africa and Canada have not, in spite of the liberal and imperialistic declarations of Colonial Statesmen, been justly and equitably administered and this Congress trusts that the Self-Governing Colonies will extend to the Indian emigrants equal rights with European emigrants and that the Imperial Government will use all possible means to secure the rights which have been hitherto unjustly withheld from them, thus causing widespread dissatisfaction and discontent.

Proposed by Mr. M. K. Gandhi (Ahmedabad).

Seconded by Mr. G. A. Natesan (Madras).

Supported by Mr. Jehangir B. Petit (Bombay); and
Mr. Arikshan Sinha (Behar).

XI.

Imperial Conference.

This Congress cordially thanks His Excellency the Viceroy for his statesmanlike support of the Resolution passed in the Imperial Legislative Council demanding on behalf of India, the right to be represented in the Imperial Conference. The Congress expresses the hope that the demand made by the unanimous voice of the Imperial Legislative Council on behalf of the people of India will meet with adequate response from the Dominions and the Imperial Government and urges that the persons selected to take part in the Conference on behalf of India should be two members at least to be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Council,

Proposed by Mr. B. G. Horniman (Bombay).

Seconded by The Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Row
(Madras).

Supported by Mr. D. C. Ghose (Calcutta).

XII.

Executive Council for the United Provinces.

This Congress enters its emphatic protest against the action of the House of Lords in rejecting the proposal for the establishment of an Executive Council in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and it strongly urges that the status of the United Provinces be raised to that of a Presidency under a Governor-in-Council with at least one Indian Member of the Council.

Proposed by The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru
(Allahabad).

Seconded by The Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel (Bombay).

Supported by Mr. K. B. Dutt (Calcutta) and
Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar (Madras).

XIII.

Abolition of Indentured Labour.

This Congress re-affirms its Resolution passed at its last session against the system of Indentured Labour and urges its abolition as early as possible, the system being a form of slavery which socially and politically debases the labourers and is seriously detrimental to the economic and moral interests of the country.

Proposed by The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri
(Madras).

Seconded by Mr. V. N. Tivari (Allahabad).

Supported by Mr. M. K. Padhye (Nagpur, C. P.)

XIV.

Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions.

This Congress concurring with previous Congresses urges the early separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the interests of justice and purity of administration and prays that any scheme of separation that may be undertaken, to be really effective, must place all the judiciary solely under the control of the highest Court in every province and further this Congress emphasises the necessity for the creation of a Judicial Service separate from and independent of the Indian Civil Service, to be recruited partly by competitive examination and partly from the legal profession.

[*Put from the Chair.*]

XV.

High Courts for the Punjab & other Provinces.

This Congress re-affirms its resolution that it is desirable to invest the Chief Courts of the Punjab, Burma and the Central Provinces with the status and powers of Chartered High Courts and while praying that early steps may be taken by the Secretary of State for India for the introduction of this urgent reform, regrets that the recommendations of the Local Government and the Government of India in that behalf in regard to the Punjab have been rejected by the Secretary of State.

Proposed by Lala Nanak Chand (Lahore).

Seconded by Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit (Nagpur, C. P.).

Supported by Dr. P. J. Mehta (Rangoon).

XVI.

The Swadeshi Movement.

This Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi movement and calls upon the people of India to labour for its success by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous Industries by giving preference, wherever practicable, to Indian products over imported commodities even at a sacrifice.

Proposed by Mr. K. H. Vakil (Bombay).

Seconded by Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu (Calcutta).

Supported by Mr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya (Masulipattam)
and Seth Damodardas Rathi
(Beavour, Ajmere-Merwara.)

XVII.

The Press Act.

This Congress reiterates its protest against the continuation of the Indian Press Act on the Statute Book and urges that the same be repealed.

Proposed by Mr. B. G. Horniman (Bombay).

Seconded by Mr. I. B. Sen (Calcutta).

Supported by Mr. K. N. Aiyar (Madras.)

XVIII.

Fiscal Freedom.

That the Congress is of opinion that in the best interests of the people of India it is necessary that complete fiscal freedom in special reference to import, export and excise duties should now be conceded to the Government of India.

Proposed by The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, Kt.
(Bombay).

Seconded by Prof. V. G. Kale (Poona).

Supported by Mr. A. P. Patro (Berhampore, Madras).

XIX.

Self-Government.

That this Congress is of opinion that the time has arrived to introduce further and substantial measures of reform towards the

attainment of Self-Government as defined in Article I* of its Constitution, namely, reforming and liberalising the system of Government in this country so as to secure to the people an effective control over it, amongst others, by

- (a) The introduction of Provincial autonomy including financial independence ;
- (b) Expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils so as to make them truly and adequately representative of all sections of the people and to give them an effective control over the acts of the Executive Government ;
- (c) The re-construction of the various existing Executive Councils and the establishment of similar Executive Councils in Provinces where they do not exist ;
- (d) The reform or the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India ;
- (e) Establishment of Legislative Councils in Provinces where they do not now exist ;
- (f) The readjustment of the relations between the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India ; and
- (g) A liberal measure of Local Self-Government.

That this Congress authorises the All-India Congress Committee to frame a scheme of reform and a programme of continuous work, educative and propagandist, having regard to the principles embodied in this Resolution and further authorises the said Committee to confer with the Committee that may be appointed by the All-India Moslem League for the same purpose and to take such further measures as may be necessary ; the said Committee to submit its report on or before the 1st of September 1916 to the General Secretaries, who shall circulate it to the different Provincial Congress Committees as early as possible.

*ARTICLE I.

The Objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing Members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those Members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country.

Proposed by The Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea
(Calcutta).

Seconded by Mrs. Annie Besant (Madras and U. P.).

Supported by The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, Kt.,
(Bombay);

Dewan Bahadur L.A. Govindaraghava Aiyar
(Madras);

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (Hyderabad, Deccan);

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar
(Amraoti); and

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan
Malaviya (Allahabad).

XX.

Land Settlement.

This Congress is strongly of opinion that a reasonable and definite limit should be put to the demand of the State on land and that the permanent settlement should be introduced in all areas, Ryotwari or Zemindari, where that settlement is not in force, creating fixity of tenure for occupants, wherever possible, and that if the Government does not see its way to the introduction of such settlement, a settlement for a period of not less than 60 years should be introduced.

The Congress is further of opinion that effect should be given to the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Decentralization, that the general principles of land revenue assessment should be embodied in provincial legislation and that such legislation should state specifically the limit of enhancement of assessment, if any.

Proposed by The Hon'ble Mr. K. Chidambarnatha
Mudaliyar (Madras).

Seconded by Rai Bahadur Hiranand Khemsing
(Hyderabad, Sind).

Supported by Rai Saheb Lakshmi Narayan (Kampti, C. P.).

XXI.

Industrial Development.

This Congress, while expressing its appreciation of the action taken by Government for the industrial development of the country, is of opinion that the measures adopted hitherto are inadequate to meet the requirements of the situation and expresses its conviction that for removing the industrial backwardness of India it is necessary

- (a) that far greater provision than exists at present should be made for industrial and technical education by the establishment of a technological

faculty at the principal Indian Universities, by establishing institutes of research and attaching fellowships thereto, by the development of existing technical institutions and the opening of new ones and the gradual introduction of elementary technical instruction in primary and secondary schools ;

- (b) that fiscal autonomy should be granted to India in regard to the levying of duties both on imports and exports ;
- (c) that industrial Advisory Committees should be appointed for each province to co-operate with the Department of Industry in that province, one of whose functions should be to direct the pioneering of new industries ;
- (d) that artificial and unjust barriers like Excise duties on cotton goods and the differential rates for Railway consignment, which favour the foreign manufacturer at the expense of the indigenous manufacturer, should be removed.

Proposed by The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar
(Amraoti).

Seconded by The Hon'ble Sri K. R. V. Krishna Rao Bahadur (Madras).

Supported by The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Dwarka Nath
(Behar).

XXII.

Indian Students in the United Kingdom.

This Congress while strongly disapproving of the existence of the Indian Students' Department in England, as it is at present constituted, and its methods of working, earnestly draws the attention of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State for India to the growing discontent among Indian students in the United Kingdom caused by the increasing tendency on the part of the Educational institutions there to restrict the admission of the Indian students and by the unfair and differential treatment accorded to them after their admission to such institutions, and urges the Secretary of State for India to use his influence, authority and power towards securing equality of treatment and opportunity for them.

Proposed by The Hon'ble Principal R. P. Paranjpye
(Poona).

Seconded by Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta (Bombay).

Supported by Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta (Bombay).

XXIII.

General Secretaries.

That the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahommed Bahadur and Mr. N. Subba Rao be appointed General Secretaries of the Congress for the year 1916.

[*Put from the Chair.*]

XXIV.

The British Congress Committee.

This Congress records its sense of high appreciation of the services of Sir William Wedderburn and other Members of the British Committee and resolves that the organization of the British Committee and "India" should be maintained.

[*Put from the Chair.*]

XXV.

Amendments to the Constitution.

Add the following at the end of Article XX :—

"(6.) Public meetings convened under the auspices of any Association which is of not less than two years' standing on the 31st December 1915 and which has as one of its objects the attainment of Self-Government by India on Colonial lines within the British Empire by constitutional means ;

Provided

- (a) That the said Association by a special resolution accepts Article I of the Congress Constitution and notifies to that effect to the Provincial Congress Committee of the Province to which it belongs.
- (b) That the said Association makes the acceptance of the said Article I a condition precedent to new membership.
- (c) That the total number of the delegates to be elected by such public meeting shall not exceed 15 in number and no such Association shall be entitled to call more than one public meeting for the said purposes for any one session of the Congress.

But this however will be subject to the right of the All-India Congress Committee to disqualify any such political Association or Body at any time.

Explanation :—No person elected as a Delegate need be a member of any Congress Committee if he is otherwise qualified.”

Art. III. (a) Substitute “place” for “town.”

Art. VI. Omit the word “United” before the word “Bengal,” and make the same alteration in other Articles wherever the expression “United Bengal” occurs.

At the end of Article VI add the following :—

“For this purpose Coorg and the areas administered by the British Government in the Nizam’s Dominions, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, shall belong to Madras; similar areas in Baroda and Kathiawar and Southern Maratha States to Bombay; Assam to Bengal; Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, and the areas administered by the British Government in Rajputana to the United Provinces; British Baluchistan to the Punjab; areas administered by the British Government in Central India to the Central Provinces.”

Art. XXIII (a) After “shall” insert the words “as far as possible,” wherever the word “shall” occurs in the first sentence of the Article.

Art. XXVIII. Omit the word “half” before the words “the amount of the fees.”

Art. XXIX. (a) Omit the word “previously” in the last but one line, and add “and be presented to the Congress.”

[*Put from the Chair.*]

XXVI.

Next Congress.

That the next session of the Indian National Congress be held at Lucknow in December 1916.

Proposed by The Hon’ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya
(Allahabad).

Seconded by Pandit Ikbāl Narayan Masaldan (Lucknow).

XXVII.

Vote of Thanks to the President.

Proposed by Mr. H. A. Wadya (Bombay).

Seconded by Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, Kt. (Bombay).

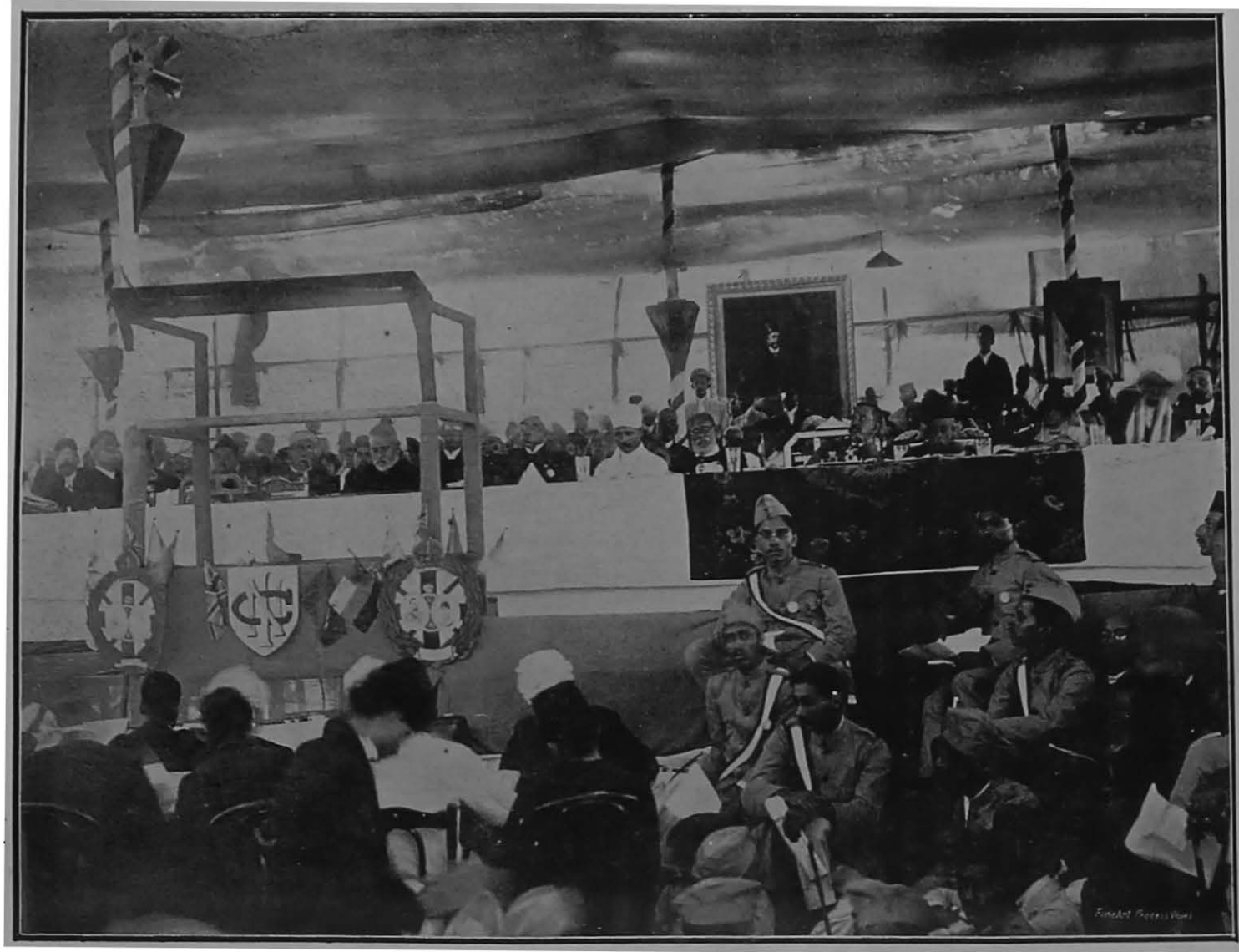




President, Chairman of the Reception Committee, Ex-Presidents, Office-bearers of the Congress &c. &c.
(Before starting for the Congress Pavilion in procession.)
(30th Indian National Congress, 1915, Bombay.)

The Bombay Art Printing Works, Fort.

Photo by- Bourne & Shephard, Bombay.



View of the Congress Sitting.
(30th Indian National Congress, 1915, Bombay.)

The Bombay Art Printing Works, Fort.

Photo by—Manaberdas & Co., Nagpur.

The Indian National Congress.

THE 30th SESSION.

Monday, the 27th December 1915.

OPENING DAY.

The 30th Session of the Indian National Congress assembled in Bombay on Monday, the 27th December 1915, in the spacious pavilion specially erected for the occasion on the Marine Lines Maidan, close to the Church Gate Railway Station. The spacious pavilion, which was tastefully decorated, was most admirably adapted for its purposes and it was fitted up with the necessary requirements, including revolving electric fans fixed to posts, to secure the convenience of the record gathering which characterised the Congress session at Bombay. The pavilion was flat-roofed and well ventilated on all sides, giving free access to light and air. The ceiling was elegantly draped in spotless white; and the decorations of the pandal were in colours of yellow and black and those of the pillars that supported it were in black and white, the preponderance of black at once recalling to the memory of those present the shadow of the double calamity under which the Congress met this year at Bombay, the country having been deprived by the cruel hand of death of two of her greatest sons, Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta and Mr. G. K. Gokhale. The seating accommodation was arranged fan-wise in front of the platform, which ran from North to South, as this was considered the best possible arrangement for a speaker to be heard by a very large gathering. At the entrances to the pandal were put up inscriptions "Long Life to the King Emperor"; "God bless the King Emperor, Protector of India's Rights"; and in memory of the two great departed was another inscription "India weeps for the loss of two of her greatest patriots", which was explained by the two portraits which were hung on the platform, one of Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta and the other of Mr. G. K. Gokhale.

Opening of
the Session.

On the platform were accommodated the Members of the Reception Committee, distinguished visitors, leading Congressmen and a very large number of ladies: while the main body of the hall was reserved for delegates and was roped off into different blocks, one for each Province. A special block nearest to the platform was provided for the representatives of the Moslem League who attended in large numbers. The rest of the pavilion was thrown open to visitors who paid for their seats and of whom there were about eight thousand. The number of delegates on the opening day was estimated at over 2,250, vastly exceeding the number ever reached in the previous history of the Congress.

Opening of
the Session.

Precisely at 1 P. M. Sir S. P. Sinha, the President-elect of the Congress, supported on the arm of the Hon'ble Mr. D. E. Wacha, Chairman of the Reception Committee, entered the pavilion in a procession headed by the volunteers and the Secretaries of the Reception Committee, and followed by the Vice-Presidents of the Reception Committee and the Ex-Presidents of the Congress, who were present on the occasion. As the President-elect passed through the pavilion, a wave of enthusiasm spread over the whole assembly, who rose to their feet and vociferously cheered him as he ascended the platform and took the seat.

The first row on the platform was occupied by the Hon'ble Mr. D. E. Wacha, the Hon'ble Mr. Mazar-ul-Haque, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, the Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu, Lala Harkishen Lal, the Hon'ble Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas and Mrs. Annie Besant, who were seated on the right of the President-elect and the Hon'ble Babu Surendranath Banerjea, the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahomed Bahadur, Mr. N. Suba Rao Pantulu, Sir Dinshaw M. Petit, Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Mr. D. A. Khare, Mr. Hormusji A. Wadia and Mr. M. K. Gandhi who were seated on the left of the President elect.

Among others seated on the platform were :—

The Hon'ble Mr. M. B. Chaubal, the Hon'ble Sir Jamsetji Jeejeebhoy, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice L. A. Shah, Sir Dorab Tata, Lady Tata ; Sir P. D. Pattani, Mr. R. J. Tata and Mrs. Tata, the Hon'ble Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Mr. J. B. Petit, the Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the Hon'ble Mr. Abdul Hussain Adamjee Peerbhoy, the Hon'ble Mr. N. M. Samarth, Mr. N. V. Gokhale, the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar, the Hon'ble Mr. Ramchandra Rao, Dewan Bahadur Govinda Das Chathurbuja Das, the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma, Miss D. E. Wacha, Mr. Amiruddin Tyebji, Miss H. F. Petit, the Hon'ble Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, Mr. S. Sinha, Mr. Kazi Kabiruddin, Rai Bahadur Baikuntha Nath Sen, the Hon'ble Mr. M. P. De Webb, Mr. B. G. Horniman, Mr. S. R. Das, Mr. B. L. Mitter, Mr. Hemendranath Sen, Mr. Kishori Mohan Chowdhri, Mr. Satyananda Bose, Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitter, Mr. Prithvis Chandra Ray, Mr. Jitendra Lal Bannerjee, Mr. K. B. Dutt, the Hon'ble Dr. Nilaratna Sarkar, Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, Mr. Surandranath Mallick, Mr. Purushotamdas Thakoredas, Mr. Jehangir M. Mehta, Mr G. A. Natesan, Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dr. M. Krishnaswami Aiyar, the Hon'ble Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar, the Hon'ble Mr. K. R. V. Krishna Row, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Mr. C. M. Cursetji.

As soon as the President-elect and other leading Congressmen had taken their seats, the proceedings commenced with the singing of the following song by a group of Indian Ladies, the pupils of the Gandharva Maha Vidyalaya, Bombay, to the accompaniment of the Harmonium :—

Opening of
the Session.

राग—पहाडी छाया लगत्व. ताल—केरवा.
आवो आवो सकल भारत-कुमार,
तज मान मोहो मद अहंकार
हुआ दरशनसे आनंद अपार ॥
यह धन्य देश और धन्य काल,
जहां मिले बन्धु सत्र उर विशाल,
स्थिर रखे ईश यह सद्विचार ॥ १ ॥
निर्वल निर्धन सब निःसहाय
बिन ऐक्य नहीं अब कुछ उपाय
अब तो ममता काजि प्रचार ॥ २ ॥
दुखसे बचनेका मार्ग एक,
अपनेपनकी सब गहो टेक
निश्चय होगा फिर जय-जय-कार ॥ ३ ॥

The Hon'ble Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, Chairman of the Reception Committee, on rising to welcome the delegates was received with an outburst of applause and he made the following prefatory remarks before calling upon his son Mr. K. D. Wacha, to read the inaugural address on his behalf.

Address of
the Hon.
Mr. D. E.
Wacha,
Chairman
of the
Reception
Committee.

“ To-day opens the 30th Session of the Indian National Congress. On behalf of the Reception Committee, I have the honour and the privilege to offer to you my most cordial welcome for your kind attendance in such large numbers. It is now twelve months only since it met at Madras, but the Congress is now overwhelmed with a great domestic calamity unprecedented in its annals. Three stars of the first magnitude, who shone steadfastly and brilliantly in the firmament of the Congress, have set, alas, to rise no more. A cruel stroke of fate has deprived us of three of our most distinguished colleagues and co-workers—Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Sir Henry Cotton, and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. India weeps and mourns; her tears are not yet dried. Our loss is indeed great; but we have this melancholy reflection that their work will endure. They died nobly, doing the noblest work in the cause of this country. Their loss is, in a way, our gain so far as the work itself is concerned. They have bequeathed to us a priceless inheritance, an inheritance which it ought to be the sacred duty of ours to conserve and to guard and even to enrich. It is the only and the best way in which we can cherish and respect the memory of those stalwarts who have gone.

Having said so much, I will now add to this preamble one personal appeal, and it is this: I have transgressed the laws of nature and nature has punished me for that transgression. I am disabled by my eye-sight—so disabled that I shall not have the

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pleasure of reading to you my address which with your permission I will ask my dear son to read out to you. (Cheers). I am confident that you will kindly give him a hearing as you would have kindly given me. With these words I will ask Wacha the junior to voice the views of Wacha the senior. (Applause.)

Mr. Kaikhusru D. Wacha then read the following address of welcome on behalf of his father :—

BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Though we are meeting to-day in this great "Unconventional Convention" under the dark shadow of a triple tragedy, unprecedented in its thirty years' history and though the dismal clouds of war still hang over the Empire like a vast funereal pall, I feel it my duty and a great honour and privilege, delegates to the Thirtieth Indian National Congress, to offer you, on behalf of the Reception Committee, a most hearty and cordial welcome. I know that you have responded in such strength and numbers at nothing else than the simple call of Duty. In the present condition of mental anguish and pain at the three lamentable events of a heart-rending character which have occurred within the short space of ten months, it is indeed a source of solace and comfort to see around me some old friends yet of the Congress in its earliest stages, friends, alas, too few but still spared to march in the vanguard of leaders and bravely to hold aloft the sacred Standard of the Congress on which are inscribed in indelible letters the watchwords of Liberty, Progress, and National Unity, which in the fulness of time are destined to lead us to the cherished goal of Self-Government under the beneficent ægis of the great Anglo-Saxon race in whose hands an inscrutable Providence has for so long happily entrusted the destinies of the millions of this great country.

It is indeed to me, personally, an exceedingly sad reflection, in the midst of the mournful circumstances that have occurred, that so many of the founders of the Congress which took its birth in this City just thirty years ago, have, alas, gone to their last resting place. Many have gone full of years and honours, a few before their time, and some at a time when their need was the sorest. The Congress can never forget the name of Allan Octavian Hume (applause) who was indeed its father. Neither can it be ever oblivious of the memory of his earlier colleagues in the great national work, colleagues like W. C. Bonnerji, (applause) K. T. Telang, Ananda Mohan Bose, Badrudin Tyebji, Ananda Charlu, Rangaya Naidu, Pandit Ajodhya Nath, Ganga Prasad Varma and others (applause). But it was a cruel stroke of fate that deprived us at the beginning of this year, of the youngest but the most faithful and indefatigable of workers in the person of the good and gentle Gopal Krishna Gokhale (applause). As if that was not enough, the hand of the Reaper deprived us only two months

ago, as if in electric succession within eight days of each other, first of that great and sympathetic Englishman, no other than Sir Henry Cotton, (applause) whose love for the people of this country in which he was born was as great as the zeal, loyalty and statesmanship with which he served his Government. And lastly, Sir Pherozechah Mehta, (applause) whose swift and sudden death has not yet dried the tears of millions of his countrymen whom he served so uninterruptedly and selflessly for well nigh half a century. The whole country laments the death of these three great pillars of the Congress, and its people smite their heaving breasts with cruel blows. To me, I assure you, the shock, coming as it does in the autumn of my life, has been so great that I feel dazed. It is impossible to realise the loss which the motherland has sustained by the death of her three sterling sons, I seem to hear all around convulsive sobs and grievous moans. Never before had we to mourn such a triple tragedy. All that could be said in appreciation of these sturdy Congressmen has been ere now said to full and overflowing. However, the many eulogies and panegyrics that have been pronounced seem to act on those who survive like those dull narcotics numbing pain of which the Poet has sung in his doleful elegy. It has been said that those who die nobly have not lived in vain. That sentiment might, with absolute truth, be predicated of the three who have gone, we fervently hope, to swell the fulness of the eternal psalm and to ripen slowly to a higher birth. No storied urn or animated bust will ever bring the spirits of these dear departed friends—the benefactors of the Indian race—back to their mansions, but their good deeds will live from generation to generation in the hearts of the people. They have left foot-prints which the present and coming generations might in all humility tread if they wish to lead their country to a higher destiny.

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While warmly welcoming you all, brother delegates, at this Congress, allow me, please, to tell you at the very outset that conscious as I am of my poverty to emulate the wealth of intellect of Sir Pherozechah Mehta, his elegant diction, the stately dignity of his sonorous sentences, his penetrating political insight and sagacious statesmanship and above all, his ringing eloquence combined with the charm of his magnetic personality, I crave your indulgence and patience, whilst standing in his place as Chairman of the Reception Committee, to give my own homely thoughts in my own simple language. First of all, I cannot but echo the sentiments and feelings which have prevailed and are still prevailing among millions of the population whose representatives you are in this great assemblage from far and near, from the farthest confines of the country to those of this Presidency and the City, regarding this terrible war raging on the Continents of Europe, Asia and Africa. It is a monster scourge, un-

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recorded in the history of the world, ancient or modern, the end of which not even the most prophetic eye is yet able to foresee. But we are all confident that the end, whenever it comes, will be a triumph of those who are fighting for the emancipation of oppressed nationalities (applause) from the barbaric militarism and tyranny of those who vainly aspire in their lust of unconquerable ambition for a world empire, undreamt of even by him who had conquered the ancient world. In this great mortal combat, England once more has drawn her sword, as she did a century ago, but with the added strength of the entire Empire which is under her sway. Nobly have the daughter colonies from Canada to Australia come to her support with a spirit of burning patriotism which shall go down as a bright page in history. And equally nobly have the teeming millions of India rallied round her glorious Standard and the bravest of them are shedding their life blood for the cause of the same freedom which they know is so important and invaluable for their own progressive civilization. (applause). The sterling loyalty of the Indians has been demonstrated to the hilt, while the sceptics and the scoffers who loudly lisped of their so-called lip-loyalty have been silenced. Such indeed is the time's spirit and such is the one imperishable lesson it has taught. Princes and people alike have vied with one another with a united heart and identity of purpose and interest to prove to the great British nation their gratitude for peace and blessings of civilization secured to them under its benign ægis for the last hundred and fifty years and more. Who could have dreamt three years ago that India's indigenous sons would go forward and take their place in the fighting line, side by side with the Armies of Britain and her Allies on the soil of Europe and that they would achieve those miracles of valour which the Generalissimo of the Army, Sir John French, has nobly recorded in words not to be mistaken and which have been so generously accentuated by our Most gracious Majesty the King Emperor himself (applause). India is fully prepared to undergo every form of sacrifice which her rulers may demand and that not with the remotest idea of boons political or any other in the near future but actuated only by the one overpowering motive of standing by their side in this their greatest hour of world crisis, on the ultimate issue of which hangs the future weal or woe of human liberty in the entire civilised world (applause). It is in this spirit of loyalty and devotion that the Princes and people of India are working and shall work, I am perfectly confident, till the arms of Britain and her Allies have achieved their glorious triumph. As sure as day, the Teuton is being driven to his destiny. As a writer prophetically said some years ago "the stone throne of Germany with its feet of cannon balls is part of the befitting and to be expected destiny of the Hohenzolerns as Sedan is the natural end of the Napoleons." In connection with this war there is but one serious disappointment to which I cannot refrain from making

reference in this place. Many an enlightened and intelligent person, irrespective of caste or creed, in every province of the Indian Empire, has applied from the very date of the declaration of war, to go to the front and fight side by side with the soldiers of the regular Indian Army. Even to-day thousands on thousands are willing and ready to take up arms in the great cause for which the Allies are fighting. But unfortunately, the permanent Bureaucracy of the land have sternly, if politely, refused these applications, the why and the wherefore of which has never been made known. It is this attitude of the Government, in the midst of the great tragic crisis, that has given the bitterest disappointment to which many a leading organ of public opinion has given full expression. Russia, which has millions of population, but less numerous than that of India, has already raised and is still raising a popular army full of ardour and patriotism to overcome the forces of the modern Vandals who are such enemies of liberty and freedom. The Colonies are similarly raising corps after corps to give succour to the mother country, but strange to say that while millions in India are on the *qui vive* to offer their services, a kind of proscription has gone forth from the Governing Authorities that they shall not be enrolled. This is indeed an un-English attitude which is irreconcilable with the entire policy of British Administration in every other part of the Empire. I am only echoing the universal sentiments and feelings of our countrymen when I venture to say in this place that the Rulers of India still seem to mistrust the people. I will not enlarge on this subject, but I do trust and hope that wiser counsels will prevail at the seat of Government and a broad and statesmanlike policy will be soon adopted which will dismiss for ever this un-English spirit of mistrust and remove that galling disappointment which millions feel. Our Rulers have only to read aright the statesmanlike policy which Imperial Rome adopted, the policy that welded together the various subject races under her sway from distant Britain and Gaul to Mesopotamia and Persia and armed them to the teeth to support her invincible Standard against every foe of the Empire. Surely, what Imperial Rome did, in the days of the zenith of her military glory, can be wisely and unhesitatingly followed to-day by the great British Empire which in its extent far surpasses that of the ancient Mistress of the world, stretches as it almost does from one end of the globe to the other. Is it necessary to say that with the millions of this country enrolled for war service, England can oppose her enemies, if need be, for the next quarter of a century without exhaustion? The British Government need never think of compulsory military service in the old country which has already sacrificed almost the whole flower of her manhood and youth, if it only contemplated without the least spirit of misgiving the overwhelming strength which could be secured by turning the Indian population into a voluntary army which might astonish, if not stagger, humanity. (Applause).

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Virility in a people is as much essential as material prosperity to their orderly and healthy progress. There should be a happy co-ordination of the arts of war and peace. Material prosperity alone is prone to lead to effeminacy or as the poet has said "men decay where wealth accumulates." So too excessive exercise of virility alone is unproductive of prosperity and often leads to stagnation if not arrest of all social progress and welfare. History teaches us that that nation survives the longest which possesses in itself the elements of virility and material prosperity in the highest degree. Indeed, Great Britain has herself shown to the world, in this unhappy war, a brilliant instance of what co-ordination of great wealth and material resources with a spirit of virility can achieve. Are we not entitled to say that it is this co-ordination alone that has enabled her to raise the large army of over three millions without any previous compulsory military service? Wealth alone at this hour could not have accomplished this miracle which is the admiration of the world. Side by side with her material prosperity was to be discerned all through that fostering and stimulating of the soldierly spirit in her militia first, in her volunteers next, and lastly, in her territorials. We all devoutly hope that, profiting by this great achievement, Great Britain will not deny any further to the Indian people the exercise of arms, the want of which for so many years, has led to their emasculation. (Applause).

Leaving now this external factor which, at present, dominates the people of this country with one heart and one mind, let me take note of some of the outstanding domestic factors which have moulded her destiny for the better during the eleven eventful years since our great National Convention last assembled in this city. First and foremost must be noticed the Morley-Minto Reform which has greatly expanded the Constitution of the older Legislative Councils that had been brought into existence since 1892. And though the elective basis has not yet been fully recognised in response to the universal voice of the people, we have, with our characteristic spirit of contentment, accepted the homeopathic dose of popular reform which the combined statesmanship of Lords Morley and Minto have vouchsafed to us. We are thankful for the privilege accorded to us for a freer discussion of the Budget, though here too the niggardliness of the boon is plainly discernible. A popular budget in the sense that it is known in Great Britain is yet a possibility only of the future. There is yet no element of democratisation in the method and manner in which the different Legislative Councils are privileged to prepare and discuss it. The Annual Budget in no way reflects popular wants and wishes. It is still the child of the single individual who is entrusted with the portfolio of Finance tempered only by the light of such criticism as may be thrown on it by the representatives of the people. As yet there is no

attempt of a serious character based on a deliberate policy of the decentralisation of Imperial Finance. Neither is its provincial finance so far decentralised as to give a free and healthy movement to local self-government. Centralisation seems to be still stereotyped and I need not tarry to inform you how chilling, nay, petrifying, is its effect on the economic welfare of the people. Apart from the niggardly boon accorded for the discussion of the budget in the Imperial and Provincial Councils and the privilege of moving Resolutions, there is nothing special to which we can refer. The Morley-Minto Reform is only an outer crust of the bread for which the people are still crying. We are, however, thankful that the privilege has been accorded of two Indians obtaining seats in the India Council and of one Indian being associated in the Executive Council of the Imperial and Provincial Governments. But here, too, the method and manner of appointment by nomination is deemed to be far from satisfactory, for the people have absolutely no voice in their nomination. Thus, if we consider the principal features of the Morley-Minto Reform we find that they are so exceedingly defective and hardly in harmony with the growing popular sentiment and wishes that it is inevitable that sooner or later the defects which presently accompany them will have to be removed.

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The other features which have distinguished the decade may be very briefly referred to here. Just as the Congress had for long voiced the reform of Legislative Councils on an elective basis, so did it in the first instance crystallise on its own platform the popular demand for decentralization of the administration generally. Next, the expediency of extending the higher offices of the State to Indians in harmony with their greater progress and lastly the enforcement of the equal rights and privileges of Indians as citizens of the British Empire in the overseas dominions of Great Britain. As to the Decentralization Commission, of which our distinguished countryman, the late lamented Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt was one of its conspicuous members, you are all aware of the mass of evidence taken by it in this country some years ago. Their report in ten volumes has long since been published but we have not yet seen any finality thereon from the Imperial Government. As a matter of fact, it would seem that the mountain has laboured only to produce a ridiculous mouse. To the Indian population at large, who anticipated some important recommendation therefrom of a far reaching character, the Resolution of the Imperial Government is a great disappointment. Practically it is only right to say that Decentralization has made no progress whatever and the matter stands where it was before the Commission was appointed. But it is not for me to say what has often been said of Royal Commissions that they are generally known to be devices for shelving difficult or inconvenient problems. They seldom solve them.

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Their character has been well typified in the following couplet :—

“ Promise, pause, prepare, postpone,
And end by letting things alone.”

As to the report of the Public Services Commission, of which the late brilliant Mr. Gokhale was its most prominent Indian member, it has for the present not been allowed to see the light of the day and it is useless, therefore, to speculate on the recommendations which the Commissioners, like the Macbethian Witches, may have secretly boiled down in their cauldron for our weal or woe. All that we may wish for is, that when published, it will in no way give rise to discontent leading to fresh agitation. In this matter of the Public Services no finality can ever be reached, be there as many Royal Commissions or other devices, so long as Indians are deliberately balked under various pretext of their legitimate aspirations and ambitions. (Applause).

Lastly, it is a matter of great satisfaction that the deep and abiding sympathy of our beloved Viceroy Lord Hardinge (applause) has been so greatly instrumental in having a Commission appointed which has led to a fairly satisfactory settlement of the problem which has so long rankled in the heart of every Indian at the hardship, injustice and disabilities to which our countrymen were subjected in South Africa. The sagacity which prompted Lord Hardinge to send Sir Benjamin Robertson as the un-official Ambassador on behalf of his Government to use his most friendly influence to bring about a happy ending of the disagreeable dispute cannot be too highly praised. Of course, there yet remains the recognition of the principle that all subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor are entitled to equal rights and privileges of British Citizenship in every nook and corner of the Empire where waves the British flag (applause). And we are all greatly indebted to his Lordship for the further pronouncement he made in the matter in the Viceregal Legislative Council some time ago. So far then it is a matter of satisfaction to record that the principal grievances of the people, as voiced by the Congress, have had a partial redress and so far we beg to acknowledge our gratitude to the Government. In the matter of all public grievances, wherever raised, whether in the civilised parts of the world or in backward countries, it seems to me that it is the course of wisdom for “shepherds of people” to satisfy those grievances in time, before they lead to unrest with its many attendant evils which can bode no good to the State or to the people alike. As that great American scholar and statesman Mr. Lowell has observed :—

“ It is only by the instigation of the wrongs of men that what are called the rights of men become turbulent and dangerous. It is then only that they syllogise unwelcome truths. It is not the insurrections of ignorance that are dangerous but the revolts of intelligence. It is only when the reasonable and

the practical are denied that men demand the unreasonable and impracticable; only when the possible is made difficult that they fancy the impossible to be easy." (applause).

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At present the air is thick with another popular grievance which, as time goes on, will demand the highest counsel of perfection and the most mature political wisdom for purposes of redress. It is, of course, in consonance with the constitutional creed laid down by the Congress, that Self-Government under the British Rule is its *ultima thule* (applause). But the way, I am afraid, to the promised land is long and beset with difficulties which it would be wisdom on our part to take cognisance of. A hasty or rash step or a precipitate move, calculated to endanger the patriotic aspirations breathing in every enlightened unit of the Empire is most inexpedient and absolutely undesirable. We must so balance our minds as not to be carried away by sympathy for liberal maxims into wild transports of revolutionary rapture. Great organic measures, as the constitutional history of free countries teaches us, are always preceded by a reasonable period of discussion. A variety of ideas on Self-Government, more or less of a crude or nebulous nature, now mooted in the country, need to be well moulded into a crystallized form and to be tested in the crucible of practical politics before they could be materialised. It is only by such a slow and measured process that we can reach the goal. It is not the multiplicity of organisations which is wanted. What is most essential and of paramount importance is the concentration of responsible opinion, well-reasoned, well-balanced and well-directed, which might unmistakably reveal the fact that India is of one mind and one heart (applause). There are lions in the path who will have to be overcome and we should not forget another important fact that the Bureaucracy, in every part of the world, is stubborn and unwilling to move. Their pace of progress is the pace of the tortoise. In practical politics we cannot omit to take into account these elements. It would not be inappropriate here were I to quote the opinion of a distinguished member of the Anglo-Indian Bureaucracy in reference to all Indian political progress. It was Sir Aucland Colvin who in 1884 observed, in that remarkable but exceedingly statesmanlike paper entitled "If it be real—what does it mean?" contributed to the "Pioneer", as follows:—

"While the English mind in India has been tempted to standstill, arrested by the contemplation of the fruits of its efforts in former times, and by the symmetry of the shrine, the pride of its own creation, in which it lingers to offer incense to its past successful labours, the Indian mind has been marching on, eager and anxious to expand its own sphere of action, and to do what it, for its own part has to do." Thus it is that while the dry bones in the valley have been galvanizing themselves into life for the last 30 years and Indian humanity has been taking large strides in all matters

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affecting its political, social, educational and industrial welfare and is instinct with manifold activities in all directions, the Bureaucracy has been almost standing still before its venerated but obsolete shrine, making *pūjā* to it, while unconscious of all the progress that has been so quickly going around it. That hierarchy still seems to be little aware that the country has rapidly passed through the transition stage ever since the epoch-making Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, and that it is now entering on a stage which is in every respect a radically different one from that to which its members have been accustomed since the mid-Victorian age. Self-Government is bound to come, I venture to say, (applause) albeit, by measured stages, from precedent to precedent. Of course, there are those enthusiastic and ardent though impatient idealists who seem to entertain the belief that they have only to pronounce aloud the shibboleth of Self-Government to realise in a trice the accomplishment of their ideas. (hear, hear). To such I have only to refer to the sage observations which that stalwart Congressman and robust friend of India, the late Sir Henry Cotton, made in the course of his address in this very city eleven years ago, as the President of the twentieth Session of the Congress :—

“ The process of reconstruction cannot be effected otherwise than by slow and gradual means. Many years must elapse before we can expect the consummation of a reconstructive policy. But it is a policy which we should always keep before our eyes. * * * * *

* * * * * In the cautious and gradual development of representation, in the increase of your power and influence in India itself, involving the ultimate extension of autonomy, we shall find the appropriate and natural prize and legitimate goal for Indian aspirations.” So far as to the impatient idealists. As to the members of the distinguished Service, the men in power and authority, I need not say that it would be idle for them any longer to deny the ideal altogether to the Indians or to say that the country can never be ready for it or to put every obstacle in the way of its realisation. And the sooner, therefore, they prepare themselves to meet the wishes and sentiments of that New India, rising fast before it, the better it will be for their own existence and their reputation for administrative sagacity (hear, hear). In his memorable “History of Civilisation,” the historian Buckle has observed : “ Men have recently begun to understand that, in politics, no certain principles having yet been discovered, the first conditions of success are compromise, barter, expediency and concession. It will show utter helplessness even of the ablest rulers, when they try to meet new emergencies by old maxims. It will show the intimate connection between knowledge and liberty ; between an increasing civilisation and an advancing democracy. It will show that

for a progressive nation, there is required a progressive policy ; that within certain limits, innovation is the solid ground of security ; that no institution can withstand the flux and movements of society, unless it not only repairs its structure but also widens its entrance ; and that even in a material point of view no country can long remain either prosperous or safe, in which the people are not gradually extending their power, enlarging their privileges, and, so to say, incorporating themselves with the functions of the State. Neglect of these truths has entailed the most woeful calamity upon other countries." Such is the undoubted truth which history has deduced from past politics of great States which, we faintly hope, will be ever present before the minds of the rulers of present India and serve as the basis of the coming policy of reconstruction. Let us earnestly pray that this terrible war now waging may by the mercy of Divine Providence be brought to a satisfactory and peaceful close whereby our rulers may be enabled to respond to the popular appeal by laying down a far-seeing policy which will give a first instalment of genuine and living representation in the active government of the country broad-based upon the people's will. (applause). And you will all agree with me that no one is more capable of formulating such a beneficent policy in this direction, on a sound and liberal basis, than our present beloved Viceroy, (applause) whose sagacious and sympathetic statesmanship has already achieved for him a name and fame as imperishable as that of Canning and Ripon in the annals of British India. (applause),

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With these observations, Brother Delegates, I once more tender you our heartiest welcome to this Congress, whose deliberations, I devoutly hope, will be crowned with success. (Loud and continued applause).

Formal Resolution requesting the President-elect to take the Chair.

The Hon'ble Mr. D. E. Wacha :—I now call upon the Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad to propose the formal resolution requesting the President-elect to take the chair.

The Hon. Mr. C. H. Setalvad.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. H. Setalvad (Bombay) said :— Mr. Chairman, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in proposing that our President-elect Sir. S. P. Sinha (applause) be asked to preside over this, the 30th Session of the Indian National Congress. I have no doubt, gentlemen, that you will not require any very lengthy remarks to commend this proposition to your acceptance.

Formal
Resolution
requesting
the Presi-
dent-elect
to take the
chair.

The Hon.
Mr. C. H.
Setalvad.

Mr. Sinha joined the Calcutta Bar and by his great ability and industry soon attained the highest position in the profession and became the Advocate-General of Bengal. (applause). In the

Formal
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The Hon.
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year 1909, when the Morley-Minto Reforms came into operation, Mr. Sinha, as you all know, was selected as the first Indian Member of the Viceregal Executive Council. On the occasion of the second reading of the India Councils Bill, Lord Morley spoke of Mr. Sinha, as he then was, in the following terms :—

“ Now suppose there were in Calcutta an Indian
“ lawyer of large practice and great experience in his
“ profession—a man of unstained professional and per-
“ sonal repute, in close touch with European Society,
“ and much respected, and the actual holder of an
“ important legal office. Am I to say to this man “ in
“ spite of all these excellent circumstances to your credit,
“ in spite of your undisputed fitness, in spite of the
“ emphatic declaration of 1833 that fitness is to be
“ the criterion of eligibility, in spite of the noble promise
“ in Queen Victoria’s Proclamation of 1858— a promise
“ of which every Englishman ought to be for ever proud
“ if he tries to adhere to it, and ashamed if he tries to
“ betray or to mock it, in spite of all these, the usage and
“ prejudice are so strong that I dare not appoint you
“ but must instead fish up a stranger to India from
“ Lincoln’s Inn or the Temple ? ”

These were the words in which the qualifications of Mr. Sinha for his appointment as the Indian Member of the Viceregal Executive Council were described by Lord Morley. And we are all aware, gentlemen, when he was appointed how worthily he filled that office with honour to himself and with honour to all Indians and how Lord Minto when he vacated his office bore testimony to his great qualifications.

Gentlemen, it is said by some of our avowed enemies, and also by some who style themselves as our friends, that the Congress has done its work and that it is no longer needed and that its popularity is on the wane. This vast assembly gathered together here gives the lie direct to any such suggestion (Hear, hear); and, gentlemen, the enthusiastic crowds that greeted the arrival of our worthy President (cheers), at the railway station and in the streets of Bombay throughout, demonstrated, if demonstration were needed, how high is the place the Congress continues to hold in the public mind (applause). Gentlemen, we can tell our worthy President, Sir S. P. Sinha, that we have not in our hands the gifts of alluring titles, but we can assure him of this, that if he employs his great talents in the service of this country, as his presence here to-day promises (applause) we can assure him that his name will be enshrined in the hearts of a loving and grateful people (applause). With these words I ask you to pass the formal resolution requesting Sir S. P. Sinha to take the Chair as President of this year’s Congress.

The Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea.

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea (Calcutta), who, on rising, received an ovation from the audience, seconded the proposition and, in doing so, said :—

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requesting
the Presi-
dent-elect
to take the
chair.

Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been asked to second this resolution. It is a mere formal thing, but this formal procedure is not without its uses. It affords us an opportunity of saying what we feel about the President-elect and giving him an introduction and, I hope, a hearty welcome. (applause). Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha needs no introduction to any here (applause and hear, hear). The first Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, (applause); the first Indian Advocate-General of Bengal (applause); the indisputable leader of the Calcutta Bar, (Hear, hear and applause)—his career has been one of exceptional brilliance in that great profession to which he belongs and which he adorns. It is our earnest hope and prayer that he may crown this distinguished career by devoted services to the motherland (applause). It will place him in the front rank of those illustrious patriots whose achievements and whose memories are with us a precious and an abiding possession. What we think of him as our President-elect of the Congress movement was demonstrated the other day when thousands and tens of thousands of the citizens of Bombay gathered together to accord him a hearty welcome (applause). Brother delegates, it was an ovation which kings might have envied (Loud applause). The victorious general returning from the field of his triumph, fresh with the laurels on his brow, could not have been acclaimed with greater alacrity or enthusiasm (applause).

The Hon.
Mr.
Surendra-
nath
Banerjea.

His association with us in his present position as the President of the Congress is a moral asset of immense value and gives importance, great importance, to the National cause; for if it means anything, it means this: that all that is best and truest and noblest in the public life of India is writ on the banner of the Congress, and may that banner float triumphantly over our constitutional efforts for the regeneration of this great and ancient land (applause). Brother delegates, we are on the eve of great possibilities of readjustment which will exercise a profound influence on the fortunes of this country for generations to come. At such a time, such a critical time, we need the sobering influence, the wise counsels, and the statesmanlike guidance of such a man as our friend over here (applause). And it is therefore that we have acclaimed him with alacrity and enthusiasm to our place of honour and elected him as the President of this Congress. (Long continued applause).

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Formal
Resolution
requesting
the Presi-
dent-elect
to take the
chair.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad), who, on rising, was received with cheers, said :—" Brother delegates, I beg to support this motion." After this, he was going to resume his seat.

The Hon.
Pandit
Madan
Mohan
Malaviya.

The Hon'ble Mr. D. E. Wacha :—" That won't do."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—Brother delegates, I thought that I was meeting the wishes of all of you in not standing between you and the President-elect, and I felt sure that no words of mine were needed to commend the resolution to your acceptance. I therefore wanted to economise time, but my friend here would not let me do that. (Cries of "Go on"). There is a temptation to go on, but I will not. All that I need say is that it would not be a correct view to take to say that Sir S. P. Sinha has not already distinguished himself in the service of the motherland. By dint of mere merit and character, it was he who first had the post of Advocate-General opened to an Indian. That was his first great service. The second and greater service was that at the time when the question of admitting Indians to the Executive Councils of the Empire was being considered, he presented to our Government in his own person a man of that high merit and character which commanded the admiration of so high and honest a critic as Lord Morley (applause), and he established the fact that there was merit enough in this country to fill any position of trust and honour, if those in whose hands Providence has placed for the time being the authority to fill up those appointments were only willing to recognise merit and do justice to the claims of Indians. My friend comes to us with all these distinguished services and I join my predecessors in the desire that in the highest field of service which still awaits him—judged by the cheers that you have pronounced upon the preceding remarks—I join in the desire that he will distinguish himself in the highest service; that at the time when the best intellects and the stoutest hearts of the country are to sit together and to work together for a great and substantial step forward in the direction of self-government, (applause) he will stand with us and lead us aright as the situation demands. I commend the resolution to your hearty acceptance (applause).

The Hon. Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas.

The Hon.
Mr. Har-
chandrai
Vishindas.

The Hon'ble Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas (Karachi) :—Brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I entirely associate myself with the words of praise which have fallen from the previous speakers in regard to the President-elect of the Congress. I have only one or two remarks to add. I say it was only in the fitness of things that Sir S. P. Sinha should have been elected President of the 30th Session of the Indian National

Congress held in Bombay. Bombay has always accorded this honour to men from Calcutta, except in cases where it elected the President from England. The same position was occupied by the late Mr. W. C. Bonnerjea, in the days when he was elected President of the first Congress, as is now occupied by Sir S. P. Sinha, and that is why I say it was in the fitness of things that Sir S. P. Sinha should have been elected President of this year's Congress.

Formal Resolution requesting the President-elect to take the chair.

The Hon. Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas.

The next remark I have to make is this. Although it might have struck you that never before except at one previous Congress has Sir S. P. Sinha been before the Congress, it may not strike some of you that behind the scenes he has rendered very great service to the motherland. What has been said by the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya might also be amplified by saying that when Sir S. P. Sinha accepted the post of Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council he was serving his motherland in two ways: In the first place he at very great sacrifice accepted the post because he knew that his acceptance of it would add to the glory and honour of the nation. People have come to find out that even Indians could fill such high positions with great credit and ability. The next way in which he did service to the motherland was one which will never be known to posterity—that is the service rendered by him behind the scenes. For these reasons I say that Sir S. P. Sinha is a worthy and a fit person to preside over our deliberations as President of the Congress. (Cheers).

Dewan Bahadur M. Audinarayana Iyah, (Madras):—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—I appear before you on behalf of the delegates of the Madras Presidency to offer our hearty welcome to and support the election of Sir S. P. Sinha to the Presidentship of this Congress. Gentlemen, it happens that at this moment the Congress meets at a very critical time,—a time pregnant with important issues both for the Empire and for our country, when the whole mass of the people from one end of the country to the other is throbbing with high impulses and aspirations, and men who are in public life and those who are working in the political field feel seriously that it is their duty to lead the people, their feelings and their activities in unobjectionable directions but realise from year to year how great and strenuous is becoming the struggle to keep the swelling impulses of the people in proper channels. At such a moment as this, I think the Congress is to be congratulated on having been able to persuade such an eminent personage as Sir S. P. Sinha to give us the needed direction which his cultured intelligence, long experience and wisdom eminently qualify him to give. You have heard, ladies and gentlemen, of the many high positions occupied by Sir S. P. Sinha, and it is very fortunate that when

Dewan Bahadur M. Audinarayana Iyah.

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the Presi-
dent-elect
to take the
chair.

Dewan
Bahadur
M. Audi-
narayana
lyah.

the destinies of the country are faced with new developments, he comes to us equipped with a knowledge of the inner working of the Government, a knowledge, acquired from within, of the manner in which the machinery of the Government moves. That is to us an inestimable advantage. The time is past when the policy of repression can be applied to this country with safety. It will be as futile to apply such a policy as to sit on the safety valve of a fully charged engine. Remember that

“ Man never is but always to be blessed.

And hope rises eternal in the human breast.”

Ladies and gentlemen, we have every confidence that Sir S. P. Sinha will give us a distinct message which will encourage us to proceed on lines that will add to the fervour of the attachment so abundantly manifested by this country to the British Raj and the Sovereign and at the same time secure to us what we cannot shut our eyes to, namely, the progress of this country at a more accelerated pace than has been the case in the past. With these words I submit to you the proposition and request you to carry it with acclamation.

The proposition was put and carried unanimously amidst acclamation.

The President-elect takes the chair.

The Hon'ble Mr. D. E. Wacha—“ I now request the President-elect to take his seat.”

Sir S. P. Sinha was then inducted to the Presidential chair amidst loud and continued cheering, the whole audience rising to their feet and shouting “ VANDE MATARAM.”

The President:—It is now my duty to call upon the General Secretary to read the telegrams that he has received.

The Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahomed (Madras) :—“ There are several telegrams received from gentlemen who are absent and among them are Pandit Bishen Narayan Dhar of Lucknow, the Hon'ble Mr. C. Vijiaraghava Chariar of Salem, Mr. J. Choudhry of Calcutta, Mr. Bhatia, the Hon'ble Mr. V. K. Ramanujachariar, Mr. Narayanan Nair and Raja Prithvi Pal Singh.”

The Presidential Address.

The President then rose amidst deafening cheers and delivered the following Presidential address, in a loud and clear voice :—

BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

I return you my profoundest acknowledgment of gratitude for the high and honourable position to which you have called me. It is a peculiarly responsible position, for this year the task of delivering the annual message of the Indian National Congress is beset with special difficulties. The atmosphere created by the titanic struggle overshadowing the entire civilised world is not helpful to the calm and dispassionate consideration of our many complex and delicate national problems. And my task is made all the more difficult as the cruel hand of death has removed from our midst, within a few months of each other, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Ferozeshah Metha and Henry Cotton—three of our most beloved and sagacious leaders whose counsels would have been of incalculable value to us today and whose loss we all so deeply mourn.

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Sinha.

Would that this task had been committed to some one more competent than myself. Willingly would I have avoided it,—gladly would I have remained for the rest of my life, as I have been in the past, a humble camp-follower of the Congress.

You know that I did not seek this position any more than I had sought that other exalted position which it fell to my lot to occupy a few years ago as the first Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. I pray I may not be misunderstood, for I say this in no boastful spirit but in all humility. For no one is more conscious than myself that my appointment as Law Member was not due to any extraordinary personal merits of mine. No one knows it better than myself that that honor was conferred not so much on me personally as on the Indian National Congress, (*applause*) in recognition of the justice and moderation of the claims it had persistently put forward for over a quarter of a century on behalf of the people of India.

For myself, I had never dared to aspire to the chair of Macaulay and Maine any more than I ever dreamt of occupying this chair hallowed by its association with some of the most devoted workers in the cause of our Motherland. In both cases, I yielded to a sense of supreme duty. And on this occasion, I cannot do better than what I did on the other, *viz.*, to invoke aid from on High that I may do nothing and say nothing which will compromise the rights and best interests, the honor and the dignity, of my country (*applause*).

The King-Emperor.

My first duty to day is again to lay at the feet of our august and beloved Sovereign our unswerving fealty, our unshaken allegiance, and our enthusiastic homage. His Majesty has been with our soldiers on the battle-field. His son shares with them

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all the hardships of war. And we desire to express our gratitude to Almighty God for shielding our beloved Emperor and enabling him to endure with fortitude the physical suffering inseparable from his recent accident and restoring him to devoted people in renewed health and strength (*applause*). Long may he live to lead his people and promote their happiness and prosperity (*hear, hear*).

The War.

The question which, above all others, is engrossing our minds at the present moment is the war, and the supreme feeling which arises in our minds is one of deep admiration for the self-imposed burden which England is bearing in the struggle for liberty and freedom, and a feeling of profound pride that India had not fallen behind other portions of the British Empire, but has stood shoulder to shoulder with them by the side of the Imperial Mother in the hour of her sorest trial. In the great galaxy of heroes, in the imperishable Roll of Honour, there are now, and there will never cease to be, beloved Indian names testifying to the fact that our people would rather die unsullied than outlive the disgrace of surrender to a bastard civilisation. (*hear, hear*). Our conviction is firm that, by the guidance of that divine spirit which shapes the destiny of nations, the cause of right will ultimately prevail and the close of the struggle will usher in a new era in the history of the human race.

Brother delegates,—My next duty is to convey our unstinted admiration and our heart-felt gratitude to those of our brethren who have been shedding their blood in the battle-fields of Europe, Asia and Africa, in defence of the Empire (*applause*). The war has given India an opportunity, as nothing else could have done, of demonstrating the courage, bravery and tenacity of her troops, even when pitted against the best organised armies of the world, and also the capacity of her sons of all classes, creeds and nationalities to rise as one people under the stimulus of an overpowering emotion. That the wave of loyalty which has swept over India has touched the hearts of all classes had been ungrudgingly admitted even by unfriendly critics. The Bengalee is just as anxious to fight under the banner of His Majesty the King-Emperor as the Sikh and the Pathan, and those of them to whom an opportunity has been given to serve either in ambulance, postal or despatch work, have shown as great a disregard of danger and devotion to duty as others employed in the more arduous work of fighting. India has risen to the occasion, and her princes and peoples have vied with each other in rallying round the imperial standard at a time when the enemies of the Empire counted on disaffection and internal troubles. The spectacle affords a striking proof as much of the wisdom of those statesmen who have in recent years guided the destiny of the British.

Empire in India as of the fitness of the Indian people to grasp the dignity and the responsibilities of citizenship of a world-wide empire. Nor must we forget to tender to the families of those who have laid down their lives in the glorious cause our sincere and respectful sympathy.

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Brother delegates,—Doubts have been expressed in some quarters as to the wisdom of the Congress assembling while the war is still going on. It has been suggested that discussion of political problems might be misconstrued as an attempt to advance individual national interests at a time of imperial stress. I do not think that such apprehensions are well-founded. If we had any doubt as to the ultimate success of England, we might well hesitate to discuss questions which can only arise after the war is over and peace is concluded. We want to make it perfectly clear, if we have not done so already, that there is no one among us willing to cause the slightest embarrassment to the Government. We seek to make no capital out of the service so ungrudgingly rendered by our countrymen to the Empire. There is not, I trust, a single person in our camp who expects reforms as the price or the reward of our loyalty. That loyalty would indeed be a poor thing if it proceeded from a lively sense of favours to come. Nor could any serious and responsible Indian publicist advocate that, as the result of the war, there should be a sudden and violent breakage in the evolution of political institutions in India. The problem before us is how, without asking for any violent departure from the line of constitutional development which farsighted statesmen, English and Indian, desire for India, we can still press for a substantial advance towards the development of free institutions in this country. It is our earnest hope that the spontaneous outburst of loyalty throughout the country has dispelled for ever all sense of distrust and suspicion between ourselves and our rulers, and that, after the war is over, British officials will consider it their duty not so much to administer our affairs efficiently as to train the people themselves to administer them, and that, with this change of spirit, the people also will begin to look upon these officials as zealous co-adjutors in the task of their political self development.

Brother delegates,—This brings me naturally to what has been a burning topic in the Congress for many years, which has led to bitter differences and fierce dissensions, and with regard to which you are entitled to ask my views — our political ideal, our duties in the present, and our prospects in the future.

Our Ideal—Self-Government.

What, to begin with, should be the political ideal of India? To some, the raising of this question may seem to be unnecessary and at best academic and, to others, positively mischievous. To

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me, however, it seems that the greatest danger in the path of the future well-being of the country is the want of a reasoned ideal of our future such as would satisfy the aspirations and ambitions of the rising generations of India and at the same time meet with the approval of those to whose hands our destinies are committed. It is my belief that a rational and inspiring ideal will arrest the insidious and corrupting influence of the real enemies of our Motherland, even if it is not able to root out from the land that malignant mental disease which has been called anarchism and whose psychology it is so difficult to analyse. It must be obvious to all sincere and impartial judges that no mandate whether of the Government or of the Congress will be able to still the throbbing pain in the soul of awakening India, unless the ideal which is held up by the Congress and accepted by the Government commends itself first to the heart and then to the head. It seems to me, brother delegates, that the only satisfactory form of self-government to which India aspires cannot be anything short of what President Lincoln so pithily described as "government of the people, for the people, and *by the people*" (*applause*).

When I say this, I do not for one moment imply that the British Government is not the best Government we have had for ages. We have only to look round to see the manifold blessings which have been brought to this country by that Government. But as a British Premier early in this century very truly observed, "good government cannot be a substitute for self-government" (*applause*). Says a recent writer in a well-known British periodical : "Every Englishman is aware that on no account, not if he were to be governed by an angel from heaven, would he surrender that most sacred of all his rights, the right of making his own laws..... (*applause*). He would not be an Englishman, the would not be able to look English fields and trees in the face, if he had parted with that right. Laws in themselves have never counted for much. There have been beneficent despots and wise law-givers in all ages who have increased the prosperity and probably the contentment and happiness of their subjects, but yet their government has not stimulated the moral and intellectual capacity latent in citizenship or fortified its character or enlarged its understanding. There is more hope for the future of mankind in the least and faintest impulse towards self-help, self-realisation, self-redemption than in any of the laws that Aristotle ever dreamt of" (*applause and hear, hear*). The ideal, therefore, of self-government is one that is not based merely on emotion and sentiment, but on all the lessons of history.

I believe in all sincerity that such has been the ideal which the British Government itself has entertained and cherished almost from the commencement of British rule in India. Generations of statesmen have repeatedly laid down that policy, solemn declarations of successive sovereigns have graciously endorsed it,

and Acts of Parliament have given it legislative sanction. I will not burden my speech with quotations from these : they will all be found in previous Presidential addresses. But, with your leave, I will quote only one passage from a speech of John Bright delivered at Manchester on the 11th of December, 1877 : "I believe it," said John Bright, "that it is our duty not only to govern India well now for our sakes and to satisfy our own conscience, but so to arrange its government and so to administer it that we should look forward to the time when India will have to take up her own government and administer it in her own fashion (*applause*). I say he is no statesman—he is no man actuated with a high moral sense with regard to our great and terrible moral responsibility—who is not willing thus to look ahead and thus to prepare for circumstances which may come sooner than we think and sooner than any of us hope for, but which must come at some not very distant date."

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It is, however, unfortunately the fact that a few years ago unhappy statements and even actions of responsible statesmen gave rise to a widespread suspicion among large classes of people in all parts of India that there was a change of policy—a deliberate intention to retrace the steps. That this suspicion is not wholly without foundation will appear from the estimate of an eminent French publicist who cannot be charged with either lack of admiration for the British administration of India or an excess of sympathy for the Indian reform party. This is what M. Chailley says (I am reading from page 188 of the translation by the present Finance Member, Sir William Meyer): "Had England taken as her motto 'India for the Indians,' had she continued following the ideas of Elphinstone and Malcolm to consider her rule as temporary, she might without inconsistency grant to the national party gradual and increasing concessions which in time would give entire autonomy to the Indians, *but that is not now her aim.*" (The italics are mine). Does any reasonable man imagine that it is possible to satisfy the palpitating hearts of the thousands of young men who, to use the classic words of Lord Morley, "leave our universities intoxicated with the ideas of freedom, nationality and self-government," with the comfortless assurance that free institutions are the special privilege of the West? Can any one wonder that many of these young men, who have not the same robust faith in the integrity and benevolence of England as the members of this Congress, should lose heart at the mere suspicion of such a policy, and, driven to despair, conclude that "the roar and scream of confusion and carnage" is better than peace and order without even the distant prospect of freedom? Fifteen years ago, Lord Morely said : "the sacred word 'free' represents, as Englishmen have thought until to-day, the noblest aspiration that can animate the breast of man." And to-day, millions of Englishmen are freely sacrificing

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their lives in order that others may be free : therefore, an Englishman will be the first person to realise and appreciate the great insistent desire in the heart of India, and I for myself say with all the emphasis and earnestness that I can command that if the noble policy of Malcolm and Elphinstone, Canning and Ripon, Bright and Morley, is not steadily, consistently and unflinchingly adhered to, the moderate party amongst us will soon be depleted of all that is fine and noble in human character (*applause*). For my part, I believe with the fervour of religious conviction that that wise and righteous policy is still the policy of the great English nation. When His Majesty sent us his gracious message of sympathy and later on of hope, what do you think he meant but sympathy for our political aspirations and hope for their ultimate fulfilment? As late as the 8th day of October this year, His Excellency the Viceroy, addressing a large number of representative officials at the United Service Club of Simla, said :—

“England has instilled into this country the culture and civilisation of the West with all its ideals of liberty and self-respect. It is not enough for her now to consider only the material outlook of India. It is necessary for her to cherish the aspirations, of which she herself has sown the seed, and English officials are gradually awakening to the fact that high as were the aims and remarkable the achievements of their predecessors, a still nobler task lies before them in the present and the future in guiding the uncertain and faltering steps of Indian development along sure and safe paths. The new role of guide, philosopher and friend is opening before you and it is worthy of your greatest efforts. It requires in you gifts of imagination and sympathy, and imposes upon you self-sacrifice, for it means that slowly but surely you must divest yourselves of some of the power you have hitherto wielded. Let it be realised that great as has been England's mission in the past, she has a far more glorious task to fulfil in the future, in encouraging and guiding the political self-development of the people. The goal to which India may attain is still distant and there may be many vicissitudes in her path, but I look forward with confidence to a time when, strengthened by character and self-respect and bound by ties of affection and gratitude, India may be regarded as a true friend of the Empire and not merely as a trusty dependent. The day for the complete fulfilment of this ideal is not yet, but it is to this distant vista that the British official should turn his eyes, and he must grasp the fact that it is by his future success in this direction that British prestige and efficiency will be judged.”

These noble words of Lord Hardinge, which must still be ringing in our ears, are not the idle speculations of an irresponsible enthusiast, but the well-considered pronouncement of a statesman who, after guiding the ship of state during a period of unprecedented storm and stress, sends forth this message both to

his own countrymen and to us. Lest there be any among us of so little faith as to doubt the real meaning of those memorable words, lest there be any Englishmen inclined to whittle down the meaning of this promise, I hope there will be an authentic and definite proclamation with regard to which there will be no evasion, no misunderstanding possible. (*applause*). So far as we the people are concerned, there is no real reason for mistrust, for this policy proclaimed so long ago and repeated so recently has been fruitful of innumerable beneficent results: Officials, even the highest, may sometimes have spoken or even acted in a different spirit, but England always did and does still consider it her glorious mission to raise this once great country from her fallen position to her ancient status among the nations of the earth, (*applause* and *hear, hear*) and she enjoins every English official in India to consider himself a trustee bound to make over his charge to the rightful owner the moment the latter attains to years of discretion. (*applause*).

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But are there any among us who, while accepting His Excellency's message of hope, are disposed to demur to the qualification therein expressed, namely, that the goal is not yet? If so, I do not hesitate to express my entire disagreement, because I would sooner take the risk of displeasing than injuring my beloved countrymen. I am fortified in my opinion when I find that almost every prominent leader of the Congress has laboured to impress upon all true lovers of our country that the path is long and devious and that we shall have to tread weary steps before we get to the promised land. "Day will not break the sooner because we get up before the twilight." The end will not come by impatience. I maintain that no true friend of India will place the ideal of self-government before us without this necessary qualification. It inevitably makes passionate youth, anxious to avoid the steep and weary path, take to dangerous and even fatal short-cuts, for it is unfortunately true that impetuous youth finds it easier to die for a glorious ideal than to live and work for it with steady patience and persistent self-sacrifice. I yield to none in my desire for self-government (*applause*) but I recognise that there is a wide gulf between desire and attainment. (*hear, hear*).

One Goal, One Path.

Let us argue out for ourselves freely and frankly the various ways by which we can obtain the priceless treasure of self-government. It seems to me that it is possible only in one of the three following ways:

First, by way of a free gift from the British nation.

Second, by wresting it from them.

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Third, by means of such progressive improvement in our mental, moral and material condition as will, on the one hand, render us worthy of it and, on the other, impossible for our rulers to withhold it. (*applause*).

Now, as to the first, the free gift. Even if the English nation were willing to make us an immediate free gift of full self-government—and those who differ most from the Congress are the first to deny the existence of such willingness—I take leave to doubt whether the boon would be worth having as such, for it is a commonplace of politics that nations like individuals must grow into freedom and nothing is so baneful in political institutions as their prematurity: nor must we forget that India free can never be ancient India restored. Such a vision, as has been justly remarked, could only be realised if India free from the English could have stood in a tranquil solitude or in a sphere of absolute isolation, but unfortunately the hard facts of the modern world have to be faced and India, free from England, but without any real power of resistance, would be immediately in the thick of another struggle of nations.

As to the second, I doubt if the extremest of the extremists consider it feasible to win self-government immediately by means of a conflict with the British Power. Such a conflict is impossible, if not inconceivable: and I cannot imagine any sane man thinking that assassinations of policemen and dacoities committed on peaceful un-offending citizens will do aught but retard progress towards our goal (*hear, hear*). Such acts, if they proceeded from any considerable section of the people, would only emphasise our absolute incompetence for self-government, (*hear, hear*) which demands the highest qualities of patient preparation and of silent and unobtrusive work in every aspect of our social and political life. Fortunately, acts like those I have mentioned are reprobated throughout India. They may appeal to the perverted imagination of misguided youth, but are abhorrent to the sober sense of the great mass of the great peoples of India. They alienate not only the sympathy of those Englishmen whose support would be invaluable to our cause, both in India and in England, but they provoke the bitterest resentment among our own people who naturally shrink from an ideal where lawlessness is likely to have sway. On your behalf and my own, I express my utmost and unqualified detestation of these lawless acts, and I fervently appeal to all sections of our people to express in unmistakable language their abhorrence of these dastardly crimes which besmirch the fair fame of our country and I pray to them so to co-operate with the authorities as to render their detection and punishment absolutely certain.

Brother delegates,—We are left, therefore, with the third alternative as the only means of attaining the goal of self-govern-

ment. Before I deal with it, let me remind you of a parable in Mr. Edwin Bevan's thoughtful little book on *Indian Nationalism*. He likens the condition of our country to that of a man whose whole bodily frame, suffering from severe injuries and grievous lesions, has been put in a steel frame by a skilful surgeon. This renders it necessary for the injured man, as the highest duty to himself, to wait quietly and patiently in splints and bandages—even in a steel frame—until nature resumes her active processes. The knitting of the bones and the granulation of the flesh require time : perfect quiet and repose, even under the severest pain, is necessary. It will not do to make too great haste to get well. An attempt to walk too soon will only make the matter worse, and, above all, the aid of the surgeon is indispensable and it is foolish to grudge the necessary fee.

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When we ourselves have so far advanced under the guidance and protection of England as to be able not only to manage our own domestic affairs, but to secure internal peace and prevent external aggression, I believe that it will be as much the interest as the duty of England to concede the fullest autonomy to India. Political wiseacres tell us that history does not record any precedent in which a foreign nation has with its own hands freed from bondage a people which it has itself conquered. I will not pause to point out, what has been pointed out so often, that India was never conquered in the literal sense of the word, and, as very properly observed by the late Sir John Seeley, India is not a possession of England in the sense of legally being a tributary to England any more than any of her colonies. I will not wait to examine the cases of French Canada and the Boer Republics in South Africa to whom free institutions have been granted. But has there been a situation before this in the history of mankind like that of India to-day? Has there been a nation whose ideas of political morality have ever reached those of the great English nation? Has there been another nation which has fought so continuously and strenuously for the freedom and liberty of other nations as the English? My faith is based not on emotion, not on unreasoning sentiment : it rests on the record of what has already been achieved by the undying labours of far-sighted English statesmen and noble-hearted Indian patriots, both those who are still working for the cause and those whose labours are done and whose spirits hover over us to-day and guide and inspire us. The East and the West *have* met—not in vain. The invisible scribe who has been writing the most marvellous history that ever was written has not been idle. Those who have the discernment and inner vision to see will know that there is only one goal and there is only one path.

The regeneration and reconstruction of India can take place only under the guidance and control of England, and while we

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admit that the goal is not yet, we refuse to believe that it is so distant as to render it a mere vision of the imagination (*applause and hear, hear.*) We deprecate the impatience of those who imagine that we have only to stretch our hands to grasp the coveted prize. But we differ equally from those who think that the end is so remote as to be a negligible factor in the ordinary work of even present-day administration. It seems to me that, having fixed our goal, it is hardly necessary to attempt to define in concrete terms the precise relationship that will exist between India and England when the goal is reached. Whatever may be the connection of India with England in the distant future, her impress on India could never be effaced and the inter-communion of the spirit and the breathing of new life into India by England will be a permanent factor which could never be discounted. Autonomy within the Empire is the accepted political faith of the Congress, and I find it difficult to believe that our patriotism and our love of country cannot be reconciled to the picture of the future which generous statesmen like Lord Haldane draw, in which Englishmen and Indians will be fellow-citizens of a common empire and of a common and splendid heritage, all of us bringing our special talents to bear co-operatively for the common good of the whole. For the attainment of this great ideal, our first great duty is the exercise of the difficult but indispensable virtue of patience. There is no royal road to that goal, and we must all patiently, persistently and strenuously co-operate in all measures necessary for that purpose. Some of these can be undertaken only by the Government, others will depend on ourselves alone, but none will bear fruit without a spirit of mutual trust, toleration and forbearance. In order to foster this spirit so far as we, the people of India are concerned, it is vitally necessary to admit them, in an ever-increasing measure, to direct and active participation in the higher work of government in all its branches, civil as well as military, executive as well as judicial, administrative as well as legislative. It is a cruel calumny which asserts that, when asking for the expansion of the powers of our Legislative Councils, for the appointment of Indians to the Imperial and Provincial Executive Councils, for the admission of a larger number of Indians to the Indian Civil Service and all other branches of the higher public services, the Indian National Congress asks only for honors and appointments for the members of the educated classes. It may be that some of those who still persist in repeating this libel on the intelligence and patriotism of this country in good faith believe it to be true. If so, they have failed to take note of well-known facts, namely, that Congress leaders like Telang, Tyabji, Krishnaswamy Iyer and others accepted high office only at considerable personal sacrifice and that others had to refuse because they could not afford to make the necessary sacrifice. These critics have neglected to read the literature of the Congress. In any case, they have missed the point of it all, namely, that

these measures are advocated only as means to an end. They are valuable chiefly because they concede the demand of the people for direct and active participation in the work of Government, not merely as tools and agents, but as members of the Government itself. They are valuable only in so far as they tend to identify the people with the Government, and enable them to think of the Government as their own and not as an alien bureaucracy imposed on an unwilling people by a conquering nation. We can afford to treat the taunts of these unfriendly critics with contempt, but there is another school of critic whose counsels are more seductive though not more sound. These insist on the impotence of the Reformed Legislative Councils, whose resolutions they ridicule as mere pious wishes. They see no good in the powers of interpellation and discussion of the budget. They treat the admission of one Indian into each of the existing Executive Councils as a matter of no consequence, because it has not produced immediate or far-reaching changes in the ordinary routine of administration. They insist that even a liberal and philosophic historian like Viscount Bryce has pointed out that no more in India than in the Roman Empire has there been any question of establishing free institutions, either for the country as a whole or for any particular province; and that the Council Reforms of 1861, 1892 and 1909 were merely intended to give opportunities and means for the expression of Indian opinion and not to give any real power to the people. Well, it does not require much political acumen to discover that we in India are yet a long way off from free institutions and that the reforms so far effected have not yielded any real power to the people either in the Imperial or in the Provincial Councils. But it is my firm belief that the privileges already acquired, if used with industry and moderation and tact, will in no distant future receive considerable enlargement, and we must continue to press for further expansion in all the directions I have mentioned, undeterred by the criticism of the one and the cynicism of the other. We shall continue to urge the enlargement of the powers and modifications of the constitution of the Legislative Councils. We shall continue to ask for larger and yet larger admission of Indians to the higher ranks of the public services in all its branches and we shall claim these not as mere concessions but as a gradual fulfilment of solemn pledges for the progressive nationalisation of the government of the country. We shall continue our labours till really free institutions *are* established for the whole of the country, (*applause*)—not by any sudden or revolutionary change, but by gradual evolution and cautious progress.

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What the Congress wants.

When I accepted my nomination for this chair I knew—as all of you must have known—that I was not likely to be able

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to suggest any specific measures of reform other than those so long advocated by this Congress. But I felt—I trust without undue presumption—that having been in the inner Councils of the Government for however short a time, it was peculiarly my duty to act as your spokesman on this occasion (*applause*). It is in that belief that I appeal to the British nation to declare their ungrudging approval of the goal to which we aspire, to declare their inflexible resolution to equip India for her journey to that goal and to furnish her escort on the long and weary road. Such a declaration will be the most distinguished way of marking their appreciation of India's services and sacrifices—her loyalty and her devotion to the Empire. Such a declaration will touch the heart and appeal to the imagination of the people far more than any mere specific political reforms. These latter may fall short of the high expectations raised by utterances of the responsible English statesmen as to the future place of India in the Empire and they may cause general disappointment. But an authoritative declaration of policy on the lines I suggest will, without causing such disappointment, carry conviction to the minds of the people that the pace of the administrative reforms will be reasonably accelerated and that henceforth it will be only a question of patient preparation. The most appropriate opportunity for such a declaration will be the moment when the victory of England and her Allies will establish for ever the triumph of free institutions over old-world doctrines of military absolutism. ✓

Let me not be misunderstood. I do not say that all that is wanted, all that would satisfy us, is a mere declaration of policy : what I do say is that there should be a frank and full statement of the policy of Government as regards the future of India, so that hope may come where despair holds sway and faith where doubt spreads its darkening shadow, and I ask that steps should be taken to move towards self-government by the gradual development of popular control over all departments of Government and by the removal of disabilities and restrictions under which we labour both in our own country and in other parts of the British Empire. (*applause*).

I have great pleasure in availing myself of this opportunity to acknowledge with gratitude two recent measures which, though not exactly steps towards self-government, amount to some recognition of India's place in the Empire. The first, thanks to the statesmanlike efforts of Lord Hardinge, is the partial amelioration of the condition of the Indian emigrants in South Africa, and the other is the acceptance by Lord Hardinge's Government of my friend the Hon. Mr. Shafi's resolution for an official representation of India at the Imperial Conference. I would, however, venture to suggest that in addition to the official representative, one or two of the Indian Princes who have

rendered such conspicuous service to the Empire might fittingly represent the great Continent of India. The delegation of one or two distinguished Indian Chiefs to the Imperial Conference will, in addition to other honors no doubt in store for them, be a just recognition of their pre-eminent services and will gratify public opinion throughout the length and breadth of India.

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Coming to domestic politics, I do not think it necessary that I should on the present occasion deal in detail with the various concrete measures which the Congress advocates as an effective advance towards self-government on lines suited to India's special requirements. A decisive advance towards provincial autonomy, the liberalisation of the Council Regulations, establishment of elective as opposed to non-official majorities, an increase of their powers of control, specially in regard to finance, a larger representation of Indians in the various executive Councils as also in the Council of the Secretary of State, the admission of larger numbers of Indians to all the higher branches of the public services, the long-delayed separation of judicial and executive functions, the expansion of primary, scientific and technical education, the abolition of indentured labour and the improvement of the position of Indians in other parts of the Empire—these are reforms which have long been urged and which will be dealt with by you, I have no doubt, so far as you think necessary. I am afraid, however, most of them must stand over for adjustment till peace is in sight. For myself, I will be content with dealing as shortly as I can with three specific matters which have become increasingly urgent and with regard to which there is a practical unanimity of opinion. They are :—

Firstly—the question of commissions in the army and military training for the people.

Secondly—The extension of local self-government.

Thirdly—the development of our commerce and our industries including agriculture.

Commissions in the Army and Military Training.

There can be, I venture to think, no true sense of citizenship where there is no sense of responsibility for the defence of one's own country. (*hear, hear*). "If there is trouble, others will quiet it down. If there is riot, others will subdue it. If there is a danger, others will face it. If our country is in peril, others will defend it." When a people feel like this, it indicates that they have got to a stage when all sense of civic responsibility has been crushed out of them, (*hear, hear*) and the system which is responsible for this feeling is inconsistent with the self-respect of normal human beings. (*Loud applause*).

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I shall be the first to acknowledge that various steps have been and are being taken by the Government to promote the right spirit of self-help in the country, but I feel and I feel strongly that hitherto the Government has not only ignored but has put positive obstacles ("shame") in the way of the people acquiring or retaining a spirit of national self-help in this the most essential respect. (*applause*).

For what is the present condition of things? Except certain warlike races like the Sikhs and Rajputs, the people generally are debarred from receiving any kind of military training. Not only are they not allowed enlistment in the ranks of His Majesty's Army, but they are even precluded from joining any volunteer corps. Even with regard to the classes of men—Sikhs and Rajputs, Gurkhas and Pathans, etc.—who are taken into the regular army for the simple reason that the number of English troops is not in itself sufficient to maintain peace and order in this country (*applause*)—even with reference to these classes it is an inflexible rule that though they may now obtain the highest badge of valour *viz.*, the Victoria Cross, not one of them can receive a Commission in His Majesty's Army (*Crias* of "shame") irrespective of birth or bravery, education or efficiency.

While the humblest European and Eurasian and even the West Indian Negro has the right to carry arms, the law of the land denies even to the most law-abiding and respectable Indian the privilege of possessing or carrying arms of any description except as a matter of special concession and indulgence, often depending on the whim and caprice of unsympathetic officials. (*applause* and "shame").

To my mind the mere statement of the present system ought to be sufficient to secure its condemnation.

Let me proceed to state shortly what changes we consider essential to remedy this state of things.

1st. We ask for the right to enlist in the regular army, irrespective of race or province of origin, but subject only to prescribed tests of physical fitness.

2nd. We ask that the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army should be thrown open to all classes of His Majesty's subjects, subject to fair, reasonable and adequate physical and educational tests. We ask that a military college or colleges should be established in India (*applause*) where proper military training can be received by those of our countrymen who will have the good fortune to receive His Majesty's Commission.

3rd. We ask that all classes of His Majesty's subjects should be allowed to join as volunteers, subject of course again to such rules and regulations as will ensure proper control and discipline, and

4th. We ask that the invidious distinctions under the Arm's Act should be removed. (*applause*). This has no real connection with the three previous claims, but I deal with it together with the others as all these disabilities are attempted to be justified on the same ground of political expediency.

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Let us pause for a moment and consider the objections that are generally brought forward against the first three proposals.

As to the right to join the ranks, irrespective of race or province of origin, objections are put forward, firstly, that not all the races of India provide good fighting material and that many of them lack the physical courage necessary for the army. And, secondly, that many of them are neither willing nor anxious to join the ranks or to enter the army in any capacity.

The last may be dealt with in a few words. We are asking for a right, and if it turns out that some of us and even all of us are not willing to avail ourselves of that right,—well, there will be no compulsion on them to do so, and nobody will be the worse off because of the right. On the contrary, it will remove a grievance bitterly felt and loudly complained of and will redound to the credit of Government.

As regards the first objection, *viz.*, the want of necessary martial spirit in certain classes or races, it requires more serious consideration. The argument is this : the country can afford to keep as a standing army only a certain number of trained soldiers and officers and it must get the best it can for the money it spends, and if certain races are unfit by reason of inherent want of courage for the profession of arms, the state would naturally select its soldiers from other classes. So say our opponents.

Taking it at its full strength, this argument has its limitation. For you cannot govern a State on exactly the same principles as you manage a shop. (*applause* and *hear, hear*). You may get better value for your money by getting as your soldier an Afridi or a Pathan or any non-British subject, but by excluding the Parsi, or the Madrasi, or the Bengali, you create a feeling of grievance, if not of actual resentment, which is certain to cause serious embarrassment in the work of general administration. You render it impossible for the excluded classes to consider themselves as *equal* subjects and citizens responsible for the defence of the country, and you fail to foster that spirit of self-help and that sense of self-respect among those very classes which is essential to attain the goal of imperial unity.

Hitherto I have proceeded upon the assumption that some of the races in India are lacking in the physical courage necessary for the profession of arms. But, I ask, is it a correct hypothesis? (*no, no*). Is it true that the Bengali—I am taking him as a type

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only—has not and will never have the requisite physical courage? (*no, no*). The theory was started by Macaulay in his too sweeping condemnation of the people of the Gangetic delta, forgetting that the Bengal peasantry has always been a sturdy and virile class, particularly in tracts not touched by malaria. But take even the professional or educated classes in Bengal. A good many of them, who enlisted under conditions of great personal sacrifice, are at the present moment working in Mesopotamia as an Ambulance Corps, (*applause* and *hear, hear*) and I am confident all British officers in that theatre of war from the General in Command downwards will tell you that not a single man in that Corps has proved himself deficient either in physical courage or in endurance.

Take another example nearer home. There is a body of public servants much misunderstood and therefore very often much maligned. I know there is a prejudice against them. I refer to the Bengali officers of the C. I. D. of the Police. Ask any Englishman in Bengal you like, from His Excellency the Governor downwards, and I am sure he will tell you there is not one among those officers who does not unflinchingly face death daily and hourly for the sake of duty and loyalty (*applause*) and, let me add, that he does so, often in spite of much obloquy and great discouragement.

I take leave to point out, therefore, that it is not correct, at any rate at the present time, to assert of any sections of the Indian people that they are wanting in such physical courage and manly virtues as to render them incapable of bearing arms. But even if it were so, is it not the obvious duty of England so to train them as to remove this incapacity (*applause*) as they are trying to remove so many others, especially if it be the case, as there is some reason to believe it is, that it is English rule which has brought them to such a pass? (*hear, hear*) England has ruled this country for considerably over 150 years now, and surely it cannot be a matter of pride to her that at the end of this period the withdrawal of her rule would mean chaos and anarchy and would leave the country an easy prey to any foreign adventurers. There are some of our critics who never fail to remind us that if the English were to leave the country today, we would have to wire to them to come back before they got as far as Aden (*laughter*). Some even enjoy the grim joke that were the English to withdraw now, there would be neither a rupee nor a virgin left in some parts of the country. For my part, I can conceive of no more scathing indictment of the results of British Rule. (*applause*). A superman might gloat over the spectacle of the conquest of might over justice, and over righteousness, but I am much mistaken if the British nation, fighting now as ever for the cause of justice and freedom and liberty, will consider it as other than discreditable to itself in the highest degree that, after nearly two centuries of British Rule, India has

been brought today to the same emasculated condition (*applause*) as the Britons were in the beginning of the 5th century when the Roman legions left the English shores in order to defend their own country against the Huns, Goths and other barbarian hordes. (*applause*).

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In asking, therefore, for the right of military training, we are only seeking to remedy the results I have described. We are seeking to regain our lost self-respect and to strengthen our sense of civic responsibility. We are seeking to regain the right to defend our homes and hearths against possible invaders, should the strong protecting arm of England be ever withdrawn from our country. It is no mere sentiment that compels us to demand this inalienable right of all human beings, though sentiment has its undoubted place in the scheme of every government. Some day or other, our right arm may be called upon to defend all that man holds most precious. For who will venture to prophesy that sooner or later there may not be another such conflict as is now convulsing the world, when there may be new alliances and fresh combinations and when England may not have the same allies and advantages as she has now? (*hear, hear*).

I have endeavoured to prove that neither of the objections which are generally put forward against our claims to enlistment in the army is tenable. I have tried to show the justice as well as the necessity of our demands.

In the face of what has happened in the present war, it is no longer correct to say what Lord Bryce said in 1912. This is what Lord Bryce said:—"To England, however, apart from the particular events which might have created the snapping of the tie and apart from the possible loss of a market, severance from India need involve no lasting injury. To be mistress of a vast country, whose resources for defence need to be supplemented by her own, adds indeed to her fame *but does not add to her strength*. (The italics are mine). England was great and powerful before she owned a yard of land in Asia, and might be great and powerful again with no more foothold in the East than would be needed for the naval prestige which protects her commerce."

The resources for defence which India possesses even now do add to the strength of England as has been so amply proved in the present war. This strength could be multiplied a hundred-fold were our claims ever conceded. For, if the people of India are allowed and trained to bear arms, what nation is there on the face of the earth whose strength would compare with that of England? (*applause*). Nor is there any reason for apprehension that such concessions would be a source of internal danger. If the Sikh, the Gurkha, the Mahratta and the Pathan—good and valiant soldiers as they are—are found to be loyal and law-abid-

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ing, there is no reason to think that the case would be otherwise with the other races when admitted to the same status and privileges (*applause*). Besides, we are only asking that the privileges are to be granted subject only to such conditions, rules, regulations and safeguards as to ensure proper discipline, and control.

In the case of Volunteers also, they will be similarly subject to all proper safe-guards and restrictions which will be for the Government to lay down.

Subject to such safe-guards, the ranks of volunteer corps will afford, without any risk whatever to the Government or the people, an outlet for restless energies which now find doubtful and dangerous channels.

In making these demands, I know I raise as large a question as the formation of a national militia. I desire frankly and freely to meet the criticism that such an army, with a preponderance of the Indian element, may be turned against the British Government. I venture to submit in reply that anarchists and seditionists may succeed in winning over an ignorant and mercenary army, but they will never succeed in winning over a truly national army, (*applause*) drawn from a people made increasingly loyal by the spread of education and liberal self-governing institutions (*hear, hear*). Of course, I am not suggesting that the army should be *nationalized* in a day any more than that the government of the country should be nationalized by a stroke of the pen. But I urge in all humility that the time has come for making the beginning of a National Army in India (*hear, hear*). The tremendous shock with which every part of our world-wide Empire has realised the prime necessity of maintaining an army large enough for its defence and protection renders it imperative that a strong National Army should be raised and maintained in every part of India.

The opening of a military career will fire the imagination and stimulate the virility of India in a way that nothing else can do. And is it too much for India to expect to be treated in the same way as Russia treats her subject races—especially after the proof she has given of the prowess of her sons and their devotion and their loyalty to the imperial standard?

Reason and convenience, justice and necessity, all support every one of the claims I have ventured to put forward; and if a definite advance is not made in these respects, it will be difficult to believe that the war has changed the *angle of vision* of our rulers. (*hear, hear*). It will be impossible to retain faith in what was proclaimed by the present Premier Mr. Asquith "that the Empire rests, not upon the predominance, artificial and superficial, of race or class, but upon the loyal affection of free communities built upon the basis of equal rights." (*hear, hear*).

I now come to the last but not the least important of our claims in this respect *viz.*, that the invidious distinctions under the Arms Act should be abolished. Sentiment as well as reason alike recommends it. Not only will the galling sense of racial inferiority and the overt imputation of universal disloyalty be removed by such a measure, but people will also get rid of onerous disabilities in the way of defending themselves against the attacks of wild animals as well as lawless human adversaries.

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Local Self-Government.

Now we come to the subject which has given rise to a considerable discussion among us. If ever we attain our goal of self-government, it will not be merely through the expansion of Legislative Councils and their powers, nor yet through the admission of more Indians to Executive Councils or the establishment even of a national militia, though all of them have no doubt their proper use and importance in the scheme of our national progress. It will come in a very great measure with the advance and development of local self-government. When people generally so far understand their civic rights and duties as to be able to manage their own communal business, their roads and drains, their tanks and wells, their schools and dispensaries, it will no longer be possible to keep them from controlling the higher work of administration. Indeed, it is not always possible to do the latter satisfactorily without having served a full term of apprenticeship in the former, and I cannot do better than remind you of what was said by Mrs. Besant in her address to the Congress last December, while supporting the resolution on Self-Government: "The training for self-government is of vital import to the nation to-day. For the government of States is at once a science and an art: and in order that it may be worthily exercised, the lesson must be learnt in local self-government, then in provincial autonomy, and finally in the self-government of the nation: (*hear, hear*) for the work of governing is the most highly skilled profession upon earth. What then should you do? You should take part in local government wherever it is possible. As it is, take it and practice it, for you will gain experience and you will gain knowledge; and only that experience and knowledge will guide you when you come to speak in larger councils and to make your voice heard over vast areas. (*applause*). So I would plead to you to face this drudgery. It is drudgery, make no mistake; understand the details of local administration and understand how to manage your own drains, particularly your waterworks. Those are the alphabets of self-government: and unless you go through that drudgery, no amount of enthusiasm and love for the country will make your administration a success."

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No less emphatic was the advice of one of our most revered leaders of the Congress, Sir Subramania Iyer, as President of the Reception Committee of the last Congress. If this is the view of our leaders, the views of Government are no less clear. We need not go further back than the memorable Resolution of 1882 of Lord Ripon. You will remember what a generous scheme of local self-government was there laid down "to foster sedulously the small beginnings of independent political life." It will take me long, and it will hardly be profitable, to trace the history of the failure, the dismal failure, of that scheme. But I may be pardoned for pointing out that the failure was due neither to the Government of India, nor to the local Government, nor yet to the civil service in India, as is sometimes hastily assumed, but, so far at any rate as Bengal is concerned, to the whole framework of the scheme being changed by the Secretary of State for India in Council, in spite of the protests and objections of the authorities in this country.

Lord Ripon's Resolution laid down the following fundamental principles :

1. That the Local Governments should maintain throughout the country a network of Local Boards charged with definite duties and entrusted with definite funds.
2. That the jurisdiction of the Primary Boards should be so limited in area as to ensure both local knowledge and local interest on the part of each of the members.
3. That there should be a preponderance of non-official members to be chosen by election wherever possible.
4. That Government control on these bodies should be exercised from without rather than from within, non-official elected chairmen acting, wherever practicable, as chairmen of the Local Boards.

The Decentralisation Commission in their Report dealt with the matter at some length and also made some definite recommendations.

Lord Morley in his Reform Despatch dated 27th November, 1908, said :—"The village in India has been the fundamental and indestructible unit of the social system surviving the downfall of dynasty after dynasty. I desire," said Lord Morley to the Viceroy, "Your Excellency to consider the best way of carrying out a policy that would make the village a starting point of public life."

We have next the Resolution of Lord Hardinge's Government dated 1st of May, 1915, dealing with and assenting to many of the recommendations of the Decentralization Commission. We are, therefore, in agreement with Government as to the importance of local self-government. It is a matter of further general agreement that the re-development of the village as an administrative unit has been brought within the range of practical politics by the spread of the co-operative movement. I find from the report of Sir E. Maclagan's Committee on Co-operation in India that primary societies have grown from 832 in 1906-7 to 14,566 in 1913-14, the number of members from 88,582 to 661,859, and the amount of working capital from nil to 46,427,842 rupees. The report states: "no one reading these figures can fail to be struck by the magnitude which the growth has already attained or to be convinced that the movement has taken firm root. Societies are now so spread over all parts of India and the advantages which their members are obtaining are so patent that it is impossible to doubt that the movement will eventually attain dimensions compared to which its present size will appear negligible. As a consequence, there will undoubtedly arise, through the medium of co-operation, a powerful organisation formed of those agricultural classes, who are at present inarticulate through want of education and cohesion."

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Local self-government, supplemented by the spread of the co-operative movement, will gradually solve many of our most difficult problems—such as primary education, small industries, improved agriculture, indebtedness of the peasantry, rural sanitation and so forth, and to this we must devote our best energies and attention in the immediate future, bearing in mind that we have got to build from the village upwards.

Here is a vast field in which we can in co-operation with the Government work heart and soul for the amelioration of the condition of the masses of our people. It has been forcibly pointed out by that good friend of India Sir Daniell Hamilton that the development of the co-operative movement in the villages requires thousands of men. The civilians who have been in charge of this movement have done wonders considering their numbers. They deserve the very highest praise, but their numbers are far too few. 12,000 village banks seem a large number to have been started in 10 years, but, at the same rate of progress, India will not have been covered with village banks for another 400 or 500 years. Is the great industry of India, agriculture, to wait all this time before it is provided with a banking system? Are the 250 millions of Indian cultivators to go on paying 30, 40 and 50 per cent. for their finance for hundreds of years to come, while the rest of the civilised world gets all the money it wants at 3, 4 and 5 per cent? What India wants is more men to develop co-oper-

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ative credit and she must have them. The men are there, hundreds of them being turned out of her colleges every year with nothing to do, with nothing to look forward to. And every Indian will join in the expression of the hope that we shall soon see established in every province of India schools for the training in co-operative methods and co-operative finance of the best of India's young men, who will carry the co-operative flag into every village of India, and wage war on the darkness and the ignorance and the poverty which exist to-day and which are in a large measure due to want of co-operation. In the same connection, my friend Sir Theodore Morison has gathered from official reports highly interesting illustrations which Co-operative Credit Societies are giving to the self-culture of the people. In one instance, a man of middle age learnt to read and write slowly to keep the accounts of the bank of which he was President, and, though his first efforts were painfully hard to decipher, he persevered to such good purpose that his books are now the best kept in the Punjab. In another village, the President and officers of the bank had acquired such influence that they had reconstituted the ancient authority, of the village Panchayat for settling local disputes, with the result that litigation, which had been the curse of the place before, has now much decreased.

While I gratefully acknowledge the efforts now being made by the Government in all provinces for well and truly laying the foundations of local self-government, I cannot help regretting that the Resolution of the Government of India of last summer does not go far enough or even as far as Lord Ripon's Resolution of 1882 in the direction of recommending less official control and a greater extension of the elective principle, both as regards members and chairmen of District Boards. Let not our rulers forget that "self-government implies the right to go wrong for it is nobler for a nation as for a man to struggle towards excellence with its own natural force and vitality, however blindly and vainly, than to live in irreproachable decency under expert guidance from without." (*applause.*)

It is not possible for us any more now than it was for Lord Ripon in 1882 to lay down any hard and fast rules which shall be of universal application in a country so vast and in its local circumstances so varied as British India. All we can do is to ask that the principles laid down by Lord Ripon of undying memory should be generously given effect to *viz.*, distinct funds with distinct duties, not too large administrative areas, more and more of elections (both of members and chairmen) and less and less of official control from within. From our side, schemes for different provinces have been put forward from 1870 downwards. I will mention only those of the late Mr. Malabari, Mr. R. C. Dutt and Mr. Gokhale. Schemes have also been prepared from the

official side in almost all the different provinces—Bengal, Bombay, Madras, the U. P., the Punjab and the Central Provinces. It ought not therefore to be difficult in the existing state of the land to make an effective advance at once on an adjustment of these different schemes—and, if it is made in the right spirit, I feel confident that the ultimate success of local self-government in India is absolutely certain.

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It is for us to co-operate whole-heartedly with the officials for the success of the different measures of local self-government which are already being undertaken in the different provinces. Let us not assume, as we are sometimes unfortunately inclined to do, that the civilians will be loth to part with the powers which they have hitherto possessed. Let us in justice to the Indian Civil Service remember that the members of that distinguished body have never spared themselves in the service of India. Let me also implore my friends of the Indian Civil Service not to commit the mistake of looking upon the educated Indian as out of touch with his less favoured countrymen or trying to keep the latter down for his own personal profit and advancement. Let us look upon each other as willing and necessary co-adjutors for the advancement of India in every department. Let us not rail at the mote in our brother's eye without considering the beam that is in our own. Let neither of us indulge in prejudice or fretfulness, but work in friendly co-operation for the progress and prosperity of the teeming millions of India.

Development of our Commerce, Industries and Agriculture.

Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to whether India is growing richer or poorer under British Rule, there is none with regard to her extreme poverty. And there can never be political contentment without material prosperity shared by all classes of the people. And what the District Administration Committee of Bengal quotes with approval, as regards Bengal, namely, that our industrial backwardness is a great political danger, applies in fact and in reality to the whole of India.

No one will be disposed to question the fact of this amazing backwardness. Rich in all the resources of nature, India continues to be the poorest country in the civilized world. The result is that an unhealthy political activity has arisen among certain classes of the people. As the District Administration Committee of Bengal says: "This unrest compels Government to take repressive measures,—a regrettable necessity which makes all the more desirable the adoption of those remedial and beneficent measures which will afford the most certain cure of the worst evils of the situation while proving that Government is no less determined to create prosperity than to maintain order."

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What are these "remedial measures"? Technical schools and even technological institutes are not enough. These have in all modern States generally followed and not preceded the development of industries and manufactures. The first step taken by Japan was to start factories, either financed by Government or with Government control and managed by experts from abroad. In India alone, with the exception of spasmodic efforts, the Government adheres to the exploded *laissez faire* doctrine that the development of commerce and industry is not within the province of the State.

It is high time that this policy were abandoned. The necessity of carrying on demonstration work in agriculture, the greatest industry of the country, on a commercial scale, is admitted by all, and it is only where this principle has been put into practice that agricultural improvements have been taken up by the people. Similar results will follow if the same policy is pursued with regard to other industries and manufactures. They have followed whenever such experiments have been undertaken by the Government, as in the case of aluminium and chrome-tanning in Madras.

The time is singularly opportune. The war has put an end to the enormous imports of German and Austrian goods and Japan is already making great efforts to capture the trade which by right ought to be ours.

I have neither the knowledge nor the capacity to go into details, and I rejoice that the experts at the Congress of Indian Commerce were able to point out specific ways and means by which the Government can assist us in this respect. But I will venture to say that the solution of the problem can no longer be safely postponed. And it will test, as no other question has done, the altruism of English statesmanship, for in promoting and protecting Indian industries it may become necessary,—it *will* become necessary—to sacrifice the interests even of English manufacturers. (*applause, and hear, hear.*)

A Programme of Self-Help.

Brother delegates,—Hitherto I have been dealing with measures that can be undertaken only by the Government, and in doing so I have incidentally mentioned the various ways in which we ourselves must act and move forward. Indeed, the field for such work is so vast as to render it impossible of definition. Primary education, improvement of agriculture and industrial expansion, improvement of rural as well as urban sanitation—there is work enough and to spare for every one of us. And how much could we not do by our own efforts, if only we cared to organise ourselves. I venture to suggest that we, in this connection, should lay down a constructive and continuous programme.

of work in all these directions as a part of our Congress activities, and that Provincial and District Committees all over the country should occupy themselves throughout the year in some one or more of these manifold directions, so as to show the achievement of some result, however small, however insignificant, at the end of each year. For instance, while waiting for the establishment of a system of free and compulsory primary education, let each District branch of the Provincial Congress Committees be able to show that they have either directly or indirectly contributed to the establishment of ten, or even five, or even two primary schools in their district during one year. (*applause*). Similarly, we might very usefully and profitably extend our activity in supplementing the work of the District Local Boards and in spreading among our rural population some elementary knowledge of hygiene and sanitation and in organising relief for local and provincial distress, if and when need be.

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For this kind of self-help, the first requisite is to raise funds for the propoganda. Are we willing to do so? I confess to a feeling of diffidence, for though friends and leaders like Allan Octavian Hume (*applause*) have repeatedly asked us to make permanent provision for the work of the Congress, both here and in England, their advice seems to have fallen on absolutely deaf ears. Sir S. Iyer suggested last year that a body of Congress supporters should be brought into existence, each member thereof paying a subscription say of Rs. 25 per annum. He very modestly presumed that it would not be difficult to find in each province a few hundred of such subscribers, and he suggested that the funds so raised should be held and administered by a few trustees duly appointed, who should further be clothed with a corporate character by registration under the law so as to make them really competent to receive and hold, for the Congress, donations and endowments, which he hoped would not be long in coming. That is still to come. Let us at this Congress, wipe out the reproach that moderate Indian opinion only devotes a few days to public business in order to have the right during the rest of the year not to think any more about it. (*hear, hear*). Let us engrave in our hearts the advice which Mr. Hume gave us in 1904 when he said: "As for yourselves, stop foolish quarrels and depressing rivalries, substitute close and loyal co-operation and reasoned and constant action, give freely your time, your money and your hearts; speak little and do much." (*applause*). Let us begin to deal with the concrete problems of civic life on the basis of ascertained and accepted facts, and in order that our beloved institution, the Congress, may be a living actuality, let us begin by collecting first the funds which are indispensable for the carrying on of its work. It is my hope that this Congress may be a fertilising stream of steady effort fed by the spirit of service and sacrifice and spreading far and wide

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the blessings of peace and prosperity. If in speaking to you to-day—and I have spoken freely and frankly—I have succeeded in the smallest possible measure in advancing the object of the Indian National Congress and in appealing successfully, in however small a degree, to the better mind both of England and India, I shall consider my humble labours to have been more than amply recompensed.

Our Future.

And now, brother delegates, I have placed before you, to the best of my light, what the Government should do for us and what we should do for ourselves, so that we may have an India of the future answering our ideal, satisfying our aspirations, and rising to the height of our noblest emotions.

And towards this end the war is rapidly helping us onward. In the midst of the carnage and massacre, there is being accomplished the destruction of much that is evil and there is the budding forth of much that will abide. False pride and aloofness are giving place to union and genuine co-operation between those whom nothing before now seemed able to draw together. Protestant and Catholic, Churchman and Dissenter, Hindu and Moslem, (*applause*) Englishman and Indian, Colonial and coloured peoples are offering their daily worship not in separate sanctuaries but under the improvised shelter of the trench or the barn, animated by the same faith and trusting in the same inspiration. (*applause*). A new spirit of self-sacrifice, a new interest in the weak and suffering is abroad : self-indulgence is giving place to self-sacrifice, and throughout the British Empire there is prevailing an atmosphere of good-will and mutual service and esteem. It seems to me that, under the benign dispensation of an inscrutable Providence, we shall emerge into a new era of peace and good-will, and our beloved Motherland will occupy an honoured place in the Empire with which her fortunes are indissolubly linked, and we shall be the free and equal citizens of that great Empire, (*applause*) bearing its burdens, sharing its responsibilities and participating in its heritage of freedom and glory as comrades and brethren. (*Loud and long continued applause, a tremendous ovation from the vast assemblage*).

Formation of the Subjects Committee.

Formation
of the
Subjects
Committee.

The President :—“ Brother delegates, I have now to ask you to form your Subjects Committee and hand over to me the names of those whom you propose to honour by electing as Members of the Subjects Committee. I have also to announce that the Bombay Delegates will meet for the purpose on this platform. The Madras Delegates will meet in the Subjects Committee mandap. The Bengal Delegates will meet in their delegates' block

in the pandal itself ; and the delegates from the other provinces will meet at such places as will be convenient to them. The Subjects Committee will meet in the Subjects Committee mandap at 5-30 p. m. or such early time as may suit them. I think that 5 p. m. is a very good time. (*Cries of 5-30*). Yes, the Subjects Committee will meet at 5-30 and the names should be handed over as soon as the elections have been made.

Formati
of the
Subjects
Commit

For the list of Members of the Subjects Committee, *vide* Appendix A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea (Calcutta):--On behalf of the President, I have to make an announcement that the Congress meets to-morrow at 12 noon, standard time.

The Congress then rose for the day.



THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Tuesday the 28th December, 1915.

Congress
re-assembles

The Congress assembled at 12 noon, the attendance being larger than on the opening day. The President was again conducted through the pavilion in procession escorted by volunteers and the office-bearers of the Reception Committee and took his seat amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the great gathering. The proceedings commenced with the following song of welcome sung by Parsi, Hindu and Mahomedan ladies to the accompaniment of the Harmonium :—

राग—समाज. ताल—द्वुत तीन ताल.

भारत हमारा देश है, हित उसका निश्चय चाहेंगे,
उसके हितके कारण, हम कुछ न कुछ कर जाएंगे ॥

भारत हमारी मातृभूमी उसका ऋण हम पर है बहुत,
उसके मिटानेके लिये, हम कुछ न कुछ कर जाएंगे ॥ १ ॥

भारतके दुःखप्रद अवनति पर क्यों नहीं अश्रु बहावेंगे,
उसके हटानेके लिये हम कुछ न कुछ कर जाएंगे ॥ २ ॥

धर्म विद्या और धनसे उन्नति भारतकी होवे,
उस उन्नतिके मार्गमें हम कुछ न कुछ कर जाएंगे ॥ ३ ॥

Resolution I.

THE LATE MR. G. K. GOKHALE.

Resolu-
tion I.

The Late
Mr. G. K.
Gokhale.

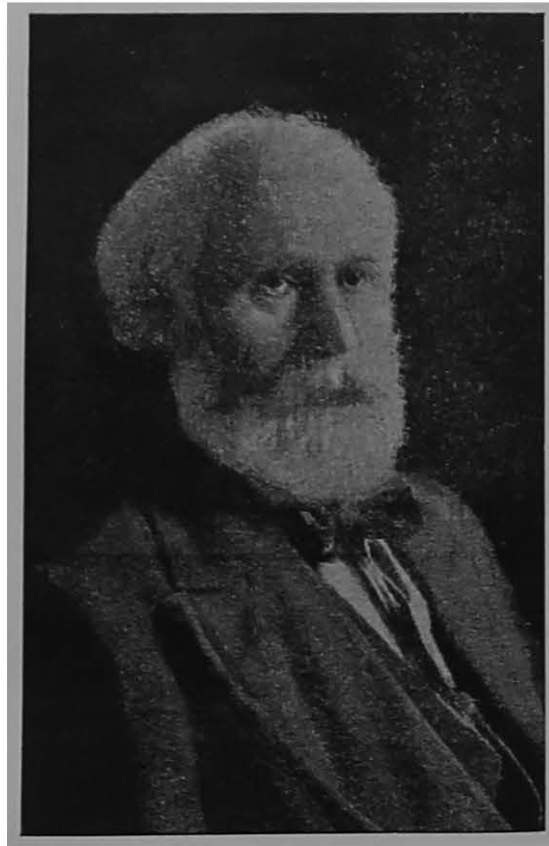
The President :—Brother Delegates, I am going to put the first resolution from the chair and I request you all to pass it standing in solemn silence. The following is the resolution :—

This Congress desires to place on record its deep sense of the great loss this country has sustained by the death of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who was prematurely cut off in the midst of a career of great public usefulness. He enjoyed in an equal measure the confidence of the Government and the love of the people. His great abilities, combined with a rare modesty of character, his selfless devotion to the cause of his country and his inestimable services to the people will enshrine his name in their grateful recollections and will be an unfailing source of inspiration to distant generations of his countrymen.

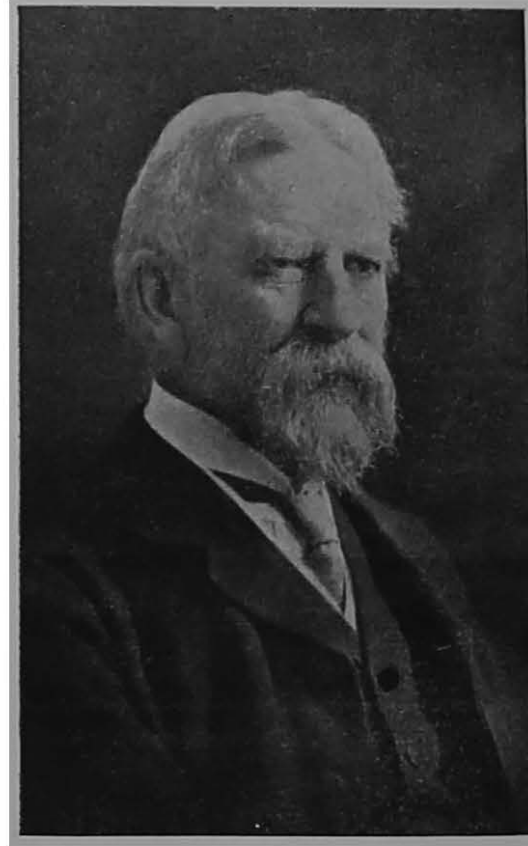
The moment the resolution was read, the audience rose to their feet in solemn silence and the resolution was then declared carried.



The late the Hon'ble Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, B. A., C. I. E.



The late Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P.



The late Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I.

The Bombay Art Printing Works, Fort.

Resolution II.**THE LATE MR. KEIR HARDIE.**

The President :—Brother Delegates, I ask you to do the same with regard to the next resolution which I am going to put before this assembly.

Resolution II.

The Late
Mr. Keir
Hardie.

This Congress desires to place on record India's great sorrow at the death of Keir Hardie, who, in and outside the House of Commons, rendered valuable services to this country which will be gratefully cherished by the people of India.

The audience similarly stood up and the resolution was declared carried.

Resolution III.**THE LATE SIR HENRY COTTON.**

The President :—Brother Delegates, I ask you to do the same with regard to the next resolution which runs as follows :—

Resolution III.

This Congress places on record its deep sense of loss in the death of Sir Henry Cotton, whose active sympathy for the people of India and life-long devotion to the cause of Indian progress and good government will ever be remembered with gratitude in this country. His courageous advocacy of the cause of the Assam coolie will remain a memorable example of his undaunted courage and greatness of heart. He served India as faithfully in Parliament as he had done as a member of the Civil Service, and India will long cherish his memory as a great administrator and a true friend.

The Late
Sir Henry
Cotton.

The audience stood up in solemn silence and the resolution was declared carried.

Resolution IV.**THE LATE SIR PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA.**

The President :—Brother Delegates, I ask you to do the same with regard to the next resolution which runs as follows :—

Resolution IV.

"This Congress desires to express its profound sorrow at the death of Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta, who was one of its distinguished founders and staunchest supporters. His long and exceptional career in the Bombay Legislative Council, his remarkable work in the Imperial

The Late
Sir
Pherozeshah
M. Mehta.

Resolu-
tion IV.

The Late
Sir Phe-
rozshah
M. Mehta.

Legislative Council and his other public activities, extending over a period of well-nigh fifty years, were of the highest value to the country. His invaluable services in the cause of Local Self-Government, higher education and constitutional progress combined with a firm grasp of principles and broad out-look, made him one of the greatest and most brilliant of Indian leaders and will remain a splendid example and a rich heritage for the people of India whom he served with rare ability and disinterestedness, indomitable courage and sagacious statesmanship.

The audience similarly stood up and carried the resolution in solemn silence.

Resolution V.

INDIA'S LOYALTY.

Resolu-
tion V.

India's
Loyalty.

The President :—Brother Delegates, the next resolution is also to be put from the chair, because it requires no words of mine or any one else to commend it to the assembly. The resolution runs as follows :—

This Congress places on record its profound sense of relief and thankfulness at the recovery of His Majesty the King-Emperor from his recent accident and respectfully begs to convey to His Majesty, on behalf of the people of India, their deep loyalty and profound devotion to the Throne, their unswerving allegiance to the British connection, and their firm resolve to stand by the Empire at all hazards and all costs.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

The President :—I only desire to add that this message will be transmitted to H. E. the Viceroy with the request on your behalf that it may be conveyed to His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor. (*applause.*)

The Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu then called for three cheers for His Majesty the King-Emperor. The whole assembly then stood up and gave three ringing cheers for His Majesty.



The late the Hon'ble Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta, M. A., LL. D., K. C. I. E.

Bombay Art Printing Works, Fort.



THE CONGRESS VOLUNTEER CORPS in Khaki Uniform.

**Captains (in the Centre) (To the right) Mr. R. G. Munsiff, B. A., LL. B., Barrister-at-law and (To the left) Mr. T. A. Kulkarni, B. A.
30th Indian National Congress, 1915, Bombay.**

Resolution VI.**SUCCESS TO GREAT BRITAIN AND HER ALLIES
IN THE PRESENT WAR.****Resolu-
tion VI.**

The President :—Brother Delegates, the next resolution is also one which requires no words from anybody to commend it to this great assembly. The resolution runs as follows :—

Success to
Great Bri-
tain and her
Allies in the
present War.

This Congress places on record its abiding sense of the righteousness of the cause espoused by Great Britain and her Allies in support of the principles of liberty, justice and humanity, and while expressing its gratification and pride at the splendid achievements of the British Navy in consonance with its glorious traditions and at the heroism displayed by the British, Indian and Colonial soldiers, earnestly prays that the cause of the Allies may be crowned with success.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

Resolution VII.**EXTENSION OF LORD HARDINGE'S TERM
OF OFFICE.****Resolu-
tion VII.**

The President :—Brother Delegates, with regard to the next resolution also, it is not necessary that anybody should speak to it, because I have reason to believe that it is the unanimous wish of the whole people of India. The resolution is as follows :—

Extension of
Lord
Hardinge's
term of
Office.

This Congress begs to place on record its sense of gratitude to His Majesty's Government for extending the term of office of His Excellency Lord Hardinge as Viceroy of India till March next, and prays that His Excellency's tenure of office may be extended till after the present crisis is over.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

Resolution VIII.**MILITARY AND NAVAL TRAINING AND
VOLUNTEERING.****Resolu-
tion VIII.**

The President :—I call upon Sir Narayan Chandavarkar to move the next resolution.

Military and
Naval
training
and Volun-
teering.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, (Bombay) :—The resolution which I have the honour to propose reads as follows :—

Sir N. G.
Chanda-
varkar.

This Congress while re-affirming its previous Resolutions on the subjects of Military training and Volunteering urges on the Government.

**Resolu-
tion VIII.**

Military and
Naval
training
and Volun-
teering.

Sir N. G.
Chanda-
varkar.

- (1) the justice and expediency of admitting Indians to Commissions in the Army and Navy and of throwing open to them the existing Military and Naval schools and Colleges and of opening fresh ones in the country so that they may be trained for Military and Naval careers ; and
- (2) the necessity of re-organising the present system of volunteering with due regard to the right of the people of the country to enlist themselves as citizen soldiers of the Empire without distinction of race, class or creed.

Mr. President, Brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—Under ordinary circumstances and following the precedents of the previous sessions of the Congress, this resolution would have been put from the chair but for the fact that at this juncture of our history, the problem of military and naval careers for our people and especially the educated youth of India and also the question of volunteering have reached a stage not only of fresh importance but of an emphatic character which makes the question a problem of problems having behind it, inherent in its character as it stands revealed before us to-day, an imperial and therefore a vital force, vital to the interests, the united interests, of Great Britain and India. (*applause.*) In other words, this problem has now become a problem of practical politics. Years ago, it might have been said, perhaps with some force, that the questions raised by the terms of this resolution were more or less of an academic or Utopian character. But as it was explained most lucidly yesterday in the statesmanlike address of the President (*applause*), the question of throwing open military and naval careers to our people is a question of the most pressing character now, so much so that one of the leading dailies of this country—“The Times of India”—has admitted this morning that this is one of the questions pressed by the Congress, the solution of which can no longer be delayed. (*applause*). What then are the fresh features of this question, this problem, which have made it a problem of highly imperial expediency and policy. Note the signs of the times, watch the movements of the spirit, whether in India or in England, compare that spirit and those signs with similar signs of import, say, a hundred years ago, and you see at once, you discern with true prophetic insight, how this military and naval question has become a question which the British statesman is called upon by the voice of Providence to solve, for the future development not only of India, but of India, England and the Colonies of Great Britain.

About 115 years ago, England tried the experiment,—in the year 1800—of sending Indian troops to Europe so that they might stand shoulder to shoulder to fight for the Empire. When at

the beginning of the present war our Indian troops were sent to the front, there were many or most amongst us who thought that it was an experiment, the first of its kind, and I remember reading in the utterances of public men and even in the responsible statements of Ministers of the Crown that this was an experiment which was rendered necessary by the exigencies and necessities of the time and that necessity had appeared all of a sudden. But mark you, in the history of nations, in the history of a nation standing by itself, and even more so in the history of two nations representing different types of civilisation, but brought together within the fold of what we call Empire and Imperialism, there is no suddenness in any movement. Therefore, speaking with the voice of history, we may well say the sending of the Indian troops to England to fight at the front for our King-Emperor was a dispensation of Providence which developed in its own time, having its germinal seed cast into the soil, the fructifying and fertile soil, of British India 115 years ago. There was no suddenness, though there was slowness in the working out of this destiny under Divine Providence. Just 115 years ago, Indian troops from Bombay were sent to Egypt and, a few years after that, one of the most eminent statesmen of Great Britain, whose name is still gratefully enshrined in our Indian memories, who in his time proved one of the best friends and benefactors of India, Sir John Malcolm, recorded that event in 1827 in these words which are pregnant and suggestive, and I may almost say prophetic,—prophetic because they foretold, as it were, the spirit the manifestation of which we have the privilege to witness in our own times now. Sir John Malcolm wrote, speaking of that event of the sending of Indian troops to Egypt in 1800: “We can hardly contemplate an event in any history more calculated to inspire reflection on the character”—mark the words—“of the transcendent power which our country”—that is England—“has attained than the meeting of her European and Indian armies on the shores of the Mediterranean.” That transcendent power stands revealed before us to-day in newly marked features, features the signs of which no one can fail to mistake, who has the good of England and India at heart. Our troops have gone, they have gone without caring for their caste prejudices, they have fought side by side with the British soldier, and it now stands recorded of them to their glory and to their credit, to our glory and to our credit, (*applause*) that their bravery, their heroism, their self-sacrifice, their identification heart and soul with the interests, the honour and the integrity of the British Empire, are “signal proofs, are stirring records of the comradeship in arms that exist between British and Indian soldiers.” Those are the words of Sir John French who commanded the British Army until the other day at the front. But the sending of Indian troops, their heroism, their bravery—these are not the only signs of the times; but there is a deeper, a more

Resolu-
tion VIII.

Military and
Naval
training
and Volun-
teering.

Sir N. G.
Chanda-
varkar.

Resolu-
tion VIII.

Military and
Naval
training
and Volun-
teering.

Sir N. G.
Chanda-
varkar.

soul-stirring, and perhaps a more silent movement of the spiritual life,—I may call it—of India, which he who sees can see, which he who hears can hear, the spirit of enthusiasm, the spirit of loyalty and the spirit of ardent desire by which most of the educated youths of India now have been fired, who wish to go to the front if only an opportunity were given to them. (*applause.*) I have during the last eight months or so travelled over some parts of the country, I have come in contact with the old and the young amongst us, and if this fervour of imperial patriotism, this awakening of the spiritual soul of India, this desire to bear arms for the King may not show itself in a pointed form in old men like myself, yet I have found that among ninety five out of a hundred young men there has been a very keen desire to enlist themselves, if they can, in the service of His Majesty the King-Emperor for the defence of the Empire (*applause*). And what is more apart from the professional soldier, how many of our young men who are serving as doctors or following other avocations of life, have given up their pursuits in this country, (*hear, hear*) and have gone to Europe or to Mesopotamia, to Basra and other places, merely because their one and sole desire has been to serve their country by serving their King and the British Empire, of which they feel they must be useful members and citizens (*applause*). Can these signs of the times be mistaken?

In an audience like this, I can only endeavour to bring out this spirit which has animated the youth of this country by force of words and language, but, brother delegates, if you want an object lesson of this desire, this growing desire, amongst the educated youth of this country, you have only to cast your sight at these young men in their uniform before me as volunteers which is highly suggestive and provocative of the thought which is embodied in the terms of the resolution which I have now placed before you for your acceptance (*applause*). It will not do therefore to say that this question is any longer of a Utopian character. That education only is complete which recognises in practice that the young men of this country should be allowed to bear arms so that they can be useful to the Empire in times of emergency (*applause*).

You, Sir, in your Presidential address yesterday quoted Lord Bryce as having said some years ago, that England would have been great and mighty, would have occupied a prominent place amongst the European and other civilised nations, even if she had not been brought in contact with India. You said that Lord Bryce himself would be compelled to admit now that he had turned out a false prophet, because this war has proved to the hilt that England cannot stand for one single moment without India (*applause*), and India cannot stand for a single moment without England. In other words, if I may vary the words of a poet,

England's cause is India's, they rise or fall together. That was the comment which you made on Lord Bryce's statement. May I be permitted to offer another comment on the false prophecy of Lord Bryce—and I make that comment in all humility, because Lord Bryce happens to be one of the celebrated and acknowledged historians of our times, and I am but a feeble and humble student of history. And yet even a feeble and humble student of history may be able to throw light on the lessons of history if he is careful to mark the movements of nations from times ancient. It may be true that if England had stood alone, if England had remained insular, she might have become mighty like other nations that have stood single. While that law of history as derived from its lessons may be acknowledged to be correct, a greater, a higher, a more sacred law stands writ large on the record of nations and the pages of history, and it is this: Once a nation, which has remained isolated and single, steps out of its orbit and comes in contact with another nation with its own type of civilisation and the two nations are brought within the fold of Empire, then the law of history is that the nation which has brought within its fold the other nation,—once put upon a career of what is called Empire or Imperialism,—has no other life than the life of the two put together. And the life of the Empire, true Imperialism, means that England will live and endure and will be true to her own traditions, will have her vitality preserved and continued, by the grace of God, provided she raises India to her own level (*applause*). That is the law which you and I have to bear in mind; that is the law which British statesmen have to bear in mind. And this crisis of the war has come to teach us many a valuable lesson and this lesson in particular, that England cannot do without India and India cannot do without England. And, therefore, united we must stand, and we can only stand united if, taking advantage of the present psychological moment in the destiny of the Empire to which we are bound, British statesmanship rises equal to the occasion, gives the right-hand of fellowship and says to our educated fellow-men "Come within the fold of our military schools and naval schools and colleges" (*applause*).

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Military and Naval training and Volunteering.

Sir N. G. Chandavarkar.

So far, I have dealt with the question, with the problem of military and naval careers. I come now to the equally important question of Volunteering. A friend of mine reminded me yesterday evening that in speaking to this resolution, I had better hunt up the statute on the subject of Volunteering and study the preamble. I was aware of the preamble, but profiting by the friendly advice of that friend, I have revised my memory. I have read the preamble. The preamble says: "Whereas many loyal subjects of Her Majesty have volunteered their services for the protection of life and property and the preservation of the peace, therefore it is expedient to enact a law

Resolution VIII. on the subject of volunteering." The very basis of volunteering is that loyal subjects should be given an opportunity of giving solid proof of their loyalty to the Crown by enlisting themselves as volunteers. And in this connection, I am reminded of an event which happened in Bombay in 1877. In that year the European Volunteer Corps of Bombay was formed and it was formed at a public meeting not of the Europeans only but of the inhabitants of Bombay, consisting of Hindus, Parsis, Mussalmans, Indian Christians and Europeans. It was a Sheriff's meeting and when the meeting was advertised, the late Sir P. M. Mehta, (*applause*) the fighter of fighters, whose eagle eye always discerned where there was a departure being made from the principles of British equality and righteousness and fairness, rose equal to the occasion, sought the help of the late Mr. Telang and gave notice to the conveners of the meeting that it was unfair that a meeting of the public of Bombay composed of all classes should be called, —for what?—for the purpose of telling them that it is the Europeans only who were fitted to be volunteers and that the rest must be excluded. (*Cries of "Shame"*). Let us follow the story, because I have not completed it. Mr. Telang and Mr. Mehta, (as he then was) were not content merely with sending a protest against the meeting. Both of them attended it. Sir Richard Temple, who was then Governor of Bombay, presided. Mr. Mehta opened the campaign in a forcible speech. What was the answer given to him? The spokesman at the meeting on behalf of the Europeans, who were present under the presidency of Sir Richard Temple, was one whose name some of you must be still remembering. It was Sir Raymond West who was then an eminent Judge of the High Court of Bombay and who for years occupied the honourable place of Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University. His reply was that Indians were indeed justified in expressing their longing to enlist themselves as volunteers but a volunteer corps was not a mere corps of volunteers but was something in the nature of a club where all the members messed together and there was perfect comradeship. Indians divided into castes were disqualified from its privileges. Suppose, said Sir Raymond West at the Meeting, a Mahar enlisted himself as a volunteer and Mr. Telang also enlisted himself as a volunteer, would the latter mess at the same table with the Mahar? Sir Raymond West concluded in these words, which I think so important that I must read them to you, because they seem to me to stand in the light of a prophecy: "Mr. Mehta's aspirations are those of a patriot and philosopher. I doubt it not, and no one that I here know of does doubt it. I trust that those aspirations of Mr. Mehta and Mr. Telang will be realised one day." "I trust," continued Sir Raymond West, speaking as the mouthpiece of the Europeans then present, one of whom was Sir Richard Temple, the Governor of Bombay, "I trust the time will come for their realisation, and till then I trust Mr. Mehta

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and Mr. Telang will exert themselves rather towards training their countrymen to patience, to zeal, to patriotism and manliness." Forty years have passed since then. Mr. Telang, one of our most indefatigable workers and patriots, who served and worked for his country, has gone : the other veteran Sir Pherozebshah Mehta whose services to the country are writ large on our destinies, has done his work and departed after training us to patience, to zeal, to patriotism and above all to manliness. And now the time is come when we may ask—"Is it not now for the British Government to open the doors of volunteering to our people? (*Hear, hear and applause.*)

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I and you have an abiding sense of faith in the teachings of British history and in the traditions of the British Government and the British race (*applause*).

We hope and trust that when the war is over, military and naval careers will be opened to us and that volunteer corps too will also be accessible to us. And no moment is more opportune than the present for formally placing this resolution before you. During this season of Christmas, His Majesty only the other day sent an affectionate, friendly and heartfelt message to the Army and Navy of the British Empire. At this hour, in this season of Christmas, we bow our heads before His Majesty the King-Emperor and pray that we may be enabled to become members of those professions for the defence of the Empire at large. (*Loud and continued applause*).

The President :—Before calling upon the next speaker, I would venture to remind the delegates that our time limit is 10 minutes for the proposer and 5 minutes for those who follow.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. V. Joshi (Berar), in seconding the resolution, addressed the audience in Marathi and the following is the summary of his speech :—

The proposer has given the reasons why this resolution should, instead of being put from the chair, be discussed. The thousands of Indian soldiers, who have sacrificed their lives on the field of battle in Europe, have given a special significance to this question just now. The request embodied in the resolution is made with the object of getting facilities and opportunities to the people of this country, first, to qualify themselves by necessary training and then serve the cause of the Empire. When Germany with its initial impetuosity overran Belgium, it relied on two things, that Indians were ready to revolt against British rule and that Indians, even if well disposed, were not qualified as a nation to fight. They were grievously wrong in the first but they were right as regards the second and are right even to-day. And why? Because we had no military training and are not allowed to volunteer. We marvel at 30 or 40 lakhs of Englishmen enlisting

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Joshi.

Resolution VIII. as volunteers in face of certain death; but if opportunities were given to the people of this country, I have no doubt hundreds of thousands would have been equally ready to sacrifice their lives. Do we feel the same interest in the Empire as an Englishman does? How can we unless equal opportunities were given to us as to other component parts of the Empire? If only India were ready, the six or seven millions of Germans could not avail. We could easily have spared 1 to 10 millions. Perhaps Germany might have never begun the war and the history of the world might have been otherwise. Even now, if the right to volunteer is granted, we shall show in six months for what we shall be ready. The two things demonstrated in this war as necessary for offensive operations are long distance artillery and men. They have since produced shells but fighting men cannot be produced to order. Belgium was overrun, and so was Serbia for want of fighting men and even in Mesopotamia a vigorous offensive cannot be taken for want of men. India can easily supply the want, only if opportunities were given.

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The Hon. Mr. M. V. Joshi.

The resolution speaks of justice and expediency in allowing Indians to volunteer, but what is expediency to us may not be so to our rulers. It is because we want our rulers to see the expediency as *we* see it that we submit this resolution for the consideration of the Government. I therefore, commend, this resolution to your acceptance.

Mr. R. C. Bonerjee.

Mr. R. C. Bonerjee, (Bengal):—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, it seems to me somewhat laboured, after the clear and concise remarks of our President yesterday and the erudite addresses to which you have just listened for some one else to support this motion. But it is not inappropriate that one coming, as I do, from the Province of Bengal, that Province about which Lord Macaulay made that most didactic and inaccurate utterance to which our President referred yesterday and which every event in the history of Bengal has proved to be unhistoric and false (*applause*), it is not inappropriate that I should say perhaps a few words in regard to this most important motion.

Now, this motion has been divided into two parts, one dealing with the issue of commissions to Indians, the second with the subject of volunteering. All self-governing nations pride themselves that they are self-governing because they are logical. Where is the logic in excluding Indians from the Commissioned ranks in the army? The logic is this: Indians are good enough to fight as soldiers, they are not good enough to occupy the position of officers (*shame*). If in every profession, in every trade, where Indians have been allowed to rise to the highest positions, they have shown themselves,—our President is an example (*applause*)—worthy to rank with the highest of any

other nation in the world—is it to be said, can it be said, that the trade of a soldier requires more brains than the trade of a lawyer? Is it to be said that the trade of a soldier requires more ingenuity than the trade of a biologist or a professor like Professor J. C. Bose? (*applause*). Is it to be said that the profession of commanding an army requires more genius than that of producing poems like those of Rabindranath Tagore? (*applause*) and further is it to be said that a country which has produced generals like Shivaji and Ranjit Singh (*applause*) is incapable of producing generals now? Secondly, if that argument is advanced, and if all these considerations are swept away, then the logic of excluding Indians from commissions in the army has failed in this war. Is it harder to heal the sick under cannonade, is it harder to direct a hospital which is being constantly shelled than to direct an army which at any rate has some means of protecting itself? Indians are allowed to have commissions to go into dangerous positions to heal the people; are they to be refused positions to kill the enemies of the country? (*Hear, hear*). It is ridiculous. All people who have opposed the grant of self-government to India have opposed it, now at least, on the ground that we are not ready for it. What is one of the most important elements of self-government? Surely, this, namely, the capacity to save oneself, the capacity to protect oneself and the capacity to protect one's own institutions. Are we to be denied all possibility of learning how to protect ourselves and then to be told that we are not fit for self-government? It is as if we were to be kept away by artificial barriers from the sea and then be told that we could never be sailors because we had not learnt to swim (*applause*).

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Gentlemen, the second portion of the motion asks that Indians may be permitted to enrol themselves as Volunteers. Now there can be only two objections to this. One is that they are not fit to be volunteers. We ask for all proper physical tests to be applied, and if we fail, it is our own fault. Secondly, were they to be armed, they may turn their arms against England. If the leaders of English thought really think so, why do they after one year of the war, boast in the House of Commons, boast before the world, that of all parts of the Empire that have supported them, not the least loyal and the least enthusiastic are the peoples of India? (*applause*). In the next place, one of the accusations that the leaders of English thought in this country have always brought against the Indian is his lack of discipline. They say that the one thing we have to learn is discipline. They blame us, as a matter of fact, for not listening to our leaders to whom they do not listen themselves (*laughter*); but how are we to get this discipline better than by military training? If indeed it is necessary that the youth of the country should be trained to discipline, what better training can they have than the training of a volunteer?

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Mr. R. C.
Bonarjee.

I have not gone deeply, the time, as the President has reminded you, is very short.—I have not gone deeply into the reasons but even if the reasons that I have advanced and the more cogent reasons that have been advanced were to fail, I would point out to the Governors of the country the reason that the nation feels—what nation can help feeling it?—that this will help the growth of manliness. It may be that we shall have to shout for a long time to get this reform, but perseverance is one of the qualities that makes soldiers, and in order to show ourselves worthy of being soldiers, we must be worthy, at any rate, of perseverance in asking for it. It may be that concessions are wrung slowly and by force of circumstances from the Government, yet there will come a time when we shall prove that we are in full flood, for,

“ For while the tired waves vainly breaking
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
By creeks and inlets slowly making
Comes silent flooding in the main ” (*applause*).

Lala M.
Bahadur
Chand.

Lala M. Bahadur Chand, (Lahore):—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen—The resolution that I am called upon to support is to my mind the most important of all resolutions. I do not agree with Sir Narayan Chandavarkar when he says that this was a resolution which should have been proposed by the chair and no speeches were required for it, because I consider it the most important resolution and I think it is merely for this reason that our worthy President in his inaugural address gave it more prominence than to any other demand of the Congress. If you, gentlemen, can persuade the Government to remove the restrictions and disabilities as regards commissions in the army and enrolment as volunteers, I think you cannot have so much necessity of pressing other demands; because my belief is that other demands are naturally conceded with this one concession. My belief is that the restrictions and disabilities as regards Commissions in the army and as regards our enrolment as volunteers are due to distrust on the part of the Government in this particular department at least, though in all other departments the disabilities are not due so much to distrust as to self-interest in the distribution of the loaves and fishes in the hands of Government. If you can remove this distrust, all other inequalities will be easily adjusted. Government, you must know, want men for the Army. This want was always felt; it was not only now at the time of war that it is felt, it was perceived even before. The sources for enlisting European soldiers are very limited. The United Kingdom and the Colonies do not afford such unlimited sources and at the same time the maintenance of a large European standing Army is most expensive. The only field that was inexhaustible was India; but that field was not tapped by the Government.

As was just now said by the previous speaker, it was not tapped simply because the idea was this; because there was a lurking apprehension in the Government's mind, that raising a large Indian army would perhaps mean a menace to Government itself. My faith is that if measures were taken in proper time and volunteers were trained, the Government would have been able to put millions and millions of Indian soldiers, who would have by this time solved the problem of German militarism. It is our duty, gentlemen, to assure the Government and prove that they are working under false and unfounded fears. It must be plainly told to the Government that their rule stands on rocky foundations of justice and good-will of the people, and they must not be afraid of the people to whom they are doing so much good. It is impossible to believe—an individual here or there may prove ungrateful—but it is impossible to believe that the whole people may prove ungrateful to those who are doing so much good. It is clear then, gentlemen, that it is the policy of distrust that stands in the way of an open door to Indians to enter into the Army without distinctions of creed, caste or race. It is a false excuse to say that such and such a race does not possess the courage and cannot give proper material for the army.

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As far as the Punjab is concerned, I can quote figures and facts to prove that some races have been left out which gave the Sikh army their best generals and their best soldiers. It is plain that in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh there was no restriction whatever on entry into the army and I can tell you that the greatest generals and soldiers of Ranjit Singh did not come from the Rajputs or the Jats but most of them were Kshathriyas. There is no time to enter into details but I may quote one instance, one name, which is the most well-known name up to this time in the Punjab, and it is a household word. This name is such that it will ever live fresh in the memory of the people. I can tell you that the name of Maharaja Ranjit Singh may fall into oblivion, but this name will be remembered for ever and ever. The name of that General is Hari Singh Natwa. Ranjit Singh put him to the task of putting down the turbulent tribes on the Frontier and he so completely subdued them and spread such a terror in their minds that up to this time the Pathan women, and the women of the Punjab, when they have to silence their children, utter the name of that general and the mere mention of his name is sufficient to silence a child who is turbulent. When a child is turbulent, the mother says to the child: "Be silent, Hariya is coming"; and that is sufficient to silence the child. Hariya is nothing else than the abbreviation of Hari Singh Natwa. The wonder is that at this time the tribesmen of that great general and even the descendants of that great general who are now living are debarred from entering the Army. [*Here the President sounded his gong.*] As to the

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importance of trust and confidence in the Indian soldier, I cannot command better and more forcible words, Sir, than the words of the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea which I quote from a speech which he delivered at Poona :—

“ In this connection it is impossible not to refer to the exclusion of our countrymen from the commissioned ranks in the Army. The bravest native soldier, a born warrior, and though he may have in him the making of a great Captain, cannot in these days rise beyond the rank of a Subadar-Major or a Resaldar-Major in the British Army. A Shivaji, a Hyder Ali, a Ranjit Singh, a Madhaji Scindia, could not now have risen to the position of the Colonel of a Regiment or the Captain of a Company. This ostracism of a whole people, this exclusion of the representatives of the Military races in India from high command in the Army, cannot add to the strength and the stability or the greatness of the Empire. The Romans, the up-builders of the mightiest Empire in the ancient world, followed a different policy. Gibbon says :—

“ But in the eye of the law all Roman citizens were equal, and all the subjects of the Empire were citizens of Rome.....and the bold adventurer from Germany or Arabia was admitted with equal favour to the Civil or Military command which citizens alone had been once entitled to assume over the conquests of his fathers.”

Trust in the people, confidence in the ruled, is the secret of successful imperial sway. Never was there a more striking illustration of this truth than in the splendid results which followed the adoption of this policy by Akbar. A stranger to the country, the son of a prince who had been driven from his throne, beset with enormous difficulties at the commencement of his reign, he surmounted them all and founded the mightiest Empire of his time, which for nearly two centuries continued to flourish with undiminished vigour. What was the secret? Where had Akbar learnt it? He loved the people and trusted them. They returned his love with abundant measure of gratitude which constituted the greatest bulwark of his throne.” [*The President again sounded the gong and the speaker retired.*]

Mr. K.
Venkata-
reddi
Nayudu.

Mr. K. Venkatarreddi Nayudu, (Madras) :—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I come from the Andhra land and to the Andhras this resolution has special importance. It is this that for some years past, the descendants of those that won the Carnatic for the British have been excluded from the Army. Years ago in my childhood, whole villages could be pointed out in the Madras Presidency in the Telugu land, villages composed of commissioned officers whose pension was larger than the revenues of the villages they inhabited. Now, when the prohibition has been withdrawn and an attempt has been made to

recruit from the Telugus, every difficulty has been felt to find men, and why? Because the sons of these commissioned officers are now rich on account of the rich plains of the Godaveri and Krishna,—these rich sons could not accept the lowest place on the rank and file, and when we want the recruiting officers to give commissions to our men, Government are not prepared. This resolution, therefore, on the question of giving commissions has special importance to us. But more than the first part of the resolution, I would lay greater stress on the second part, for the inherent principle laid therein is that of effective defence for our Empire. If this war that is now raging has taught anything to the world, it is this, 'that no nation could ever be aware when a war may break out, no nation could ever be aware how its allies might stand by it, no nation could ever be aware how treaties would be respected.' Belgium with England to her right, with France on her borders, could not be saved against the vandalism of Germany. Turn again to poor Servia. Servia with Greece to whom she was bound by treaty, with Italy so close to her,—Servia could not be saved. Coming to our own waters, when that mischievous little imp of an Emden was committing havoc on our shores, it was left to an Australian Cruiser to save us from that danger. How long can we go on at that rate? (*applause*). Are we not to defend ourselves? What is our Army and Navy to-day? 75,000 British soldiers and 150,000 of our own men of whom a great lot has been going away to defend three hundred millions! Impossible. How is that to be done? How are we to defend ourselves is the next question. If we propose a regular Army, the cost would be almost prohibitive. From this very platform, those leaders whom I see to my right, I have known for years and years, urging from this platform and in the Press that it was impossible to increase the military expenditure of the country. If a regular Army cannot be maintained, what is the other alternative? It is only that of allowing us to be trained as volunteers. It is only then that we can effectively defend ourselves. The "Times of India" in its leader yesterday, while admitting, as Sir Narayan Chandavarkar pointed out, that there was no difference of opinion on this point, wanted us to wait, and said that it was not discussed properly, and we must wait till the war was over. If only the "Times" were in touch with what is going on in the South, if only it were aware of the resolutions passed at the Andhra Conference and at the District Conferences in the Telugu country year after year, it would have been aware that the question has been well discussed and threshed out and there is nothing more to be said. Delay we cannot have. There is no knowing when the avalanche of war might come upon a nation, and if to-morrow there should be complications, how are we to defend ourselves? Therefore, gentlemen, I would ask you to pass this resolution without the slightest delay in the name of our country. (*applause*).

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Pundit Gokaran Nath Misra, (Lucknow) then made a speech in Hindi in support of the proposition.

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The President :—This resolution has been duly proposed and seconded and supported. Brother delegates, is it your pleasure that this resolution should be passed? (*Cries of Yes, Yes.*)

**Pundit
Gokaran
Nath
Misra.**

The resolution was then declared carried.

Resolution IX.

THE ARMS ACT.

**Resolu-
tion IX.**

The President :—The next resolution is moved from the chair because it has been moved so often that it was not considered necessary to have it proposed and formally seconded again. The resolution is :—

**The Arms
Act.**

In view of the hardship entailed by the Arms Act (XI of 1878) as at present administered, and the rules made thereunder and the unmerited slur which it casts upon the people of this country, this Congress is of opinion that the said Act and the rules made thereunder should be so modified that any restrictions which may be considered necessary as to the possession and bearing and use of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India, and that all licenses should be liberally issued, shall not require renewal, shall operate within the whole of the province concerned and shall be revocable only on proof of misuse.

The President :—Brother delegates, is it your pleasure that I should declare this resolution passed? (*Cries of Yes, Yes.*)

The resolution was then declared carried.

Resolution X.

INDIA AND THE COLONIES.

**Resolu-
tion X.**

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, (Bombay), who on rising was received with an ovation, said :—Mr. President and friends, the resolution that stands in my name reads thus :—

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**Mr. M. K.
Gandhi.**

This Congress regrets that the existing laws affecting Indians in South Africa and Canada have not, in spite of the liberal and imperialistic declarations of Colonial Statesmen, been justly and equally administered and this Congress trusts that the Self-Governing Colonies will extend to the Indian emigrants equal rights with European emigrants and that the Imperial Government will use all possible means to secure the rights which have been hitherto unjustly withheld from them, thus causing widespread dissatisfaction and discontent.

May I please appeal to the press to alter the word "equally" to "equitably" because that was the word given last night at the Subjects Committee meeting.

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Mr. M. K.
Gandhi.

Friends, it is an irony of fate that, whilst this vast assembly will be regretting the attitude, the hostile attitude, that has been adopted by the self-governing Colonies, a contingent of your countrymen formed in South Africa will be nearing the theatre of war in order to help the sick and the wounded. I am in possession of facts in connection with this contingent formed in South Africa, which shows that it is composed of the middle classes which, in accordance with the "Times of India" are going to form the future self-governing nation. These men are drawn from ex-indentured Indians and their children; they are drawn from the petty hawkers, the toilers and the traders—all these men compose this great contingent. And yet the Colonies do not consider it necessary to alter their attitude, nor do I see the logic in their altering their policy. It is the fashion now-a-days to consider that because we have taken our humble share in the war by not being disloyal to the Government at the present juncture, we are entitled to rights which have been hitherto withheld from us as if those rights were withheld from us, because our loyalty was suspected. No, my friends. If they have been withheld from us, the reasons are different and those reasons will have to be altered. They are due, some of them, to undying prejudices; they are due, some of them, to economic causes and these will have to be examined. The prejudices will have to be borne down.

What are the hardships that our countrymen are labouring under in South Africa, in Canada and in the other self-governing Colonies? In South Africa, the settlement of 1914 secured what the passive resisters were fighting for and nothing more and they were fighting for the restoration of legal equality in connection with emigration from British India and certain other things. That legal equality has been restored, the other things granted, but the domestic troubles still remain, and if it was not the custom unfortunately inherited for the last thirty years that the language, the predominant language in this assembly, should be English, our Madras friends will have taken good care to learn one of the Northern vernaculars and then there are men enough from South Africa who would tell you in one of our own tongues the difficulties that we have to go through even now in South Africa. They are in connection with the holding of landed property; they are in connection with men who, having been once domiciled in South Africa, return to South Africa; there are difficulties in connection with the admission of their children and in connection with trade licences. These are, if I may call them so, bread-and-butter difficulties. There are other difficulties which I shall

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not enumerate just now. In Canada, it is not possible for those brave Sikhs who are domiciled there to bring their wives and children. (*cries of "shame"*) That is the difficulty in Canada. The law is the same but the administration is vilely unequal. I feel that this unequal administration will not be altered because of the splendid aid which India is said to have rendered to the Empire.

Then how are these difficulties to be met? I do not intend to go into details; but the Congress proposes that this difficulty can be met by an appeal to the sense of justice of colonial statesmen and by an appeal to the Imperial Government. I fear that the Congress can only do this. Lord Hardinge, only a few months ago, made a fervent appeal to Indian publicists and to Indian public statesmen for helping him to come to an honourable solution which will retain the dignity of India and at the same time not cause any trouble to the self-governing colonies. Lord Hardinge is still waiting for an answer. That answer is not supplied by the Congress nor can it be supplied by the Congress. It has to be supplied by associations such as the Imperial Citizenship Association, the specialists, if I may call them so. The Congress has given them the lead and it is for these associations to frame the details in which they will have to examine the rival claims and offer to Lord Hardinge a detailed solution, a solution which will satisfy the colonial Governments as well as the Indian people and will not take away anything whatsoever from the just demands that this resolution makes. With these words I have much pleasure in proposing this resolution. (*Loud applause*).

Mr. G. A. Natesan.

Mr. G. A. Natesan, (Madras):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the brave and victorious general, who has just returned to his motherland after winning, in a brave feat of arms with weapons unique and almost unparalleled in the history of the world, has spoken on the question, and I feel that even as humble camp-followers, we in India have very little right to speak of or to take part in narrating the story of the struggle in which he and his heroic comrades have played such a chivalrous and honourable part. I only venture to ask you to recall that the resolution this year on the subject is somewhat different from that which we used to adopt for some years past. In previous years, we used to state with indignation and sometimes with despair, that the Imperial Government by their *non-possumus* attitude had done little or nothing on behalf of ourselves and our countrymen in South Africa. We were also feeling sometimes in despair about the Colonies; and the Imperial Government have often told us that they were unable—sometimes they went so far as to frankly confess that they were almost impotent—to influence these great Colonies. But, sir, we are now in better times, if I may say so, and paraphrase in feeble language the words of His Excellency the Viceroy. Lord Hardinge, speaking

in the Viceregal Council on September 8, 1914, said :—" I cannot help feeling that as the consequence of the great services which the people and the princes of India have rendered during the war—I cannot help feeling," said His Lordship, " that as a consequence, better relations will be promoted amongst the component parts of the British Empire, many misunderstandings will be removed and outstanding grievances settled in an amicable and generous manner." In this sense out of evil good may come to India, and this is the desire of all. We may also remember that some months ago, when the Resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council that India should also be allowed to send her representatives to the Imperial Conference, was accepted by the Government of India, there was an unexpected outburst of enthusiasm over the proposal in India and even in some of the colonial newspapers. You recall to your mind the famous sentence in which the "*Ottawa Free Press*" said that the time had come when it should change its views and India should be given its proper place in the Councils of the Empire. If I am not mistaken, an Australian newspaper, a leading organ of opinion, also declared in the same way. I hope, I sincerely hope, and I trust you all earnestly believe that these words, these high thoughts, will be translated into action, that the present policy of unjust—I will borrow Mr. Gandhi's words but, I will rather stick to the original wording—the present policy of unjust and invidious distinction between the various classes of His Majesty's subjects will soon be a thing of the past. I also wish to remind you that it was only about the same time as His Excellency the Viceroy was speaking in this country, that Mr. Asquith said:—" We welcome with appreciation the proffered aid of India to the Empire which knows no distinction of race or class, where all are alike subjects of the King-Emperor, and"—mark the words—" are joint and equal custodians of our common interest and fortunes," and " our relations will soon be changed."

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Mr. G. A. Natesan.

I wish now, sir, to turn with your kind leave, to refer to another matter about which I am sure the whole Congress will be most happy to know something. There happen to be present on this very platform two of Mr. Gandhi's distinguished colleagues who have borne with him all his troubles and sorrows in the gigantic enterprise in which he was engaged. I refer to the presence of Imam Sahib Abdul Kadir Babaji who has gone to jail in South Africa for our cause and for the cause of our country. I also refer to Sorabji Rustamji, the son of that famous passive resister. May I also refer to the remark that was justly made some years ago and I repeat it with all the emphasis I could command—that the problem of Indian nationality, for the solution of which this Congress has been started and for which it has been working with a single-eyed devotion, seems to be very satisfactorily solved in South Africa with such brave leaders

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as Mr. Gandhi the Hindu, this Mahomedan gentleman to whom I have referred and this distinguished Parsi. They seem in South Africa to have solved, and solved successfully, to the credit and honour of India, the problem of Indian nationality (*applause*) and for that great service, if for nothing else they are entitled to our revered memory (*applause*).

**Mr. J. B.
Petit.**

Mr. Jehangir B. Petit, (Bombay) :—Mr. President, brother and sister delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting the proposition which has just now been moved and seconded in such eloquent and lucid terms. When one approaches the question of the treatment of Indians in the self-governing colonies of England, when one realises the manifold difficulties and disadvantages and iniquities under which they have to live there from day's end to day's end, I confess it is difficult to speak with restraint and with moderation. Ladies and gentlemen, the history of this question, the many difficulties under which our countrymen have to live in the colonies is old history, it is an oft-repeated tale of misery, of lamentation and of disgrace; and I do not think it necessary to go over that ground at the present moment. All that is necessary at present is to say that the conditions that prevailed there months ago prevail to-day in all their acuteness and in all their injustice. I admit, Mr. President, that the immediate question which was handled so well and so ably by our distinguished countrymen Mr. Gandhi has been solved. But I maintain, and I am sure you will agree with me when I say that the main question of the status of the Indians in the self-governing colonies yet remains to be solved, and must be faced sooner or later. There are forces in this country, great forces, moral, political, social, and economic, which are daily coming into existence with a force peculiar to all the forces and manifestations of nature and I venture to think, that these forces will come forward and solve this question with a rapidity and zeal, with a firmness and an unmistakable attitude peculiar to the forces of nature. Whenever that happens, that will happen in a manner which will solve our difficulties straight away. In the meantime, I think it is the duty of this country to go on making representations after representations to the authorities that be, and bring to their notice the feelings of this country, that this country will accept no solution other than that which is compatible with her position in the Empire, which is compatible with her great status in the British Empire. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, we have been told times without number that we are citizens of the great British Empire and that we should be proud of that status. I should like to know what citizenship should mean to India, if we are going to be treated in the manner we have been treated outside, even under the British flag and under the ægis of the British Crown. I, for one, Mr. President, think that it is all very well for some gentlemen to preach moderation, patience

and tact (*applause*). I think these virtues have been preached *ad nauseam* over and over again (*Hear, hear and applause*). I admit also that it is a difficult problem; but I refuse to believe that it is a problem which is incapable of solution. I refuse to believe that English public opinion is so hopelessly impotent as not to appeal to the self-governing colonies to legislate in a manner which will bring their legislation in consonance with the spirit underlying the British constitution; and I think this country would do well to go on submitting representations after representations, putting forward emphatic declarations that they would have no solution other than that which is compatible with their position and dignity and importance as an integral part of the British Empire. With these words I support this proposition (*applause*).

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Mr. J. B.
Petit.

Mr. Arikshan Sinha, (Behar):—Mr. President, Before I go on with my speech I wish to make one correction, that is, that I belong to Behar and not to Bengal as stated in the agenda paper.

Mr. Arik-
shan
Sinha.

Mr. President and brother delegates, my predecessors have told you about the sufferings and disabilities of our countrymen in the self-governing colonies, and I will tell you in a few chosen sentences as to what are the disabilities of our countrymen in South Africa. Our countrymen are not allowed there to be sent to any school for education; there is no primary or secondary school supported by the Union Government for the education of the children of our countrymen,—not to speak of the High Schools and Colleges. They are not allowed to walk on the footpath reserved for the white men of that place nor are they allowed to occupy seats in Municipal or other parks for the upkeep of which even our countrymen contribute.

These are not the only disabilities but there are lots of other disabilities. Suppose a countryman of ours comes for a year or so from that country to any place in India on any business or to see any relation and wants to go back, he is given a permit to return within a specified time. The Emigration officer who administers the law of emigration administers it so strictly that our countryman is turned out ruined when he goes back from India. His children, wife and relations are not allowed to look after his business as the licence for trade is a personal one and so does not permit of the business being carried on by others. Thus they also have to come back after closing the business. The Indians are not allowed to enter any Government service. They are not allowed to the franchise of sitting in Parliament or the Municipal or other Boards. However rich one may be, he is not allowed to acquire an inch of land. India is called the property of every one. Any man from the remotest corner of the globe can come and acquire land here, but although we are fellow-citizens in the British Empire, if we go there, we are denied the ordinary right to acquire and possess land and build houses there.

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shan
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Thus our countrymen are entirely at the mercy of those people. The utmost that we can get is a ten years' lease of land but it is simply impossible to imagine that for such a short period as ten years any man will build a permanent house there for his living. We are not treated on equal terms with the other self-governing nations.

Gentlemen, what are the remedies? In the second part of the resolution, we ask that our Imperial Government should take steps to compel the Union Government to treat us as fellow-citizens of the mighty British Empire of which India is the brightest jewel in the British Crown. We cannot do otherwise than take measures of retaliation. We must be given equal treatment, and if they refuse to admit us to equal rights we have every right to tell them that they have no right to come to our land as India is our country. They have no right to come to India and enjoy any privilege here so long as they are not prepared to extend to us similar and corresponding privileges in their country when we go there. If they persist in saying that we are not to be given equal terms, we Indians will exercise that right here and our Government should plainly tell them that India will be shut up against them for their refusing us equal rights. We want mutuality of treatment and nothing else. We plead for reciprocity on equal terms. They should not be allowed to trade with India or to come to India so long as equal rights are not given to us. We must appeal to our Government to maintain and protect our rights. With these few words, gentlemen, I support this resolution.

Mr. President :—Is it your pleasure, brother delegates, that this resolution should be passed with the word "equitably" substituted for the misprint "equally" ? (*Cries of yes, yes*).

The resolution was then declared as carried.

Resolution XI.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

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Mr. B. G.
Horniman.

Mr. B. G. Horniman, (Bombay) :—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which I have to propose is as follows :—

That the Congress cordially thanks His Excellency the Viceroy for his statesmanlike support of the Resolution passed in the Imperial Legislative Council demanding, on behalf of India, the right to be represented in the Imperial Conference. The Congress expresses the hope that the demand made by the unanimous voice of the Imperial Legislative Council on behalf of the people of India will meet with adequate response from the Dominions and the Imperial Government and urges that the persons selected to take part in the Conference on behalf of India should be two members to be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Council.

Mr. President, I have been wondering while I was listening to the speakers who spoke to the last resolution whether, after all, it is wise and dignified for this Congress to pass the resolution which I have just read out to you. I am not sure whether it would not be the more appropriate and more dignified course for this Congress to say to the Colonies "we thank you for welcoming us to your Imperial Conference; but so long as our people continue to be denied the rights of British citizens in your colonies, we do not want to sit with your representatives in the Imperial Conference." (*Hear, hear and applause.*) Well, ladies and gentlemen, that, as I say, would perhaps be a course agreeable to India and a dignified course to take. But perhaps it would not be expedient; and therefore I can speak to this resolution with the feeling that it is a resolution that ought to be passed by this Congress.

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Horniman.

You will notice that the first part of the resolution is an expression of satisfaction, an expression of gratitude, to the Viceroy for the readiness with which he took up the question and his action in obtaining for us a satisfactory answer from the Imperial Government. Mr. President, I do not think that there is anyone here who will deny that Lord Hardinge is always ready to act with the greatest promptitude whenever he can in helping forward the claims and the rights of the people of this country (*applause and hear, hear.*) He is beset, we know, with many difficulties; but wherever he can, wherever there has been an opportunity, he has grasped it with the utmost promptitude, and of that we had an example in the Imperial Council when this question came before it for discussion. What happened in the Imperial Council, however, illustrates in a double sense what I have just been saying, because although Lord Hardinge spoke with characteristic sympathy in regard to this resolution, although he accepted it readily on behalf of Government, he made a speech which I think was rather disappointing. He made a speech in which he pointed out that Government regarded this resolution with sympathy, but while he accepted it on behalf of himself and on behalf of the Imperial Government, he pointed out that some time must elapse before the object of the resolution could be achieved. He pointed out, and I think he was wrong and I say it with all respect,—he pointed out that, according to the constitution of the Imperial Conference, the members constituting that Conference must decide for themselves whether any other part of the Empire should be admitted to it, and if they so decided, admission could not take place until the Conference after the next. I say that it is not good enough for India (*applause*). We cannot afford to wait (*renewed applause*). The Conference, as everyone believes, is going to be called together to discuss the settlement of the war, and there is no reason why India, which has made equal, if not greater, sacrifices than the other parts of the Empire, should be left out of that discussion (*applause*). But

**Resolu-
tion XI.** I have to say with all respect that I think Lord Hardinge was wrong. This Imperial Conference has no constitution properly speaking and the Viceroy, when he spoke of its constitution, was in error. In fact the voice was the voice of Jacob, but the hand was the hand of Esau; the voice was the voice of Lord Hardinge; the hand was the hand of Whitehall. Whenever there is any great step forward to be taken, no matter how obvious the necessity, and how easy the way, the people in Whitehall will ferret out some sort of technicality, some sort of "constitutional" invention in order to create delay (*applause*). That is what I think happened on this occasion. This Conference has no constitution. It is a thing of yesterday. It has only been in existence for a few years and it came into existence by the invitation of the Government of the King. The Government of the United Kingdom asked the ministers of the Colonies to assemble in London at a Conference, and that they have continued to do at every successive Conference. All that is necessary to enable India to enter the Conference is that the Government of the King-Emperor should issue to her an invitation to do so. That having been done, I, for one, do not believe for a single moment that the Colonies, that any one of the Colonies, would raise the least objection to India taking her seat at the Council of the Imperial Conference there and then (*applause*). You had quoted to you just now some remarks made by a Canadian paper on this question. I will quote you another. The "Montreal Free Press" said:—"Men who die with us in defending the common flag should not be kept waiting a moment in the ante chambers of our councils" (*Loud applause*).

Ladies and gentlemen, that is the ready generosity with which the people of the Colonies have received this proposal and, in the face of that, we can dispense with the technicalities and the constitutional inventions of sundried bureaucrats in Whitehall. So much for that part of the resolution. I think we may dispense with the idea that there is any difficulty about India taking her place at the Imperial Conference, the moment the Government of His Majesty advise him to issue to her an invitation.

But the second part of this resolution deals with something equally important; and that is in regard to the manner in which India shall be represented. The resolution that was passed in the Imperial Council said that India should be officially represented. It did not say that India should be represented by officials. It said that India should be officially represented (*Laughter*). Now there has been a great deal of discussion about that. It has been said that on account of the wording of that resolution, India can only be represented by a member of the official service, nominated by the Viceroy or the Secretary of State. I can only say that, if that is a correct view,

if only in that way India can be represented at the Imperial Conference, then I am quite sure that every one will agree with me in saying that India does not want to be represented at all (*hear, hear and applause*). India has been told recently,—I think I am right in saying but I am not sure at the moment,—India has been told recently, by no less a person than the Prime Minister of England, that the desire of England is that she should be a conscious member of a living partnership. Ladies and gentlemen, if India is going to be represented in the Imperial Council of the Empire by an official gentleman from Simla or Whitehall, that is not making her a conscious member of a living partnership (*hear, hear and applause*). But I do not believe that the wording of the resolution necessarily meant that. On the other hand, it has been said, in addition, that there is no way for India to be represented in the same way as the Colonies, because the Imperial Conference has passed a resolution in which it says that the Colonies shall be represented by their Prime Ministers accompanied by other Ministers, the number I think being limited to two. That again is a difficulty which I think can be easily overcome and about which I do not think the Colonies, at any rate, will raise any difficulty. But to my mind, and I think it will be the mind of this Congress, it is absolutely essential that, if India is going to be represented in the Imperial Council of British nations, if India is to speak for herself in the way that the people of this country would have her spoken for, then she must be represented by Indians (*applause*) and they must be sent up by such elective machinery as is now in existence (*applause*). That I think this Congress will agree to without any question whatever. The Resolution asks that these two Members shall be elected by the elected Members of the Imperial Council. That has been done because, as we stand at present, the elected Members of the Imperial Council are the most representative body of men for this country that can be found and I do not think that anyone at this time of day will attempt to pretend that delegates sent to the Imperial Conference by the elected Members of the Imperial Council will not be in a position to represent the views of this country, and to speak for it with full confidence that they carry with them the trust of the people of this country (*applause*).

There is only one thing more, Mr. President, that I desire to say before I sit down, and I have left it to the last because it is not strictly speaking absolutely germane to the subject. But there is this to be considered and I want you to consider very carefully, that if you are represented at the Imperial Conference by an official representative of the Government, you must remember the difference of the impression that will be made upon the other members of the Conference, the colonial representatives—the difference between the impression that official members would make upon the Conference as com-

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Resolution XI. compared to the impression that would be made by elected representatives. Nothing is more essential to the future status of this country in the British Imperial firmament than that it should be thoroughly understood in other countries of the Empire that what I may call the representative classes of this country are as fitted to manage their own affairs or, at any rate, as fitted for responsible Government, whether they have got it or not, as the Colonies are. I just ask you to consider what sort of impression would be made by the Hon'ble Mr. so and so—I will not mention any names—representing the bureaucracy of this country or the sundried bureaucracy of Whitehall, as compared with the impression that would be made on those men from the Dominions, who are men of sound common sense, when they come into contact with such gentlemen as my friends the non-official Members of the Imperial Council who are sitting at this table. (*applause*).

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Mr. B. G. Horniman.

I am asked to say that there is a mistake in the resolution as printed. I did not notice it myself, although I am in the habit of looking out for these things (*laughter*). It should read :—“That the persons selected to take part in the Conference on behalf of India should be two Members *at least* to be elected by the elected Members of the Imperial Council.” It should be “at least two”. We may take three or more (*hear, hear and laughter*), but it should be at least two (*applause*).

The Hon. Mr. A S. Krishna Row.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Row, (Madras) :—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I am very glad to associate myself with this resolution which has been so lucidly and eloquently placed before you by Mr. Horniman. It is hardly necessary for me, nor is it desirable, to refer at any great length to the history of the Imperial Conference which had its origin in the attempts made from the year 1853 onwards by various Colonies to organise a Colonial Conference of their own. After various abortive attempts, the Colonial Conference was organised in the year 1887, which consisted chiefly of colonial premiers. It was in the year 1907 that by a special resolution adopted by the Colonial Conference, an Imperial Conference was organised and it was resolved that for the consideration of common interests it should be convened once in four years. If today we ask that a real and effective representation of India should be made in the Imperial Conference, we are not asking for a revolutionary change. We are not asking for any enunciation of a new principle. You will remember that even according to the old system, occasionally India was allowed to be represented by the Secretary of State. We find that in reply to a question put in the House of Commons, Mr. Lloyd George stated on the 29th of March 1911 that the Premier would take such steps as were necessary to ensure the representation of India in the Imperial Conference, whenever necessary. We find

again that, in the course of that year, an official pronouncement was made that the Secretary of State would under ordinary circumstances represent India. If in September this year there was a resolution which was proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi and accepted by the Government, it was for the purpose of extending that principle and for the purpose of making it definite that India should, as a matter of course, be represented in the Imperial Conference. After all what do we find? The resolution, so far as it has gone, suggests that India should be officially represented in the Imperial Conference; and the Statement made by that most liberal-minded Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, says that if that position is admitted, the Secretary of State and one or two official representatives selected by the Secretary of State in consultation with the Viceroy might perform that business. What we now ask for, is whether there is or there is not to be any real, effective and substantial representation of India in the Imperial Conference? Is there any one here or anywhere else who will doubt, who will question, that India is as much a unit of the Empire as any self-governing Colony in the world? Is there any one who will question that India is entitled to be regarded not as a dependent but as a partner of the Empire? If that is the view, can it ever be contended for a moment that India is not entitled to be represented therein as any other Colonial Government? Now we find in the case of Colonial Governments, they have been given an option of sending two or more representatives of their own, and why should we stand in a different position? If representation at the Imperial Government should produce any substantial results, the voice of the people should really be heard in the most satisfactory manner possible. Can it ever be contended that if persons are selected by the Secretary of State merely in consultation with His Excellency the Viceroy, can it be contended that they will really represent the wishes, the aspirations, the ambitions and the aims of the people of India? If their aspirations and aims are really to be taken note of, it is but necessary that the representatives should be elected by the people of India, and then the question will arise, as to what is the best electorate which can under the ordinary circumstances be trusted with the franchise and this resolution very properly suggests that two at least of the persons selected will be Members elected by the elected Members of the Imperial Council. The words "by the elected Members of the Imperial Council" have been advisedly and deliberately incorporated in this resolution. Our knowledge and our experience of the working of these Legislative Councils, Imperial or Provincial, even in cases where there is theoretically a non-official majority must convince us that, unless and until we arrive at a stage when the elected members are in the majority we cannot hope to achieve substantially good results, and in that view it is certainly reasonable that the elected

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Mr. D. C.
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Members of the Imperial Council should be entrusted with this task of electing members for the Imperial Conference. With these remarks, I have very great pleasure in supporting this resolution (*applause*).

Mr. D. C. Ghose, (Calcutta):—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I am afraid that to many of us assembled at this Congress, this resolution at the first blush will appear to be of no importance at all. The Hon'ble Mr. Chackravarti Vijiaraghavachariar speaking on this subject in the Imperial Legislative Council said, in his usual inimitable way, that the privilege of being represented at the Imperial Conference was to him nothing but a trifle. He was not going to be satisfied, he said, with privileges like this. These were little sweets which might please little children but he would not look at them. He longed for good, nourishing, solid food and would be content with nothing else. Perhaps, gentlemen, that is also the attitude of many of you here towards this question. But, sir, I venture to think that this attitude, this way of looking at this question is, to say the least, extremely unwise and short-sighted. This demand, rightly understood, can only mean this: that it is a part and parcel of the wider demand of ours to be heard in any representative Council of the Empire. We want to be on the same level with the other component parts of the British Empire. It is true that the Imperial Conference is after all only a voluntary body and that its conclusions bind no one. But still that is no reason why we should be excluded from being represented on that body. Sir, an Imperial Conference without an Indian representation in the same is as ridiculous as would be the play of Hamlet with the part of the Prince of Denmark left out (*applause*). Sir, the exclusion of India from the Imperial Conference is nothing short of a grave insult. For it means that we are regarded as outcasts. It also questions and, to my mind, denies the equal status of India as a part and unit of the British Empire. But, sir, it is not merely a question of sentiment; it is one in which our interests are very deeply involved. Problems will come up for consideration in which India is vitally concerned such as the question of Imperial defence, trade and commerce between the different parts of the Empire, the status and treatment of Indians in the self-governing Colonies. These are some of the questions which will be discussed probably at the next Imperial Conference (*hear, hear*). Is it not right and proper that India should be heard at a conference where representatives from all parts of the Empire will be assembled and these important questions will be discussed? And if that is so, surely it follows as a matter of logical and inevitable sequence that we should speak through our chosen representatives in close touch with Indian opinion and answerable to us for their proceedings. Let the official side be represented by all

means. We do not demur to it. But our side of the question should also be represented. It is true that so far as the self-governing colonies are concerned, their representation at the Imperial Conference is purely official. But, Sir, their officials are, in a sense, their popular representatives. They are the elect of the people and are answerable to them for their conduct. Here our officials are public servants in name, but really they are our masters. Thus, in the existing condition of things, it is indispensable that there should be a popular representation of India at the Imperial Conference, and so we demand that at least two representative Indians should be selected by the elected Members of the Imperial Council and allowed to participate in the proceedings of the Conference.

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Sir, one word more. The reception accorded to this proposal by the self-governing Colonies has been most encouraging. To use a hackneyed phrase, their angle of vision towards our affairs has changed, and they are ready and willing to extend to us their friendship, their sympathy and their co-operation. And India will rejoice to renew her youth in fellowship with the giant self-governing colonies across the seas. Sir, I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution (*applause*).

The President:—Brother delegates, is it your pleasure that I should declare this resolution carried, with the words “at least” after “two members” added which have been inadvertently omitted in the Resolution as printed in the agenda? (*cries of yes, yes*).

The resolution was then declared carried.

Resolution. XII.

**EXECUTIVE COUNCIL FOR
THE UNITED PROVINCES.**

The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, (Allahabad, U. P.) Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which I am asked to put before you for your acceptance runs as follows :—

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tion XII.

Executive
Council for
the United
Provinces.

This Congress enters its emphatic protest against the action of the House of Lords in rejecting the proposal for the establishment of an Executive Council in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and it strongly urges that the status of the United Provinces be raised to that of a Presidency under a Governor-in-Council with at least one Indian Member of the Council.

The Hon.
Dr. Tej
Bahadur
Sapru.

In speaking to this resolution, I speak with confidence that not even the most cautious among you will blame the United Provinces for being impatient idealists. We were promised an Executive Council by a statute of Parliament in the year 1833 ;

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The Hon.
Dr. Tej
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that promise and that pledge has been repeated from time to time. It was practically repeated in 1853. The question again came up during the year 1888. But I shall not go into ancient history. I shall confine myself to very recent history. The question received a great deal of prominence when the Decentralisation Commission held their sittings in India. In their report they unanimously recommended that the United Provinces should be endowed with an Executive Council, but at the same time they went on to recommend that the Executive Council should be given only if the Province was raised to the status of a Presidency. Then came Lord Morley's reforms and Lord Morley, in the course of his famous speech, foreshadowed that our Province, along with the other major Provinces, was going to have an Executive Council. At once, our friends Lord Curzon and Lord Macdonald raised their protests against the scheme with the result that Lord Morley and his party had to modify the law, and the law as it stands in Section 3 of the Reform Act lays down that it would be open to the Secretary of State to create Executive Councils for other Provinces by laying a Proclamation on the table of Parliament. In spite of the many protests that we sent up to England and to the Government of India, we were not given an Executive Council. Then my friend Mr. Sinha moved a resolution in the Viceroy's Council in the year 1911; and then we came to know the real secret of our failure. It was then stated by Sir John Jenkins, the then Home member of the Government of India, that Sir John Hewett, our Lieutenant Governor, was opposed to our having an Executive Council. It was stated "after Sir John Hewett goes away, we shall then see." Ultimately he did go away from our Province in 1912 and Sir James Meston came. We were given to understand that Sir James Meston was distinctly sympathetic to our wishes. Accordingly, in 1913, I had the honour of moving a resolution on this subject in the Council. The result of it was that I succeeded in getting 21 votes for my resolution and 21 votes were recorded against it. These 21 votes which were given against my resolution included three Indian votes. Unfortunately, one of which was given by an elected Member (*cries of "shame"*). Government entered a formal protest. I do not blame the Government of Sir James Meston for having entered that protest because until they were sure what view the Secretary of State or the Government of India would take, they were bound to enter a formal protest. The resolution was therefore lost by the casting vote of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, but subsequently Sir James Meston sent a despatch recommending the creation of an Executive Council. The Viceroy and his Council supported the Local Government in the unanimous demand of the United Provinces for an Executive Council. The measure then went up to the Secretary of State; the Secretary of State laid the Proclamation on the table. The

Local Government, in their last Finance Committee meeting, provided a sum of Rs. 25,000 to meet the cost of the Executive Council which, we were given to understand, would come into existence in April. On the 16th of March we read telegrams in the papers that a debate had been raised in the House of Lords—by whom?—by Lord Curzon and by Lord Macdonald, (*cries of "shame"*), by the old opponents. Arguments which will not stand the test of a moment's examination were advanced against the creation of an Executive Council. Then again, we were treated to the despatches or rather the minutes of dissent recorded by Sir Harcourt Butler, Sir Reginald Craddock and one other Anglo-Indian Member of the Viceroy's Council. Then we came to know the exact nature of the arguments. I shall only deal for a few minutes with these arguments.

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The most important argument raised by Sir Harcourt Butler was that there were two important bodies of men in the United Provinces who were opposed to the creation of an Executive Council. The first body was the body of the big Talukdars and Zamindars of our Province; the second body was the body of Mussalmans. Unfortunately for Sir Harcourt Butler and for the Members of the Government of India who took the dissentient view, they had not to wait for more than a couple of months before they received their answer. We in Allahabad held a Conference which, in the history of our Province, was unique. It was attended by six hundred or more members. This Conference consisted not merely of people like me who belong to the educated classes but also of very respectable, very sober, very moderate, very responsible men, and it was presided over by no less a person than the Raja of Mahmudabad. Several Rajas and Zamindars were in that assembly. The British Indian Association, the very same Association, whose supposed opposition was the strongest plank in the platform of the dissenting gentlemen, had, shortly before the Conference was held, passed a resolution demanding—mind you—not merely an Executive Council for the United Provinces but an Executive Council with a Governor. In our Conference, we passed that resolution demanding not an Executive Council as I originally demanded in the Legislative Council but the elevation of our Province to that of a Presidency under a Governor. As regards the opposition of the Muham-madans, probably it may have disconcerted our opponents to know that the Moslem League also passed a resolution in favour of the creation of an Executive Council, and among the prominent Members of the Conference which we held at Allahabad were many distinguished and respected leaders of the Moslem community. Therefore, I say that this argument of Moslem opposition or Moslem disagreement is an absolutely ridiculous argument, as ridiculous as it is untrue. Gentlemen, you will be surprised to be told that one of the arguments in one of the notes of the dissenting gentlemen was that, if a Hindu was

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appointed Member of the Executive Council, at once the Muhammadans would say "we have no confidence." Similarly, if a Muhammadan were appointed, the Hindus will say "we have no confidence." Now gentlemen, I believe the proof of the pudding is in the eating of it. Some other Provinces have had Executive Councils. I put it to the delegates of Bombay, I put it to the delegates of Madras, I put it to the delegates of Bengal to say whether any similar voice has been raised by members of their own community against members of different communities in the Executive Council (*cries of no, no*). I believe, and I say with confidence that there is no name which is more honoured by us, the Nationalists in India, than the name of Sir Ali Imam. I should like to know whether there is a single Hindu in this large assembly who will say, or who will be in a position to say, that Sir Ali Imam's tenure of office in the Viceroy's Council has jeopardised in any way the interests of the Hindus (*cries of no, no*). I should like to put to my brother delegates from Bengal whether the Hindu delegates are in a position to say whether the tenure of office of Nawab Shamsul Huda has in any way prejudiced the Hindu interests of Bengal (*cries of no, no*). This being the situation, therefore, I say: 'By all means, take care to so adjust the differences between the Hindus and the Muhammadans that each community will have its own rights but do not exaggerate and accentuate those differences; please do not use them as arguments for the suppression of our ambition.'

Now, gentlemen, I do not wish to take up your time further. I have given the recent history of this matter and I have told you that so far as the United Provinces are concerned they never received a greater disappointment than they did when they came to know the unwise action of the House of Lords. They dismissed the question on the narrow and technical ground that it was a controversial question. But controversial in what sense and between whom was the controversy? There was no controversy between the United Provinces and the Local Government, no controversy between the Local Government and the Government of India, no controversy between the Government of India and the Secretary of State. If there was a controversy, it was raised by three or four members of the House of Lords in a very thinly constituted House. I, therefore, say, view it from whatever point you may, the question is one of very great importance. I pray on behalf of my Province that all my brother delegates from other Provinces will lend to us their moral support in a matter which affects us so vitally (*applause*).

**The Hon.
Mr. V. J.
Patel.**

The Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel, (Bombay):—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I know I stand before you at a very awkward hour when you all, ladies and gentlemen,

are tired and anxious to go out for your refreshments. The best thing under the circumstances for me to do is to support the resolution only by a few words. Ladies and gentlemen, the only possible ground on which the claim of the United Provinces has been so cruelly refused is the ground that the matter is of a controversial nature. What is the controversy? The only controversy according to the Government is that the claim is such that it cannot be granted from their point of view. That is the definition of the controversy from the authorities' point of view. From our point of view, it is a very material question. We have been supported by the Indian Government, we have been supported by the Secretary of State, and yet those great men who sit in that august assembly, of which so much has been said in recent years, have refused to accede to this modest demand. What is that demand, ladies and gentlemen, after all? The demand is this: The United Provinces are governed executively by a Lieutenant-Governor at present, and the demand is that the Province should be governed not by one man but by a Governor and by an Executive Council. Who is going to pay the salaries of that Governor and the Members of the Executive Council? Ladies and gentlemen, none but the people of the United Provinces. Ladies and gentlemen, it is perfectly clear that no one in this hall would say that this resolution demands that the Governor of the United Provinces should be an elected Governor; no one demands that the Members of the Executive Council should be elected Members, however much we may desire that it should be so (*applause*) and however much we feel that the time has come for it. So far as I have followed the proceedings of this Congress, I am able to say that the only point in controversy, the only debatable point amongst the people themselves is the point whether the ideal of self-government should be an ideal of the present or should be an ideal of the future. There is some difference of opinion on that point. But as regards all other resolutions, ladies and gentlemen, there is no controversy within the four corners of this great hall. Under these circumstances, I beg to support most heartily the proposition so ably put before you by my Honourable friend from the United Provinces.

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The Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel.

Mr. K. B. Dutt, (Calcutta, Bengal):—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I need hardly tell you that the resolution which I have been asked to support is a resolution which is exceedingly modest in its character. It is hardly necessary for me to point out that the reasons why effect has not yet been given to what was decided long ago are reasons which do not bear any criticism or examination. They are, as has been ably pointed out to you by the Hon'ble mover that several talukdars have objected to it, that the Muhammadans

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would not be satisfied with one Member. But if you take what is actually happening in Bengal regarding which I know, I can assure you, gentlemen, that no one is giving more satisfaction in the discharge of his duties to Hindus and Mussalmans alike than Nawab Shamsul Huda. It would not be out of place for me to say that he has tried his very best to save the Government from many pit-falls, and I have no doubt, regard being had to the fact that the presence of the Indian Member is an acknowledged necessity, it is high time that the Government should at once give effect to this resolution. With these remarks I ask you to accept this resolution (*applause.*)

**Mr. C. P.
Rama-
swami
Iyer.**

Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, (Madras.) :—Mr. President and friends, the resolution has been spoken to so ably that it needs hardly any words from me to support it. I would just advance, however, a few arguments in support of what to my mind is simple and bare justice to the United Provinces. Consider the population of the United Provinces. It is 48 millions. The Province consists of 48 districts. Both in point of population and in point of the number of districts the United Provinces exceed Madras, Bengal and Bombay, Provinces to which the right of having a Governor, Provinces to which the right of having an Executive Council, were conceded without any idea of controversy. Controversy there might have been, but what is the controversy? It is a controversy between logic and illogic, it is a controversy between right and wrong.

When this prayer went up from the United Provinces, what was at the back of that prayer? You had the declarations of the Decentralisation Commission which had stated in no faltering terms that the charge of a great Presidency like the United Provinces was far too great a burden for any one man to bear without the assistance of a trained Executive Council. The prayer of the United Provinces was supported by a minute of the Viceroy and by various responsible declarations which laid down that it was better that in the governance of this vast Province, the head of the administration should be fortified and his ideas enlarged by the experience of Indian co-adjutors. To that prayer, the answer came direct from the Secretary of State, who, in a sympathetic mood, wanted to accede to it; but it was negatived. By whom? By persons who had eaten the salt of India and to whom ingratitude seems to be as natural as it is to persons who are the sworn enemies of India. Such men sitting in the House of Lords upset the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission, and negatived the prayer of the Secretary of State; and all because it was stated that it was a controversial topic. As I said before, the controversy is not a controversy of any real character. If Madras and Bombay deserve an Executive Council, so do the United Provinces. The United Provinces

comprise two centres of national activity, one, the centre of intellectual movement, the Hindu University, another, the centre of industrial movements, Cawnpore. The United Provinces, rich as they are with great and hoary traditions, lack in no elements necessary to fit them to be governed by a Governor with an Executive Council. If they are backward in any respect, is it not all the more reason that such Government should be given? Should not the deficiencies of the Governor be supplemented by the experience of an Indian Member? It seems to me that no one argument in the list of arguments in the House of Lords could be said to be sufficiently valid. With these words, I support this resolution.

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The President :—Is it your pleasure, brother delegates, that I should declare this resolution passed? (*cries of yes, yes*).

The resolution was then declared carried.

Resolution XIII.

ABOLITION OF INDENTURED LABOUR.

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tion XIII.

The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, (Madras) :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution I have the honour to propose runs as follows :—

Abolition of
Indentured
Labour.

This Congress re-affirms its Resolution passed at its last session against the system of Indentured Labour and urges its abolition as early as possible, the system being a form of slavery which, socially and politically, debases the labourers and is seriously detrimental to the economic and moral interests of the country.

The Hon.
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When one has eloquent facts to urge, there is no need to employ any rhetoric. I will, therefore, set forth a few considerations in simple language. We ask for the abolition of indentured labour on three grounds. First of all, it involves great injustice and great hardship to the labourers themselves; in the second place, it is a system that breeds immorality and debasement on a large scale; in the third place, it involves the degradation of our nation. Gentlemen, I say that the system involves injustice to the labourers, because of the way in which they are recruited. The contract is not properly explained to them; the terms in themselves are very hard and when they go to their scene of labour, the treatment they receive is not far short of brutal. The injustice and hardship are so great that many men and women are obliged to seek refuge in suicide. It is said that in Fiji there is one suicide out of every one thousand of these labourers, whereas in India there is one suicide out of every 20,000 in the population. Besides, at one time—to illustrate the thing by a striking story—at one time, it would appear certain men and women unable to bear their hardship, in their ignorance and in the depth of their misery, resolved to start on the long journey back to India on foot, not knowing what to do with themselves in that strange land.

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But if it were injustice and hardship only, the case would not be so strong as it is. As a matter of fact, the system breeds immorality on a tremendous scale; for really for every one hundred men that are recruited, it would appear that only forty women are recruited. These people are thrown together in a strange land without the social restraints to which they are accustomed, and the result is corruption and debasement of which there is no speaking in decent language. Scientists and philosophers and men concerned with the science of ethics and those that deal with eugenics may all learn a lesson from those who deal with the problem of emigration here. They consider that the matter is solved simply by taking one hundred ignorant men and about forty ignorant women and throwing them together in conditions utterly strange to them. The result, as has been stated, is something of which it is impossible to speak in moderate language.

There is, besides, a third reason for which we condemn this system of indentured labour, that it involves degradation to our own people. Of all people in this world, the Indians are the only ones whom their Government allow to be indentured on this brutal system. When slavery was abolished, they chose the Indians of all people on earth as the most suitable people for finding a substitute for this system of slavery. Our Government, moved by partiality for their brethren across the seas, desiring to give cheap easily managed labour to the planters in these colonies, allowed their own people under extremely humiliating conditions to be indentured. It is said that the Negroes would not look at the system. No rude people in the world would look at this system; even the indigenous inhabitants of Fiji often point a finger of scorn at the Indian people who would consent to the degradation of their men and women in this way.

But if there are these objections, the friends of this system advance three reasons in support of it and it is worth one's while to refer to them. First of all, they say that the people of India must be provided with a natural outlet for the adventurous spirits among them, that it is necessary to provide for an over-flow into the outside world. All I can say in reply to this is that this provides only for a very small fraction of the population and the only natural and reasonable way in which to provide for this over-flow is to encourage free and voluntary emigration and not to allow people, drugged with false hopes, to be decoyed to foreign lands to become the helpless victims of despotism.

Then, again, it is said that there is a good deal of foreign money coming into the land and enriching it. This is almost a ridiculous proposition to advance in a country which deals with crores every year, as if it were anything more than a bagatelle. To speak of a few paltry thousands that come from over the seas.

as an appreciable addition to the national wealth is to treat our people with supreme contempt. The Government that abolished the opium revenue amounting to some crores at one stroke for reforming the morals of a foreign nation,—does it lie in the mouth of that Government to speak of a few thousands made by indentured emigrants as at all a consideration in the problem?

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Then, there is what is known as the interest of the colonials, the economic interests of the planters towards which we are invited by the Government of India to be tender. Now, when we consider what we have had to bear in the last few years at the hands of the colonial Governments, it is difficult to treat this argument with anything like respect. Shall we, who have borne indignity upon indignity from these people, shall we listen for one moment to an argument which is based upon the necessity of our supporting our brethren across the seas? Who are these Colonial planters to whom we are asked to be considerate? Why should we supply cheap labour from our country to these people? Is it because they treat them well, is it because they treat us well, or is it because they admit us gladly to perfect equality in the Empire? This is not the time for me to enlarge on it any more, but you will dismiss this appeal made to your citizenship in the Empire as something which has not yet arrived at the stage when we can look at it.

Then, gentlemen, I have to say a few words on the position at which the question stands at the present moment. In the year 1912 the late Mr. Gokhale moved a resolution in the Imperial Council asking that this indentured labour system should be summarily abolished. In consequence partly of the controversy that arose therefrom, the Government of India appointed two persons, two officers, Mr. McNeil and Mr. Chimanlal to examine the question. They visited the various Colonies to which indentured emigration is now directed; they issued a report. I wish to speak with all respect of this report, but like most reports it contains a certain proportion of facts, it contains some statistics but the greatest ingredients that you will observe in its composition is that commodity known as "White-wash." We cannot, sir, believe in this report or in its conclusions; nor do we place the slightest faith in its recommendations. Its recommendations, calculated no doubt to improve the condition of the emigrants just a bit, are absolutely trivial, I would even say frivolous; and you need not pay the slightest attention to them as, even if adopted in entirety, they will not improve the position by an inch. On the contrary, we would turn for our facts and information to such sources as Mr. Andrews and Mr. Pearson who, at the request of the Indian Citizenship Association of Bombay, proceeded on a voyage to conduct a personal investigation and tell us the exact condition of affairs. They have told us through newspapers and otherwise a

Resolution XIII. good many things to which we should pay proper attention. We should turn for information to such a person as Mr. Gandhi, who is the soul of truth as he is the ideal of citizenship in the Empire. (*applause.*) When we take their facts into consideration, we are driven to this conclusion, and there is no alternative, that the system must be ended because it is impossible to mend it. There is one gleam of hope which relieves the whole situation and that is, that we learnt from the Secretary of State the other day, answering a question in Parliament, that he had received a despatch from the Government of India on this whole question. No one knows anything about the nature of its contents, but knowing, as we do, who now is the Viceroy of India, knowing that great and brave statesman who is wielding our destinies at the present moment, it is not difficult to imagine that the trend of this despatch will be to support the claim we make, that this whole system must be swept away. In order to strengthen the hands of the Viceroy and in order to increase the volume of opinion in favour of the abolition of indentured labour which involves degradation to our people, it is necessary that this Congress should accept this resolution and pass it with enthusiasm and acclamation. (*applause.*)

Mr. V. N. Tivari.

Mr. V. N. Tivari, (Allahabad, U. P.) :—Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—It is my privilege to second the resolution asking for the abolition of indentured labour which has been moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri in such lucid terms. In doing so, I shall not detain you for a long time, because the subject of indentured labour is one of those hardy annuals of this Congress, which has for a long time engaged your attention. All that could have been said from the Indian point of view has been represented by your best speakers from the Congress platform. But the publication of the report by Messrs. McNeil and Chimanlal who were deputed by the Government of India to inquire into the conditions of Indian emigrants in the four British Colonies and Guiana calls for a few remarks at this stage. It is their deliberate opinion that the advantages which the Indian emigrant derives from the indentured system far outweigh the disadvantages to which he is subjected in the Colonies. If we look at the facts which have been collected in this report, we come to a contrary conclusion. The number of prosecutions instituted against these indentured labourers in the various Colonies throw a lurid light on the life which they have to lead, and on the conditions of life under which they have to live. It is said that out of the 50,000 indentured labourers in these five Colonies, in 1912, 6,900 were prosecuted; that is to say, out of every 100 coolies 14 were charged with breaking the terms of their contract. If you leave out of account Surinam for which figures are not available, you will find, out of 5,900 cases

instituted against indentured labourers only 1,600 were withdrawn or dismissed. That gives us the percentage of convictions to cases instituted as high as 70 per cent. That being so, one would naturally come to the conclusion that the system was to be condemned, but these two commissioners have tried to explain the high percentage of convictions in the four Colonies on various grounds. But it is not so easy to explain away the high rate of suicide in the Colonies. As the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri remarked, the high rate of suicide in the various Colonies is in itself the very strongest argument for the abolition of this system. As is well known to you all, a large number of these indentured emigrants are drawn either from the United Provinces or Madras or Behar. The rate of suicide per million in the United Provinces is only 63, while that in Madras is 45; If we compare it with the rate of suicide in Fiji, it is as high as 926; that is to say, the rate of suicide in Fiji is twenty times as great as that in the United Provinces, twenty times as high as that in Madras.

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The Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri also referred to the argument advanced in support of this system, that a few thousands of pounds were annually brought back by the returned emigrants. The hollowness of this contention is laid bare by the fact that out of the two thousand three hundred emigrants who returned in 1912, they brought with them roughly £ 39,000 or £ 17 per head, which represents the saving per head for ten years. But what is the price we have had to pay—the moral ruin of these 9,000 men who annually leave the shores of India for service in the Colonies as helots of the Empire. But unsatisfactory as the condition of the Indian labourer in the Colonies is, the recommendations made by these two commissioners are even worse. According to them, the remedy for all these evils is to be found in the transfer of greater power in the hands of the Protectors and to set a limit to the authority of the manager of indentured labourer, in so far as the institution of cases is concerned. But who are these Protectors? These Protectors and their assistants are drawn from the very class to which the planter belongs, and if these Protectors have failed to protect the interests of the Indian coolies in the past, is it to be expected that the mere concentration of more power in their hands will lead to greater realisation on their part of their responsibilities towards the Indian labourer? Mr. Burton, a Missionary in Fiji, remarks that these Inspectors and Protectors of the Indian labourers are generally ex-employees of these states which employ Indian labour. And what kind of men are these ex-employees? He says, that the young and brutal overseers on sugar estates take all sorts of liberty with good looking women, meaning Indian women, and torture them and their husbands in cases of refusal. Are these the men in whose hands we can

Resolution XIII. safely place the right to protect the interests of the Indian labourers? Therefore, as was remarked by Mr. Gandhi, the system is incapable of being mended and it must be ended and ended immediately. With these words I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution. (*applause.*)

Mr. V. N. Tivari.

Mr. M. K. Padhye.

Mr. M. K. Padhye, (Nagpur, Central Provinces) :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen :—The case against indentured labour has been presented to you by the two previous speakers from statistical and other points; and to me it is left to only moralise a little on the situation.

In the moral world, there is as great a struggle for existence as in the physical world. Satanic forces try to simulate and lengthen their life exactly by all those trickeries, by which, as Darwinians tell us, insects or birds try to save their life. They change their colour and form, to avoid detection by their enemies. Indentured labour! Thy name, is slavery. Thou art only simulating. I will unmask thee. Slavery was abolished in England in 1806 on the motion of Mr. Fox after the passing of the Reform Bill. But slavery did not die in spite of the statutory abolition. We find that in spite of this abolition of slavery in 1806, a Wilberforce was needed to carry on the crusade against slavery till his death. The slave owners had only changed their tactics. The Emancipation Act of 1833 appeared to kill the monster. And the work of the Avatar of Wilberforce seemed to have been accomplished. But Lo! The monster only gave a plunge in the English Channel to reappear on the African and other colonial coasts, in the shape of indentured labour!

To speak in the language of lawyers, the change of slavery into Indentured labour was only a change from *status* to *contract*. The status of a slave was imposed on him by others,—greedy middlemen or slave dealers. An indentured labourer went through the farce of appearing before a magistrate under the shadow of the recruiting agent and there contracted himself out of his liberty practically for the rest of his life. A Natal planter would say that the labourer has only to thank himself for his position. Like a lawyer, he would plead that the labourer is by his own conduct estopped from complaining against the Indenture and its incidental slavery.

This reminds me, gentlemen of the *Puranik* monster called the Mahishásur. You know how Mahákáli, the Goddess of Liberty, pursued the monster until it took the form of Mahisha or buffalo. And Lo! When the head of the stupid animal was severed by the Goddess of Liberty, up rose the monster in human form!

What Wilberforce did in England was done by Mr. Gandhi in South Africa in a true Christian spirit. Christ is said to have preached Christianity in Europe but it is only followed in Asia, if I may be permitted a little exaggerated antithesis. Mr. Gandhi offered himself, his wife and his other fellow-countrymen as the sacrifices for appeasing or propitiating the Satanic forces in South Africa. He called on his oppressors to satiate their appetite for iniquity to their hearts' content. The passive resistance has not accomplished the whole purpose. It has not killed the monster finally but Mr. Gandhi has achieved what Mr. Fox accomplished exactly a hundred years ago.

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We claim the abolition of Indentured labour though we are told that the labourer brings a little money to India. But we ourselves are in want of labour to bring under plough large tracts of land in Central Provinces, Central India, towards Hyderabad and elsewhere. They are lying waste. They would say, this is so, because Indians lack enterprize. But who is going to supply us labour by means of recruiting agents?

When every thing that could be said in favour of Indentured labour is refuted, the last stand is made by those who may be called *gradualists*. They say we fully agree with what you say as to the demerits of the measure, but you must not be in a hurry. The 'Times of India' has warned our leaders not to pester the present Secretary of State, Mr. Chamberlain, with questions regarding the abolition and thus spoil our good case. The partition of Bengal would not have been, according to the "Times," such a hard nut to break, had our leaders not heckled Lord Morley and made him make it a settled fact. We are told our silence would have forsooth brought about its modification much sooner. This prophet after the event tells us that the Viceroy has already sent a dispatch on the subject of Indentured labour and we must patiently await the result. But we should not listen to this but take our own counsel. With these words, I support the resolution. (*applause*).

The President :—Is it your pleasure, brother delegates, that I should declare this resolution carried? (*Cries of Yes, Yes.*)

The resolution was then declared carried.

Resolution XIV.

SEPARATION OF EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS.

Resolu-
tion XIV.

Separation
of Executive
and Judicial
Functions.

The President :—Instead of taking Resolution No. 14 on the agenda, I will take No. 15 now, because it is to be put from the chair. This resolution will, therefore, be No. 14 now and is as follows :—

Resolution XIV.

Separation
of Executive
and Judicial
Functions.

This Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, urges the early separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the interests of justice and purity of administration and prays that any scheme of separation that may be undertaken, to be really effective, must place all the judiciary solely under the control of the highest Court in every Province and further this Congress emphasizes the necessity for the creation of a Judicial Service separate from and independent of the Indian Civil Service, to be recruited partly by competitive examination and partly from the legal profession.

Is it your pleasure, brother delegates, that I should declare this resolution carried? (*Cries of Yes, Yes.*)

The resolution was then declared carried.

Resolution XV.
**HIGH COURTS FOR THE PUNJAB AND
OTHER PROVINCES.**
Resolution XV.

High Courts
for the Pun-
jab & other
Provinces.

Lala
Nanak
Chand.

Lala Nanak Chand, (Lahore, Punjab):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the next resolution which I have to propose is as follows:—

This Congress reaffirms its resolution that it is desirable to invest the chief Courts of the Punjab, Burma and the Central Provinces with the status and powers of chartered High Courts and while praying that early steps may be taken by the Secretary of State for India for the introduction of this urgent reform, regrets that the recommendations of the Local Government and the Government of India in that behalf in regard to the Punjab have been rejected by the Secretary of State.

This resolution chiefly concerns the Punjab, Burma and the Central Provinces. I shall have to ask for your moral support to this resolution. So far as the Punjab is concerned, this demand for a chartered High Court is an old one. This demand formed the subject of a resolution in the Ninth Session of the Indian National Congress held in 1893 and was subsequently repeated in various sessions of the Indian National Congress, and also in the press of the Punjab. This demand for a High Court has become a real grievance in the Punjab which remains unremedied up to the present. It took a quarter of a century to convince those in power of the necessity of raising the status of the Chief Court of the Punjab to that of a High Court. The Punjab Government and the Government of India recognised the necessity of this urgent reform and consequently a scheme was prepared and a proposal with the recommendations of the Government of India at last went up to the Secretary of State for the sanction of a High Court and also for the grant of a charter. The people of the Punjab were expecting the establishment of a High Court at any moment, and some of those who were supposed to

be in possession of information from reliable sources were actually in ecstasy of the prospect of the establishment of a High Court early this year, and they positively declared that it would be an accomplished fact before long. But as ill luck would have it, the proposal was dropped for the present by the Secretary of State for India. We do not know the reason or reasons which weighed with the Secretary of State in doing so, but in some quarters it is opined that the Secretary of State for India was advised to drop this proposal because it was a matter of a controversial nature. If this be the reason for dropping the proposal for the present, I think I am justified in saying that nothing can be more absurd than this. If there is any question of an uncontroversial nature, about which there has never been any difference of opinion, it is this question of the establishment of a High Court at Lahore. The Hindus and Muhammadans in the Punjab were and are unanimous in this demand. The Punjab Bar has more than once declared the absolute necessity of this reform. The whole press of the Punjab has repeatedly urged the speedy consummation of this urgent reform. The Hon'ble Judges of the Chief Court have unanimously supported this proposal for the raising of the status of the Chief Court to that of a High Court. The Government of the Punjab and the Government of India have accepted the necessity and recommended a scheme for a chartered High Court to the Secretary of State. In fact, this matter had the support of all officials and non-officials, Europeans as well as Indians. How then, can it be said that the matter is a controversial one? The people in the Punjab have now enjoyed the blessings of British rule for over half a century. Education has created in them hopes and aspirations of a nobler kind. They feel, as loyal subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor, that they are treated differently from their countrymen in other Provinces and realise that pure administration of justice cannot be guaranteed to them so long as the fountain of justice is subservient to the executive authority. The loyalty of the Punjab has been proved on previous occasions and is now being proved by her sons on the battle fields of Europe. It is also proved by the very large recruitments which are going on now. To deny the people of the Punjab a chartered High Court is an insult to the whole province and has already caused deep disappointment. The prestige of the British Government in this country depends in a large measure on the efficient administration of the justice and the sympathetic treatment of Indians and Indian aspirations. Where the highest Court of a Province is subordinate to and under the thumb of the executive, the purity of the administration of justice cannot be guaranteed to the people. Therefore, whenever and wherever the people are desirous of having a chartered High Court, they should be allowed that privilege. The Provinces of Burma and the Central Provinces also are demanding it and they should have it. At

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tion XV.** this moment, I beg to express the gratitude of the Punjab to the Local Government and to the Government of India for their sympathetic and generous attitude on this question. I appeal to them again on behalf of my Province. This reform is of an urgent nature and, therefore, some early steps may be taken to move the Secretary of State for India on this question, so that the recommendations already sent up might be taken into reconsideration with a view to the speedy establishment of a High Court by a Royal Charter similar to that of other High Courts in India. With these remarks, I move the resolution for your acceptance. (*applause.*)

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**Lala
Nanak
Chand.**

**Rao
Bahadur
V. R.
Pandit.**

Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit, (Nagpur, Central Provinces) :— Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the proposition which has been moved so ably by Lala Nanak Chand refers to the Punjab and also to two other Provinces, one of them being the Central Provinces, in respect of which I wish to ask for the moral support which has been claimed for the Punjab by the previous speaker. The proposition asks for the creation of a High Court and wants the Secretary of State to take early steps in the matter of the constitution of a High Court for the Central Provinces and Burma as well as for the Punjab. With regard to the Punjab, that Province is in a far more favourable position in that the proposals for the conversion of the Chief Court into a High Court have already gone up from the Local Government and from the Imperial Government to the Secretary of State and it is that official who is responsible for the proposal not being sanctioned.

With regard to Burma again, Burma got its Chief Court constituted as far back as 1900. Fifteen years have rolled by and there is considerable progress achieved by Burma which the next speaker will speak for before you and cogent reasons existing for the creation of a High Court for Burma will be put before you.

My task is confined to placing before you facts and figures as regards the situation in the Central Provinces and making out a case for the creation of a High Court without the intermediate stage of having a Chief Court to lead up to a High Court. On this question of raising the status of the highest Court in the Central Provinces, I may draw your attention to the fact that while in this resolution the High Courts of the three Provinces are spelt with a capital letter, the Chief Court is spelt with a small 'c' and not a capital 'C.' It is not used in the technical sense of the lawyers, but merely used to indicate the highest tribunal in the Province and it says that the highest tribunal should be raised to a higher status. This was thought of so far back as 1905, when the fortunes of Berar and the Central Provinces were thrown together. The tract over which the present Judicial Commissioner's Court exercises jurisdiction is in no way inferior

either in area or in population, or in wealth, or in land revenue, or in other Government collections to any other Province which may be taken hap-hazard, excepting the major Provinces. In that connection, I would simply draw your attention to the fact that the land revenue and the income of the Provincial Government in the Central Provinces including the Berars, are greater than that of the Province of Behar and Orissa which has got a full-fledged High Court and which has also got a Lieutenant-Governor with an Executive Council. The Provinces have had a chequered history. They came under British dominion at different times. The Northern part of the Central Provinces, called then as the Saugor-Narbada territory, was under British administration as long as the Punjab has been, if not longer. There is one more affinity between the Punjab and the Central Provinces in that the administration which administered the Punjab, then known as the North-West Provinces, also administered for a time the territory known as the Saugor-Narbada territory, and the officers, who were drawn to the Central Provinces commission, were also drawn very largely from the Punjab, so that one part has been under British administration for a very long time. Although Nagpur formally became British territory only after the lapse of the Nagpur Raj in 1853, yet Nagpur had been for twenty years under British administration under the regency, so that with all this period of British administration, the way has been paved for expecting that degree of efficiency in judicial administration and having that type of judicial institutions which exists in the older and major Provinces. The Berars is itself known to be an advanced tract of country and now that the Judicial Commissioner's Court of Berars has been removed to the Central Provinces, I know the people of Berars are just as anxious as the people of the Central Provinces that the highest court administering justice over that tract should also have the status of a High Court.

Now, gentlemen, it may be asked—what difference does it make whether you have a High Court or not? This question could be argued at very great length, but the necessity for arguing that has been very largely removed by the resolution standing on the agenda as No. 15 which the President very kindly moved from the chair as resolution No. 14. It, therefore, assumes the form of an axiom with regard to which, we in the Congress, at any rate, have no controversy at all, and so far as the Government also are concerned, we may take it that the pronouncement in open Council of Sir Harvey Adamson as Home Member of the Government of India, who said that an experiment would be tried in connection with it, also indicates that the Government see that there is considerable force in what the Congress has been urging for many years, a reform which has been supported by eminent judges and eminent men holding positions at various times under the Crown in India and elsewhere.

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Now, gentlemen, with regard to the Central Provinces, our present Court of the Judicial Commissioners has been expanding from the original state where we used to have only one Judicial Commissioner, who might be a Captain, a Colonel or a Major for the matter of that, or a civilian or an uncovenanted civilian also. From that position, we have now come to the stage when there are four judges of that Court and a fifth has been applied for, because the work is considered so heavy that the judges cannot cope with it. When you reach a stage like that, I say there is a very strong case for having a High Court straight on instead of any intermediate institution like that of a Chief Court. The main difference that it would make would be this. In the Act of 1861 passed by Parliament, whereby High Courts were constituted, provision has been made that one-third of the number of Judges shall consist of barristers or members of the faculty of Scotland or Ireland, one-third shall consist of Indian lawyers, and the remaining number shall be recruited from the Judicial branch of the Indian Civil Service. That is what we find in Bombay, in Allahabad, and other places. We have a Court of seven judges, one-third of which consists or at least ought to consist theoretically of the Civil Service. As we cannot get exactly one-third, we can only have the integer representing that one-third, and the fraction is taken to the advantage of the Civil Service. The same is the case in Allahabad, and I submit in the Central Provinces we have a strong Bar which would adequately supply for the performance of such high judicial functions the proper material. No doubt, the experiment has been tried and I may say without fear of contradiction, either from Government officials or others, that it has proved eminently successful. All that I ask is that, considering the progress that the Central Provinces have made, considering the fact that the Province has been given a Legislative Council only last year, considering also the fact that the University for the Province is in the making, considering the fact that the revenues of the Province are going up, that the Province is developing in every way by a net work of railways and otherwise, and considering that the people have shown active work in the cause of political advancement as they have had big Conferences last month at which no less than 1,150 delegates were present and have shown such keen desire for political advancement and for having their proper place in the political world, when they desire that they should have a Court of this status, I submit that it is a very strong case and that Government ought to grant that. One argument may be urged in connection with that. My friends may ask, will that really alter the state of things? Will the Court be composed of men who are legal luminaries thoroughly versed in the legal lore and able to dispense justice not only independently and to the satisfaction of their own consciences but to the fullest satisfaction of the people over whom they are.

dispensing justice? If the same judges are going to be merely retained, what use is it making it a High Court and increasing the salaries? I shall put the reply in one sentence. I am not sure, if I have not already trespassed upon your time. My reply is, supposing that it involves a little more expenditure, does it really follow that if you do not incur this expenditure, the money thereby saved will be used for those very purposes which you consider more suitable for the employment of that money? Will that be made available for education or for the advance of sanitation which you have more at your heart? It may be spent in increasing the allowances to civilians.

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We ought to have a good court for the Central Provinces and the proposition put before you is one which ought to commend itself to you. The proposition was moved as far back as 1905 in the Provincial Conference held at Nagpur. Then in Jubbulpore it was moved a second time and then in Raipur it was done a third time and last month in the Conference at Nagpur, this year, another time it was passed. A resolution was passed in connection with it in the Council of the Governor-General and the Government have promised to consider it. The judges are in favour of it; we only want your moral support to commend this proposition to the acceptance of Government. (*applause*).

Dr. P. J. Mehta, (Rangoon, Burma):—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, it seems to me that I would not be setting a bad example at this late hour if I merely supported this resolution without making any speech. The resolution has been ably proposed and seconded and I may say that the conditions that prevail in the Punjab and in the Central Provinces are the conditions that prevail in Burma also. The reasons why a chartered High Court should be established in Burma are the reasons why it should be established in the Punjab and the Central Provinces. They have been ably put before you by the previous speakers. The judges of the Chief Court of Lower Burma should be quite independent of the Local Government and of the Government of India. As it is they owe a great deal to these Governments in the form of favours and titles. During the last twelve years—the Chief Court has been established for the last fifteen years—two of the judges of that Court were appointed Lieutenant-Governors of the Province. There have been several memorials sent with regard to the establishment of a High Court in that Province but so far nothing has been done. I beg to support this resolution that has been put before you.

Dr. P. J.
Mehta.

The President:—Is it your pleasure, brother delegates, that I should declare this resolution carried? (*cries of yes, yes.*)

The resolution was then declared carried.

Resolution XVI.**THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT.**

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Mr. K. H.
Vakil.

Mr. K. H. Vakil, (Bombay.) :—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the proposition placed in my hands reads as follows :—

This Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi movement and calls upon the people of India to labour for its success by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries by giving preference, wherever practicable, to Indian products over imported commodities even at a sacrifice.

I feel myself highly honoured in having been called upon to move this resolution. I recognise that there are men of matured experience and unquestionable abilities and I sincerely wish that some one of them had taken up this responsible task. This resolution is almost identical with the resolutions which were passed at the past sessions of the Congress and the subject has therefore been fully discussed and strongly urged. Last year, if I am not mistaken, this resolution was moved from the chair. Under the circumstances, I do not think it fit to take up your valuable time in merely repeating what has all along been said in previous years. This year our leaders have again thought it advisable to give a fresh impetus to the movement by having the resolution once more spoken to. The reason for this is not far to seek. The titanic struggle now going on in the West has taught us many valuable lessons—lessons which we can at this juncture ill afford to neglect. Dr. Anand Coomarswamy rightly remarks that “the best meant endeavours of outsiders can effect but little ; while a little germ of love for the motherland might effect everything.” And again “if the reawakening is to come at all, it will be the fruit of India’s recognition of her national self.” This Swadeshi Movement has two aspects. It works for the encouragement of the already existing industries and it further demands from the people even at some sacrifice the establishment of industries which would meet the growing wants of our country. It has also to replace articles coming from foreign countries. Germany till now invaded and captured our markets and crushed our industries by sending cheap goods. Dr. J. C. Bose, our celebrated scientist and patriot, in his spirited and grave warning, pointedly remarked that the German invasion was replaced by the Japanese invasion. As far as we are concerned, we got King Lock for King Stork. It is in this connection that I should appeal to you all to read that stirring and eye-opening special paper by Sir Dorab Tata on the Japanese invasion of India. Gentlemen, in order to check effectively this foreign invasion of our industries, a well founded modern system of Industrialism is urgently needed. Such a system, in order that it might prove a success, requires to be

backed up by your earnest, strenuous and patriotic efforts. Gentlemen, I am conscious of the fact that many of the notions of industrialism and industrial ideals might clash with the philosophical ideals of the Indian mind and heart but we are living in a cruel world that marks the plan of human life and human progress by force. No one waits to ask you your opinion. Your country is overrun by exploiters of other lands. If you have scruples about or a distaste for modern industrialism, they are only too pleased to see you hold back and stand aloof. We have got to march in the wake of the times and remember that with material prosperity, we shall have better opportunities of cultivating the artistic and philosophic life of the nation.

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In a country like ours, sacrifice in such national causes is not only demanded from the people but also from the Government. I was very much interested in listening to two of the highly placed officials of first class Indian States, who remarked last evening that in everything that pertains to the advancement of our industries careful fostering and ungrudging help by the State was a *sine qua non*. There was a time, gentlemen, when these Indian States had to go to the Supreme Government for ideas. But strange to say that the times have now changed to an amazing degree. The Supreme Government may well emulate the policy of these States. We expect our Government to support this national movement in an unhesitating spirit, though it would not be out of place to remark that the Government has given some encouragement to this movement. We are thankful to the Government for their resolution of 1909 but we hope, as was pointed out at the Industrial Conference, that the Government will put this resolution more and more into actual practice.

Before I conclude, I must also draw your attention to the fact that the cause of the Swadeshi Movement will be greatly enhanced by the publication of Government Indents sent out to England. We do not know what things the Government wants and the Government does not know in its turn what things are made in the country. You all know Lord Carmichael's handkerchief incident. Out of the total value of the indents, amounting to some nine crores of Rupees, India can well supply her own wants. If the supply will not be made immediately, it is bound to be made in the near future when we know that for many articles we have a home demand. But, gentlemen, there is unfortunately a tendency that runs counter to all our just expectations. It was only the other day the Hon. Mr. Clarke openly said, in one of the sittings of the Imperial Legislative Council, that so long as England supplied the wants of India we Indians had no need to worry over the future of our Industrial development. Gentlemen, that is a melancholy declaration of

Resolution XVI sentiments prevailing in the highest official quarters. If now you have to work out your salvation, you must even at some sacrifice unhesitatingly, strenuously and ungrudgingly support this national movement. We have all the elements of success and in the words of Romesh Chunder Dutt "no country on earth labouring under the disadvantages from which we suffer, could have shown more adaptability to modern methods, more skill, more patient industry, more marked success" and I now finally appeal to you all, brother delegates, not to sit with folded hands waiting for that never-to-come outside help but to assist your industries by following the Swadeshi movement in a patriotic spirit as is required by the resolution which I have the honour to move before you.

Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu.

Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu, (Calcutta, Bengal) :—Gentlemen, the only resolution in today's Congress programme that appeals to the dignity and self-respect of the people of India is the resolution on the Swadeshi movement. Gentlemen, if you kindly analyse the wording of the resolution carefully, you will find that the framers of the resolution took particular care to see that there would not be any word that would savour of begging or borrowing. Gentlemen, here is a resolution that does not pray to Government for any political power or privilege. Here is a resolution that does not ask for any special concession from the authorities. On the other hand, it appeals to the people of India to foster and to work and labour for the success of the Swadeshi movement (*applause*) on which you and I believe in common the industrial salvation of India so largely depends. Brother delegates, we might talk glibly for political powers and privileges; we may demand enfranchisement and equal rights within the Empire; we may dream of a free and federated India under the ægis of the British Crown; but all this talk and dream will end in mere illusion, if we cannot work out the economic and Industrial freedom of our country. (*applause*). Brother delegates, it is this resolution that urges you to work and continue to work at a sacrifice for breaking the bondage of economic slavery of Mother India not only to this or that nation but to all the nations of the world. Well, gentlemen, you know as well as every body knows well, that the industries of a country can never grow or prosper unless they receive plenty of State help and State aid,—unless Government build a tariff against all imported commodities that compete so unfairly with our infant industries and kill them in their nurseries. You all know that very well. But I am not here to criticise any Government measure or to dwell upon the inattention of Government; for the resolution precludes me from entering into any discussion of that nature. This resolution is wholly and essentially a resolution of self-help and self-government (*applause*) so far as our industrial aspirations are concerned.

Well, gentlemen, I will just tell you what this great Swadeshi movement has done in India. I would not detain you for a long

time, but I would give you just one instance only. Before this movement came into existence in this country, as the previous speaker just now referred and gave the credit to Bengal—we take the credit in all humility—before the year 1906, our dhoties used to come from Manchester, our boots and shoes from Dawsons and Monteiths; our shirts and socks from Whiteaway & Laidlaw—they have a branch here also (*laughter*); all our wearing apparel used to be, the under wear also included, purely English. After the Swadeshi movement, what a great and marvellous change has come upon the country; the dhoties now come from the Mills of Bombay (*applause*); of course by this change of channel you have been enriched; but you are our own countrymen,—bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh. (*applause*) The money that we used to spend—it was a considerable amount, because Bengal is a dhotie wearing country—all the money, that used to go to the pockets of people other than Indians, now flows into the pockets of Petits and Sassoons of Bombay, and from there it filters down into the huts and hovels of the teeming millions of India. (*applause*). This is what the Swadeshi movement has done here.

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Sachindra
Prasad
Basu.

Sir, we are now on the eve of a great birth, on the threshold of a new era. You know the saying that even the darkest cloud is not without its silver lining. In that light even this great and devastating war, this horrible war which you and I deprecate so much, this war has presented to us many opportunitites, has opened immense possibilities of industrial activity in India. Take time by the forelock, for, they say there is a time and tide in human affairs which if lost sight of and neglected, will not come again in the generations that are to come. Well, gentlemen, this is the time, this is the opportunity; you can make or mar the future of your country on this momentous occasion. Japan has already stolen a march upon us, while we have been sleeping. There has been talk enough, a good deal of talk, good and honest talk no doubt,—and perhaps not unnecessary talk; but still that talk should be supplemented by solid, silent and substantial work which will bring great blessings to this country. (*applause*). The time is come. It is upon you, upon every one of us. The dawn is already there, and if you do not wake up, and open your eyes, God will say “all this cry for self-government, all this cry for equal rights and privileges,—this cry for franchisement, these are mere political shibboleths.” If you do not open your eyes now, then you will find, the rest of the world will say, that the dawn came upon India, but that the Indians chose to sleep into a slumber from which—God forbid—perhaps there will be no more waking. (*applause*).

Mr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, (Masulipattam, Madras) :—
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it is now ten years since the vow of ‘Swadeshi’ was first administered to the people of this country on the sacred banks of the Ganges in Benares in the year

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1905 and well may we repeat that vow now and for ever with a feeling of zeal, devotion and solemnity that can hardly be inspired by any other of our resolutions these three days, for it embodies an exhortation to the patriotic citizens of this country in and outside this gathering, and enjoins upon them a rule of conduct for their daily and hourly observance. So much emphasis has been laid by the speakers on this and on previous occasions upon the industrial aspect of the Swadeshi Movement that I would for one moment like to divert your minds from its materialistic to its mental aspect, from its commercial to its cultural aspect. In doing so, I have to point out that the resolution, in asking us to give support to this movement, recalls to our minds that we are of our country and our country is of us; that we are of our culture and that our culture and civilization are of us and if this resolution lays special emphasis upon the industrial aspect of the question, it is not merely because the arts of this country are languishing, or that the crafts have well nigh perished, or that the country is being impoverished, but because the arts and crafts of a country stand today and for ever as the supreme index of its culture and civilization which can be preserved and perpetuated only in that measure in which they receive the recognition and the patronage of its people.

Gentlemen, we have been told times without number that ours is a country of ancient culture and that we have the sacred duty of preserving this culture and adding this tributary culture to the stream of the international culture of the world. What are the features that give any culture its distinctiveness and its individuality? The arts and crafts, I may say, occupy the foremost place; the philosophy, the view of life, the tastes and tendencies which are developing in the people, the life led by them and their character—these constitute the individual features of each culture. And if we have to understand the Movement aright, we have not only to confine our attention to the industrial regeneration of our land but also to divert ourselves for a moment from it and look at the larger aspect of what we call the Swadeshi Movement. It, therefore, to my mind, encompasses a wider field, embracing the spheres of music, of poetry and of painting, of arts and crafts, of town-planning and house-building, of tastes and temperament, of life and habits. The problem then to us, when put concretely, is this: Shall we cast aside the flute of Sri Krishna by which he enchanted the animate world to his feet, the veena of Saraswati, and the traditional pipe in favour of the harmonium which dulls our sensibilities and the gramophone which lacks the elements of music and is lifeless? Shall we forget the lessons of ancient Moghul and Rajput painting so replete with spiritual ideals and sublime ideas, and run after the reproductions in colour and form of actual life and average beauty? Shall we abandon the lovely products, the hand-made

products of our craftsmen, and import into our houses the cheap and tawdry products of the machine? Shall we furnish our houses with beautiful home-made carpets and palampores, or shall we rush to the cities of Bombay and Calcutta for "flaming Brussels carpets, Tottenham Court Road Furniture, Italian Mosaics, German Tissues, French Oleographs, Austrian lustres and all kinds of cheap brocades?" Shall we not dress ourselves at any rate on sacred and ceremonial occasions such as this in the flowing folds of our National garb or shall we shine in the tight fitting dress more suited to Oxford street and Bond street? We rejoice to be told that the trade in mulls has taken a very rapid stride in Bengal. I should like to know how the trade in Merino and Creveanette, in Dawson's boots and Christy's hats stands in Bengal, the home of the Swadeshi Movement or in any other part of the country. Then I would add, shall we not greet each other with uplifted hands and wish God-speed to ourselves and to our Motherland by singing the National Song instead of by waving our handkerchiefs with cries of "hip, hip, hurrah."?

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Gentlemen, these are some of the aspect which strike me as relating not merely to the materialistic but to the mental side, the culture side of the Swadeshi Movement. If the Swadeshi Movement has not made such a rapid stride as we anticipated and as we so often fondly love to think it has made, I say it is because National tastes and temperament have to be re-educated and the worst sinners in this respect, the educated elements, have to rediscover the ancient glories of their land and preserve unto posterity its priceless treasures untarnished and unimpaired at least, if not enriched.

Gentlemen, I have, contrary to the advice given by my elders here (to stick to the material side), emphasised this aspect, for the roots of the movement should be planted only in the right soil. To speak then of sacrifice in the Swadeshi Movement sounds to me, permit me to say, as mockery and condescension. To cast aside the exquisite gifts of the Mother, and to run after the "husks and trappings" of modern luxury does not constitute a stimulus for sacrifice, but argues a vulgarity of spirit and a degeneracy of soul in the country. In regard to this movement, we are at a very pathetic phase at this juncture. With most of us, Swadeshi was once a fashion; it has now become the fad of a few; it has become the prejudice of the many, at best it has become a formula upon such sacred occasions to be mechanically uttered, meriting no word of prayer or praise as was the fate of the 'Swadeshi' Resolution at last year's Congress. But we should not regret that such an untoward event has happened for Lowell has said that it is the tendency of all creeds (*cries of time, time.*)

Then the speaker retired.

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tion XVI.** **Seth Damodardas Ratti (United Provinces),** then supported the resolution in Hindi.

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**Seth
Damodar-
das Ratti.**

The President:—I must adjourn the Congress and take the other Resolutions tomorrow. As tomorrow is the last day, I ask that we should meet earlier than we did today, namely, at 11 o'clock. I am afraid there is a good deal of business to be got through and I must ask you to come at 11 o'clock. The Subjects Committee will meet half an hour after now.

The President:—Brother delegates, I forgot to put the resolution on the Swadeshi movement to the vote. Is it the pleasure of all of you to carry this resolution? (*cries of yes, yes.*)

The resolution was then declared carried.

The Congress then rose for the day.



THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Wednesday, the 29th December, 1915.

The Congress assembled at 11 A. M. There was a larger number of visitors present than on the previous two days. Among the visitors was Mr. Justice MacLeod, who was cheered by the assembly. Later in the day, the Raja of Mahamudabad attended the Congress, who was also cheered when he came. The proceedings commenced with the "Bande Mataram" song sung by Parsi, Hindu and Mahomedan ladies, the whole assembly standing up whilst it was being sung.

The President:—Brother Delegates,—Before the business of the day is commenced, I ask your leave to make an appeal to you all. The business before us today is important; and there is a large number of resolutions to be got through. I would venture to ask those who have already been selected as speakers to adhere as closely as they can to the time limit fixed, and I ask the assistance of every delegate to further the work we have in hand by the sacrifice, the necessary sacrifice, of their desire to speak at length on any one of these resolutions. We shall have all that we can do, if we get the selected speakers to keep to time in order to get through our resolutions. The task will be impossible if new speakers desire to be heard on any of them, and however much it may be of a disappointment to them, I can assure them that it is a greater disappointment to me that I cannot hear from every delegate here his views on every one of the subjects. I appeal to all, except those already selected, and I hope I do not appeal in vain, not to embarrass the chair by any applications to address the Congress.

I now call upon Mr. Horniman to move the resolution standing in his name.

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Mr. B. G. Horniman, (Bombay):—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I feel that I appear rather in the way of an interloper standing in front of what perhaps you regard as a much more attractive discussion to come, and I shall try not to exceed the limit of time allowed to me. (*hear, hear.*) But I ask you to listen to me patiently because I stand here to plead the cause of the profession to which I belong. (*hear, hear.*) I am here to ask that we should be allowed to exercise our calling freely, without fear, and without favour, and I ask you to listen to me, not only on that account, but also because we are the possessors of a great public right, which, if not allowed to be exercised by us freely and fully, involves a very grave hardship not only upon us but upon the people of this country at large. (*hear, hear.*)

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Ladies and gentlemen, I do not suppose that there is a single one of you in this great assembly who would attempt to defend the Act against which this resolution protests, and I am aware that in this Congress, from this platform, the Press Act has already been exposed as a grave encroachment upon the liberties of the people of this country; and it may therefore be regarded as superfluous that I should say anything more. But, at the same time, it is essential that we should enter our protest today, and also essential that we should justify it by argument, because the strangling of the Press by this Act is growing worse and worse every day. The gross power that has been put into the hands of the Executive under this Act is being made day by day more monstrous use of, and I am inclined to believe that unless we continue to protest, unless we do something to make an impression upon the Government, we shall sooner or later have no freedom of the Press left at all. And that would be a very bad thing for me as it would be a very bad thing for you.

I will put the case against this Act as briefly as I can. There are three reasons why we ask that this Press Act should not merely be amended but should be repealed and struck off the Statute Book.

The first is, that it is a measure of most extraordinarily drastic provisions,—unparalleled, I believe, almost in any civilised country of the world today,—which was passed to deal with a special state of affairs; and where you have the case of emergency legislation like that, it is scandalous that it should be allowed to remain on the Statute Book for a moment more after that special state of affairs has ceased to exist. Well now, has that special state of affairs ceased to exist? Sir, I challenge any member of the Government, I challenge any representative of the official class in this country, to come forward and make out such a case for the existence of that Act today as they were able to make out six or seven years ago. (*applause*). We all know that when this Bill was placed upon the Statute Book there was a grave state of affairs existing in Bengal. I do not wish to be misunderstood. I do not subscribe, and I never did subscribe, to the contention that there was such a state of affairs as to justify the enactment of such a measure as this. But there certainly was a somewhat grave state of affairs, and the Government were able to make out some, I will not say substantial, case for legislation of this character. That state of affairs was the result,—well, I won't say what it was the result of; but it had been growing and proceeding for perhaps six or seven years following the partition of Bengal, and it was in Bengal that the reasons chiefly existed for the passing of this Act. Now I ask any one of the representatives of Bengal who are here today, whether that state of affairs has not ceased to exist for the last five or six

years. (*applause*). I will even go further and will tell you, that the state of affairs, with which this Act was enacted to deal, had, as a matter of absolute fact, very largely ceased to exist at the time it was passed. And that is a very important point.

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Then, secondly, the Act must be repealed, because, as I have said just now, it inflicts very grave hardships and disabilities on the whole journalistic profession and the printing trade of the country. Ladies and gentlemen, and, especially gentlemen, I ask you on our behalf to look at this question putting aside for a moment the question of our public rights. I ask you to look at this question on our behalf from the business point of view. And I ask any businessman here what it would be to him, if it meant, as it means to us, that every moment of the day, day after day, week after week, month after month, in exercising his natural right to follow his calling, he had hanging over him a sword of Damocles, not in the shape of a law that would take him to the courts but in the shape of a law that leaves him at the caprice, at the mercy, of the mere opinion of executive officers;—not only that, not for any error that he may commit,—perhaps errors that do not fall under the ordinary criminal law,—not for any error that he may commit after he has committed it, but that he should pay for his crime, if crime it be, *before* he has committed it. (*applause*.) These are the conditions under which we have to work, and I ask you as businessmen to think what that means to us in the exercise of our profession; whether it is possible for us, journalists in this country and members of the printing trade, to follow our calling with any sense either of self-respect or of being able to succeed, when we have to work under conditions of this character. I could say a great deal more on this particular subject. I could cite instances of poor struggling printers having been dealt with in the most arbitrary and harsh way,—of men with their little capital invested in a small business, who have had it destroyed because they had innocently executed printing work of a character which, without any decision of any judicial court, has been declared by the mere opinion of a District Magistrate or Presidency Magistrate to be of an improper character. What would it mean to a man who was selling a pound of tea, if, having already deposited a security, perhaps larger than the sum with which he opened his shop, with the authorities, he had a policeman standing by his side, to see if there was the least error in weight, for which he might not be personally responsible, but which might lead not to his being taken, as I have said, to a court of law to be tried and to answer for himself, but to have that sum of money, representing more than his capital, taken away from him by the arbitrary fiat of a Magistrate without any public enquiry? (*applause*). That is the business aspect of this Act from our point of view; and I put it

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as strongly as possible in the few words that I have had to limit myself to, because I feel, as I am sure that every journalist here and every journalist in India feels to-day, that we can claim that our fellow-citizens in the other professions and businesses in the country should give their cordial and whole-hearted support (*applause*) in trying to get these restrictions removed.

Then, thirdly, ladies and gentlemen, the Act deprives the people of this country of the right to free and unfettered expression of their views on public questions. I do not think that it is necessary for me to enlarge on this aspect of the question because—I was going to say the iniquity of it but I will say—the hardship of it must be present to every man who has any concern for the freedom of his country, and for his individual rights as a subject of the Crown. It must be present to his mind as much as it is to mine. And in this respect, I think that on previous occasions here as much has been said on this particular aspect of the Act as it is necessary to say.

My time is nearly exhausted but I want to go on to another point and that is this : Ladies and gentlemen, in the indictment which we have to make against the Government under this Act, —and in that indictment, Sir, I regret to say that you are *particeps criminis*,—in that indictment,—and in this respect I think we can give the Government a loophole through which they can assist us,—we are able to say that this Act is not what they intended it to be, and it is not carrying out the work which they undertook, and not carrying it out in the way in which they undertook that it should be carried out at the time it was passed. You must all remember the case of the “Comrade,” which came before a Full Bench of the Calcutta High Court. In that case, if you remember, Sir Lawrence Jenkins (*hear, hear* and *applause*), the then Chief Justice of the High Court, in a judgment, which I am sure must have caused him as much pain as it has caused us, was forced to say that under the provisions of the Act,—no matter what might have been the intentions of the legislature,—it was impossible for him, it was impossible for the Court, even to consider whether the words that had been published came under the description given in the Act of words that should not be published. Well, as to that, we had a very clear promise not only from the Government, but what makes it more interesting and more important to us,—from the then Law Member of the Government who is here with us to-day, as our President and who, speaking on behalf of Government, gave what can only be regarded as a definite assurance, as an actual promise, that what actually happened two, three or four years afterwards in the High Court of Calcutta could not possibly happen under the provisions of the Bill ; and that it was not the desire of the Government that it should

happen. I am going to quote his words. He said: "It is of no use to attempt to convince us that it is a very drastic measure because we feel sure that it is not." Ladies and gentlemen, I do not wish to say anything that might be embarrassing to our President, (*laughter*) and I am not going to ask him to answer any question that I may put to him, but I ask him here publicly without wishing him to answer it, merely for the sake of getting down a fact,—I ask whether he could lay his hand on his heart to-day and say as fervently and as eloquently as he said on that occasion,—and he spoke very fervently and very eloquently, I was there to hear him and I know what an enormous impression he made upon the Council (*applause*)—I ask him to say whether he or any one else can honestly say today that it is not a very drastic measure, that he is *sure* it is not a very drastic measure. Then he went on and he said: "We have put in all kinds of safeguards."—Well, ladies and gentlemen, as I have just told you, as soon as we got into the High Court the safeguards disappeared.—(*hear, hear*). "When the Local Government" he continued "makes an order of forfeiture, the Bill provides that it must state or describe the offending articles or words, pictures or engravings or whatever it is, upon which it passes its order.—No making of an order which is vague, which is indefinite, no order without allowing the man to know what he is being punished for, but a definite order stating the very words of the article, describing it as the one which the man is being punished for." Ladies and gentlemen, there has not been one "Comrade" case or two or three cases, but there have been dozens of cases since this, in which the executive authority, taking advantage of the judgment of the High Court, have deliberately belied the undertaking that was given on behalf of the Government of India by the then Law Member of the Council (*cries of "shame"*). I ask the Government of Lord Hardinge whether it does not rest upon them as a solemn obligation to remove from the Statute Book this Act which is not the thing they promised. (*applause*).

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I will not say anything more as to the merits of this Act, because I think that solemn obligation, that solemn promise which the Government gave, must be earned at an early date. But I may say a few words more in regard to the character of the Act, in order to show that it is not an Act which ought to be allowed to remain on the Statute Book of the British Government in this country. The Act, I believe, was very largely drafted by the late Sir Herbert Risley. And, ladies and gentlemen, it is rather amusing, it is rather ironical, but at the same time it is very distressing and deplorable, to know where he went in order to get the main provisions of this Bill. Ladies and gentlemen, Sir Herbert Risley after ransacking, after diving and delving among all the repressive measures of the most reactionary

Resolution XVII. countries in Europe, found the chief provisions of this Bill in an enactment which had been passed in Austria, (*cries of "shame"*) by German statesmen in order to muzzle the varied races which those German statesmen in Vienna had to control. We ask that this Austrian—I was going to say this Hunnish—excrescence on the Statute Book of British India—shall be removed, and the liberty,—the full liberty,—of the Press in this country restored. Until that is done, it is not only my rights, it is not only our rights,—speaking as I do on behalf of the journalists of India—but it is your rights, that are being imperilled, that are being day after day controlled and muzzled by the executive officers. It is a very precious and very vital right that is thus tampered with. It was Milton who wrote 300 years ago. "Give me the liberty to know the Truth and to argue freely according to conscience above all other liberties." That liberty, no matter what form of Government we have here,—if the form of Government is less free than it is in England, then it is all the more important,—no matter what form of Government we possess, that liberty is as essential to our existence as free subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor as it is in any other part of the Empire. (*Loud applause*).

Ladies and gentlemen, the resolution is as follows :—

This Congress reiterates its protest against the continuation of the Indian Press Act on the Statute Book and urges that the same be repealed.

Mr. I. B. Sen.

Mr. I. B. Sen, (Calcutta, Bengal):—Mr. President and friends,—I second the resolution moved by Mr. Horniman for the repeal of the Press Act. I am not an editor. I am his victim, the man-in-the-street. I have, therefore, a right to say something on this question. I protest against the Act, because the Act has set up a false standard of judgment in the mind of the editor. Instead of judging whether the publication of an idea or news or exhortation is for the good of the man-in-the-street, the editor is encouraged by the Act to apply a wrong test to the question. The only test, which the editor is encouraged by the Act to apply, is whether it is good for his Bank balance, whether it involves the risk of his being called upon to furnish security or of forfeiture of the security already furnished or of confiscation of his Press. That, I say, is unfair to me, the man-in-the-street. I protest against the Act, because the Act has discouraged the editor from occasionally exercising his mind, from occasionally trying to think for himself on his own responsibility. My friends, you are perhaps aware that the editor or his assistant is only at rare intervals a thinking animal. (*Laughter*). His usual weapon is not his mind. Usually his weapons are a pair of scissors and gum. I protest against this Act, because this Act serves to make his mind rusty and his pair of scissor-

worn out with too much use. I urge the repeal of the Act, because, friends, it has laid down a very clumsy method for the regulation of the editorial mind, a method of terror, not of persuasion. It is a method essentially the same as that of the anarchists.

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Sen.

The other day, not even a month ago, Sir John Simon, the Home Secretary, charged the Northcliffe Press in England with "persistent recklessness and folly"—I am using his words—with "playing the enemies' game" in this critical war, with becoming "a source of public danger." But, ladies and gentlemen, Sir John Simon did not advocate this remedy for the evil in England. No, it was too bad for a free country. A remedy which fosters subservience and hypocrisy would be worse than the evil and therefore could not be thought of there. But I shall be told that India is not England. I shall be told that this is not the opportune moment to ask for the repeal of the Press Act, that the present are abnormal times. Well, I could answer that objection from my point of view. But I prefer just now to meet that objection from the old bureaucrat's obtuse "angle of vision." And I say, Mr. Bureaucrat, have you not got your press censors now? Hav'nt you got your telegraph censors? Your military and naval censors? Your censors at Simla and Delhi? Your censors at each provincial capital? Is not this enough for these abnormal times? When this Act was passed, a high but irresponsible official, speaking of the abnormal times in Bengal, remarked in the course of a conversation that the entire Bengalee population could be divided into two exhaustive classes,—the first, of the Bengalees that *are* in jail and the other, of the Bengalees that *ought to be* in jail (*cries of "shame" and loud laughter*). Very well, Mr. Bureaucrat, I accept your classification for the sake of argument. But have you not with the help of your Defence of India Act converted the whole of Bengal into a vast jail? Have you not with the help of your Defence of India Act converted the whole of the Punjab into a vast jail? Did you find any difficulty in interning that manly journalist Mahomed Ali of the "Comrade"? (*cries of "shame"*). Are we not your prisoners-at-will? Do let us have an occasional puff of fresh air blown by the editors in our jail. Do not further pollute our atmosphere by an Act inimical to the growth of healthy manliness and self-respect. Do let us grow as freely as the surrounding atmosphere will allow us to. I appeal to you, friends, to protest against the Act because it has created an atmosphere harmful to the growth of a manly self-respecting nation. I appeal to you, friends, to protest against the Act because it is a discredit to a Government which says that it can live in this atmosphere and this atmosphere alone. (*Applause.*)

Mr. K. N. Aiya Iyer, (Madras):—Mr. President, brother de-
legates, ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Horniman has just now told

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you that we owe this piece of legislation to Sir Herbert Risley, Gentlemen, that distinguished civilian, who was more fitted to shine as a savant in anthropology, was forced to undertake the task of a building legislator. He did not stick to his last; he ventured beyond his depths; he could not swim there. Gentlemen, probably if he had been allowed to have his own way, he would have stuck to his last; but the Government did not do so, and the result is this hideous piece of legislation. This is one of those instances, which are numerous in this country, where a square man is put into a round hole. Gentlemen, this exceedingly ugly and deformed baby had to be clothed. The Government of India then turned to their official tailor, to our distinguished President Sir S. P. Sinha—the Government of India which had to clothe this baby turned to its sartorial expert. I dare say our President did, as much as he could, to clothe this baby in decency. Gentlemen, I am not a thought-reader; I do not pose as a theosophist; nor do I enjoy the confidence of our President. But I venture to assert before you that I do not think that Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha is proud of his work on that occasion. (*Loud laughter in which the President also joined*).

Gentlemen, you have already been told that this legislation is superfluous. You all know that masterpiece of codification, Macaulys's marvel, the Indian Penal Code, especially after it was amended in 1898, and the rigorous provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code are more than enough to put down all the sedition in the country. Even if this country had one hundred times more sedition than it was reported to have, I venture to say that there was no necessity at all for this enactment. Not only that, you know that our Government are never tired of telling us that the proudest triumph of their achievement in this country is their administration of justice. That administration of justice, gentlemen, is good for us, but so far as the Government are concerned it is not good for them. So, they have substituted executive control for judicial control. So far as they themselves are concerned, and Sir Lawrence Jenkins has rightly remarked in that famous judgment already referred to by the mover of this resolution that jurisdiction to pronounce on the wisdom or unwisdom of executive action had been withheld from the courts of justice in this country.

Then again, gentlemen, you all know that this legislation was undertaken at a time of panic. Englishmen in England and the Government of India believed it on the authority of those official fossils on whom the Government rely more than upon the people themselves,—they told the Government that the whole country was honey-combed with sedition. You know gentlemen that the lie direct has been given to that assertion by this war. You all know, gentlemen, that we, who are the proper representatives and spokesmen of the people, spoke the truth when we said that

India was loyal to the core and not these highly paid official fossils stained by the Eastern sun. Now, at any rate, I have faith that the Englishman, to whom the liberty of the Press is the very breath of his nostrils, will wake up and blot out this stain from the Statute Book. The Englishman is a stolid individual; he is an unimaginative person, and, worst of all, he is also a credulous person. I can well believe that the German Kaiser really believed in Indian disloyalty because he thought that it would further his nefarious ends. But I cannot bring myself to believe that the English Government would have such a perverse opinion of us, and as I have already told you, I am glad that this war which has been disastrous in its consequences to all parts of the Empire has yet its silver lining in that it has opened the eyes of the world to Indian loyalty. (*Applause*).

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You all know, gentlemen, that when Mr. Gokhale's Bill for free and compulsory elementary education in this country was sought to be introduced, the Government gave its blessing to it, and said "we are quite in favour of it, but unfortunately we have no funds." You cannot believe that; because if any agency is potent to enlighten the land, it is the Press; and yet not only have the Government refused to pass the Education Act, not only have they withheld the boon of free education from the Indian people, but they have also prevented any spreading of enlightenment in the land by this repressive legislation. I unhesitatingly affirm that, like its *confrère* the Vernacular Press Act of 1878, this Act also must be consigned to the limbo of oblivion. I hope and trust that that will be done ere long. With these words, gentlemen, I beg to support this resolution.

The President:—Is it your pleasure that I should declare this resolution passed? (*cries of yes, yes.*)

I declare this resolution passed.

The President:—I find the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea is not here to move the resolution on Self-Government. I, therefore, ask the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah to move the resolution on Fiscal Freedom.

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FISCAL FREEDOM.

Fiscal
Freedom.

The Hon.
Sir
Ibrahim
Rahim-
tulla.

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, (Bombay) :—
Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—The resolution, which I have the honour to place before you, reads as follows :—

That this Congress is of opinion that in the best interests of the people of India it is necessary that complete fiscal freedom in special reference to import, export and excise duties should now be conceded to the Government of India.

Brother delegates, it appears to me that the most important,—the most urgent—work that we have got to do is to look to the economic development of the people of India. We have a form of government under present conditions under which our fiscal policy is determined six thousand miles away. The need for economic development is so urgent and so insistent that it appears to me that the time has arrived when strenuous efforts should be made to advance the cause of the economic growth of India through the development and growth of our industries.

Brother delegates, it will appear to you rather curious that the resolution is worded in a manner which asks us to transfer the powers now vested in Parliament to the Government of India. And I will tell you why I stand up before you now to ask you to give your unanimous adherence to the resolution in this form. In the whole world, all the civilised nations govern their fiscal policy by means of protection and protective tariffs. England is the only country in the world of any consequence which works on the principles of free-trade. It is not my intention to detain you with the reasons which may influence the representative men in England to follow their own fiscal policy, but when it comes to a question of forcing down the component parts of the British Empire to a fiscal policy which may not be acceptable to those parts, the question becomes of serious importance. Ladies and gentlemen, you are aware that the Self-governing Colonies of Great Britain have been granted complete freedom in the matter of their fiscal policy. India is the only part of the British Empire on which the British free-trade policy is now imposed. And when we are talking, and we propose to talk, about Self-government, the essential condition of self-government is the right and the power of regulating our own fiscal affairs. It is for that freedom that I am standing up before you today to ask you to accept the resolution. Ladies and gentlemen, there appears to me to be no reason why, while England concedes to all its Self-governing Dominions the power of managing and regulating their fiscal affairs, India should alone be deprived of that privilege.

Ladies and gentlemen, the question we have got to consider is this: the country is clamouring for economic advancement; the scheme for compulsory primary education in this country was largely wrecked on the ground of want of funds. We want money for our educational propaganda and for our sanitation. The manner of administration at present is such that we have a Government by departments, and each department pursues its measures in the best interests,—as they appear to it,—of India. The result of all these measures has been the rise in the cost of living. Our requirements are multiplying, and it appears to us that we ought to receive full fiscal freedom before we can regulate our economic position in the future. The reason, Mr. President,—I will conclude in a couple of minutes,—the reason why I ask that this power should be transferred to the Government of India is the recognition of the freedom of this country to regulate its own fiscal affairs. I do so, because I am convinced that under the existing conditions when the manufacturing interests of Great Britain are so prominently represented in the House of Commons, it is hopeless to expect that full freedom in regard to our industrial development will be conceded, unless we take out of the hands of those interested people (*hear, hear*) the power to regulate for us what we shall do in regard to our industrial development. And I will give you in conclusion one typical instance of what transpired in the House of Commons only two years ago, just before the war. At that time when the British Budget was under discussion,—I will not read it, I will give it to you in my own words—in the House of Commons one of the Labour members moved that the tax on imports of tea from India be reduced. The reason he advanced was not,—he repudiated the idea,—to give preferential treatment to India as against China, the other country from which tea was imported; but he said that Indian tea was largely used by the middle classes and the lower classes and, as a relief to their breakfast table, he advocated a reduction of the import duty on Indian tea, retaining the duty on Chinese tea. Well, ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, got up to reply to this amendment, and, in doing so, he said: “I appreciate the argument that the Hon'ble mover of the amendment has advanced, that he does not put it on the ground of preferential treatment to India, but I ask whether he can possibly conceive that it would be construed in any other way except as preferential treatment to India, and under these conditions what will China say about it?” He went on to say: “Before I deal with the latter aspect of the question, I should like to know what my Lancashire friends sitting here have got to say on the subject,”—because China was one of the largest consumers of Lancashire goods. Ladies and gentlemen, our fiscal relations with England are to be determined not by the

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Resolution XVIII. interests of England, not by the interests of India, but by the interests of Lancashire in China. (*Cries of "shame" and "hear, hear"*). If the House of Commons proposes to follow a line of policy indicated by the reply of Mr. Lloyd George on this question, it is hopeless to expect India to advance in its industrial growth and development unless it secures full and complete autonomy in all fiscal matters. (*hear, hear and applause.*) It is for that reason, ladies and gentlemen, that I am appealing to you from this Congress platform to accept the resolution which I am placing before you and to demand persistently, insistentlly, in season and out of season (*applause*) this freedom, a freedom with which is intertwined our economic and industrial growth and development. (*Applause*).

Professor
V. G. Kale.

Professor V. G. Kale, (Poona):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, you are probably aware of a famous statement made by one of our distinguished countrymen that the economic domination of one country over another is more insidious and detrimental than political domination. We are today demanding self-government in political matters, but self-government in economic and fiscal matters is still more important. The reasons why we should have fiscal independence are so obvious that it is unnecessary for me to take up much of your time in dealing with that aspect of the question. However, I have to sound a note of warning in one important matter. It is in connection with what is called Imperial preference. At the end of the war, the question of financial readjustment will come before us, and we shall be called upon to take a share in the financial and fiscal arrangements that will be made on that occasion. We have been told from time to time that India is a part of the British Empire and she is, therefore, bound in duty to share in the burdens of that Empire. We have been asking the Government to give us rights and privileges, and we have expressed our willingness to share our burdens, but at the same time it must be made clear that, unless complete fiscal independence is accorded to us, we shall not be prepared to share in the burdens, that will be thrown upon our shoulders. Taking advantage of a certain resolution moved some time back in the Imperial Legislative Council, Sir Roper Lethbridge, for instance, boldly pronounced that India had fallen into line with fiscal reformers in England and had been demanding a place in the fiscal arrangement that had been proposed by the Tariff Reform League in Great Britain. Now, this is a misleading statement to make. As I have said, we are prepared to make sacrifices for the Empire but only on the condition that the privileges of the Empire are also accorded to us. The greatest drawback in the fiscal policy of the Government of India is that that policy has been pursued, as the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla told us, in the interests more of Lancashire than o

India. The history of the finance of this country is a melancholy story of selfishness on the part of the British merchants, and until that selfishness is boldly exposed and we tell the Imperial authorities that until the interests of Indian commerce and industries are properly taken into account, we shall have nothing to do with any scheme of Imperial preference.

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V. G. Kale.

The policy with regard to our finance has a very important bearing upon the industrial prosperity of the country. One of the evening dailies of this city, I might call it the evening star of Bombay, two days back reflected a flood of light upon the attitude that is taken up sometimes by Anglo-Indian and Tory publicists with regard to the economic interests of the people of this country. That paper said that it had no faith in the industrial possibilities of India, and that India ought to concentrate all its energies only on agricultural pursuits. I certainly attach very great importance to the progress of agriculture in India; but at the same time our economic progress is bound up with the progress of our industries also, and if the industries of India are to make any progress, they must have protection given to them. A policy of protection includes the power to levy import or export duties that we feel necessary for the promotion of our industries. It is not Lancashire that is to determine what taxes are to be levied upon our exports and imports; it is the Indian people who have to determine what that policy should be. (*Applause*).

There is one more remark that I have to make and it is this: In this resolution we claim power for the Government of India. But I must say that this power in the Government of India will be entirely useless unless the people of this country have a very considerable voice in the Councils of that Government (*applause*). We know how legislation is carried on in the Viceregal Legislative Council. The people's voice is not effectively heard, and unless the people's voice is effectively heard in the Councils of Government, it is useless to endow the Government with any power such as is claimed here in this resolution. Therefore, fiscal autonomy and political autonomy ought to go hand in hand; and as I said in the beginning, the economic domination of one country over another is more detrimental and more insidious than even the political domination of that country. It is unnecessary for me to say anything more to commend this resolution to your acceptance, and, therefore, with these few words I will ask you to pass this resolution. (*Applause*).

Mr. A. P. Patro, (Madras):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting this resolution proposed by the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla. We know that the position of India as a dependency has resulted in economic bondage and altogether in industrial slavery. Our financial

Mr. A. P.
Patro.

Resolution XVIII. policy, our fiscal policy, is dictated under the existing constitution by the Parliament and the India Office. You know how elections in England are governed, how Governments are made, how Cabinets are formed. It is the voice of the manufacturer, it is the vote of the industrial kings that makes the Governments. Therefore it cannot be expected under the existing constitution that anything like fiscal freedom can be granted to us. It is the interest of the British manufacturer that forms the bane of Indian industries. But we have a voice here and there giving us encouragement that this greater freedom may be given to the Government of India. A few years back, Sir Valentine Chirol, writing on the "Unrest in India," said: "If England is to govern India according to Indian ideas, he cannot see any justification why fiscal freedom is not granted to India," for there is a greater demand for this freedom than for political autonomy. Again, as we saw in the discussions in the Viceroy's Legislative Council when the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla expounded the policy on Rajah Kushalpal Singh's resolution, the Government had no answer to give but to submit themselves to what they would be dictated to by the India Office. Recently, when the Member for Commerce visited Bombay, the Indian Chamber of Commerce emphatically placed before him that in order that the present situation might be improved, in order that nascent industries might be developed, fiscal freedom was necessary and the Government of India should have power to regulate the tariffs and to impose duties, and they would have to determine the sources from which revenue would have to be raised. These powers are necessary for the Government of India, before any attempt is made to develop nascent industries in this country. It is one thing for the Government of India to say that they do sympathise with us, but it is quite another matter to be able to start and develop the new industries. Indian capital is shy to start manufacture of articles imported from enemy countries. What will be the condition of these industries after the war is over? Protected countries will step in and the growing infant industries will be choked up. Therefore, there must be power in the Government of India to be able to protect the struggling industries. As pointed out by Professor Kale, the people's voice must be heard in the Government of India, so that the industries that may now come into existence may be protected.

The question of protection in India is not a new one. You see all our railways and canals are built by borrowed capital. Foreign companies and capital are guaranteed to receive a certain amount of interest for investing capital in this country. Therefore the Government of India have pledged themselves to a certain principle of protection. What we want in this resolution is that greater power must be given to the Government of India to regulate their own affairs, and unless that is done and so long

as the fiscal policy is determined by the Parliament and the India Office, it is impossible to get out of the economic bondage, and there can be no certain development of industries in this country.

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Fiscal
Freedom.

Mr. A. P.
Patro.

Protection wholesale is not what I propose. There should be careful survey of the condition of industries, particular industries in particular areas, the causes, if any, for the depressed state of the industry and whether there is lack of enterprise or capital. It is a condition precedent to know how best the particular industry can be aided by inducing indigenous capital for its development or render it State aid. Those manufactures that can be economically developed and those industries that can be fostered efficiently should be protected by a system of regulated and scientific tariffs. It is, therefore, necessary to possess the power to regulate tariffs and duties as a means of protecting struggling Indian industries and aiding indigenous manufacture as a guarantee for investment of indigenous capital. Therefore I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution.

The President:—Is it your pleasure that I should declare this resolution passed? (*cries of "yes, yes."*)

The resolution was declared carried.

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tion XIX.

SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Self-Govern-
ment.

The President:—The next resolution is the resolution on Self-Government. (*applause.*) Before calling upon Mr. Surendranath Banerjea to move it, at his request and to spare his eyes, I will read the text of the resolution. The moment I have done it, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea will address you. This is the resolution :—

That this Congress is of opinion that the time has arrived to introduce further and substantial measures of reform towards the attainment of Self-Government as defined in Article I* of its Constitution, namely, reforming and liberalising the system of Government in this

*ARTICLE I.

The Objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing Members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those Members. These Objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country.

Resolution XIX. country so as to secure to the people an effective control over it, amongst others, by

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- (a) The introduction of Provincial autonomy including financial independence ;
- (b) Expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils so as to make them truly and adequately representative of all sections of the people and to give them an effective control over the acts of the Executive Government ;
- (c) The re-construction of the various existing Executive Councils and the establishment of similar Executive Councils in Provinces where they do not exist ;
- (d) The reform or the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India ;
- (e) Establishment of Legislative Councils in Provinces where they do not now exist ;
- (f) The re-adjustment of the relations between the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India ; and
- (g) A liberal measure of Local Self-Government.

That this Congress authorises the All-India Congress Committee to frame a scheme of reform and a programme of continuous work, educative and propagandist, having regard to the principles embodied in this Resolution and further authorises the said Committee to confer with the Committee that may be appointed by the All-India Moslem League for the same purpose and to take such further measures as may be necessary ; the said Committee to submit its report on or before the 1st of September 1916 to the General Secretaries, who shall circulate it to the different Provincial Congress Committees as early as possible.

The Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea.

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, (Calcutta, Bengal) who, on rising, received an ovation from the audience, said :—

Mr. President, brother and sister delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I am confronted with an initial difficulty in moving this resolution. A spectre is conjured up to frighten us out of this resolution. We are told by our critics—and they are as multitudinous as the stars of heaven (*laughter*)—and by our candid friends that to move a resolution of this kind at a time like the present and to formulate proposals of reform now is to embarrass the Government. If I could be persuaded of the soundness of this view, I, for my part, would have no part or share in this resolution ; furthermore, I would ask you to drop it. For, Brother Delegates, our attitude,—the attitude of the educated community—throughout the crisis of this war has been one of

fervent devotion to the Throne (*applause*) and of active co-operation with the Government. Agitation is far from our minds. We may deliberate, discuss, even formulate proposals of reform, but we are resolved,—we, the men of the Congress are resolved—to embark upon no agitation, no controversy, and not to let loose the forces of public opinion so as to bring pressure to bear upon the Government.

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Brother delegates, this war cannot last for ever. Peace must come. God grant that it may soon come. We have to prepare ourselves for peace, for the situation in which we will find ourselves upon the conclusion of peace. I can think of no more patriotic task than that. We have to play the part of men, and let us equip ourselves for that exalted function. Brother delegates, the idea of re-adjustment is in the air, not only here in India but all the world over. The heart of the Empire is set upon it: it is the problem of problems upon which humanity is engaged. What is this war for? Why are these numerous sufferings endured? Because, it is a war of re-adjustment, a war that will set right the claims of minor nationalities, uphold and vindicate the sanctity of treaties, proclamations—ours is one (*applause*)—charters and similar “scraps of paper.” (*laughter*). They are talking about what will happen after the war in Canada, in Australia; they are talking about it from the floor of the House of Commons and in the gatherings of public men and ministers of the State. May we not also talk about it a little from our standpoint? Are we to be charged with embarrassing the Government when we follow the examples of illustrious public men, men weighted with a sense of responsibility at least as onerous as that felt by our critics and our candid friends?

Brother delegates, the resolution says that the time is come when a definite advance must be made for the attainment of our goal, which is Self-Government. (*applause*). But, brother delegates, there are those who tell us that we are unfit for self-government (*cries of “shame”*), that the goal is distant, very distant, so distant as to be illusory (*laughter*), and not even with the tiny eye of hope can we obtain a glimpse of the promised land. A high authority speaking from his place in Parliament said that, so far as his imagination could pierce, he could not conceive of a time when India would be fit for Parliamentary institutions. The same authority is the author of the reform scheme. (*Laughter*). But, brother delegates, I am no prophet, and do not desire to be one (*laughter*), though my ancestors were in their own humble sphere. But I will say this: that it will be one of the bitterest ironies of fate that will hand down Lord Morley to remote generations as the Simon De Montfort of the future Parliament of India. (*ap-
plause*). We are not fit for self-government! Let us examine

Resolution XIX. that proposition. (*laughter*). Brother delegates, self-government is the ordering of Nature, the dispensation of Divine Providence, (*hear, hear*); every community must be the master of its own destiny. That is a part of the divine law, a part of the immutable order of the universe written in every line of universal history, written in characters of life by the inscrutable hand of Divine Providence. If there is to be a deviation or a departure, it must be transitional and transient, and like the needle of a compass always pointing northwards; ours deflects steadily towards the goal, which is Self-Government.

The Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea.

Brother delegates, Self-Government being the normal condition of things, it is incumbent upon those who say that we are not fit for self-government, that it is a distant possibility, so distant that it fades away into the mist of the unseen future,—I say it is incumbent upon them to prove their case. The burden of proof is upon them and not upon me, (*laughter*). But in a chivalrous spirit, imitating the chivalry of this Congress, I will come to their rescue, I will take upon myself the burden of proof, I will descend from the vantage ground I occupy, and fight my adversary in the open (*applause*) with his own instruments and upon terms of perfect equality. Let us survey the past, examine the present, look around us and then pronounce our verdict. Brother delegates, in the morning of the world, before Rome had been built, before Nineveh and Babylon had emerged into the historic arena, our ancestors had founded those village organisations (*applause*) which represent the first beginnings of self-government. So well organised, so tenacious of life and vitality they were that they survived the crash of Empires, the subversions of thrones, changes of dynasties, and they lived within living memory (*hear, hear*). Coming down to more recent times, what do we find? Wherever we have been tried, Sir, we have not been found wanting. We have been tried in the matter of local self-government, under conditions admitted by Lord Morley to be adverse; and yet the experiment has proved successful. We have been tried in the higher regions of self-government under the Reform Scheme of 1909 and again we have been successful. And let us look around. Here is this vast, this stupendous gathering of representative men from all parts of India. Is there any part of the world which can present an equal of a gathering like this. It has been said that self-government is government by discussions. How do we discuss here? How do we deliberate? How do we consult? How do we compromise? We do all that with a sense of moderation, of self-restraint, regard for constituted authority, which is proof positive of our capacity for deliberation. (*Hear, hear and applause.*) But that is not all. The best training ground of self-government is the institution of self-government, and Mr. Gladstone is my authority for it. This is what

he says : " Liberty alone fits a people for free institutions." If you do not give us liberty, if you do not give us free institutions, how can you say we are unqualified or unfit for free institutions ? Then again, in another place, he says : " Free institutions alone qualify a people for Self-Government." If you deny a people free institutions, you take away from them the most useful academies and seminaries and institutions for training in self-government. Let me look abroad. Take the case of Japan. Japan was given full Parliamentary institutions immediately after Japan had emerged from the times of medieval barbarism and at the present moment, after a training of fifty years, all Europe, openly proclaims that Japan is qualified for the highest forms of self-government. Again, take the instance of the island of Phillipines. Only the other day, it became a province of America. America has given her, with the gracious generosity of a great republic, free institutions, and those institutions are working admirably. Therefore, let not our calumniators start the objection that we are disqualified for self-government. We say, you are out of court ; because you have not given us free institutions : and it cannot be said that we are qualified or disqualified unless we are given these institutions.

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Brother delegates, the resolution lays down the principles upon which the scheme of reform is to proceed. First and foremost is Provincial autonomy. In that resolution to which my Hon'ble friend Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla spoke just now, there was a reference to this particular matter. In the fore-front you have placed the question of Provincial autonomy. What is Provincial autonomy ? It is the government of the province, not by the bureaucracy of the province, but by the chosen representatives of the people ; it is the government of the province by the people of the province for the benefit of the people of that province. That is what I understand Provincial autonomy to mean. The basis of Provincial autonomy is financial independence. Brother delegates, the revenues of the province belong to the province. Many, many years ago, Sir James Westland, speaking from his place in the Imperial Legislative Council, said that the revenues of India belonged to the Government of India. (*laughter*). I wholly dissent from that view. The revenues of India belong to us, to you and to me. (*applause*). The revenues of India belong to the people of India (*applause*), held in trust by the Government of India for our benefit. And I am sure that a trustee is at liberty to delegate that trust to a subordinate authority. Therefore, we, who, I hope, shall soon become a sovereign people (*applause*),—we who represent the people, the majesty, the dignity, the authority, the throbbing aspirations of the people, we appeal to the Government to delegate its powers over the revenues of a province and entrust those revenues to the Government of that province. That is the first part of the programme that we suggest. Then, you will ask :

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tion XIX. “ If you take all provincial revenues, what will the Government of India do ? ” Well, there are imperial revenues such as customs, salt, railways, post and telegraphs,—and opium there was, but it is dwindling, and it is a good thing too (*laughter*)—all these belong to the Government of India and the revenues of the Government may be subvented by contributions from the provincial Governments.

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Ladies and gentlemen, we stand upon very firm ground in asking for Provincial autonomy, because it is contained in the great Despatch of the 25th August, 1911. An attempt has been made to attenuate the message contained in that document. Confronted with a hostile House, Lord Crewe, as Secretary of State, declared— I think he was a bit afraid of Lord Curzon and Co. (*laughter*)—confronted by a hostile House, Lord Crewe declared that this Despatch contained nothing more than the delegation of power from superior to subordinate authority. That is not borne out by the contents : and what is more, the assumption was promptly refuted by his lieutenant, who, in his free atmosphere of a Liberal Club,—I am speaking of Mr. Montague—said that this Despatch represented a new departure in Indian policy and opened up a new vision to the people of India. Truly, it is a new vision ; truly, it is the beacon light which will guide us in the grand march which is to lead us to the promised land. We take our stand upon this Despatch, we resolutely adhere to it, and we ask the Government in season and out of season to redeem it.

Gentlemen, there are other suggestions made in this resolution. Mr. President, you have reminded me of the time (*Cries of “Go on,” “Go on”*). I cannot be unfair to other speakers, there are other points in the resolution and only to one or two of them I shall refer (*cries of “no” “no,” “more, more.”*) I shall be here the whole night in that case. The resolution refers to the expansion and the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils. Well, gentlemen, I am a member of two Legislative Councils, and I know something about them. In my own province, it was declared with a flourish of trumpets that we had a non-official majority, a very captivating phrase, “a non-official majority” ; but a pure undiluted myth, this non-official majority. This non-official majority is a very different thing from a popular majority. We have occasionally to fight the Government, we occasionally have to be in the opposition,—not always—but I do not remember that we have ever been able to defeat the Government except on one occasion. Therefore, the myth of a non-official majority must be dispelled. We must have a living, absolute, unqualified majority of the representatives of the people (*applause*) in the Legislative Councils. Further the powers of the Legislative Councils must be enlarged. We move resolutions—I am one of the greatest sinners in that respect—

and these resolutions are sometimes graciously accepted, and more often ungraciously rejected (*laughter*). When they are accepted, what does it matter? A resolution, after all, is a pious hope and aspiration: the Government are under no statutory obligation to give effect to it, though I must say as a matter of great credit to the Government of Lord Carmichael (*applause*) so far as he is at least personally concerned as the head of the Government,—he is full of liberal instincts—resolutions accepted by that Government would not always be a pious hope. But, gentlemen, in a matter of this kind we cannot allow ourselves to be dependent upon individual discretion, which would often lead to individual caprice. We say, and I hope the All-India Congress Committee will say, that every resolution accepted by a majority in the Legislative Council shall be binding on the Government and be given effect to.

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One or two other points. I have been encouraged by the attention which you are giving me, but it involves a reciprocal duty on your part, namely, that you will do your best to bring this controversy about self-government to a triumphant issue. (*applause*.) Brother delegates, we have got Executive Councils. My friend was a member of that Council. He will not let us into the secrets of that prison-house. But I think if the depths of his heart were sounded, it might be possible that we may be able to extricate a residuum of sub-consciousness which would tell us that at times he felt isolated, that he would have felt better, happier, more comfortable if he was associated with an Indian colleague. And as a matter of fact, I need not leave this thing to your imagination. Sir Syed Ali Imam, in that admirable address which he gave,—my friend knows it, he nods assent—in that admirable address which he gave in reply to the dinner that was held in his honour, said that at times a cloud of depression hung over his mind, that at times he felt discouraged and was only encouraged and supported by the active sympathy of His Excellency the Viceroy (*applause*). Therefore, I say, we, the Congress, should come to the rescue of our Indian representatives in the Executive Councils, and demand that there shall be a substantial increase in the number of such representatives in the Executive Councils, and, what is more, they shall be the elect of the people (*applause*). A Raja or a Maharaja, a Nawab Bahadur will not do. (*laughter*). We want popular representatives, who, if under the statute are not answerable to us, would, under a moral obligation, be responsible to us. Therefore, my suggestion would be: at least one-half of the members of the Executive Council must be Indians and they must all be elected.

Gentlemen, my last point is that to which reference was made by my friend Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla. Fiscal domination is even more disastrous than political domination. That was uttered

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from this platform by a friend of mine. Well, we say, in one part of the resolution, "the readjustment of the relations between the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India." We have asked for Provincial autonomy, we have asked for Provincial independence, the independence of the revenues of the province. We must also ask for the independence of the Government of India. We must ask that the fetters now imposed by the India Office on the Government of India should be withdrawn, and the Government of India should reflect the public opinion of our people, not the public opinion of Manchester or Lancashire, (*laughter*). For instance, if those fetters are removed, I am confident that excise duties on cotton goods would disappear in a trice. And, therefore, it is of very great importance. Brother delegates, I will not dwell any more upon this point of the resolution. The resolution says further that a Committee should be appointed to confer with the Moslem League, with the Committee of the Moslem League, (*applause*) and to draft a scheme of reform. I have noticed with satisfaction the cheers which have greeted that statement. The Moslem League meets to-morrow in this City. I rejoice that they are going to hold a session (*applause*). Our fraternal greetings go out to the Moslem League (*applause*). We sympathise with them in their patriotic efforts (*applause*) and may the Divine Dispenser of all blessings preside over their deliberations (*applause*). That is what we feel, that is what I feel, and I am sure that is what the Congress feels (*applause*) about the Moslem League. We are brothers, standing shoulder to shoulder, practically upon the same platform (*applause*) for the advancement of the common interests of the same Mother, (*applause*) the mother of Hindus, of Mohomedans, of Parsis, of Sikhs. And this disconsolate mother lies prostrate at our feet and it is our most sacred duty to wipe off her tears, to uplift her, to elevate her, to bring her back to her own position. And can you do so alone? I say no. Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis, Sikhs must stand upon the same platform before this great accomplishment is achieved. And Brother delegates, in this matter the goal of the Congress and of the Moslem League is the same. They want self-government within the Empire. We want self-government within the Empire. I am sure a scheme of reform, a combined demand put forward by the League and the Congress, backed by the voice of United India, and supported with unflinching tenacity, is bound to be irresistible. Brethren, let us stand together, Hindus and Mahomedans, under the same banner of Self-Government. Let it float aloft and let us carry it to a triumphant issue. (*applause*)

Brother delegates, there is one little matter referred to in this resolution which I desire to call attention to. Mr. President, I won't take more than five minutes. The

Subjects Committee have authorised the All-India Congress Committee to prepare a programme of continuous work of an educative and propagandist character for the spread of our ideals of self-government. As an old Congressman, this appeals to me most powerfully. Self-Government has been our watchword from the very beginning of the institution of the Congress. In 1890, we sent a deputation, and we got, as the result of that deputation, the first instalment of Council reform by the Parliamentary Statute of 1892. Then, Mr. Gokhale, of honoured memory, (*applause*) used to visit England every now and then as our delegate and helped materially in the elaboration of the reform scheme. In 1914, just before the outbreak of the war, my friends the Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, the Hon'ble Mr. Samarth, Mr. Jinnah and one or two others went as a deputation to England in connection with the reform of the India Council. Well, brother delegates, the psychological moment has now arrived. Let us make a supreme effort which will culminate in the crowning triumph that will give to us and to our country the inestimable boon of self-government.

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One word more and I have done. Mr. Asquith observed in the passage which you, Sir, were pleased to read the other day—he said in the course of a great speech that the Empire rests not upon the predominance of artificial and superficial rights of men based upon colour, but upon the loyal affection of free communities built upon the basis of equal rights. Well, we want to be free communities, we want to enjoy equal rights with the rest of the Empire. The angle of vision in England has changed. But has it changed here? I think the answer must be in the negative (*laughter*). The Press Act with its severity has caused great uneasiness; the rigours of the Arms Act have not been relaxed; we are barred out of the commissioned ranks of the Army; we are not permitted to be enlisted as volunteers. In England, the cry is for more men and more men for the front. Why do not they appeal to us? Our manhood and our youth are anxious to draw the sword in the defence of the Empire. (*applause*). But the call never comes to us. A little more trust in the people is needed. (*Hear, hear*); and if that trust was forthcoming, it would be reciprocated with enthusiastic gratitude. Let our rulers read the open page of Indian history and note the lesson it teaches. A stranger, the son of an adventurer, Akbar, has enthroned himself in the hearts of his people. What was the fascination that enabled him to do that? He loved and trusted the people, and they loved and trusted him in an abounding measure. Centuries have passed since he has been laid in his quiet grave; his princely dynasty has disappeared; the Moghul Empire has crumbled into dust; but the name of Akbar excited the profoundest veneration amongst Hindus and Mahomedans alike. That is the outstanding lesson that it has taught.

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nath
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Brother delegates, we want self-government—And why? Because we want to be a nation. We want self-government for the highest ends of national and moral regeneration, for uplifting our people. Our sense of civic responsibility cannot develop to its fullest height so long as the brand of political inferiority is marked on our brow. We must be free men before we can be good, responsible and well-meaning citizens. And therefore, this campaign is a moral as well as a political campaign; and we have on our side the sympathies of civilised countries and the good wishes of the true-thinking in all parts of the world, the majestic forces of time, and above all, the blessing of Almighty Providence. Thus equipped we are irresistible, invincible. Armed with that faith, we have started this campaign and, God willing, in the fulness of time, we shall have established in this great and ancient land the inestimable blessings of Self-Government under the British ægis. (*Loud and long-continued applause.*)

Mrs.
Besant.

Mrs. Annie Besant, Madras and (U.P.) who, on rising to second the resolution, was received with an enthusiastic ovation, said :—

Mr. President and fellow delegates,—The resolution which I have the honour to second before you today is perhaps the most momentous that has ever been laid before the National Congress during the thirty years of its splendid existence. For, not only does it proclaim the steps to be taken towards the attainment of self-government, but also it lays down principles of reform, which, if they are embodied in the Committee's report, will make self-government a reality not in the distant vista of time but within the lifetime of the present generation, (*applause*) for, I find the bold demand is made that we should have an expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils so as to make them truly and adequately representative of all sections of the people; and most vital of all, to give them an effective control over the acts of the Executive Government. Now, if adequate representation is given, if effective control over the executive is granted, then it will be difficult to say that you have not got self-government in India. It is the largest step the Congress has ever taken, and it will make the Congress memorable in the grateful memory of the India of the future. Not only so, but there is the vital proviso that the All-India Congress Committee is to frame not only a scheme of reform but a programme of continuous work, (*hear, hear*), educative and propagandist (*hear, hear*); not agitation, you must understand, but education and propaganda. I am not clever enough to distinguish between that and popular agitation, but I beg you to cling to the words of the resolution which are doubtless statesmanlike and desirable. (*Laughter.*)

In the brief time that is mine, I want to put to you three reasons for which this granting of self-government is necessary. One is the practical reason of the need for legislation on certain

vital points ; the second, the economic condition of the country, the most pressing reason of all ; and thirdly, and very briefly, the historical justification for the granting of self-government to India.

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Now, as regards the first, the need for legislation. There are certain things that press upon the nation which would be rapidly altered if we had a majority, an effective majority, in the Legislative Councils, and if, as I hope, they be wholly elected. What we require has been laid down for us on very useful lines in the resolution. It was said, and I believe truly said, that it was impossible for England to train India on her literature, and, in the admiration for her hoary institutions, to teach her that taxation without representation was robbery and to expect her to remain taxed and unrepresented and without any effective control over the budgets which are passed year after year. Sometimes people say that an inscrutable Providence has brought Great Britain to this land. I see nothing inscrutable in it. Great Britain, when England came here, was the only free country, sir, in Europe and Providence chose her to come that she might bring India into touch with Western liberty and especially Western institutions. (*applause.*) The designs of Providence only become inscrutable when you have un-British rule in India instead of the British rule that she ought to follow. Then you may well have a conundrum that you will for ever find it impossible to solve.

Mrs.
Besant.

There is another reason,—a very practical one—why we should believe that, if we have really representative institutions, we shall be able to carry the measures we desire. This Congress has been asking for 30 years for the separation of executive and judicial functions and has not gained it. But in Indian States that separation is already made. Baroda has done it, Gwalior has done it, some of the smaller States already possess it. And when you have self-government you will not ask for it for thirty years, but you will make it in your first year. (*applause.*) You have asked for panchayats. Well, Gwalior, Baroda, Dewas and Patiala and other States have already established those village Councils successfully, and yet in British India it is impossible to get them thoroughly on foot. You will sweep away that Arms Act, of which our President so pointedly complained ; you will get rid of the Press Act, which we have already protested against ; you will get rid of the Seditious Meetings Act ; you will get rid of the power to intern without trial and to imprison without justification (*applause*) ; you will get rid of that shameful revival of the old Bourbon barbarism, the old Regulation (Regulation 3 of 1818) which exists only in India today among all civilised nations of the world. Those are some of the reasons why we demand legislative assemblies with a majority at least of the representatives of the people.

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ment.

Mrs.
Besant.

But take the economic reason. Take first, the incidence of your taxation. It is admitted by the Government that in India there is no effective margin of taxation. It has been pointed out by Mr. Gokhale, among others, that the taxation of this country trenches on the subsistence of the labourer. Mr. Naoroji has pointed out that India's production is only Rs. 30 per head, £ 2 a head, and yet we find that in 1910 Imperial taxation was 3s. 7½d. a head. You need to read blue books, you need to understand what is going on around you. You have a taxation which threatens the bankruptcy of India by the ruin of her agricultural population. The Hon. Mr. Wacha has told us—and there is no better authority—that the indebtedness of the peasantry rises to 500 crores of rupees. (*Cries of "shame."*) Is that no reason for changing the system of Government which produces it? I ask you to consider in relation to this not only the question of taxation but the admitted fact that India is the most heavily taxed country in the world,—not in amount, remember, not in shillings or rupees, but in proportion to the production of the masses of her people (*applause*). You cannot measure taxation by counting the number of coins; you must find the produce of the labourers, and see how much of that you take when you tax him for the benefit of the State. And when you are dealing with taxation, the next point to remember is that you have admittedly the most costly Government in the civilised world, (*applause*), and therefore the necessity for this crushing taxation. Nor is it only that the Government is costly, but you have to remember that the taxes that are raised largely go out of the country in what is well-known as the drain—that which Lord Salisbury called "the bleeding of India," and he asked that the lancet should be used in the most congested place. You have to remember that the drain out of the country runs to 20 millions sterling. That Mr. Naoroji has calculated. Another 20 millions goes in various charges, interest on capital, etc. managed in the most extravagant fashion, you must remember. For, the railways and other companies have been dealt with by the State as no business people would deal with them, and had even sold their shares at par when they did not bring in the market even as much as half the money paid for them. I want you, younger men, "passionate youths" as you are, to turn your thoughts to these details of taxation and understand why it is that you demand self-government for India. Then I ask you to remember the result. Now, eleven resolutions in previous Congresses have spoken of the horrible poverty of the people. They say the Congress is a middle class and upper class organisation. If the Congress were the Parliament of India, the poverty of the people would long ago have been redressed. (*hear, hear*). I find the ninth Congress, Resolution No. 8, after concurring in the views set forth in the previous Congresses, states, 50 millions of the population,—the number is yearly increasing—are dragging out a

miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that in every decade several millions actually perish by starvation. I find Sir William Hunter saying that more than 40 millions of the people are always on the verge of starvation. I find Sir Charles Elliot saying that half the population never know what it is to have a full meal. And these, sir, are not "impatient idealists." They are historians (*applause*) and practical politicians. You have to consider that poverty; you have to realise what it means; you have to know the agony of hunger; and then think, as Sir Charles Elliot declared, of 100 millions of the agricultural population who never have a full meal. Some amount of impatience is justifiable when the people are suffering to that horrible extent. For this I tell you: that my fear for India is not the passionate enthusiasm of misguided youths, but the spectre of hunger, the frightful spectre of coming bankruptcy, which means the most awful of revolutions, the revolution of starving people whom none can check or rein in, when once they despair of help. (*applause*).

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The third reason is historical. Five thousand years ago, this country was trading with ancient Babylon, and 3,000 years before the Christ down to 1613 after Christ, there is no break in the commercial and in the industrial prosperity of India. 5,000 years of self-government behind you. "But there were wars, there were revolts." Read history before you speak too glibly about the disturbances in medieval and in ancient India; for if there were wars here, there were wars there. Akbar was reigning when Queen Elizabeth was on the throne, and Queen Elizabeth gave the first charter to trade with India. In the reign of James I the first trading company was allowed to establish itself in Surat along the Western coast. Since that time, in England, one King was beheaded, a second king was driven out of the country, and two civil wars on behalf of the exiled Stuarts have taken place. I do not know whether Indian wars were so very much more mischievous than the wars that prevailed over the whole of Europe during those historical times (*applause*).

For, after all, is it not true that village organisation went on through them all? Is it not true that villages were left untouched, save when the Huns swept down with fire and sword? Is it not on record that while the soldiers were fighting, ploughmen were ploughing the land within sight of the battling army? I put this to you as a particular proposition: that the test of the goodness of a Government is the wealth and prosperity of the people. While India governed herself, so long her people were so well fed that every country in Europe fought for the right to have a charter to trade with this country. That was the result of self-government in this country. Whatever faults might have defaced that system, today our President has told us, that India is the most poverty-stricken country in the world. I put

Resolution XIX. the two things before you as the answer to the statement that we are not fit for self-government. I submit that 5,000 years of success are greater than the theories of a few Englishmen who consider that Indians are not their equals. (*applause*). We are told in the words of Mr. Edwin Bevan that India is a poor cripple with limbs broken, tissues lacerated, tied up in splints and bandages by the benevolent English physicians and she must not move lest the wounds should not heal. India is no sick man. She is a giant who was asleep and who is now awake. (*applause*).

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Mrs. Besant.

Are you fit for self-government? Are you not sure? Mr. Gokhale said—and he knew his people well,—he said that you are compelled to live in an atmosphere of inferiority that made the tallest of you bow your heads and that the greatest moral wrong done to India was that she had changed in character under the present method of Government. These men who are here, representatives of India from every part of the land, these men are not the children of savages emerging from barbarism needing to be trained in the elements of self-government by a Western nation. They are the children of heroes, the children of warriors, worthy to govern their own land,—(*applause*), save for one reason : and that is that the very noblest amongst you seems to think himself inferior to the Englishmen around you. Oh, if only you would trust yourselves, if only you would believe in your own power (*hear, hear*), in your own strength and in your own knowledge (*applause*). If Sir Satyendra can tell us that he stood face to face with the Viceroy, has been an equal man in the Viceroy's Council, can we say that an Indian is not worthy to rule in his own land? Are we to think that he is the one swallow that does not make a summer? Are we not to believe, as I believe, Sir, that there are hundreds like you (*applause*) who would show your own ability if they had a chance to do so?

And so I urge that this resolution be thoroughly carried out and that full representation be given in the Legislative Councils, as a means of self-government, to India. And I pray of you by the memory of your past, by the possibility of the greatness of your present, and by the splendid future that lies before you, if, as Sir Pherozeshah Mehta once said on this platform, you are not emasculated as a nation, stand up on your feet like men. For England understands when people meet her face to face (*applause*). England is a country of free men and she does not understand people being contented to be under the rule of foreign domination. Show England by your courage that you are grateful,—as I know you are—for what she has done, but be most grateful that she has taught you the value of free institutions and has shown you by the example of her history how freedom is to be won, and how a nation becomes self-governing. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla (Bombay) :—

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Brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—May I, in starting to support the resolution, make a personal grievance and a personal complaint against your President for having invited me to address this assembly after two of the greatest orators in India (*applause*) have dealt exhaustively and in all its bearings with the most important resolution that has now been placed before you. If the President has been cruel to me, I appeal to you for a little personal indulgence in listening to me with a little patience to enable me to put before you the reasons why I desire that you should all unanimously accept the resolution which is now before you.

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The
Hon. Sir
Ibrahim
Rahim-
tulla.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it was two short years ago that, in speaking of the political atmosphere in India on a similar occasion, I compared the relations of the British Government with the people of India to those of a guardian and his wards. I feel, and I believe every one of you will agree with me when I say, that it is with fostering care that the people of India are, in the words of Mrs. Besant, being gradually trained to appreciate the advantages, value and benefits of free institutions. It is owing to that connection that the guardian wishes the wards in their minority to come forward gradually and reach that goal of Self-Government which is laid down under our Constitution. Ladies and gentlemen, there is nothing more easy than to tell you that we have reached already the stage when we shall get self-government at once. No one would be more pleased or more grateful, no one will be more proud to realise that my countrymen have already reached a stage when they are capable of governing themselves without any outside help whatsoever (*hear, hear*). If that is so, then there is nothing further to be said. The resolution which is placed before you carries out in spirit the declared creed of the Congress. The Congress lays down that we shall achieve self-government under the ægis of the British Crown, and the measures that are necessary to reach that stage are enumerated, some of them at least, in the resolution that is placed before you.

Ladies and gentlemen, there is one thing more I will say and that has reference to what I said before. I said India was the heritage of two minor sons, known as Hindu and Mussalman (*applause*). I appeal that the best, the most patriotic manner in which you can ever reach that goal, which is dear to the hearts of every one of us, is through the sincere and genuine co-operation (*applause*) of the two minor brothers, so that they might, hand in hand, go and appeal to their guardian for larger and larger, greater and greater political privileges, which I call the allowances for their maintenance. Ladies and gentlemen, you are all aware—I have stated once before—the cost of living is

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**The
Hon. Sir
Ibrahim
Rahim-
tulla.** Mr. President, I say that it is a good augury that both the League and the Congress are proposing to appoint committees (*applause*) for the purpose of putting their heads together and to arrange and formulate proposals and demands which may carry the Indian nation to the goal so dear to the hearts of every one. (*Applause*).

**Dewan
Bahadur
L. A.
Govinda-
raghava
Aiyar.** **Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar (Madras):—** Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I beg to support the resolution that has been moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and has been seconded by Mrs. Beasant. This resolution, you will notice, ladies and gentlemen, lays stress on the fact that the ideal of this Congress is the attainment of self-government within the Empire. You will notice that this resolution accentuates our determination that we shall attain self-government by constitutional means. It shows that the form of self-government that we are anxious to have is one that is similar to what obtains in the self-governing Colonies. It shows that we are determined to have a form of Government wherein the right that we shall exercise shall not be any the less than what any other component part of the Empire as such is entitled to exercise. This resolution also indicates that we are perfectly prepared to have our obligations and to discharge our duties, though they may be no less onerous than the obligations and duties of any other part of the Empire. Gentlemen, there is one other aspect of the resolution which to me is specially appealing, and I hope it is so to you as well. It is this, that the attainment of the objects indicated in the resolution will enable us to rise above that atmosphere of inferiority of which Mrs. Beasant has spoken. That atmosphere has corroded our souls and stunted our growth. We are anxious that we should show to the world that we are capable of discharging more onerous duties than are entrusted to us, that we are prepared within the opportunities that might be allowed to us to rise equal to the obligations which the citizenship of the Empire means. We are also anxious that England and the Empire should know that we feel that in the exercise of the rights we have not been given as full and free a play as our past history, present conduct and possibility of the future justify.

Gentlemen, within the limited time at my disposal, I propose to deal with the very few objections that have been and might be raised to the passing of a resolution such as this. The objection drawn from the argument of embarrassment has been disposed of in his own inimitable way by the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea. Gentlemen, it is by not passing this resolution, by not taking the steps indicated in this resolution that

embarrassment would be really caused to Government. For you will recognise that sooner or later the war will be over, and when the war is over, there is bound to be a readjustment of the relations among the various component parts of the Empire, and it will then be too late for India to take steps to know her mind, to formulate her own demand and to tell the Government what with one united voice she is demanding for herself. If there is to be embarrassment, it is not by taking steps such as are indicated in this resolution.

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raghava
Aiyar.

There is another argument that is also advanced ; and that is, that if you insist upon a resolution such as this, you are trying to make a bargain with the Government and that far from showing spontaneous loyalty to the Government you are taking advantage of their difficulties in order to make a profit out of them. That argument I repel with all the force I am capable of. Who can say when the war had begun, when every one of us was anxious within the limitations under which we were placed to do what we could for the purpose of advancing the interests of the Empire, when from every lip rose the hope and prayer that success should attend the British arms and every thing that success to the British arms meant—which of us can honestly and conscientiously say that, when that prayer went forth, we thought of the ultimate benefit that we, as members of the Empire, could expect to realise by the cessation or close of the war? How can it be said that, when Province after Province has hastened to do what it could for the purpose of advancing the interests of the Empire, we ever thought of what it would be possible for us to get after the close of the war? It is perfectly reasonable that the Government recognise that we, who are members of this Empire, must have some legitimate and reasonable programme that we can place before them so that they might be in a position to realise what it is at the back of India, and what it is that goes to make up the loyalty of the people, what it is that goes to make up the consciousness with which the people have been content to have the British Government as one under which they think it their privilege to live, why this British Government above all is preferred. They are made to recognise that it is because Britain on the whole stands for freedom, for justice, for equality of treatment among its various subjects. It is because we recognise that Britain is that, that we are willing and have always been willing to live under the British ægis. I think we should prove false to ourselves and even more false to the Government under which we live unless we plainly speak out our mind and let them know what it is we want ; and for that purpose this resolution is very important.

As has been already pointed out, there are to be two committees whose co-operation is to be secured. We feel that, if behind the recommendation that might be made, the Government

**Resolu-
tion XIX.** understand that there is the united voice of the people, and that all sections of the people are agreed that particular demands are necessary—we feel that the Government will be then in a position to recognise that there is the living voice of the people asserting itself so that they might be in a position to do justice to that voice. It was on that account considered necessary that every effort should be made so as to be able to understand what the demands are that are to be formulated by the people. I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution (*Applause*).

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ment.**

**Dewan
Bahadur
L. A.
Govinda-
raghava.
Aiyar.**

**Mrs.
Sarojini
Naidu.**

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, (Hyderabad, Deccan,—as a delegate from the United Provinces), who, on rising to support the resolution, was received with an ovation, said :—

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, till one moment ago it was not my proud privilege to be able to say “fellow-delegates,” because it is only at this very moment I have been—as a preliminary step, as a possible step to self-government that might come within a few years and about which, Sir, you have asked for a declaration—I have been asked to speak for a Province that is not my own, the United Provinces, and I was asked to represent their desires for this great movement which your enthusiasm makes me believe is the real desire of the people of this country.

After the eloquent and brilliant exposition and interpretation of the ideals of self-government that have been formulated by the many speakers before me, whose knowledge of the subject is better than mine, and whose services in the cause for attaining that self-government are infinitely greater than mine can ever be, you hardly need a word from me either to emphasise or to adorn the speeches that they have made and the ideals they have formulated. But since it is the desire of so many people here present that some woman from amidst you, some daughter of this Bharat Mother, should raise her voice, on behalf of her sisters, to second and support this resolution on self-government, I venture—though it seems presumption so to venture—to stand before you and to give my individual support as well as to speak in the name of many millions of my sisters of India, not only Hindu, but my Mussalman, Parsi and other sisters, for the sake of self-government which is the desire and the destiny of every human soul. This vast assemblage represents today in miniature the Federation of India to which we look forward not in the distant future. I see with the eye that is given to the world's poets who dream, and dream with a palpitating heart, that vision, that expectation, that ecstasy of desire, that prayer that we shall send forth every moment of our lives that the dream may be realised. What is your dream? What is it to be in the words of your resolution? What are the responsibilities that go with the privileges you demand as a free and self-governing people? I speak not of

the privileges that you demand today but of the responsibilities that they entail upon you. What are those responsibilities, what is the high burden that will go with that honour that you have demanded, with the right that you insist as your destiny, that destiny of the children of India ?

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ment.

Mrs.
Sarojini
Naidu.

Friends, believe me, as one of the speakers before me has said, this is the psychological moment of our nation's history. For the first time, after centuries upon centuries of political antagonism, of bitterness that comes from division between creed and creed, between race and race, after centuries of feuds and bloodshed, this is the psychological moment when the Hindu and the Mussalman are met together in this cosmopolitan city to co-operate together, to weld together into a nationality with unity of feeling and purpose, of endeavour and achievement, without which there can be no India of to-morrow.

That is really the final burden, the final responsibility of this resolution that has been so brilliantly proposed and seconded. What is the purpose of the self-government that you demand? Is it that you wish to keep the privileges for this community or another, for this majority or another, excluding a minority of whatever caste or creed? No. You are demanding self-government that you may find in it your national regeneration, your national deliverance, so that you may be free not only from the despotism of political domination, but from that infinitely subtler and more dreadful and damning domination of your own prejudices and of your own self-seeking community or race. Having got arrested through the evolution of time and spirit, and seeking to obtain the right savouring of self-government, I ask you not to pause and say "We have found the ultimate goal," because it seems to me that we are likely to be left in the cold unless we are in by the open door of the great Federation of India and establish that national feeling of Unity that knows no difference of caste or creed. If the communities may keep their own individual entities, it is only for the enriching of the federated national life. And so working together, feeling together, co-operating together, subordinating all merely sectarian and racial interests to the larger hope and the higher vision of United India, you will be able to say with one voice as children of one Mother :—

Waken ! O Mother, thy children implore thee !
We kneel in thy presence to serve and adore thee !
The night is afresh with the dream of the morrow,
Why still dost thou sleep in thy bondage of sorrow ?
O waken, and sever the woes that enthrall us,
And hallow our hand for the triumphs that call us.

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tion XIX.** Are we not thine, O Beloved, to inherit
The purpose and pride and the power of thy spirit ?

**Self-Govern-
ment.** Ne'er shall we fail thee, forsake thee or falter,
Whose hearts are thy home and thy shield and thine altar.

**Mrs.
Sarojini
Naidu.** Lo! we would thrill the high stars with thy story
And set thee again in the forefront of glory.

Mother, the flowers of our worship have crowned thee!
Mother, the flame of our hope shall surround thee!
Mother, the sword of our love shall defend thee!
Mother, the song of our faith shall attend thee!
Our deathless devotion and strength shall avail thee!
Hearken, O Queen and O Goddess, we hail thee!

(*Loud Applause.*)

**The
Hon. Rao
Bahadur
R. N. Mu-
dholkar.** **The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, (Amraoti,
Berar) :—**Mr. President, brother and sister delegates,—It is rather hazardous for a man who is only a matter of fact man to come and address you on a subject which has been dealt with in his most characteristic eloquence by our greatest orator and in regard to which you had just now a most enthralling speech by a most enthralling speaker in this country, a lady whose achievements and whose powers of speech ought to make boastful man, boastful of his superiority, hang down his head in shame. Gentlemen, the only reason for my accepting the invitation of the President at this time is that there are one or two points which should be emphasised and which we ought to bear in mind. It is not a new departure that we make today. No doubt this resolution is the most important and the most momentous of the resolutions brought before the Congress today; but remember that it is not a new thing which we are asking today. What we are doing by this resolution is to carry on the work for which the Congress was called into existence and to put forward in the circumstances of the times the principles which have been the principles of this Congress ever since its foundation. The *raison d'etre* of our existence is the establishment of self-government within the Empire for India. As British subjects, all along we have been saying, we want to have the rights of full-blown British citizenship. That has been the demand from 1885, not only from 1885 but from long before that. It is this thing which we are formulating and which we are stating at some considerable length in order to meet the demands of the present situation.

It is said that by putting forward these demands at this time, when the fortunes of the Empire are still hanging in the balance we might be embarrassing the Government. That matter has been very effectively dealt with by the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, but there is one fact which I would ask you to remember; that is, that in doing so we are only following the lead given by the highest officer in the land, the representative of His

Majesty the King-Emperor. In the speech which he gave at Simla, His Excellency the Viceroy referred to the desires and aspirations of India and to the need of meeting those aspirations. In these circumstances, when the Viceroy pointed out to the Members of the Civil Service the great importance of their sympathising with the aspirations of the people, there is certainly nothing embarrassing on the part of the people assembled here putting forward a statement of the demands which have to be made at the present time. That is the thing which our critics have to remember, namely, that we are carrying out only our previous work and we are not embarrassing the Government.

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The
Hon. Rao
Bahadur
R. N. Mu-
dholkar.

Gentlemen, again in regard to Provincial autonomy and financial independence, we are taking our stand upon the Despatch of the 25th August 1911 written by a very great statesman in which the Government of India contemplate an India consisting of provinces autonomous in their character. How are you embarrassing the Government when you say that you want Provincial autonomy in these provinces? When the question of fiscal reform and fiscal independence was discussed in the Viceregal Council, how can you again say that you are embarrassing the Government by asking for Provincial autonomy? For provincial autonomy and fiscal independence ought to go hand in hand.

Then the expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils has been put in a form very similar to this from the beginning. But now an occasion has arisen when we have to place it before the world and the Empire in a clear light. We quite see that after the war the reconstruction of the polity on which the Government of the Empire is to be carried on will have to be undertaken. In these circumstances, shall we be doing our duty, shall we, through a false sense of modesty, observe silence, shall we be guilty of treason to our country and of failure of duty towards our children, if, on this occasion, when the matter has to be dealt with when we know that the matter ought to be dealt with, we maintain silence and do not formulate our demands in a clear and proper manner? The best course is to authorise the All-India Congress Committee to frame a scheme, and to ask the All-India Congress Committee and the Moslem Committee to meet and deliberate together and prepare a scheme acceptable to the whole country.

With these words I commend this proposition to your acceptance (*Applause*).

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, (Allahabad), who, on rising was received with enthusiastic cheering, said :—
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen—

The Hon.
Pandit
Madan,
Mohan
Malaviya.

The President :— Brother delegates, Pandit Madan Mohan has, unfortunately, lost his voice. I would ask you, therefore, to keep absolutely silent if you want to hear Pandit Madan Mohan.

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ment.

The Hon.
Pandit
Madan
Mohan
Malaviya.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I should not have taken upon myself to speak to this resolution, because unfortunately I have lost my voice, but, pressure from friends and also, I must acknowledge, the sense of the importance of the occasion and of the resolution have led me to undertake the attempt to say a few words in support of the resolution. I will not enter into a discussion of the particular necessity of taking up such a question at this hour; but I wish to say a few words to you about it. There are some amongst us—I will not speak of those who do not belong to us—there are some amongst us who think that the time is not opportune for pressing this question of self-government (*Cries of "shame"*). They are also as honest and as earnest as the gentlemen who call shame upon them. What we have now to decide is whether that is a right view or a wrong view. Personally, after having served the country in my own humble way for the last thirty years, after having worked in the Provincial Councils for nearly ten years, after having served in the Imperial Council for nearly six years, I have come to the conviction that there is no hope of political advancement, for better social surroundings among the people, for the necessary progress of education among the people, and for other necessary measures of reform being carried out adequately and completely unless you get a real measure of self-government (*applause*). It is a sad conclusion to which I have arrived; I think not on the face of the earth will you find another parallel to the case of India under British rule. India is not formed of a primitive people who are just emerging into civilization. Five thousand years of civilization stand behind us; until yesterday our people used to rule over this vast continent. The Empire of Asoka was more extensive than the British Empire of today (*applause*). During the last one thousand years, India has suffered from many internecine strifes and from many foreign invasions. India is not the only country which has had the misfortune to suffer like that. No other country is exempt from such periodical visitations of evils, but what is our fate today? Even at this day, one third of India is ruled by Indians, the Rulers of Indian States are nothing else but Indians, and their Dewans are Indians. They rule over sixty to seventy millions of people. Well, gentlemen, when a people with those traditions, with that history, with that training, takes up the question of self-government, it is a sight for the Gods to weep over. To ask for the boon of self-government—why should it be necessary? Circumstances have made it so. But then happily in the midst of sorrow there is reason for comfort. We have been placed under the rule of a nation which boasts of its love of freedom, which is shedding the blood of its people, which has sacrificed the flower of its manhood, in order to uphold the cause of liberty and truth and justice and civilization. Having been placed under such a people we

have received education, that nationalising education which has made it possible for us to talk to each other in the way in which we are talking. We are deeply, very deeply grateful to the British nation for this boon of education. But with that boon, with the knowledge that we have imbibed, has come the consciousness of a feeling of degradation in finding that in our own land, with our own ancient traditions, surrounded by almost oceans of intelligence and good sense, we are held to be incompetent to govern ourselves (*cries of "shame"*). This is really a matter of shame (*laughter*). It does not lie in the mouth of anybody to tell Indians that they are not fit for Self-Government.

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The Hon.
Pandit
Madan
Mohan
Malaviya.

I come definitely to two points. We are asking in this resolution for only certain steps which lead us to the goal of self-government, for, remember, self-government unqualified would mean that we should have full control of the Army and Navy, that we should have full control of the foreign relations. We do not ask for that. Therefore, all that we are asking for is only the next step forward, which is, that in matters domestic, in matters that do not affect foreign policy, or the Army and Navy except so far as sanctioning expenditure is concerned, the people of India should no longer continue to plead by resolutions which are almost always defeated, by petitions which are almost always disregarded and by other ways which do not lead to any successful issue. We now want,—not that the British Government should leave this country and hand over to us the charge of the whole country,—we ask that we should be associated, liberally associated, in governing our own affairs. We ask that as Australians and South African Europeans and others, who may choose to appear for the Indian Civil Service Examination, are admitted into the Government of India, so also at least the sons of India should be admitted into that Government. Now, gentlemen, the great point about it is that we ask that the existing system should be reformed, that there should be only a little re-adjustment, a little shifting of power, so that it will no longer be in the power of the executive to say "no," by a dead official majority to say "no", to every reasonable request which is urged by the Members of the Supreme Council or the Provincial Councils, that it should be the duty of the executive to carry out the wishes of the people, as expressed by their representatives in the Councils, that it should not be left to the executive to determine how much money to spend on sanitation, education, and the promotion of indigenous industries and of those other reforms which we have been praying for for the last thirty years. Self-government does not mean the satisfaction of a mere political sentiment, though even that is of great value. Self-government means an opportunity given to do what the Government of the day have not only themselves failed to do but have failed to do on repeated invitation. We want that we should be given an opportunity to carry out those reforms upon which the heart of the country is set, upon which the people of

Resolution XIX. the country are united. I hope and trust that every Indian who has any sense of self-respect and who recognises his duty to the motherland will stand boldly forward to advocate the cause of self-government, will stand forward to carry on all the agitation that is necessary to achieve that end, (*applause*). I have talked to many earnest friends, and I am sure that the resolution does not express a mere pious wish, but that friends are prepared to go to England in any number, to agitate the question there and are prepared to work from year's end to year's end until they have achieved this goal. I hope that every thoughtful Indian, every brother and sister, will put in his or her share of work in this great cause, and I have no doubt that within a few years this hope of ours will be realised.

Self-Government.

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

But there is one circumstance which it is important to bear in mind. That is one of the requests I have to make to you. The Shastras say, the Vedas say, a man becomes what he desires to become. I pray you, therefore, brothers and sisters, to earnestly and carefully desire to be free men and free women. (*applause*). Cease to think that you are serfs, that you are slaves; cease to think that you have not got the capacity to govern yourselves; cease to think that the differences which may exist, which do exist amongst us, constitute an obstacle which cannot be overcome. Believe that you are as good as any mortal man born in any clime or land (*applause*). Believe that all that you need is the opportunity given to you to show what you can achieve, and, God willing, success will come to you earlier than you think. (*Loud applause*).

The President :—Is it your pleasure that I should declare this resolution passed? (*Cries of yes, yes*).

The resolution was then declared carried amidst acclamation.

RESOLUTION XX.

LAND SETTLEMENT.

Resolution XX.

Land Settlement.

The Hon. Mr. K. Chidambarnatha Mudaliyar.

The Hon'ble Mr. K. Chidambarnatha Mudaliyar, (Madras) :—Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I come at a very inconvenient time before you, and if I crave your indulgence for a moment, it is because the subject deserves it and not because I am going to talk over it. Gentlemen, the question is with regard to the land settlement of this country. You are aware that a very large area of this country, excepting Bengal and certain areas in other provinces, is under a system of settlement called the ryotwari settlement, which means a revision of the Government demand once in every twenty or thirty years, which, I am sure you are aware, always and unexceptionally means enhancement.

Gentlemen, let us see what that policy has led to during all these years that the British have been in this country. We find that smaller holdings are growing in numbers year after year ; that people have less and less security in their own property ; that people save less and less ; that, as some of the previous speakers already observed, poverty and misery are growing more and more in the country. Let us see what, if any, is the real solution to this important question, what really is the remedy for this state of affairs. This resolution says :—

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This Congress is strongly of opinion that a reasonable and definite limit should be put to the demand of the State on land and that the permanent settlement should be introduced in all areas, Ryotwari or Zamindari, where that settlement is not in force, creating fixity of tenure for occupants, wherever possible, and that if the Government does not see its way to the introduction of such settlement, a settlement for a period of not less than 60 years should be introduced.

The Congress is further of opinion that effect should be given to the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation, that the general principles of land revenue assessment should be embodied in provincial legislation and that such legislation should state specifically the limit of enhancement of assessment, if any.

Gentlemen, we want that we of the land should have whatever result we have of the improvements that we make on our lands. As it is, we find that over a large portion of the ryotwari area, because of these revisions, people have no incentive to make any improvements on the land because they feel that whatever good may result from such improvements is not entirely going to be with them. The result of that state of things is that the poorer of these land-holders suffer, suffer terribly, and the middle class land-holders, of whom unfortunately there is such a very small class in the ryotwari area, have little or no capital to put by. What is the result of this state of things again ? For every public work in this country, capital has to be called for from foreign countries and whatever is taken in the shape of the additional revenue from this country not only goes to other people as officers but also to foreign countries as dividends and interests upon the borrowed capital. What we desire in the highest and best interests of this country is that the ryotwari demand should be fixed once for all between the State and the land-holder. That would keep in the country far more capital. That would really benefit the State as well as the people. That is really a right that we can claim at the hands of the Government and a thing which we are justly entitled to. Gentlemen, I need hardly take up more of your time except to say that 70 per cent. of the people of this country depend upon agriculture. We have already heard the resolution about industries and fiscal freedom, and if what Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla has already drawn your attention to is

Resolution XX. really necessary, this limitation of the State demand and this declaration by statute is all the more necessary in the interests of a far larger and far more substantial population of this country. Land Settlement. What is really aimed at is that a greater portion of the result of the people's labour should be left to them. That would not only mean benefit to the people, it would mean benefit to the State as well. If there is larger capital in the country, it would mean not only increased comfort to the people but also increased strength to the State. Gentlemen, I hope you will find no difficulty, you will not for one moment demur to accept this resolution and carry it unanimously.

Rai Bahadur Hiranand Khemsing, (Hyderabad, Sind) :—
 Rai Bahadur Hiranand Khemsing. Gentlemen, the resolution which I have the honour to second is of very great importance. It affects the masses as against the classes. Gentlemen, the evil of a short-term settlement is very much typified in the Province of Sind from which I have the honour to come. Although Sind is part of the Bombay Presidency, yet in the matter of land revenue policy, Sind has been altogether distinguished from the Presidency proper. While the Presidency of Bombay has got a settlement for thirty years, Sind has got a settlement only for ten years, that is to say, every ten years the settlement is revised and revision means increase of assessment. This is monstrous because the rate of assessment is the heaviest in the whole of India. If you turn to the Parliamentary Blue Book for the year 1911-12 entitled the "Moral and Material Progress of India," you will find a statement of the rates of assessment charged in the different provinces which make up the continent of India. You will find the lowest rate is about seven or eight annas in Bengal, while the highest is three rupees per acre in Sind. It is admitted that in Sind the soil is very poor, that the water supply is deficient and that there is an absence of manure. On this account, no lift-land can be cultivated in Sind except once in three years. If there is any province which deserves a reform of the settlement, it is Sind, as it pays the highest rate of settlement, and its soil is admitted to be poor. Gentlemen, however, whether the revision takes place every ten or twenty or thirty years, the fact remains that every revision means increased rate of assessment and every increase means so much profit taken away out of the pockets of the poor ryots. If the State grows rich at the expense of the poor, at the expense of the tillers of the soil, what condition will these people be reduced to? The people are poverty-stricken, they are in deep debt and it is the duty of Government to put them on a more satisfactory basis, because these people in the hour of need will be a source of danger to the State, as they will have nothing at stake and at present they have absolutely nothing at stake. Is it not proper that the State should be called upon to put a limitation upon its demands? Is it not proper to say that there should be a revision

once in sixty years or better still, as they have a permanent settlement in Bengal, that land should be permanently settled in order that the people may grow rich? If they grow rich, it will be for the good of the State; for the well-being of the people is the well-being of the Government. Therefore, I hope this resolution will be unanimously passed as it has been in the past, and I hope a time will come when the Government will be pleased to listen to this request.

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dur Hira-
nand
Khemsing.

Rai Saheb Lakshmi Narayan, (Kampti, C. P.):—Mr. President, brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, the shortness of time allotted to each speaker leads me to hurry on at once to the subject committed to my charge.

Rai Saheb
Lakshmi
Narayan.

We have it on the unimpeachable authority of one of the greatest Englishmen of the nineteenth century that, if there is found a country possessing a most fertile soil, natural advantages and a thrifty and industrious population, and if yet the people are found to be poor and suffering from want and destitution, there is some fundamental error in the system of administration prevailing in that country. This remarkable observation of John Bright exactly applies to our country. One of our late Finance Ministers, Sir James Westland, declared in what may be styled the confessions of a Finance Minister, that the margin between prosperity and adversity in India was very narrow indeed.

Ladies and Gentlemen, universal poverty being admitted, what are the remedies for it? Sir James Caird, one of the greatest authorities on Indian questions, observed :—" I believe it possible to obtain such a gradual increase of production in India as would meet the present rate of population for a considerable time. One bushel of increase gained gradually in a period of ten years, in addition to a moderate reclamation of cultivable land, would meet the demand of the present growth of population." This is undoubtedly one of the best remedies that can be effected. But brother delegates, the best solution of this problem of problems is undoubtedly a moderation of those ruinously large land revenue assessments from which the people of the Central Provinces and the United Provinces, the people of Bombay and Madras, in fact the people of all those parts of the country where the permanent settlement does not obtain are grievously suffering. The resolution, on this subject, of Lord Canning, the despatch of the Secretary of State on that resolution and the resolution of Lord Ripon recommending a modified form of permanent settlement have been so often repeated from this platform and are so well known to you, brother delegates, that I shall not waste your precious time by quoting them again. But those wise words of far-sighted statemanship fell flat on the ears of Government, and they have remained unheeded till this day to the misfortune of the three hundred and thirty millions inhabiting this vast Empire.

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Ladies and Gentlemen, the question of questions that affect the agricultural masses is thus the question of the land-revenue policy. The land-revenue problem is a question not only of the microscopic minority of the educated classes but it is a question of life and death to the masses. In fact, it is the broad problem of India.

The new land revenue policy is destructive to the people and suicidal to the Government. It is destructive to the people, because, (1) people are crushed down under heavy assessments ; (2) famines have become frequent and constant ; (3) people who belonged to the middle-classes 50 years ago have now become beggars and those who were then beggars are swept away by famine ; (4) famine is no doubt the work of Providence, but the lack of staying power is the work of heavy assessment. There is no earthly reason why a single failure of the crops should cause famine in India whereas England can be and can remain to be wealthy and prosperous without producing any crop or grain food. These things clearly prove that the poverty in India is a settled fact and has become a pucca swadeshi in this land. Let us therefore try to boycott it first and make it an unsettled fact. The cause of this evil, to my mind, is the change in the land-revenue policy and the ideas and opinions of subsequent administrators.

I will now confine my remarks to the Central Provinces alone. Sir Charles Elliot who was the first Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces recommended to the Supreme Government the application of the half assets Shaharanpur rule and also of permanent settlement in those districts of C. P. in which the cultivable area would amount to $\frac{3}{4}$ th of the Malguzari area ; but in 1887, this policy was changed. The inevitable results of the short term of the settlement are that there is no inducement for the people to invest their capital or put forth their strength for improvement of their lands. The disastrous effects of the heavy assessments are (1) that the tenants are often hopelessly left in arrears of rent and the landlord is obliged to pay up the land-revenue regularly on days fixed. To do so, he has to (1) postpone the marriages of his grown-up daughters, (2) neglect even the primary education of his children, (3) mortgage his estate, (4) sell his ornaments, even plough cattle, (5) last, but not the least, in the list of his miseries, to go to jail not for his own fault but for the default of his tenants. We were convinced that the policy of Lord Canning was to give the cultivator as much as possible and take from him as little as possible. We also learned another lesson and that was that the policy of Lord Curzon was to leave the cultivator as little as possible and take from him as much as possible, to talk of his welfare as much as possible and do for him as little as possible. I appeal to every student of logic to decide whether the Govern-

ment is right or wrong in denying the permanent settlement as a famine preventive measure and whether the remedy suggested by rent laws is mere quackery or not.

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India being essentially an agricultural country, the question, relating to the principles, the methods and the working results of the land revenue administration, is one of the most important questions in the whole range of Indian economics. Nothing has tended more in the past, and nothing leads more in the present, to the depression of agricultural industry in this country than the vacillating policy of the Government in fixing and revising the assessments and the numerous cesses on land and the unsettling and demoralising action of the settlement department whose motto is "*enhancement at any cost.*" In the sixties we were promised permanent settlement, but that promise remains unfulfilled to this date. The more I look into the history and inequity of this question, I am convinced of the truth of the memorable words of illustrious Burke :—"Invention is exhausted, reason is fortified, experience has given judgment but obstinacy is not conquered." However, the least that Government can do under the circumstances is to grant the demands asked for in this resolution, *viz.*, Permanent Settlement of land or in the alternative 60 years' Settlements with definite, light, moderate and reasonable State demand on land, that is, once in two generations, in place of the short ones such as 18 and 20 years obtaining in the Central Provinces.

Rai Saheb
Lakshmi
Narayan.

With these remarks, brother delegates, I beg to support the Resolution.

The President :—Is it your pleasure, brother delegates, that this resolution be passed? (*cries of 'yes' 'yes'.*)

The resolution was then declared carried.

The President :—The Congress will adjourn for half an hour.

The Congress then adjourned for a short interval.

The Congress reassembled at 3-10 P. M.

The President :—Ladies and gentlemen, I call upon the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar to move the resolution on Industrial Development.

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INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

Industrial Development.

The Hon. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar.

The Hon. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, (Amraoti, Berar) :—Mr. President, brother and sister delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which I have the honour to move runs thus : I am taking your time in reading it because a number of complaints have come to me that the audience do not know what the resolution which is being spoken to is. The executive committee have not been able, within the short time available to them, to obtain from the Press a sufficient number of copies for distribution to every member of this unprecedentedly vast assemblage. The copies, as they come from the Press, are being distributed. Meanwhile, I read the resolution. It is as follows :—

This Congress, while expressing its appreciation of the action taken by Government for the industrial development of the country, is of opinion that the measures adopted hitherto are inadequate to meet the requirements of the situation and expresses its conviction that for removing the industrial backwardness of India it is necessary.

- (a) that far greater provision than exists at present should be made for industrial and technical education by the establishment of a technological faculty at the principal Indian Universities, by establishing institutes of research and attaching fellowships thereto, by the development of existing technical institutions and the opening of new ones and the gradual introduction of elementary technical instruction in primary and secondary schools ;
- (b) that fiscal autonomy should be granted to India in regard to the levying of duties both on imports and exports ;
- (c) that industrial Advisory Committees should be appointed for each province to co-operate with the Department of Industry in that province, one of whose functions should be to direct the pioneering of new industries,
- (d) that artificial and unjust barriers like Excise duties on cotton goods and the differential rates for Railway consignment, which favour the foreign manufacturer at the expense of the indigenous manufacturer, should be removed.

Sir, this resolution is not one of those which appeal to the sentiment of a large audience, a popular audience. It has not the glamour of a political appeal about it. It is a matter-of-fact resolution which directs your attention to matters, the importance of which in a manner transcends the importance of political resolutions but which does not present an attractive view to ordinary people. (the Hon. Mr. D. E. Wacha interrupting :—The economic horse of Mr. Tata). Yes, it is the economic horse of Mr. Tata

as you call it. The subject is one which is present to the minds not only of the thinking rich or middle classes but of every section of the community, because it is a question of bread. I do not say 'bread and butter,' because beyond bread and vegetables our people know nothing. We have been told here on this platform and elsewhere of the growing grinding poverty of India. Gentlemen, to those who have read the ancient history of India from a distance and who have not seen India, it might appear as something very curious that the land which ten thousands of years ago was famed as the Swarna Bhumi, as the land of gold, as the land which possessed a soil the fertility of which was hardly equalled and nowhere surpassed, which possessed a variety of climate capable of furthering the production of all kinds of agricultural wealth, which possessed mineral resources of a very high degree, the land which attracted Alexander, the land which attracted Mahomed of Gazni, Mahomed Ghor, and the Mughals, the land which in later times roused the cupidity even of Western Europe, the land to which the Portuguese and the Dutch and the British and the French came for the purpose of taking away wealth from here to their own country—it would appear curious to them that that land should now be considered as one of the poorest countries in the world. Yet, it is a fact. What do we find? We find that there are two famines in every decade, and whenever there is a famine, hundreds and thousands die like flies. You find that on the calculation given by a personage, who was in no way inclined to take any pessimistic view, who, on the contrary, would be inclined to take a roseate view of the situation, Lord Curzon,—even according to him, the average income per head in India is only Rs. 30. According to Sir David Barbour it was Rs. 27 per head annually. Our own calculation is Rs. 20 per head.

Why is this so? Why has this happened? If until the last century the people of Western Europe came to India to take from here the rich Muslins, and brocades and kincaps produced by the looms of Dacca, Benares, and Ahmedabad, came here for taking the various treasures of art which were produced in the country, what is it that has brought about this change during the short period of one hundred years? Gentlemen, this is the result of a curious economic revolution brought about by various factors. The result is : from a manufacturing and exporting nation we have become an importing and an agricultural nation. Instead of sending the products of our factories and of our looms to foreign countries, it is from foreign countries that we receive the very cloths with which we clothe ourselves, that we receive the matches with which we are able to light our lamps. Nay, what do we do? We take cotton from here, send it to Manchester and get the goods back; you take the seeds from here, send them on to Germany, Austria or Belgium or England and get various kinds of oils, varnishes and paints that you want. This has been brought

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about amongst other things by the great advance in applied science which has been made in the West. Now if you want to restore the old position, if you want that India should become, at any rate so far as our needs are concerned, a self-contained nation, then the remedy is this : that you ought to introduce manufactures in this country ; our decayed, dying, and decaying industries ought to be restored and revived and this cannot be done unless you apply the methods which have enabled the West to make the great material advance it has made. You have to remember this thing : things which were good generations ago, conveyances which were excellent in their own way in times gone by, are not useful now or are not as good and as efficient as they used to be. Nobody would suggest that you ought to have a bullock carriage or a horse carriage when you are to travel long distances which can be travelled only with the aid of steam or electricity. Similarly, when there are these great forces, steam and electricity, applied to production of wealth on a scale not at all known to former generations, only by utilising those same methods will you be able to bring about the revival or a restoration that you are thinking about. For this purpose, you want technological instruction and it is of the highest kind that you want. For a long time—long, so far as we living men go, but nothing at all as compared with the life of a country—for over thirty years, there has been great pressure brought to bear upon the Government for the introduction of technical instruction. After great difficulties, some kind of so-called Industrial Schools were established but the first actual step for the establishment of an institution to impart technical instruction on a sound basis was taken not by the Government but by the people of Bombay. (*Hear, hear*). It was the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute of Bombay where an attempt was first made to give instruction of a higher kind in mechanical engineering, electrical Engineering, and spinning and weaving. The movement has spread since then ; after considerable difficulties, with great sacrifice, after considerable discussion, the Government have made a move, and during the last five years, large grants have been made by the Government to the various technical institutes both in Bombay, Madras and Bengal and elsewhere. But much has to be done. First of all should be carried out the long-promised establishment of a good technological institute at Cawnpore which will develop the chemical side, which will apply itself more specially to chemical industries. That promise remains yet to be fulfilled. There are things that are given, for which we, in the first part of this proposition, tender our acknowledgment to the Government. But that is not sufficient. It is only through the top that we can tap the springs below. If you want technological instruction of the highest type, you must make the Universities have technology as one of the faculties in which instruction is given. We can see from the report issued by the

American Government that there is hardly any factory which is not conducted practically by graduates who have received technological degrees and who work in all the different departments. It is that kind of knowledge that is wanted, and it is therefore that we propose that we want a technological faculty at the principal Indian Universities.

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Secondly, we want research work to be carried on. In large factories in England and in America, they have persons who are employed as specialists, who are employed for research work. Ours is a poor country and the first thing we should ask Government is that Government ought to make sufficient and adequate provision for research work and institute fellowships and scholarships for that purpose.

Then, more technological institutes of the class have to be established all through the country. As I have said already, we have a considerable number, but that is not adequate for our purpose. Then below that comes this thing : It should be as it were ingrained in our boys, both belonging to villages and towns that it is only by work, work done by the hand, work done by the eye, that you can prosper, that it is industry and art which alone can bring back that decent provision in life for which everyone is working. Other trades, the lawyer's trade, the Medical trade, and so on, do not add one single ounce to the food which is required or one single inch to the cloth that is required to clothe India. It is agriculture and manufactures that can alone give wealth which can meet the requirements of India. Therefore, make even your village boys and village girls, make even your town boys and town girls know the dignity of labour and bring them up, every one of them, to some industrial profession. That is the recommendation made in the last part of this resolution.

Then the next question which forms a part of this resolution, has been already dealt with and I will only read it to you :— "That fiscal autonomy should be granted to India in regard to the levying of duties both on imports and exports." This matter has been very exhaustively dealt with. It is included in the resolution because the resolution had to be self-contained. I do not therefore say anything more except that I agree with everything that has been said by my friend Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla.

There are so many different counsels given by men with very good intentions. Start this industry, start that industry, and start a third industry. It is first of all impossible for laymen who are really anxious to help in the movement, to know what to do. Many attempts have been made and there were grievous failures. They were due to this fact that though there was a genuine desire to help in the establishment of industries,

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the requisite knowledge and experience were wanting. What is wanted in an industry is, first of all the raw material, the knowledge which is necessary for it, the knowledge of applied science, that is, and further the capital. The capital came there, but the men who can give real knowledge and experience, were wanting, and the industries failed. What is the first necessity in the case when you know you have foreign competi- tion. First of all, attempts should be made to see whether the industry would pay. Some of them may succeed in a laboratory; but when you try them on a commercial scale, it is found that the industry will never pay economically. For this reason, we must have what is called pioneering of industries. (*Impatient shouts*). Do you want me to stop? I will go away if you like. Therefore, attempts should be made, experiments should be made to find if it is a successful industry. Government should do this. Government have the money of the people; and if it is not the Government who have to spend money, I can see nobody else who can do it. It is one of the greatest duties of Government to make experiments in every Province as to what industries can be started with a fair amount of success in that Province. In regard to this, I am glad to say that the Madras Government did make a move. They, first of all, under the suggestion of Mr. Chatterton had an aluminium factory. That factory was proved to be a success; that was handed over by Government to a private institution. Similarly, they had a tanning factory. I saw the tanning school where they were doing good work. Unfortunately, our Secretary of State for India who had very good intentions but who was often obsessed by doctrinaire views, closed the school on the grounds of so-called free trade. That is one of the misfortunes of India. India is not fit for the liberty which England enjoys, but India is fit for every kind of nostrum pronounced by doctrinaire philosophers. That school was stopped. We must not be undaunted by those stoppages but we must insist that in every Province there must be the pioneering of industries by Government.

Another thing we have to contend against is that there are unjust barriers created against our industries. One of the most astounding things which make an honest man blush is the imposition of excise duties on cotton goods. When cotton duties were re-imposed, there was agitation in Lancashire and in deference to their wishes the excise duties were imposed. They were taken from the manufacturers of cotton in India and put into the treasury. Ultimately, the thing falls upon the people. The result is our factories which would be able in a manner to supplant outside factories are unable to meet the competition; and the development of the industry in the country for which we are all anxious cannot be carried out. So this barrier should be removed.

Another is a barrier which I do not know if many of you are aware of. Do you know—we had occasion to refer to it in the Industrial Conference—there are certain articles which can be sent from a place four hundred miles away, from the Central Provinces to Bombay, but the railway rates are so arranged that for articles which are exported to England or elsewhere to Europe specially, the freight for four hundred miles from a town in the interior to the port is much less than for a consignment within the province itself over only hundred miles? Similarly, imported goods have to be taken and the tariff on imported goods is less than the tariff on a consignment from one place in a province to another place. This kind of unjust railway freight is imposing very great obstacles which have to be removed.

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Gentlemen, you should try to work in all these directions. Above all you should work steadily. It is perhaps not the sort of work which will yield any great glory to any one—if by glory we mean looming large in the eyes of the people. It is only spade-work in the direction I have painted out which will bring back to our country anything of its former greatness. It is left to you, young men,—I belong to a generation which is passing away,—to study this matter more and more deeply and to work strenuously for the regeneration of Mother India. (*Applause*).

The Hon'ble Sri K. R. V. Krishna Rao Bahadur (Madras):—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the proposer of this Resolution has said that it has no bearing on politics. I would like to deal with the political aspects of this resolution and point out to you that this resolution is as much political as it is material and is next in importance to the resolution on self-government. The President in his address the day before yesterday has clearly mentioned that there can be no political contentment unless there is material prosperity in the country. You remember, gentlemen, that political contentment and material prosperity go hand in hand together and as such this resolution which deals with the material prosperity of this country by the development of industries is as much political as it is material.

The Hon.
Sri
K. R. V.
Krishna
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Bahadur.

The preamble of this resolution expresses our gratitude to Government for all that has been already done towards the development of industries in this country. Something has no doubt been done; but the steps that have been taken by the Government are not at all satisfactory, nor are they enough to grapple with the situation and solve the industrial problem to any extent whatsoever. Some attempts have no doubt been made in Madras; and other Provinces perhaps think, that what has been done in Madras is a very great deal. I tell you, Sir, that in Madras this department of industries was no doubt created and a Director of Industries was also appointed. But the Secretary of State for India found fault with it; and the whole scheme

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had to be given up by the local Government. In the beginning of the establishment of that Department, two industries were pioneered and financed by the Government and those two industries could find firm footing in the country. Those were the aluminium and chrome-tanning industries to which reference has been made by the Honourable mover of this resolution.

The next thing the resolution deals with, is this : It contemplates the establishment of technological and technical institutions in this country. I may tell you, sir, it has already been mentioned by the President, that manufactures must precede the establishment of technological and technical institutions. There can be no technical institutions or technological colleges where there are no factories. The things must be demonstrated ; and this is no subject which can be learned by books. There must be demonstration ; factories must be established by Government and it must be practically proved to the people that the industries, if carried on, will be commercially successful. Then only the people can be induced to take to these industries and not otherwise. You will probably remember that a few years ago, when the Swadeshi Movement was in full swing, when the whole country was interested in improving its industries, several people started industrial concerns but most of them have become miserable failures. But the failures were mainly due to the fact of want of advice from experts. It is the Government that should get such experts and employ them and start model factories and demonstrate to the people that industries can be started in India and carried on, on a commercial scale. It is only then that people can be attracted, and wealthy capitalists can be drawn to these enterprises. I may here mention that Japan has followed this course. That is how Japan has become an industrial country. It is, therefore, necessary that some model factories should be established by Government and industrial methods demonstrated and afterwards technological institutions founded and established. So the first part of the resolution contemplates the establishment of manufactories and industries by State-aid.

Again, sir, clause (b) deals with the fiscal autonomy which India should enjoy for the purpose of becoming industrially successful. This subject has been no doubt dealt with exhaustively by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla. I may here mention for your information that India, time after time, is being sacrificed for the principles of free trade. So long ago as 1879, in the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone said that "there was no free trade government in this—I mean in England—or in any other country which has not freely admitted that the state of revenue is an essential factor in the consideration of the application of even the best principles of free trade." That pronouncement was made by a responsible Minister in the House of Commons.

Again, the other clauses contemplate the establishment of industrial committees to co-operate with the Department of Industries in each province and also for the removal of barriers like excise duty and differential rates for railway consignments. With regard to railway consignments—my time is over—I would like to say one word. The railway company imposes unnecessary restrictions on carriage. That is what is called in railway language long-lead. For long-lead they have low rates and for small-lead they impose such rates of tariff as to make it practically impossible for the small manufacturers in the country itself to get anything cheaply and to carry on industries profitably. It is, therefore, essential that in order to make industries successful in India, all these will have to be removed. I may also mention for your information that it was only a few months ago that we were told that we ought not to think of industries in this country, but that we should be content with developing agriculture, as India was purely agricultural and was destined to be always so. We have been again told by another responsible statesman that we need no fresh development in agriculture. We are not going to be agricultural always. India was at one time as important industrially as agriculturally. Even Bulgaria which was till recently purely agricultural—75 per cent. of the population is still agricultural—has rapidly developed into an industrial country. I do not, therefore, see any reason why India should not be industrial also while developing her agriculture at the same time. If India should remain agricultural always, she will never be able to withstand the stress of the famine.

(*At this stage the President sounded the gong.*)

My time is over. I heartily second this proposition (*Applause*).

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Dwarka Nath.—(Behar) made a speech in Hindi in support of the resolution.

The President :—Is it your pleasure, brother delegates, that I should declare this resolution carried? (*Cries of "yes, yes."*)

The resolution was then declared carried.

Resolution XXII.

INDIAN STUDENTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

The Hon'ble Principal R. P. Paranjpye, (Poona) :—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution that I am proposing before you reads as follows :—

This Congress while strongly disapproving of the existence of the Indian Students' Department in England, as it is at present constituted, and its methods of working, earnestly draws the attention of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State for India to the

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tion XXII.** growing discontent among Indian students in the United Kingdom caused by the increasing tendency on the part of the Educational institutions there to restrict the admission of the Indian students and by the unfair and differential treatment accorded to them after their admission to such institutions, and urges the Secretary of State for India to use his influence, authority and power towards securing equality of treatment and opportunity for them.

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Mr. President, I consider it a very great privilege on this my first occasion of appearing on this platform to move this resolution on behalf of the students with whom I am intimately concerned. (*Applause*). Mr. President, my experience of student life in England is now rather old, and I am certain that the speakers that will follow me will give their fresh experience of English student life. All that I can say is that in my time, we hardly found any difficulty. The difficulties that the students now experience in England are of recent date. Whatever may be their causes, I think at least one cause of these difficulties is the race prejudice which is found to be increasing in all parts of the British Empire. (*cries of shame*). In particular, I am afraid this is due to a benefaction, benevolently meant, but which has at least as bad effects upon Indian students as on the Rhodes scholars. The Rhodes scholars come from all the Colonies; and they introduce their racial feeling into England in parts where it did not exist. This bad feeling is very infectious and is therefore catching in English institutions. I may say, therefore, that the present position of Indian students in England is certainly unsatisfactory. The resolution I am proposing before you consists of three parts. The first part is to voice our dissatisfaction at the present state of things and particularly at the Indian Students' Committee in England. This Indian students' department may, for all that I learn, be defended on theoretically very good grounds, but when one finds unanimous opinion against it, one can easily conclude that the department is not organised on its theoretical basis, but that it is organised on a basis which is just the reverse of good for our Indian students.

Mr. President, the question of Indian students is an exceedingly pressing one. As constituent members of the British Empire, we claim it as our privilege to go and study in the higher institutions of England. Over and above this being a privilege, I think it is a necessity for our students to go to England, because all the higher services to which brilliant Indian students can aspire are recruited in England; and therefore, as long as these paths are not open to us in India, we claim that these avenues should not be closed against us and that our boys should be allowed to go to England. This Congress has been crying for so many years for simultaneous examinations. The cry has been in the wilderness and one does not know when we are going to get that grievance redressed. As long as that is not redressed, our brilliant students

are bound to go to England and to claim their right to go to England and study in English institutions without any unfair treatment. (*applause*). Other services also are recruited there, exactly in the same way. The Indian Medical Service which unfortunately has now been closed for some time—closed for open competition ;—the Public Works Department which was also to a certain extent closed for open competition and in the recruitment of which there was a certain amount of favouritism also coming into play ; the Indian Educational Service also from which Indians are practically barred and if anybody is taken it requires in him an amount of merit which we can hardly say the Englishmen who are nominated to that service can claim ; various other services and particularly the examinations to which lots of our students go ; all these are reasons why our students should continue to go to England. I think the special privileges allowed to people who have qualified for the Bar in England require a large number of our Indian students to go to England and qualify for the Bar. If facilities had been present in India, for our getting all these qualifications while remaining in India, the grievance might not have been so very insistant and pressing. As I say, we are required by the necessities of the case to go to England, and we therefore claim our right to go to England and urge on the Government and the Secretary of State to remove the grievances from which we are suffering. Otherwise, to use a homely Marathi proverb, the mother does not feed us at home, the father will not allow us to beg of others outside.

The grievances of which we are complaining are existing in almost every place where Indian students go for study. In the Universities a few years ago there were no differential restrictions, but at present the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have placed restrictions on the admission of Indian students. Each College admits a few students with great difficulty, two students every year. Formerly in my time, in several colleges, there were fifteen or twenty Indian students, and I may say in my time most of us were also scholars in these colleges. (*applause*). The admission to the Universities is hedged round with so many conditions that it is exceedingly difficult even for the most brilliant students to get admission. Only a few months ago, a proposal was brought forward in the Bombay University Senate on the initiative of the Students' Department that even the Government of India scholars, the most brilliant scholars of our Universities should apply one year before they can be admitted to the Universities of England. Is not the most brilliant student of our Universities equal to the worst English student to whom admission is easily open ? (*cries of "shame"*). Could not the department get at least for the Government of India scholars admission to these Universities on easy terms ? Can they not trust our Universities to select the best student, best by abilities, best by character, so that this long apprenticeship and long period

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Resolution XXII. of waiting for one year may at least not be required in his case? That is so far as regards Universities. In the Inns of Court, exactly the same state of disability exists. While Englishmen can get into any Inn of Court with average abilities, Indian students are required to possess a degree of an Indian University. Consequently they are deterred; their studies are extended to such a long course of training as an English Barrister is not required to have. The Indian student has first of all to take his degree here and then spend three years there and afterwards spend another year in devilling with a barrister; that barrister till recently had to be a European Barrister, mind you.

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In the hospitals also, we are seeing exactly the same state of things. It is found exceedingly difficult for Indians to get admission into hospitals in order to get medical practice and training. Now we say to our Government that they must remove all these our disabilities. First of all, it is our right as constituent members of the British Empire; secondly, you make us go there on account of the circumstances for which you are responsible and the conditions you impose on the various services. We say "Either start institutions of the same status in India, be prepared to spend the money, be prepared to put on proper footing similar institutions, do not give any differential privileges to institutions in England, or open us those doors perfectly wide, as wide as they are open to English students." (*Applause.*)

Again, there is the most important question of our technical students getting practical training in workshops. Now we are always told that Government have nothing to do with the workshops and that it is all the manufacturers' trade prejudice that comes in the way. They do not want to take our people as apprentices. Now, I think Government have—if only they mean to use it—got a great lever in their hands by means of which they can open the gates of any factory or business that they like. The Government of India spend an enormous amount of money every year in buying stores for the various purposes of India. If only they were to put in a condition in their contract that anybody from whom they buy stores exceeding a certain amount, say ten thousand pounds must take certain Indian apprentices, I would like to see a manufacturer that is so suicidal as to refuse this contract simply because he is required to take an Indian apprentice. Well, we are told that if such a condition were introduced, the prices that Government will have to pay will be more than they would have to pay otherwise. I do not think so. The English manufacturer is an exceedingly acute man of business. We see exactly similar clauses in the contracts that are given by the English Government. All of you might not know that in the contracts given by the English Government there is always what is called the fair wages clause. That is, anybody who is to supply Government must

engage his labourers on decent terms and not on any hard terms on which he can secure these labourers. This "fair wages clause" can be insisted upon by the Trade Unions simply because the Trade Unions and the Labour Party can command so many votes in Parliament, and they have been able to put in this clause. We are helpless at present and therefore we cannot bring pressure on the Government, except by resolutions of this type, we can only say "you have this lever, use it properly and procure us proper facilities." Before the war, the tendency was being seen among our students to go to Germany. German manufacturers were exceedingly clever men of business. They thought that if an Indian was trained in their workshops, the orders that Indians would send for machinery and other things would go to Germany. Our students also were going to America and Japan. But for the benefit of the Empire, from the larger interest of the Empire, we do not want our students to go to these countries, especially with a feeling of resentment; and consequently, in the wider interests of the Empire, these grievances of the students have got to be remedied and remedied at a very early date.

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I am almost tempted to say that if the Government of India only chose, they have got several retaliatory measures in their power. They may say to any educational institution which differentiates against Indian students, that henceforward such an educational institution will not be eligible for having its students appointed to the Indian Educational or other Services. Such retaliatory measures are in the hands of the Government, if only they wish it. It is the bounden duty of a large gathering, representative of the whole country and a gathering which must have the interests of our young students at heart, to take care of our proper interests and not let our young men go out with a feeling of resentment. For what will all this resentment do? Our young students who go to England are to be the future leaders of India. There is no good talking of good understanding between the rulers and the ruled, between Englishmen and Indians, if our young men who are to be our future leaders start with resentment against the treatment that they receive in England. It would be poisoning the roots of the tree of good understanding while taking care of the branches and leaves of the tree and the tree will never prosper. Therefore, we must put our foot down and say that all these disabilities of the Indian students must be done away with. We have got a right to ask the Government of India and the Secretary of State to see that these grievances are redressed. Therefore, I think this Congress will pass this resolution with hearty acclamation. (*Loud applause*).

Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta, (Bombay) :—Mr. President, brother and sister delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I am sure today is a red letter day in the history of the Indian students' community

Dr. Jivraj
N. Mehta.

Resolution XXII. all over the world, because they realise now that the voice of the whole Indian community is behind them in anything that affects their welfare. The resolution, as it stands, deals first with the Indian Students' Department and its branches which exist all over the United Kingdom. Secondly, it refers with disapproval to the differential treatment that is meted out to them in England. And thirdly, it urges the Secretary of State for India to use his authority to remedy these grievances which are indeed substantial.

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Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta.

I wish to speak particularly on the Indian Students' Department. The complaints of Indian students are that the department is unnecessary. It is unnecessary because all the information that it is able to supply, the students can get themselves from the educational institutions concerned. As a proof of that, I can show you the information that I got myself eight years ago from the University of London. All the educational institutions in the United Kingdom are able to give all the detailed information that an Indian student should need, and much more and much better information than any India Office department can ever be able to give, to suit the needs of that particular student.

Secondly, the department has often unfortunately tried its best to dissuade a student from taking the necessary course of action which he himself or his parents or his guardians had fitted him for in India. Numerous instances have happened where if a student had arranged to go to Oxford or Cambridge, the educational adviser in England had tried to dissuade him from doing so and in some cases, unfortunately, successfully too. There is a gentleman here on this platform, an Ex-Sheriff of Bombay, whose nephew was told that it would be too expensive for him—he is a millionaire—to go to Oxford or Cambridge. Further, the student is required now-a-days by many educational institutions in England to be armed with testimonials from the department which were not required before. Not long ago, one of the graduates of the Calcutta University went to the General Medical Council of London to be registered as a medical student. Before the students' department came into existence, every certificate bearing an Indian University seal and the signature of its Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor was accepted as *bona fide*. But since the creation of the department, the credentials of our Universities are not accepted by the General Medical Council or other institutions unless they are countersigned by the department, which is undoubtedly a grave insult offered to our Universities.

Then I should like to read to you a letter on the question of admission into colleges. Here is a letter written by the Principal of the Royal Agricultural College at Cirencester. It says " Indian students are only admitted here on two conditions;

firstly, that Mr. T. W. Arnold considers them suitable and secondly, that they come either under his guardianship or under other guardianship of which he approves." So that if a responsible Englishman or Indian were to try to send a student to the Royal College of Agriculture, he will not be a fit person under the regulations of that College to be a proper guardian, unless he submits himself to Mr. Arnold's approval for the same. That is an uncalled for humiliation to which our elders even have now to submit. I can give you numerous other instances where testimonials and letters of introduction given to students by the heads of the Indian Students' department have not been consistent. There is a delegate from the United Provinces at this Congress, who was a student at Oxford, where he wanted to be admitted as a non-collegiate student. He approached Mr. Arnold for that purpose, who gave him a note of introduction to Dr. Pope, the censor of the non-collegiate institution at Oxford, strongly recommending him for admission. Subsequently, it happened that Dr. Pope and Mr. Arnold met and discussed the case of this student. Mr. Arnold told Dr. Pope that he knew nothing about the student, that he had to give him a certificate and that he could not make himself responsible for him. If such certificates are given to our students by the head of the Indian Students' Department, there is no object in keeping that institution going. Then, it has been suggested that the work of the institution can be judged by the number of visitors or students who take advantage of it or by the amount of its correspondence. I will tell you how Indian students are coerced to go to that department. First, as Principal Paranjpye has already told you, it is made obligatory for students to get notes of introduction from the heads of that department for admission to the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. Secondly, no student can be admitted at the Bar unless he gets a recommendation from the Indian Students' Department. Thirdly, if ever a question affecting Indian students turns up at the India Office, whether it is a question concerning education or not, it is referred to that department. I can give you my own instance. When I wanted to come here, I had to apply for a passport at the India Office, where I was asked to apply through this Department. I cannot understand how the Indian Students' Department has anything to do with the issuing of passports. I had to enter into correspondence with the Under Secretary of State for India before I was allowed to dispense with the introduction from the Indian Students' Department for the necessary passport. These are the ways in which the department tries its best to show the necessity for its existence and its work.

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N. Mehta.

Well, as regards the unfair treatment accorded to Indian students, Principal Paranjpye gave you a few instances. I can

Resolution XXII. give you some more. Very few students are admitted in the British hospitals, and if they are admitted there they are not given residential appointments whatever their qualifications or merits. At the present moment *i. e.*, after the war broke out, out of twelve teaching hospitals in London, not more than two give residential appointments to Indians, even though there is a great dearth of medical men, simply because they are Indians (*Cries of "shame"*).
 Indian Students in the United Kingdom. Another example I can give you of unfair treatment meted out to Indians, and that is in connection with their non-admission into the Offices' training corps of the English Universities. A recognised educational institution in the United Kingdom can have what is known as the Officers' training corps where members of that institution can train themselves for military purposes. Indian students, simply because they are Indians or orientals, are debarred from exercising that privilege as members of the Universities.

Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta.

These are, Mr. President, some of the difficulties under which Indian students labour in England, and as suggested in this resolution, unless the Secretary of State for India makes up his mind to use his authority—and authority he does possess in England—to remedy the grievances of Indian students, I think their position will get much worse. I can give you two reasons why the Secretary of State for India should see that those institutions which do not admit Indians should not be allowed to send their students as civil officers in this country. First of all, it is a measure of retaliation, and secondly, students or officers brought up in environments in England which are prejudicial to Indian students there cannot be expected to turn out sympathetic officers during their stay in India. With these words, I beg to second the resolution. (*Applause*).

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta, (Bombay):—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, in supporting this resolution which has been placed before you, I have the gratification of congratulating the Indian students on the word of cheer and hope which goes to them from this National assembly as embodied in this resolution. For years and years they have been neglected, their grievances have passed unnoticed. In the solitude of their study, in the company of their friends, and even in Public meetings, they have complained about the indifference in India. But I am glad to say that the indifference is now passing away. Our sagacious Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, once said that the question of Indian students in the United Kingdom was one of Imperial importance, and so sober and responsible a politician and statesman as the late Mr. Gokhale said that so long as England was responsible for the Government of India, our young men had every right to go there for education. Still the rights of free admission and equal treatment are denied to them as described by

the previous speakers. These grievances are known to the authorities, the students have protested against them again and again. What is the result? The only thing which the authorities and others have done for the Indian students is the appointment of three committees. Firstly, there are the various Provincial advisory committees in India, but the knowledge of these committees about conditions in England and their power to help students are of the scantiest. Then there is a Hospitality Committee. This committee occasionally invites Indian students to tea. I have often read and heard of the Englishman's lack of imagination but I never realised the truth of that statement before I knew that the young men who went for study and education were denied admission and were supposed to be satisfied with tea. The Advisory Committees cannot advise, because they do not know; the Hospitality Committee is useless, because we do not go there for hospitality. Thirdly, there is an Advisory Committee in London which advises the Secretary of State for India on matters of Indian students, but the Secretary of State does not take its advice. Only in October 1913 this committee appointed a sub-committee of itself to inquire into the grievances of Indian students at the Inns of Court and other educational institutions and report any changes that might be necessary. This committee worked for sixteen months; more than one dozen Indian students gave evidence, oral and written, before it; and after carefully going into that evidence this sub-committee produced an official document which, really speaking, admits the whole case of our students. It says that there are genuine and substantial grievances. The Secretary of State for India is in many cases recommended to urgently solve these grievances. But if you read the letter of the Under Secretary of State to the committee, you will find that the Secretary of State for India is prepared to do nothing. He takes shelter behind the war; and the lot of Indian students continues to be as unenviable as it used to be. The late Mr. Gokhale said that unless the whole strength of the Indian community is placed behind the students, the position would become well nigh intolerable. I am glad to say that by this resolution the Indian National Congress sets the seal of its approval on the protests against the grievances which the Indian students have again and again put on record (*applause*). I have no doubt that after the resolution of this august assembly, something will be done. With these words, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution.

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in the
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Mr.
Jammadas
M. Mehta.

The President:—Is it your pleasure, brother delegates, that I should consider this resolution passed? (*cries of yes, yes.*)

The resolution was then declared carried.

Resolution XXIII.

Resolution XXIII.

GENERAL SECRETARIES.

General Secretaries.

The President :—Before I take up the two resolutions which stand next in point of order, there are two which have to be put from the chair and which are very important. In order that there may be no loss of time, I ask your leave to put them from the chair. The first is the one which stands as No. XXVI on the agenda but which will now be Resolution XXIII. It is as follows :—

That the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahommed Bahadur and Mr. N. Subba Rao be appointed Secretaries of the Congress for the year 1916.

It is unnecessary for me to say anything about the services of these gentlemen. I would only ask that we should pass this unanimously and by acclamation. (*Applause*).

The resolution was then carried amidst acclamation.

Resolution XXIV.

Resolution XXIV.

The British Congress Committee.

The President :—The next one is in the same position. It is No. XXV on the agenda and will now be Resolution XXIV.

THE BRITISH CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

This Congress records its sense of high appreciation of the services of Sir William Wedderburn and other Members of the British Committee and resolves that the organization of the British Committee and "India" should be maintained.

Is it your pleasure, brother delegates, that I should declare this resolution unanimously passed? (*Cries of yes, yes*).

The resolution was then declared to be carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION XXV.

Resolution XXV.

Amendments to the Constitution.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

The President :—There are two resolutions which are really practically one, namely, certain amendments to our Constitution. Most of you, I hope all of you, will remember that the subject of these amendments was referred at the last Congress to a Committee. That Committee made its report to the All-India Congress Committee and the All-India Congress Committee have unanimously passed all these amendments. I, therefore, feel no doubt that they will meet with general acceptance, particularly in

view that we shall be able to know, after this constitution as proposed to be amended has worked for some time, whether it satisfies our requirements or not. Therefore, I ask you to pass these amendments. I ask, first, whether all the Provinces are unanimous, because it is by Provinces that we must decide this, whether all the Provinces are unanimous in accepting the proposed amendments. May I take it that all the Provinces are unanimous? (cries of "All, all"). Then the amendments are passed.

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Amend-
ments to
the Con-
stitution.

The amendments were then declared to be passed.

The following are the amendments to the Constitution which were proposed in Resolutions XXIII and XXIV on the agenda and have been embodied in Resolution XXV as follows:—

Add the following at the end of Article XX:—

"(6) Public meetings convened under the auspices of any Association which is of not less than two years' standing on the 31st December 1915 and which has as one of its objects the attainment of Self-Government by India on Colonial lines within the British Empire by constitutional means ;

Provided

- (a) That the said Association by a special resolution accepts Article I of the Congress Constitution and notifies to that effect to the Provincial Congress Committee of the Province to which it belongs.
- (b) That the said Association makes the acceptance of the said Article I a condition precedent to new membership.
- (c) That the total number of the delegates to be elected by such public meeting shall not exceed 15 in number and no such Association shall be entitled to call more than one public meeting for the said purposes for any one session of the Congress.

But this however will be subject to the right of the All-India Congress Committee to disqualify any such political Association or Body at any time.

Explanation :— No person elected as a Delegate need be a member of any Congress Committee if he is otherwise qualified."

Art. III (a) Substitute "place" for "town."

Art. VI. Omit the word "United" before the word "Bengal" and make the same alteration in other Articles wherever the expression "United Bengal" occurs.

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At the end of Article VI add the following :—

Amend-
ments to
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stitution.

“ For this purpose Coorg and the areas administered by the British Government in the Nizam's Dominions, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, shall belong to Madras; similar areas in Baroda and Kathiawar and Southern Maratha States to Bombay; Assam to Bengal; Delhi, Ajmer—Merwara, and the areas administered by the British Government in Rajputana to the United Provinces; British Baluchistan to the Panjab; areas administered by the British Government in Central India to the Central Provinces.”

Art. XXIII (a) After “shall” insert the words “as far as possible” wherever the word “shall” occurs in the first sentence of the Article.

Art. XXVIII. Omit the word “half” before the words “the amount of the fees.”

Art. XXIX (a) Omit the word “previously” in the last but one line, and add “and be presented to the Congress.”

Resolu-
tion XXVI.

Resolution XXVI.

THE NEXT CONGRESS.

The next
Congress.

The Hon.
Pandit
Madan
Mohan
Malaviya.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—(Allaha-
bad, U. P.) Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I am glad
the present session of the Congress has come to an end; and
it is time that we should make arrangements for the next session.
On behalf of the United Provinces, I have great pleasure in
inviting the next session to meet next year at Lucknow. I
formally propose :—

That the next session of the Indian National Congress be held at
Lucknow in December 1916.

I wish my late lamented friend Mr. Gangaprasad Varma
were here to perform this duty. I know how dear his wish was
that the Congress should meet at Lucknow at the earliest date.
He has passed away, but we feel it to be a duty that we owe
to him as well as to the country to invite the Congress to hold
its thirty-first session at the beautiful city of Lucknow. Gentle-
men, it has been said that the Congress has been losing support,
that the enthusiasm for the Congress has been dwindling. This
present assemblage has given an eloquent answer to that com-
plaint, and I hope the Congress at Lucknow will further give a
similar answer to that complaint. It is gratifying to learn that
to-day the number of delegates who are attending this Congress
far exceeds that of any previous Congress. (*Applause*). In the
year 1889 the Congress met in this city and the number of
delegates was 1889. Today the number of delegates attending
this Congress is, I learn, two thousand two hundred and
fifty-nine. (*Applause*). Well, gentlemen, you cannot expect
an equal number of delegates to be present at our centre;
but whenever there is a great occasion, our people muster strong

and show their enthusiasm for the Congress; and their faith in the Congress is very well evidenced by this vast gathering before us of not less than ten thousand people of all ranks, classes and creeds. (*Applause*). I hope we shall have the opportunity to congratulate ourselves on a similarly enthusiastic gathering at Lucknow; at any rate, I shall do my share on behalf of the United Provinces in inviting you and offering you a hearty welcome in anticipation of your acceptance. I hope you will kindly accept our invitation to Lucknow.

Resolu-
tion XXVI.

The next
Congress.

The Hon.
Pandit
Madan
Mohan
Malaviya.

Pandit Ikbal Narayan Masaldan, (Lucknow, U. P.):—Mr. President and brother delegates, coming as I do from Lucknow, I heartily associate myself with the resolution which has been put before you by our revered leader, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and beg you to accept our humble invitation.

Pandit
Ikbal
Narayan
Masaldan.

The resolution was then carried a *mid* acclamation.

THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

The President:—The next thing is that the names of the representatives elected by the different Provinces to the All-India Congress Committee together with those of the *ex-officio* members of the said Committee will be announced to you, as required by Article XV of the Constitution. I call upon the General Secretary, Mr. N. Subba Rao, to read the list. Mr. N. Subba Rao (Madras) then read the list of the members of the All-India Congress Committee.

The All-
India
Congress
Com-
mittee.

(The list is given in Appendix B.)

The President:—These are the names of the All-India Congress Committee. This Committee, as laid down in Article XVII clause (a) of the Constitution, shall hold office from today till the appointment of a new Committee at the next Congress. We have convened a meeting of this Committee tomorrow at 12 o'clock in the Subjects Committee *mandap*. This is a very important meeting and I hope all the Members will make it a point to attend it.

RESOLUTION XXVII.

VOTE OF THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT.

Resolu-
tion
XXVII.

Mr. H. A. Wadya, (Bombay):—Mr. Wacha, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I confess I appear before you with a feeling of diffidence, because I am afraid I am one of those discredited articles, the men of yesterday; and the only hope that sustains me in addressing you this evening is that the resolution which I have the pleasure and the privilege to propose cannot, I

Vote of
Thanks
to the
President.

Mr. H. A.
Wadya.

Resolu-
tion
XXVII.

am sure, suffer in any measure from the unworthiness of its proposer. That Resolution, ladies and gentlemen, is in these terms :—

Vote of
Thanks
to the
President.

“That this Congress records its best thanks to the President for the valuable services to the Congress and the cause of the country by his splendid and statesmanlike address and by his conduct during the sittings of the Congress and his more arduous work during the sittings of the Subjects Committee.”

Mr. H. A.
Wadya.

Brother delegates, I had not the pleasure of meeting or even seeing Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha before he came to Bombay the other day as our President-elect. But I knew a great deal of him from the late Mr. Gokhale, and the impression which what I had heard made upon my mind, the one impression which I should like to mention today, not as a compliment to our President but as a compliment to our country is this. Our friends who are so consistently opposed to India's advancement taunt our country and our countrymen with two things. They say Indians aspire to offices for which they are not fit. They say also that Indians and especially those Indians who belong to the profession to which both the President and I have the honour to belong, agitate the country not for the cause of the country so much as for the loaves and fishes for which they are hungry. To those friends, my answer is the conduct of our President when he was in the Executive Council of the Viceroy. (*Applause*). Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha obtained that office not when he was unfit, but he accepted the office at great sacrifice. He did not get the office because he was hungry of power or wealth, but accepted the office simply as a duty which he owed to our country. (*Applause*). That is important evidence. When there are men in this land who can hold the highest offices at some sacrifice of personal interest, that is better evidence than anything else we can have of the fitness of Indians for the higher positions (*Applause*). What was more, the manner in which Sir S. P. Sinha retired from that office was even more creditable to him than the manner in which he received it. He retired from it when he knew that the conditions under which he could do his duty to his country were no longer such conditions as he wished or wanted.

My acquaintance with our President, ladies and gentlemen, was made under very strange circumstances. When our President arrived at the railway station, I went with you all to welcome him on behalf of this city; and the manner of my welcome was rather a perilous one. I was, as many of you were, rushed off my feet on the platform. I was luckily helped by a number of volunteers; I wish I could know their names or could remember their faces to thank them personally, for they saved me from being thrown off the platform; and the only escape they made for me was into the car of our President-elect. That is how I saw our President for the first time and made

his acquaintance. It was a long acquaintance because we were in that car for two and a quarter hours together. I was there certainly an uninvited, an undesigned guest. But when I went with the President for those two and a quarter hours from Boribunder to Malabar Hill, what I witnessed in the streets of Bombay, in those crowded streets of our busy city, made me think of two things; first, it made me wish that those potent grave and reverend good seniors, our great masters, who live on Himalayan heights and look down upon us in the plain below, and find that we are but a "microscopic minority," could have come and seen the way in which the President of the Congress was received in the streets of Bombay, not by hundreds, not by thousands, but by tens of thousands. (*Applause*). There was evidence there of the "microscopic minority" which the Congress represents. The other thought that came upon me, ladies and gentlemen, was that fortunate was the man who could evoke from persons of every class, from men and women of this busy city in its crowded streets, such enthusiasm, such hopes, such aspirations, such offerings, and what was more, such blessings as I heard from different lips, from different classes of people—for the man who was to preside over this Congress. (*Applause*). That was indeed Sir Satyendra Sinha's good fortune. But, ladies and gentlemen, there was still greater good fortune for our President in this, that all that was hoped of him that afternoon has been realised during these three days. (*Loud applause*). When you, Sir, addressed us on Monday as Chairman of the Reception Committee and welcomed the delegates, you spoke of the gloom and the darkness under which we had to assemble after what you aptly called the "triple tragedy" that had visited the Congress cause. It is our happy fortune today to see that gloom and darkness dispelled; for, who can deny, who is there here that will not admit, that after hearing the address of the President, we saw a new light on the horizon, we saw a new source of strength for the Congress, when that strength was waning fast by the death of great leaders, and we saw a new leader whom we could trust to guide firmly and wisely the destinies of the Congress cause and of our country, particularly in those troublous times which are ahead of us, when that new phenomenon, the young men in a hurry—do not be offended young gentlemen, by what I say—when that new phenomenon, the young men in a hurry, is rising and confronting us with so much that is of hope, as also with so much that gives us some cause for fear, hope if their young and honest enthusiasm is carried into good channels by sound advice and firm leading, danger if that enthusiasm is allowed to rush into channels which can only devastate instead of fructifying our cause? (*Applause*). These are matters on which I can congratulate the Congress and the country, but there are some matters on which we can congratulate our President also. The first thing is the vast attendance of delegates that has come to Bombay this year. We were told

Resolu-
tion
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Vote of
Thanks
to the
President.

Mr. H. A.
Wadya.

Resolu-
tion
XXVII.

Vote of
Thanks
to the
President.

Mr. H. A.
Wadya.

that the Congress cause was moribund, the Congress cause was waning. We were told that the Congress was not as it used to be. We have seen today that the Congress is not only what it used to be but greater and stronger than what it used to be (*Applause*). That was one cause for congratulation. The other cause for congratulation to you, sir, is that it was your good fortune to announce the amendment of the Constitution by which we hope, as we have unanimously passed that amendment—by which we all fervently hope that all schisms, all differences may disappear and all those who wish to serve the country honestly, constitutionally, and under the Congress banner, may unite together and work for our country (*Applause*).

The third ground, sir, on which we may congratulate our President is that it was in his time and during his presidency that we passed that important resolution today for the Self-government of India. (*Applause*).

Now, gentlemen, I have only two words to say. I am sure I am voicing the wishes of you all when I say that our President may give more of his time, more of his talents (*hear, hear,*) more of his work, to the cause of the Congress (*applause*) and take his rank among our regular leaders. There is another wish which I am equally sure I can voice on your behalf, and that is the wish and prayer that God may give Sir S. P. Sinha health enough, strength enough, and long life to render those services of which India is always in need, has always been in need, and will be still more in need as we go nearer to the goal on which we have set our hearts. (*Applause*). For, remember, my friends, that when you enjoy rights, those rights will be accompanied by heavy responsibilities and those responsibilities upon our leaders will be heavier in future than they have been in the past—to mould aright the destinies of this land, to mould our future in the right path and to gain for us the goal to which we aspire, when India cannot only take her proper place in the Empire, but may have the power, as she deserves that power and as she becomes deserving of that power, to exercise her own unaided efforts for the progress and contentment, and the freedom and happiness of our people. (*Loud applause*).

Sir N. G.
Chanda-
warkar.

Sir Narayan G. Chandawarkar, (Bombay):—Brother delegates, I have but a few words to say in acknowledgment of our deep sense of gratitude to our President (*applause*) for the fresh spirit of vitality which he has given to this Congress movement. (*Applause*). How did the situation stand when Sir Satyendra Sinha was elected President of the Congress? How does the situation stand now that his Presidentship is coming to a close? When he was elected President, you captured him for the Congress. Now that the proceedings have come to a close after the admirable manner in which he has presided over our deliberations, it is but truth to say that he has captured the Congress. (*Applause*).

One of the speakers who proposed his election spoke of him in introducing him to you as a "valuable asset" of the country. Now he becomes not only a valuable asset of the country, not only a realised asset of it, but to borrow the language of the law which Sir Satyendra has to practise every day, he becomes a realised asset of the country for distribution, for distribution in the sense that hitherto he who was more for the law and less for the country becomes now from this moment more for the country and less for the law ; (*applause*) a realised asset for the distribution of his disinterested services to his countrymen (*Applause*).

Resolu-
tion
XXVII.

Vote of
Thanks
to the
President.

Sir N. G.
Chanda-
warkar.

I have no more to say than this. Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha—if he will pardon my saying it—deserted the country when he resigned his seat in the Viceroy's Executive Council but I am glad that he has made up for it today. He has deserted it to join his country in a larger, wider and more useful sphere, (*applause*) to become one of its leaders by the force of what you have seen during these three days, by his soundness of judgment, by his level-headedness, by his sobriety and by his capacity to stand firm, where firmness was necessary and his capacity to shed light on some of the most complex problems which are arising and will arise in the future for moulding the destinies of the Empire and helping to direct our destinies in the right channel for the good of us all. (*Applause.*) I therefore ask you to carry this proposition of vote of thanks to our President with acclamation.

The proposition was responded to with *loud and continued cheers* and cries of "*hip, hip, hurrah.*"

The President was then presented with a fine bouquet of flowers by Miss Wacha, grand-daughter of the Hon. Mr. D. E. Wacha.

THE PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING ADDRESS.

The President, who then rose amidst deafening cheers, said:—Mr. Wacha, ladies and gentlemen, I should indeed be conceited, I would almost deserve the reproach of considering myself the one swallow, if I thought that all this enthusiasm, all this good feeling is evoked by my personality or by any poor services that I have been able to render to the cause. From the moment I left Calcutta to this moment, I have been overwhelmed with kindness, from all and sundry, from my Hindu and Mahomedan friends, (*hear, hear*) and I have an equal number amongst both—from my English and Indian friends,—and I have an almost equal number among both. From the Railway Station up to now the kindness that I have received has been absolutely overwhelming and even if I had the sonorous eloquence of my friend Mr. Surendranath Banerjea (*applause*) or the silvery tones of my friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, I would be unable to express a hundredth part of the gratitude which I feel. I have received unbounded kindness not merely from the people but from the Ruling

The Presi-
dent's Con-
cluding
Address.

The President's Concluding Address.

Chiefs and in particular one of the principal Ruling Chiefs of this Presidency, His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda (*applause*) in whose palatial house I have had the privilege of living during my stay in Bombay. High and low, young and old, man and woman, have vied with each other in showing me kindness. Pray accept in these poor words my deep sense of gratitude which I am unable to express more fully. And what shall I say about the Reception Committee? And these young gentlemen also whom I find before me—the Volunteers and their Captain—they have been ready to do every bidding of mine at any personal sacrifice and from morning till noon and from noon till night and past mid-night and almost till the morning, there have been numbers of them waiting to carry out any behest of mine. Fortunate do I consider myself in having lived to this day and never shall I forget it. (*Applause*). But pray do not imagine that I am wanting in that sense of humility which would convince any man that all this kindness is not due to any personal qualities, that it is not meant to be merely personal but that it is an index of your enthusiasm for the cause which is supposed to have waned.

Gentlemen, you in Bombay founded the Congress. The Congress held its first sittings here and today ends its thirtieth and not the least memorable sitting. It has been again held in Bombay. Bombay has set the political fashion and has been the leader of political thought in India not only for the last thirty years but for all the time that there has been any political thought in British India. "Long live Bombay," I say. (*Applause*).

Now, ladies and gentlemen, having attempted to express my gratitude, I must now apologise for my many shortcomings. (*cries of no, no*). Pardon me, I am fully aware of them, in the Subjects Committee particularly, where many of you may have thought that I was autocratic and was riding rough-shod over the feelings and susceptibilities of some of the delegates (*cries of no, no*). But many of you know better than myself who, as I said, was only a camp-follower till the other day till you raised me to this position—you know it better than I do that it was in your interests—in the interests of the Congress—in the interests of India that I had to do what I did, because we could never get through our work peacefully and smoothly unless I was firm to rule out everything which appeared irrelevant or hurtful or noxious to the cause.

I will not attempt to summarise the discussion that has taken place. It is fresh in the minds of you all. I shall only express the hope that whether there is a declaration of policy such as I have in all humility prayed for—whether there is such a declaration or not, we shall continue loyally but earnestly and with all the enthusiasm that we can command to work for Self-Government in India. (*Applause*). We shall continue to do so until that

consummation is reached, be the day long or be the day short. *(Applause)*.

The President's Concluding Address.

There is one other matter with regard to which I feel very deeply and yet with regard to which I could not say all that I wanted to say in my address to you. I believe in the doctrine of self-help as much as, probably more than, many of you here. I ask therefore that, not content with these oratorical feasts for three days in the year, we should have a continuous programme of work, work not political in the sense of public meetings, but work in the sense of trying to uplift the low and the weak, and the miserable and the poor—carrying light into our villages and remedying the evils that there are in our every day lives—ignorance, poverty and disease. Let us fight them in the best way we can. Never mind self-government, never mind a National Militia, never mind even local self-government, let us run to the help and the rescue of the poor and the weak. *(Applause)*. I say, therefore, that if we are really serious, if we are really earnest in deserving what has been uppermost in our minds at any rate during these three days—the glorious day when the people shall govern themselves—and by the people, I do not mean Civil Servants composed entirely of Indians but I mean the people who live in villages and till the soil—if ever that day is to come, let us be able to say that we took our proper share in bringing about that devoutly-prayed-for consummation. It is the people whom we want to be capable of self-government, not merely Indians like ourselves, but the people in the villages who toil with the sweat of their brow. It is these people whom we want to take part in the Government of the country. It may be that some of you who are younger than myself, and some of you though older may be younger in feeling, are sanguine enough to think that this work is easy and that it does not take long. I wish I could also think so. But I am afraid it does take long. Do not you make the mistake that it is an easy task to accomplish. You have got to work and work day and night, patiently, persistently and strenuously, if you desire to achieve the object which you profess—Government of the people, for the people and by the people. *(Applause)*. Ladies and gentlemen, I feel I cannot say more. I thank you. *(Loud and long continued applause)*.

The President:—The Congress is dissolved.

Three cheers for the President were then called for by Sir Narayan Chandawarkar and heartily responded to.

Three cheers for the King-Emperor were then given most enthusiastically.

The Congress was then dissolved.



APPENDIX A.

—•••••—
Members of the Subjects Committee
 OF THE
30th Indian National Congress, 1915, Bombay.
 —•••••—

President :—Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, Kt.

—•••••—

MADRAS.

Ex-Officio :—1. The Hon. Nawab Syed Mahomed Sahib Bahadur.
 2. Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu Garu. 3. Dewan Bahadur M. Audinarayaniah
 Garu. 4. Mr. K. Ekambara Aiyar. 5. Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava
 Aiyar. 6. Mr. K. R. Guruswami Aiyar. 7. Mr. V. V. Joggiah Pantulu Garu.
 8. The Hon. Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao. 9. Mr. T. V. Muthu Krishna Aiyar.
 10. Mr. G. A. Natesan Aiyar. 11. The Hon. Rao Bahadur M. Ramchandra
 Rao Pantulu Garu. 12. Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. 13. The Hon.
 Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar. 14. The Hon. Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma Garu.
 15. Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar.

Elected by Delegates :—1. Mrs. Annie Besant. 2. Mr. M. D. Devadon.
 3. Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyangar. 4. The Hon. Mr. K. Rama Aiyangar
 Avargal. 5. The Hon. Mr. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar. 6. The Hon.
 Mr. K. R. V. Krishna Rao. 7. The Hon. Mr. C. V. Narasimharaju.
 8. Mr. L. A. Subramania Aiyar. 9. Rao Bahadur S. V. Narasimha Rao
 Pantulu. 10. Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar. 11. Mr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramiah.
 12. Dr. M. Krishnaswami Aiyar. 13. Mr. A. P. Patro. 14. Mr. K.
 Venkatareddi Naidu. 15. Mr. T. M. Narasimhacharyar.

UNITED BENGAL.

Ex-Officio :—1. The Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea. 2. Mr.
 Bhupendra Nath Basu. 3. Rai Baikunthanath Sen Bahadur. 4. The Hon. Dr.
 Nilratan Sirkar. 5. Mr. A. Rasul. 6. Mr. Heramba Chandra Maitra. 7. Mr.
 Prithwis Chandra Ray. 8. Mr. C. C. Ghosh. 9. Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra.
 10. Mr. Sunderlal Misser. 11. Mr. S. R. Das. 12. Mr. K. B. Dutt. 13.
 Mr. Jogendra Chandra Chakravarti. 14. Mr. Kishori Mohan Chaudhari. 15.
 Mr. Provash Chandra Mitra. 16. Mr. Surendra Nath Mullick. 17. Mr. Lalit
 Mohan Das. 18. Mr. Satyananda Bose.

Elected by Delegates :—1. Mr. B. L. Mitter. 2. Mr. R. C. Bonnerjee.
 3. Mr. D. C. Ghosh. 4. Mr. D. N. Basu. 5. Mr. H. M. Bose. 6. Mr. Ramani
 Mohan Dar. 7. Mr. Amulya Charan Dutt. 8. Mr. Satish Chandra Chatterji.

9. Mr. Sachindra Prasad Bose. 10. Mr. Jitendralal Banerjee. 11. Mr. Hemedranath Sen. 12. Mr. I. B. Sen. 13. Mr. Gopi Krishna Kundu. 14. Mr. Mathura Nath Mitra. 15. Mr. Paresh Chandra Dey. 16. Mr. Devendra Nath Bagchi. 17. Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt. 18. Mr. Dinanath Sen. 19. Mr. Upendra Nath Basu. 20. Mr. Pramathanath Bose.

BOMBAY.

Ex-Officio :—1. The Hon. Mr. D. E. Wacha. 2. Sir N. G. Chandavarkar. 3. Sir Bhalchandra Krishna. 4. The Hon. Mr. G. K. Parekh. 5. The Hon. Mr. C. H. Setalvad. 6. The Hon. Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas. 7. The Hon. Mr. N. M. Samarth. 8. The Hon. Mr. G. M. Bhurgri. 9. Mr. Daji Abaji Khare. 10. Mr. Abbas S. Tyebji. 11. Mr. N. V. Gokhale. 12. Mr. Mathuradas Ramchand. 13. Mr. Thakorram Kapilram. 14. Mr. H. A. Wadya. 15. Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Six Secretaries of the Congress :—1. Mr. Amiruddin Tyebji. 2. Mr. Narottam Morarji Gokuldas. 3. Mr. Jehangir B. Petit. 4. Mr. U. K. Trivedi. 5. Mr. Kazi Kabiruddin. 6. Mr. D. G. Dalvi.

Elected by Delegates :—(15, the usual allotted number *plus* 10 extra, under the Constitution, for the Province in which the Congress is held). 1. The Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel. 2. Mr. Jivanlal V. Desai. 3. Mr. Gopaldas V. Desai. 4. Mr. Dalsukhbhai Shah. 5. Mr. Kapilram A. Vakil. 6. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla. 7. Mr. D. N. Bahadurji. 8. Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai. 9. Mr. M. R. Jayakar. 10. Mr. B. J. Horniman. 11. The Hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye. 12. Mr. H. N. Apte. 13. Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale. 14. Mr. R. P. Karandikar. 15. The Hon. Mr. Upasani. 16. Mr. Chagla. 17. Mr. Murlidhar. 18. Mr. Jethmal Parasram. 19. Rai Bahadur Hiranand Khemsing. 20. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta. 21. The Hon. Mr. Rodda. 22. Mr. Kargudri. 23. Mr. P. G. Halkatti. 24. Mr. S. S. Setlur. 25. Mr. M. B. Marathe.

UNITED PROVINCES.

Ex-Officio :—1. The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. 2. The Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru. 3. The Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru. 4. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra. 5. Mr. A. P. Sen. 6. Pandit I. N. Masaldan. 7. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani. 8. Rai Krishnaji. 9. Mr. Hirday Nath Kunzru.

Elected by Delegates :—1. Mirza Samiulla Baig. 2. Pandit Govind Sahai Sharma. 3. Mr. A. K. Bose. 4. Rai Sahib Chandrika Prasad. 5. Mr. Manni Lal. 6. Pandit Krishna Kanta Malaviya. 7. Mr. Ramchandra. 8. Rai Saheb S. P. Sanyal. 9. Mr. N. P. Nigam. 10. Mr. Gaurishankar Prasad. 11. Mr. H. K. Misra. 12. Mr. B. Sanjiva Rao. 13. Mr. M. N. Chak. 14. Mr. Harikrishna Dhaon. 15. Mr. B. Kalka Prasad.

BEHAR.

Ex-Officio :—1. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque. 2. The Hon. Rai Bahadur Dwarkanath. 3. Khan Bahadur Sarfraz Hussein Khan. 4. Dr. S. Mahmood. 5. Mr. S. Sinha. 6. Mr. Bhubaneshwar Prasad.

Elected by Delegates :—1. Mr. Harnandan Lall Nandkeolyar. 2. Molvi Sayad Noorul Hasan. 3. Mr. Arikshan Sinha. 4. Mr. Nandkumar Lall. 5. Mr. S. A. Raja. 6. Mr. Ramanugrah Narain Sinha. 7. Mr. Basanti Charan Sinha.

PANJAB.

Ex-Officio :—1. Mr. Harkishen Lal. 2. Mr. Duni Chand. 3. Mr. Nanak Chand. 4. Mr. Dhanpat Rai. 5. Mr. Dharm Chand. 6. Mr. Todar Mall. 7. Mr. Fakir Chand.

Elected by Delegates :—1. Mehta Bahadur Chand. 2. Mr. Ghulam Muhayuddin. 3. Mr. Shive Narain of Amritsar. 4. Mr. Sham Das. 5. Mr. Moti Ram. 6. Mr. Gurudas Nanda. 7. Dr. Pinra Mall. 8. Mr. Shive Narain of Ferozepur. 9. Mr. Shive Ram. 10. Mr. Ram Lal. 11. Mr. Burkat Ram. 12. Dr. Paras Ram. 13. Mr. Jagan Nath.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Ex-Officio :—1. Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit. 2. Dr. S. N. Gour. 3. Mr. M. K. Padhye. 4. The Hon. Rao Bahadur N. K. Kelkar. 5. Mr. N. A. David.

Elected by Delegates :—1. Mr. V. N. Jakatdar. 2. Rai Saheb D. Laxmi Narayan. 3. Mr. Ravi Shankar Shukla. 4. Mr. Sakharam Dube. 5. Mr. Umesh Dutt Pathak. 6. Mr. M. K. Wagle. 7. Mr. Venkat Ram.

BERAR.

Ex-Officio :—1. The Hon. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar. 2. The Hon. Mr. M. V. Joshi. 3. Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle. 4. Mr. R. V. Mahajani. 5. Mr. Ganesh Nagesh.

Elected by Delegates :—1. Mr. N. M. Bedarkar. 2. Mr. S. B. Tambe. 3. Mr. R. R. Jayavant. 4. Mr. L. R. Abhyankar. 5. Mr. R. A. Deshpande.

BURMA.

Elected :—1. Dr. P. J. Mehta.

NOMINATED BY THE PRESIDENT.

5 Members nominated by the President under Article XXV of the Constitution :—1. Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon. 2. Mr. F. G. Natesan. 3. Mr. M. K. Gandhi. 4. Sir Dinshaw M. Petit, Bart., and Mr. W. A. Chambers.

APPENDIX B.

THE ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

(To hold office from 30th December 1915 till the appointment of a new Committee at the next Congress to be held at Lucknow in December 1916.)

President (*Ex-Officio.*)

THE HON'BLE SIR SATYENDRA PRASANNA SINHA, Kt.
President, 80th Indian National Congress.

General Secretaries (*Ex-Officio.*)

1. THE HON'BLE NAWAB SYED MAHOMMED SAHIB BAHADUR.
2. N. SUBBA RAU PANTALU GARU, Esq., B. A., B. L.
General Secretaries of the Congress.

A COMPLETE LIST

OF

MEMBERS OF THE ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

From all the different Provinces, (with their postal address).

UNITED BENGAL.
Ex-Officio.

1. The Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea,
Editor, "The Bengalee,"
126, Bowbazar Street,
CALCUTTA.
2. Dr. Sir Rash Behari Ghosh, Kt., C. S. I., C.I.E., M.A., D. L.
33, Judges' Court Road,
Alipur,
CALCUTTA.
3. Bhupendra Nath Basu, Esq., M. A., B. L.
14, Boloram Ghoshe's Street,
CALCUTTA.
4. The Hon'ble Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, Kt.
17, Elysium Row,
CALCUTTA.

ELECTED.

1. Rai Baikuntha Nath Sen Bahadur, B. L.
BERHAMPORE (Bengal).
2. The Hon'ble Mr. Ambika Charan Mazumdar, M.A., B.L.
FARIDPUR (Bengal).

3. The Hon'ble Dr. Nilratan Sircar, M.A., M.D.
61, Harrison Road,
CALCUTTA.
4. Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, M.A.
Principal, City College,
65, Harrison Road,
CALCUTTA.
5. The Hon'ble Mr. A. Rasul, M.A., B.C.L., (Oxon).
Barrister-at-Law,
1/4, Royd Street,
CALCUTTA.
6. Krishna Kumar Mitra, Esq., B.A.
Editor, "Sanjibani,"
6, College Square,
CALCUTTA.
7. Prithwis Chandra Ray, Esq.
Editor, "Indian World,"
39, Creek Row,
CALCUTTA.
8. J. Chaudhari, Esq., B.A. (Oxon), M.A. (Cal).
Barrister-at-Law,
3, Hastings Street,
CALCUTTA.
9. Basanta Coomar Bose, Esq., M.A., B.L.
Vakil, High Court,
Kansaripara Road,
Bhowanipur,
CALCUTTA.
10. The Hon'ble Mr. Provash Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.
Vakil, High Court,
34/1, Elgin Road,
CALCUTTA.
11. Surendra Nath Mullick, Esq., M.A., B.L.
2, Chandra Nath Chatterji's Street,
Bhowanipur,
CALCUTTA.

12. Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjea, D.sc. (Lond.), M. A. (Cal.).
267, Upper Circular Road,
CALCUTTA.
13. Lalit Mohan Das, Esq., M.A.
82/1, Harrison Road,
CALCUTTA.
14. Sarat Chandra Guha, Esq., M.A., B.L.
Pleader, BARISAL, (Bengal).
15. Krishna Das Roy, Esq.
Zemindar,
17, Harachandra Mullick's Lane,
Hatkhola, CALCUTTA.
16. The Hon'ble Mr. Ramani Mohan Das,
Karimgange, SYLHET (Assam.)
17. Narendra Kumar Bose, Esq., M.A., B.L.
Vakil, High Court,
CALCUTTA.
18. Prof. Satish Chandra Chatterji, M.A.
75, Bechoo Chatterji's Street,
CALCUTTA.
19. The Hon'ble Mr. Kishori Mohan Chaudhari, M.A., B.L.
GHORAMARA, Rajshahi, (Bengal.)
20. Satyananda Bose, Esq., M. A., B. L.
78, Dhurramtola Street,
CALCUTTA.

Total, United Bengal, }
24 }

BOMBAY.

Ex-Officio.

1. Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji, LL. D.
VERSOVA,
viâ Andheri, (B. B. & C. I. Ry.)
(Bombay Presidency).
2. The Hon'ble Mr. D. E. Wacha.
Jiji House, Ravelin Street, Fort,
BOMBAY (1).

3. Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, Kt., B.A., LL. B.
Pedder Road, Cumballa Hill,
BOMBAY (6).

ELECTED.

1. Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt., L.M., F. C. P. S.
Girgaon,
BOMBAY (4).
2. The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Parekh, B.A., LL. B.
New Queen's Road,
BOMBAY (4).
3. The Hon'ble Mr. C. H. Setalvad, B. A., LL. B.
Nepean Sea Road,
BOMBAY (6).
4. The Hon'ble Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, B. A., LL. B.
KARACHI (Sind).
5. The Hon'ble Mr. G. M. Bhurgri.
Barrister-at-Law,
HYDERABAD (Sind).
6. The Hon'ble Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, B. A., LL. B.
Bellasis Road, Byculia,
BOMBAY (8).
7. The Hon'ble Mr. M. A. Jinnah.
Barrister-at-Law,
Mount Pleasant Road,
BOMBAY (6).
8. Hormusji A. Wadya, Esq.
Barrister-at-Law,
18, Marine Lines,
BOMBAY (1).
9. N. V. Gokhale, Esq., B. A., LL. B.
Girgaon,
BOMBAY (4).
10. N. M. Samarth, Esq., B. A., LL. B.
Girgaon,
BOMBAY (4).

11. Abbas S. Tyebji, Esq.
Barrister-at-Law,
Camp, BARODA.
12. Mathuradas Ramchand Javahri, Esq., B. A., LL. B.
HYDERABAD, (Sind).
13. Thakorram Kapilram, Esq., B. A., LL. B.
Sangdiawad, SURAT.
14. Hari Narayan Apte, Esq.
"Anandâshrama", Budhwar Peth,
POONA CITY.
15. Govind Appaji Patil, Esq., B. A., LL. B.
(*Since deceased*).
AHMEDABAD.
- Total, Bombay, }
18. }

MADRAS.*Ex-Officio.*

1. The Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahomed Sahib Bahadur.
"Humayun Manzil", Royapettah,
MADRAS.
2. N. Subba Rau Pantalu Garu, Esq., B. A., B. L.
RAJAHMUNDRY.
- Elected.*
1. Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar, B. A., B. L.
"Palm Grove", Mylapore,
MADRAS.
2. Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakaran Menon, B. A.
Editor, "The Indian Patriot,"
MADRAS.
3. The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, B. A., L. T.
President, Servants of India Society,
17, Sydoji Lane, Triplicane,
MADRAS.
4. The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma, B. A., B. L.
High Court Vakil,
Mylapore,
MADRAS.

5. The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur M. Ramchandra Rao, B. A., B. L.
High Court Vakil,
ELLORE.
6. The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur V. K. Ramanuja Chariar, B. A.
KUMBAKONAM.
7. The Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao, B. A., B. L.
High Court Vakil,
NELLORE.
8. The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasinha Aiyar, B. A., B. L.
High Court Vakil,
SALEM.
9. Mrs. Annie Besant.
Adyar, MADRAS, S.
10. G. A. Natesan, Esq., B. A.
Editor, "Indian Review,"
60, Thumbu Chetti Street,
MADRAS.
11. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Esq., B. A., B. L.
High Court Vakil,
"The Grove," Teynampet,
MADRAS.
12. The Hon'ble Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, B. A., B. L.
High Court Vakil,
Mylapore,
MADRAS.
13. T. V. Muthukrishna Aiyar, Esq., B. A., B. L.
High Court Vakil,
Vepery,
MADRAS.
14. A. P. Patro, Esq., B. A., B. L.
High Court Vakil,
BERHAMPORE (Madras Presidency).
15. Dewan Bahadur M. Audinarayaniah (*Since deceased*).
MADRAS.

Total, Madras,

17.

UNITED PROVINCES

of **Agra & Oudh.**

Ex-Officio.

1. THE HON'BLE Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, B. A., LL. B.
ALLAHABAD.
2. Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar.
Barrister-at-Law,
LUCKNOW, (and Almora.)

Elected.
1. The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru.
Advocate,
"Anand Bhavan,"
ALLAHABAD.
2. The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, M. A., LL. D.
19, Albert Road,
ALLAHABAD.
3. The Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintaman.
Editor, "The Leader,"
164 A, South Road,
ALLAHABAD.
4. The Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narain, B. A.
Golaganj,
LUCKNOW.
5. The Hon'ble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, M. A., LL. B.
7, Neill's Road,
LUCKNOW.
6. The Hon'ble Mirza Samiulla Beg, B. A., LL. B.
LUCKNOW.
7. Munshi Iswar Saran, B. A.
Vakil, High Court,
6, Elgin Road,
ALLAHABAD.
8. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, B. A., B. S.
Servants of India Society,
6, Bank Road,
ALLAHABAD.

9. A. P. Sen, Esq.
Barrister-at-Law,
2, Banks Road,
LUCKNOW,
and 58, Harrison Road,
CALCUTTA.
10. Pandit Ikbal Narayan Masaldan.
Barrister-at-Law,
Golaganj,
LUCKNOW.
11. Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan.
Barrister-at-Law,
Golaganj,
LUCKNOW.
12. Vikramajit Singh, Esq., B. A., LL. B.
117, Civil Lines,
CAWNPORE.
13. Rai Krishnaji.
Phatak Rangildas,
BENARES CITY.
14. Thakur Mahadeo Singh, B. A.
FYZABAD.
15. Preo Nath Banerji, Esq.
Eedmonstone Road,
ALLAHABAD.
- Total, United Provinces;
17.

BEHAR & ORISSA.

ELECTED.

1. The Hon'ble Mr. M. S. Das, C. I. E.
CUTTACK, (Orissa.)
2. Mazhar-ul Haque, Esq.
Barrister-at-Law,
BANKIPORE.
3. The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Dwarka Nath, B.A., LL. B.
MUZAFFERPUR, (Behar).

4. Birja Kishore Prashad, Esq., M. A., B. L.
LAHARIA SARAI. (Darbhanga).
5. Nand Kishore Lall, Esq., M. A., B. L.
GAYA. (Behar).
6. Khan Bahadur Sarfraz Hussain Khan,
Exhibition Road,
BANKIPORE.
7. Bhubaneshwar Prasad, Esq. (*Since resigned*).
8. S. Sinha, Esq.
Barrister-at-Law,
BANKIPORE.
9. Parmeshwar Lall, Esq., M. A.
Barrister-at-Law,
P. O. Mithapur,
BANKIPORE.
10. Mohammad Yunus, Esq.,
Barrister-at-Law,
BANKIPORE.
11. Dr. S. Mahmood, Ph. D.,
Barrister-at-Law,
BANKIPORE.
12. Srikrishna Prasad, Esq., B.L.
MONGHYR.
13. Rajendra Prasad, Esq., M. A., B. L. (*Since resigned*).
14. Behari Lal Bhattacharya, Esq.
Muradpur,
BANKIPORE.
15. Chandrabansi Sahay, Esq.
Barrister-at-Law,
BANKIPORE.

(For Nos. 7 and 13 in this list, the following have been elected) :—

7. Syed Hasan Imam, Esq.
Barrister-at-Law,
BANKIPORE.

13. Sir Syed Ali Imam, K. C. S. I.
Barrister-at Law.
BANKIPORE.

Total, Behar and Orissa,
15.

PANJAB.

ELECTED.

1. Harkishen Lal, Esq.
Barrister-at-Law,
LAHORE.
2. Nanak Chand, Esq.
Barrister-at-Law,
LAHORE.
3. Duni Chand, Esq.
Barrister-at-Law,
LAHORE.
4. Dharm Chand Esq., B.A., LL.B.
Pleader, Chief Court,
LAHORE.
5. Gopal Aiyangar, Esq.
Editor, "The Tribune,"
LAHORE.
6. Dhanpat Rai, Esq., B.A.
Pleader, Chief Court,
LAHORE.
7. Dharma Das Suri, Esq.
Pleader, Chief Court,
LAHORE.
8. Pandit Ram Bhuj Dutta Chaudhari, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
Pleader, Chief Court,
LAHORE.
9. Sangam Lal Phadir, Esq.
Pleader, Chief Court,
LAHORE.
10. Sheikh Umar Baksh, Esq.
Pleader, Chief Court,
LAHORE.

11. Faqir Chand, Esq.
Pleader,
HOSHIARPUR. (Panjab).
12. Todar Mall Bhandari, Esq.
Barrister-at-Law,
AMRITSAR. (Panjab).
13. Bhanu Ram, Esq.
Pleader,
FEROZPORE CITY. (Panjab).
- Total, Panjab,
13.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Elected.

1. The Hon'ble Sir Gangadharrao M. Chitnavis, K. C. I. E.
NAGPUR. (C. P.).
 2. Sir B. K. BOSE, Kt.
NAGPUR. (C. P.)
 3. Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit, M. A. (Cantab.)
Barrister-at-Law,
NAGPUR. (C. P.).
 4. Dr. H. S. Gour, M. A., D. C. L., LL. D.
Barrister-at-Law, NAGPUR. (C. P.).
 5. Rai Saheb C. M. Thacker.
Barrister-at-Law,
RAIPUR. (C. P.).
 6. Rai Saheb D. Laxmi Narayan, M. R. A. S., F. R. S. A.,
&c., &c.
KAMPTEE. (C. P.).
 7. Natesh A. Dravid, Esq., M. A.
Servants of India Society,
NAGPUR. (C. P.).
- Total, Central Provinces,
7.

BERAR

EX-OFFICIO.

1. The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, C. I. E.,
B. A., LL. B.
AMRAOTI. (BERAR)

Elected,

1. The Hon'ble Mr. M. V. Joshi, B. A., LL. B.
AMRAOTI. (BERAR.)
2. R. V. Mahajani, Esq., B. A., LL. B.
AKOLA. (BERAR.)
3. Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, B. A., LL. B.
YEOTMAL (BERAR.)
4. Rao Saheb Ganesh Nagesh.
ELlichPUR. (BERAR.)
5. G. N. Kane, Esq.
AMRAOTI. (BERAR.)

Total, Berar,

6.

BURMA.*Elected.*

1. Dr. P. J. Mehta, M. D.
Barrister-at-Law,
RANGOON. (BURMA.)
2. J. C. Ray, Esq.
Barrister-at-Law,
RANGOON (BURMA.)

Total, Burma, }

2.

**Total Number of Members of the All-India
Congress Committee.**

Name of Province.	Ex-officio *	Elected *	Total
1. United Bengal (including Assam).	4	20	24
2. Bombay	3	15	18
3. Madras	2	15	17
4. United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	2	15	17
5. Behar and Orissa	Nil	15	15
6. Panjab	Nil	13	13
7. Central Provinces	Nil	7	7
8. Berar	1	5	6
9. Burma	Nil.	2	2
Total of all the 9 Provinces ...	12	107	119

* *Vide* Article XIII of the Constitution.

APPENDIX C.

Office Bearers.

30th Indian National Congress, 1915, Bombay.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Chairman, Reception Committee :—The Hon'ble Mr. D. E. Wacha.

Vice Chairmen, Reception Committee :—1. Sir Dinshaw Manekji Petit, Bart. 2. Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt., L. M. 3. Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, Kt., B.A., LL.B. 4. The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Kt. 5. Mr. Hormusji A. Wadya. 6. Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Joint Honorary Secretaries of the Reception Committee and the Congress :—1. Mr. Hormusji A. Wadya. 2. The Hon'ble Mr. C. H. Setalvad, B.A., LL.B. 3. The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Parekh, B.A., LL.B. 4. Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, B.A., LL.B. 5. Mr. Amiruddin Tyebji. 6. The Hon'ble Mr. N. M. Samarth, B.A., LL.B. 7. Mr. Narottam Morarji Goculdas. 8. Mr. S. R. Bomanji. 9. Mr. Jehangir B. Petit. 10. Mr. Hari Sitaram Dikshit, B.A., LL.B. 11. Mr. Narayan Vishnu Gokhale, B.A., LL.B. 12. Mr. Uttamlal K. Trivedi, B.A., LL.B. 13. Mr. Kazi Kabiruddin. 14. Mr. Dattaram G. Dalvi, M.A., LL.B. 15. Mr. Gopal Krishna Devdhar, M.A.

Other Members of the Executive Committee :—1. Mr. Abbas S. Tyabjee. 2. Mr. Amiruddin Tyebji. 3. Mr. Bhogilal Virchand Deepchand. 4. Mr. Fajj B. Tyabji. 5. Mr. Fazulbhoy Jumabhoy Lalji. 6. Mr. Govindlal B. Pittie. 7. Mr. Haji Usuf Sobani. 8. Mr. Hansraj Pragji Thackersey. 9. Mr. Jamnadas D. Dharamsey. 10. Mr. Kikabhai Premchand Roychand. 11. Mr. Kanaiyalal R. Dave. 12. The Hon'ble Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, C.I.E. 13. Rao Saheb Manaji Rajooji. 14. Mr. Moreshwar W. Pradhan, B.A., LL.B. 15. Mr. Motilal Vallabhji. 16. Mr. Nandavadan Karpurram Mehta, B.A., LL.B. 17. Mr. Naranji Haribhaiji. 18. Mr. Parshottamdas Thakurdas, B.A. 19. Sir Vasanti Trikumji Mulji, Kt. 20. Mr. Velji Lukhamsi Nappoo. 21. Mr. Vasant Rao S. Ravut. 22. Mr. V. P. Vaidya, B.A. 23. Dewan Bahadur G. S. Rao, M.A., LL.B.

SUB-COMMITTEES.

Congress Fund Collection Sub-Committee :—1. The Hon'ble Mr. D. E. Wacha—*Chairman*. 2. Mr. H. A. Wadya. 3. Mr. S. R. Bomanji. 4. Mr. S. N. Gazdar. 5. Mr. Fazulbhoy Jumabhoy Lalji. 6. Mr. Huseinbhoy Abdoolbhoy Laljee. 7. Mr. N. M. Joshi, B.A. 8. Mr. D. G. Dalvi, M.A., LL.B. 9. Mr. Hiralal D. Nanavati, B.A., LL.B. 10. Mr. Tribhuwandas N. Malvi, B. A.,

LL.B. 11. Mr. Govindlal B. Pittie. 12. Mr. Vallabh Narain Dani.
13. Mr. Gulabchand Dewchand Javeri. 14. Mr. Hansraj Pragji Thackersey.
15. Mr. Manilal Itchharam Desai. 16. Mr. U. K. Trivedi, B.A., LL.B. 17.
Mr. C. N. Pandia, B.A., LL.B. 18. The Hon'ble Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas,
C.I.E. 19. Mr. Purshottamdas Thakurdas, B.A. 20. Mr. Motilal Vallabhji.
21. Mr. Vasudevrao Balwant Soman. 22. Mr. Naranji Haribhai. 23. Mr.
Meghji Vasanji. 24. Mr. Bhogilal Veerchand Deepchand. 25. Mr. Jamnadas
D. Dharamsey. 26. Mr. Kanji Karamsi Master. 27. Mr. Haji Usuf Sobani.
28. Mr. Velji Lakhamsey Nappoo. 29. Mr. Kikabhoy Premchand Roy-
chand.

Congress Pandal Sub-Committee :—1. The Hon'ble Mr. C. H. Setalvad,
B.A., LL.B.—*Chairman*. 2. The Hon'ble Mr. N. M. Samarth, B.A., LL.B.
3. Mr. Narottam Morarji Gokuldas. 4. Mr. Hari Sitaram Dikshit, B.A., LL.B.
5. Mr. Jehangir B. Petit. 6. Mr. Ramchandra Bhaskar Mantri. 7. Mr.
A. V. Thakkar, L.C.E. 8. Mr. M. S. Patkar, L.C.E. 9. Rao Saheb
Manaji Rajooji. 10. Mr. Nandavadan K. Mehta, B.A., LL.B. 11. Mr.
W. A. Chambers, L.C.E.

Delegates' Accommodation Sub-Committee :—1. Mr. Daji Abaji Khare,
B.A., LL.B.—*Chairman*. 2. The Hon'ble Mr. D. E. Wacha. 3. Mr. Amiruddin
Tyebji. 4. Mr. G. K. Gadgil, B.A. 5. Mr. D. G. Dalvi, M.A., LL.B. 6.
Mr. T. K. Dongre. 7. Rao Saheb Manaji Rajooji. 8. Mr. U. K. Trivedi, B.A.,
LL.B. 9. Mr. N. M. Joshi, B.A. 10. Mr. T. A. Kulkarni, B.A. 11. Mr.
Motilal Vallabhji. 12. Mr. A. V. Thakkar, L.C.E. 13. Mr. Indravadan
N. Mehta. 14. Mr. Kanji Karamsi Master. 15. Mr. Bhogilal Veerchand
Deepchand. 16. Sir Vassonji Tricumji.

Volunteers' Sub-Committee :—1. Mr. N. V. Gokhale, B.A., LL.B.—*Chair-
man*. 2. Mr. N. M. Joshi, B.A. 3. Mr. T. A. Kulkarni, B.A. 4. Mr. Kanaiya-
lal R. Dave. 5. Mr. Ratilal G. Munsiff, B.A., LL.B. 6. Mr. U. K. Trivedi,
B.A., LL.B.

Correspondence Sub-Committee :—1. Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, Kt.—*Chair-
man*. 2. The Hon'ble Mr. N. M. Samarth, B.A., LL.B. 3. Mr. Moreshwar W.
Pradhan, B.A., LL.B. 4. Mr. Indravadan N. Mehta. 5. Mr. Nandavadan
K. Mehta, B.A., LL.B.

Procession Sub-Committee :—1. Mr. Hansraj Pragji Thackersey—*Chair-
man*. 2. Mr. Motilal Vallabhji. 3. Mr. N. M. Joshi, B.A.

Music Sub-Committee :—1. Mr. Baban Gokhale—*Chairman*. 2. Mr. N.
M. Joshi, B.A. 3. Mr. T. A. Kulkarni, B.A.

ASSISTANT SECRETARIES.

In charge of Delegates' Registration Office and other Departments :—

1. Mr. M. K. Thakore, B.A., LL.B.
2. Mr. S. N. Karnad, B.A., LL.B.
3. Mr. V. S. Sanzgiri, B.A., LL.B.
4. Mr. G. R. Desai, B.A., LL.B.
5. Mr. Y. N. Nadkarni, B.A., LL.B.
6. Mr. V. R. Sirur, B.A., LL.B.
7. Mr. H. V. Divatia, B.A., LL.B.
8. Mr. D. C. Virkar, B.A., LL.B.
9. Mr. Jayantilal B. Thakore.
10. Mr. B. D. Mehta, B.A., LL.B.
11. Mr. H. B. Gumasthe, B.A., LL.B.
12. Mr. R. A. Jahgirdar, B.A., LL.B.
13. Mr. V. B. Virkar, B.A., LL.B.
14. Mr. S. P. Varde, B.A., LL.B.
15. Mr. Vaikuntrao S. Thakore, B.A.
16. Mr. G. P. Murdeshwar, B.A., LL.B.
17. Mr. H. G. Kulkarni, B.A., LL.B.
18. Mr. C. N. Pandya, B.A., LL.B.
19. Mr. M. K. Kotasthane, B.A., LL.B.
20. Mr. K. C. Desai, B.A., LL.B.
21. Mr. J. R. Desai.
22. Mr. Chandulal D. Mehta, B.A., LL.B.
23. Mr. S. R. Gokhale, B.A., LL.B.
24. Mr. Moreshwar W. Pradhan, B.A., LL.B.
25. Mr. Indravadan N. Mehta.
26. Mr. Sadashiv K. Dhurandhar, B.A., LL.B.
27. Mr. Vasantao S. Ravut.

APPENDIX D.
CONSTITUTION
 OF THE
Indian National Congress Organisation.

(As amended at the 30th Indian National Congress, 1915, Bombay.)

Objects.

ARTICLE I.

The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing Members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those Members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country.

ARTICLE II.

Every Delegate to the Indian National Congress shall express in writing his acceptance of the objects of the Congress as laid down in Article I of this Constitution and his willingness to abide by this Constitution and by the Rules of the Congress hereto appended.

Sessions of the Congress.

ARTICLE III.

- (a) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during Christmas holidays at such place as may have been decided upon at the previous session of the Congress.
- (b) If no such decision has been arrived at, the All-India Congress Committee shall decide the matter.
- (c) An extraordinary session of the Congress may be summoned by the All-India Congress Committee, either of its own motion or on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees, wherever and whenever it may deem it advisable to hold such session.
- (d) It shall be open to the All-India Congress Committee to change the venue of the Congress to some other town when such change is deemed by it to be necessary or desirable owing to serious or unforeseen difficulties or other contingencies of a like nature.

Component Parts of the Organisation.

ARTICLE IV.

The Indian National Congress Organisation will consist of :—

- (a) The Indian National Congress ;
- (b) Provincial Congress Committees ;
- (c) District Congress Committees ;
- (d) Sub-divisional or Taluka Congress Committees affiliated to the District Congress Committees ;
- (e) Political Associations or Public Bodies recognised by the Provincial Congress Committees ;
- (f) The All-India Congress Committee ;
- (g) The British Committee of the Congress ; and
- (h) Bodies formed or organised periodically by a Provincial Congress Committee, such as the Provincial or District Conferences or the Reception Committee of the Congress or Conference for the year.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of the Provincial or District or other Congress Committees unless he has attained the age of 21 and expresses in writing his acceptance of the Objects of this Congress as laid down in Article I of this Constitution and his willingness to abide by this Constitution and by the Rules of the Congress hereto appended.

Provincial Congress Committees.

ARTICLE VI.

To act for the Province in Congress matters and for organising Provincial or District Conferences in such manner as it may deem proper, there shall be a Provincial Congress Committee with its headquarters at the chief town of the Province in each of the following nine Provinces :—

I Madras ; II Bombay ; III Bengal ; IV United Provinces ; V Panjab (including N. W. Frontier Province) ; VI Central Provinces ; VII Behar and Orissa ; VIII Berar ; and IX Burma.

For this purpose Coorg and the areas administered by the British Government in the Nizam's Dominions, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, shall belong to Madras ; similar areas in Baroda and Kathiawar and Southern Maratha States to Bombay ; Assam to Bengal ; Delhi, Ajmer, —Merwara, and the areas administered by the British Government in Rajputana to the United Provinces ; British Baluchistan to the Panjab ; areas administered by the British Government in Central India to the Central Provinces.

ARTICLE VII.

Every Provincial Congress Committee will consist of :—

- (a) Such persons in the Province as may have attended as many sessions of the Congress as Delegates as may be determined by each Provincial Congress Committee for its own Province ;
- (b) Representatives elected in accordance with its terms of affiliation by every affiliated District Congress Committee ;
- (c) As many representatives of recognised Political Associations or Public Bodies referred to in clause (e) of Article IV as each Provincial Congress Committee may think fit to determine ;
- (d) All such Ex-Presidents of the Congress or Ex-Chairmen of Reception Committees of the Congress as ordinarily reside within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Congress Committee and may not have been enrolled as members of the said Committee in accordance with clause (b) of Article VI of the Constitution of 1908 or by virtue of the provisions contained in any of the foregoing clauses of this Article ;
- (e) The General Secretary or Secretaries of the Congress ordinarily residing within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Congress Committee, such General Secretary or Secretaries being added as *ex-officio* member or members of the said Committee.

ARTICLE VIII.

Every member of the Provincial Congress Committee shall pay an annual subscription of not less than Rs. 5.

District or other Congress Committees or Associations.

ARTICLE IX.

The Provincial Congress Committee shall have affiliated to itself a District Congress Committee or Association for each District, wherever possible, or for such other areas in the Province as it deems proper, subject to such conditions or terms of affiliation as it may deem expedient or necessary. It will be the duty of the District Congress Committee or Association to act for the District in Congress matters with the co-operation of any Sub-divisional or Taluka Congress Committees which may be organised and affiliated to it, subject in all cases to the general control and approval of the Provincial Congress Committee.

ARTICLE X.

Every member of the District Congress Committee or Association shall either be a resident of the District or shall have a substantial interest in the District and shall pay an annual subscription of not less than one Rupee.

ARTICLE XI.

No District Congress Committee or Association or Public Body referred to in Clauses (c) and (d) of Article IV shall be entitled to return representatives to the Provincial Congress Committee or Delegates to the Congress or to the Provincial Conference unless it contributes to the Provincial Congress Committee such annual subscription as may be determined by the latter.

ARTICLE XII.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall frame its own Rules not inconsistent with the Constitution and the Rules of the Congress. No District or other Congress Committee or Association mentioned in Article IX shall frame any Rules inconsistent with those framed by the Provincial Congress Committee to which it is affiliated.

The All-India Congress Committee.

ARTICLE XIII.

The All-India Congress Committee shall, as far as possible, be constituted as hereinbelow laid down :—

15	Representatives of Madras ;
15	„ „ „ Bombay ;
20	„ „ „ Bengal ;
15	„ „ „ United Provinces ;
13	„ „ „ Panjab (including N. W. Frontier Province) ;
7	„ „ „ Central Provinces ;
15	„ „ „ Behar and Orissa ;
5	„ „ „ Berar ; and
2	„ „ „ Burma,

provided, as far as possible, that one-fifth of the total number of representatives shall be Mahomedans.

All Ex-Presidents of the Congress, residing or present in India, and the General Secretaries of the Congress, who shall also be *ex-officio* General Secretaries of the All-India Congress Committee, shall be *ex-officio* members in addition.

ARTICLE XIV.

The representatives of each Province shall be elected by its Provincial Congress Committee at a meeting held, as far as possible, before the 30th of November for each year. If any Provincial Congress Committee fail to elect its representatives, the said representatives shall be elected by the Delegates for that Province present at the ensuing Congress. In either case, the representatives of each Province shall be elected from among the members of its Provincial Congress Committee and the election shall be made, as far as possible, with due regard to the proviso in Article XIII.

ARTICLE XV.

The names of the representatives so elected by the different Provinces shall be communicated to the General Secretaries. These together with the names of the *ex-officio* members shall be announced at the Congress.

ARTICLE XVI.

The President of the Congress at which the All-India Congress Committee comes into existence shall, if he ordinarily resides in India, be *ex-officio* President of the All-India Congress Committee. In his absence the members of the All-India Congress Committee may elect their own President.

ARTICLE XVII.

(a) The All-India Congress Committee so constituted shall hold office from the date of its appointment at the Congress till the appointment of the new Committee.

(b) If any vacancy arises by death, resignation or otherwise, the remaining members of the Province in respect of which the vacancy has arisen shall be competent to fill it up for the remaining period.

ARTICLE XVIII.

(a) It will be the duty of the All-India Congress Committee to take such steps as it may deem expedient and practicable to carry on the work and propaganda of the Congress and it shall have the power to deal with all such matters of great importance or urgency as may require to be disposed of in the name of and for the purposes of the Congress, in addition to matters specified in this Constitution as falling within its powers or functions.

(b) The decision of the All-India Congress Committee shall, in every case above referred to, be final and binding on the Congress and on the Reception Committee or the Provincial Congress Committee, as the case may be, that may be affected by it.

ARTICLE XIX.

On the requisition in writing of not less than 20 of its members, the General Secretaries shall convene a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at the earliest possible time.

Electorates and Delegates.**ARTICLE XX.**

The right of electing Delegates to the Indian National Congress shall vest in (1) the British Committee of the Congress, (2) Provincial or District or other Congress Committees or Associations formed or affiliated as hereinabove laid down, (3) such Political Associations or Public Bodies of more than two years' standing as may be recognised in that behalf by the Provincial Congress Committee of the Province to which the Political Association or Public Body belongs, (4) Political

Associations of British Indians resident outside British India of more than two years' standing recognised by the All-India Congress Committee, (5) Public Meetings convened by the Provincial or District Congress Committees or other recognised bodies, and (6) Public Meetings convened under the auspices of any Association, which is of not less than two years' standing on the 31st December 1915 and which has as one of its objects the attainment of Self-Government by India on Colonial lines within the British Empire by constitutional means ;

Provided

- (a) That the said Association by a special resolution accepts Article I of the Congress Constitution and notifies to that effect to the Provincial Congress Committee of the Province to which it belongs.
- (b) That the said Association makes the acceptance of the said Article I a condition precedent to new membership.
- (c) That the total number of the delegates to be elected by such public meeting shall not exceed 15 in number and no such Association shall be entitled to call more than one public meeting for the said purposes for any one session of the Congress.

But this however will be subject to the right of the All-India Congress Committee to disqualify any such political Association or Body at any time.

Explanation :—No person elected as a Delegate need be a member of any Congress Committee if he is otherwise qualified.

ARTICLE XXI.

All Delegates to the Indian National Congress shall pay a fee of Rs. 10 each and shall be not less than 21 years of age at the date of election.

Reception Committee of the Congress.

ARTICLE XXII.

(a) The Provincial Congress Committee of the Province in which the Congress is to be held shall take steps to form a Reception Committee for the Congress. Everyone, who ordinarily resides in the Province, fulfils the conditions laid down in Article V of this Constitution and pays such contribution as may be determined by the Provincial Congress Committee shall be eligible to be a member of the Reception Committee.

(b) No one, who is only a member of the Reception Committee but not a Delegate, shall be allowed to vote or take part in the debate at the Congress.

(c) The Reception Committee shall be bound to provide the necessary funds for meeting all the expenses of the Congress as also the cost of preparing, printing, publishing and distributing the Report of the Congress.

Election of the President.

ARTICLE XXIII.

(a) The several Provincial Congress Committees shall, as far as possible, by the end of June suggest to the Reception Committee the names of persons who are in their opinion eligible for the Presidentship of the Congress, and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, in the first week of July submit to all the Provincial Congress Committees the names as suggested for their final recommendations, provided that such final recommendation will be of any one, but not more, of such names, and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, meet in the month of August to consider such recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees is accepted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting called for the purpose, that person shall be the President of the next Congress. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to accept the President recommended by the Provincial Congress Committees or, in case of emergency by resignation, death, or otherwise of the President elected in this manner, the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India Congress Committee, whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September. In either case, the election shall be final, provided that in no case shall the person so elected President belong to the Province in which the Congress is to be held.

(b) There shall be no formal *election* of the President by or in the Congress but merely the adoption (in accordance with the provisions in that behalf laid down in Rule 3 Clause (b) of the "Rules" hereto appended) of a formal resolution requesting the President, already elected in the manner hereinabove laid down, to take the chair.

Subjects Committee.

ARTICLE XXIV.

The Subjects Committee to be appointed at each session of the Congress to settle its programme of business to be transacted shall, as far as possible, consist of:—

Not more than 15 representatives of Madras ;			
"	15	"	" Bombay ;
"	20	"	" Bengal ;
"	15	"	" United Provinces ;
"	13	"	" Panjab (including N. W. F. Province) ;
"	7	"	" Central Provinces ;
"	15	"	" Behar and Orissa ;
"	5	"	" Berar ;
"	2	"	" Burma ;
"	5	"	" British Committee of the Congress ;
And additional 10		"	" the Province in which the Congress is held.

All the abovementioned representatives being elected, in accordance with Rule 9 of the "Rules" hereto appended, by the Delegates, attending the Congress from the respective Provinces.

The President of the Congress for the year, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the year, all ex-Presidents of the Congress and ex-Chairmen of Reception Committees, the General Secretaries of the Congress, the local Secretaries of the Congress for the year, not exceeding six in number and all the members of the All-India Congress Committee for the year, shall in addition be *ex-officio* members of the Subjects Committee.

ARTICLE XXV.

The President of the Congress for the year shall be *ex-officio* Chairman of the Subjects Committee and he may nominate 5 Delegates to the Subjects Committee to represent minorities or to make up such deficiencies as he may think necessary.

Contentious Subjects

AND

Interest of Minorities.

ARTICLE XXVI.

(a) No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mahomedan Delegates, as a body, object by a majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of their number; and if, after the discussion of any subject, which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mahomedan Delegates, as a body, are by a majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of their number, opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such resolution shall be dropped; provided that in both these cases the $\frac{3}{4}$ ths mentioned above shall not be less than a $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the total number of Delegates assembled at the Congress.

(b) In any representations which the Congress may make or in any demands which it may put forward for the larger association of the people of India with the administration of the country, the interests of minorities shall be duly safeguarded.

Voting at the Congress.

ARTICLE XXVII.

Ordinarily, all questions shall be decided by a majority of votes as laid down in Rule 21 of the "Rules" hereto appended, but in cases falling under Article XXX of this Constitution or whenever a division is duly asked for in accordance with Rule 22 of the "Rules" hereto appended, the voting at the Congress shall be by Provinces only. In cases falling under Clause (1) of Article XXX, each Province shall have one vote, to be given as determined by a majority of its Delegates present at the Congress. In all other cases of voting by Provinces, the

vote of each Province, determined as aforesaid, shall be equivalent to the number of representatives assigned to the Province in constituting the All-India Congress Committee.

The British Committee of the Congress.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

The Reception Committee of the Province, in which the Congress is held, shall remit to the British Committee of the Congress, through the General Secretaries of the Congress, the amount of the fees received by it from Delegates, subject to a minimum of Rs. (3,000) Three Thousand.

General Secretaries.

ARTICLE XXIX.

(a) The Indian National Congress shall have two General Secretaries who shall be annually elected by the Congress. They shall be responsible for the preparation, publication and distribution of the Report of the Congress and they shall submit a full account of the funds which may come into their hands and a Report of the work of the year to the All-India Congress Committee at a meeting to be held at the place and about the time of the session of the Congress for the year; and copies of such account and report shall be sent to all the Provincial Congress Committees and be presented to the Congress.

(b) The All-India Congress Committee shall make adequate provision for the expenses of the work devolving on the General Secretaries, either out of the surplus at the disposal of the Reception Committee or by calling upon the Provincial Congress Committees to make such contributions as it may deem fit to apportion among them.

Changes in the Constitution or Rules.

ARTICLE XXX.

No addition, alteration or amendment shall be made (1) in Article I of this Constitution except by a unanimous vote of all the Provinces, and (2) in the rest of this Constitution or in the "Rules" hereto appended except by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes of the Provinces, provided, in either case, that no motion for any such addition, alteration or amendment shall be brought before the Congress unless it has been previously accepted by the Subjects Committee of the Congress for the year.

RULES

for the Conduct and Regulation
OF THE

Indian National Congress Meetings.

1. The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily hold an annual session at such place as may have been decided upon in accordance with Article III of the "Constitution" and on such days during Christmas week as may be fixed by the Reception Committee. An extraordinary session of the Congress shall be held at such town and on such days as the All-India Congress Committee may determine.

2. Each Congress session shall open with a meeting of the Delegates at such time and place as may be notified by the Reception Committee. The time and place of subsequent sittings of the session shall be fixed and announced by the President of the Congress.

3. The proceedings on the opening day and at the first sitting of each Congress session shall, as far as possible, consist of :—

- (a) The Chairman of the Reception Committee's inaugural address of welcome to the Delegates.
 - (b) The adoption of a formal resolution, to be moved, seconded and supported by such Delegates as the Chairman of the Reception Committee invites or permits, requesting the President elected by the Reception Committee or the All-India Congress Committee, as the case may be, to take the chair, no opposition by way of a motion for amendment, adjournment or otherwise being allowed to postpone or prevent the carrying out of the said resolution.
 - (c) The President's taking the Chair and his inaugural address.
 - (d) Reading or distribution of the Report, if any, of the All-India Congress Committee and any statement that the General Secretaries may have to make.
 - (e) Any formal motions of thanks, congratulations, condolence, &c., as the President of the Congress may choose to move from the chair.
 - (f) The adjournment of the Congress for the appointment of the Subjects Committee and the announcement by the President of the time and place of the meetings of the Delegates of the different provinces for the election of the members of the Subjects Committee and also of the first meeting of the Subjects Committee.
4. No other business or motions in any form shall be allowed at the opening sitting of the Congress session.
5. The Chairman of the Reception Committee shall preside over the assembly at the first sitting until the President takes the chair. The President of the Congress shall preside at all sittings of the Congress session as well as

at all meetings of the Subjects Committee. In case of his absence and during such absence, any Ex-President of the Congress present, who may be nominated by the President, and in case no Ex-President is available, the Chairman of the Reception Committee shall preside at the Congress sitting; provided that the Subjects Committee may, in such cases, choose its own Chairman.

6. The President or the Chairman shall have, at all votings, one vote in his individual capacity and also a casting vote in case of equality of votes.

7. The President or Chairman shall decide all points of order and procedure summarily and his decision shall be final and binding.

8. The President or Chairman shall have the power, in cases of grave disorder or for any other legitimate reason, to adjourn the Congress either to a definite time or *sine die*.

9. The election of the members of the Subjects Committee shall take place at meetings of the Delegates of the different provinces held at such place and time as may be announced by the President. Each such meeting, in case of contest, shall have a Chairman who will first receive nomination, each nomination being made by at least 2 Delegates, and then after announcing all the nominations he may ask each Delegate to give in a list of the members he votes for or he may put the nominated names to the vote in such order as he pleases, or if there are only two rival lists, he shall take votes on these lists and announce the result of the election and forthwith communicate the same to the General Secretaries of the Congress.

10. The Subjects Committee shall deliberate upon and prepare the agenda paper for the business to be transacted at the next Congress sitting. The General Secretaries shall, as far as practicable, distribute among the Delegates a printed copy of the agenda paper for each sitting before the sitting commences.

11. At each sitting of the Congress, the order in which business shall be transacted shall be as follows :—

- (a) The Resolutions recommended for adoption by the Subjects Committee.
- (b) Any substantive motion not included in (a) but which does not fall under Article XXX of the " Constitution " and which, 25 Delegates request the President in writing, before the commencement of the day's sitting, to be allowed to place before the Congress, provided, however, that no such motion shall be allowed unless it has been previously discussed at a meeting of the Subjects Committee and has received the support of at least a third of the members then present.

12. Nothing in the foregoing rule shall prevent the President from changing the order of the Resolutions mentioned in Rule II (a) or from himself moving from the chair formal motions of thanks, congratulations, condolences or the like.

13. The proposers, seconders and supporters of the Resolution recommended for adoption by the Subjects Committee shall be Delegates and shall be selected by the said Committee. The President may allow other Delegates to speak to the Resolutions at his discretion and may allow any distinguished visitor to address the Congress. Nothing in the foregoing, however, shall prevent the President from moving from the chair such Resolutions as he may be authorised to do by the Subjects Committee.

14. An Amendment may be moved to any motion provided that the same is relevant to the question at issue, that it does not raise a question already decided or anticipate any question embraced in a resolution on the agenda paper for the day and that it is couched in proper language and is not antagonistic to the fundamental principles of the Congress. Every amendment must be in the form of a proposition complete in itself.

15. When amendments are moved to a motion, they shall be put to the vote in the reverse order in which they have been moved.

16. A motion for an adjournment of the debate on a proposition may be made at any time and so also, with the consent of the President or Chairman, a motion for an adjournment of the House. The President or Chairman shall have the power to decline to put to vote any motion for adjournment if he considers it to be vexatious or obstructive or an abuse of the rules and regulations.

17. All motions, substantive or by way of amendment, adjournment, &c., shall have to be seconded, failing which they shall fall. No motions, whether those coming under Rule II (b) or for amendment, adjournment, closure, &c., shall be allowed to be moved unless timely intimation thereof is sent to the President with the motion clearly stated in writing over the signatures of the proposer and seconder with the name of the Province from which they have been elected as Delegates.

18. No one who has taken part in the debate in Congress on a resolution shall be allowed to move or second a motion for adjournment or amendment in the course of the debate on that resolution. If a motion for adjournment of the debate on any proposition is carried, the debate on the said proposition shall then cease and may be resumed only after the business on the agenda paper for the day is finished. A motion for adjournment of the House shall state definitely the time when the House is to resume business.

19. A motion for a closure of the debate on a proposition may be moved at any time after the lapse of half an hour from the time the proposition was moved. And if such motion for closure is carried, all discussion upon the original proposition or amendments proposed to it shall at once stop and the President shall proceed to take votes.

20. No motion for a closure of the debate shall be moved whilst a speaker is duly in possession of the House.

21. All questions shall be decided by a majority of votes, subject, however, to the provisions of Articles XXVII and XXX of the "Constitution,"

by the Delegates for or against standing up in their place in turn to have the numbers counted.

22. In cases not falling under Article XXX of the "Constitution," any twenty members of a Congress sitting may demand a division within 5 minutes of the declaration of the result of the voting by the President and such division shall be granted. Thereupon the Delegates of each Province shall meet at such time and place as the President may direct and the Chairman of each such meeting shall notify to the President the vote of the Province within the time specified by the President.

23. Every member of a sitting of the Congress or of the Subjects Committee shall be bound (a) to occupy a seat in the block allotted to his province, save as provided for in Rule 30, (b) to maintain silence when the President rises to speak or when another member is in possession of the House, (c) to refrain from hisses or interruptions of any kind or indulgence in improper and un-Parliamentary language, (d) to obey the Chair, (e) to withdraw when his own conduct is under debate after he has heard the charge and been heard thereon, and (f) generally to conduct himself with propriety and decorum.

24. No member shall have the right at a Congress sitting to speak more than once on any motion except for a personal explanation or for raising a point of order. But the mover of a substantive motion (not one for amendment or adjournment) shall have the right of reply. A person who has taken part in a debate may speak upon an amendment or motion for adjournment moved after he had spoken. The President or Chairman shall have the right to fix a time-limit upon all speakers, as also to call to order or stop *any speaker* from further continuing his speech even before the time-limit expires, if he is guilty of tedious repetitions, improper expressions, irrelevant remarks, &c., and persists in them in spite of the warning from the President.

25. If a person does not obey the President's or the Chairman's orders or if he is guilty of disorderly conduct, the President shall have the right, with a warning in the first instance, and without a warning in case of contumacious disregard of his authority, to ask such member to leave the precincts of the House, and on such requisition the member so ordered shall be bound to withdraw and shall be suspended from his functions as a member during the day's sitting.

26. If the President considers that the punishment he can inflict according to the foregoing section is not sufficient, he may, in addition to it, ask the House to award such punishment as the House deems proper. The Congress shall have the power in such cases of expelling the member from the entire Congress session.

27. The Reception Committee shall organise a body of such persons as it may deem fit for the purpose of keeping order during the meeting of the Congress or of its Subjects Committee or at divisions. There shall be a Captain at the head of this body and he shall carry out the orders of the President or the Chairman.

28. Visitors may be allowed at the sitting of the Congress on such terms and conditions as the Reception Committee determines. They may at any time be asked to withdraw by the President. They shall be liable to be summarily ejected from the House if they enter the area marked out for the Delegates, or if they disobey the Chair, or if they are guilty of disturbance or obstruction, or if they are in anywise disorderly in their behaviour.

29. The meetings of the Subjects Committee shall be open only to the members of that Committee and the meetings of the Delegates of each Province at divisions shall be open to the Delegates of that Province only, subject in either case to the provisions of Rule 27.

30. The Chairman of the Reception Committee and the President as well as the Secretaries may, at their discretion, accommodate on the Presidential platform (1) Leading members of the Congress, (2) Distinguished visitors, (3) Members of the Reception Committee, (4) Ladies, whether Delegates or visitors, and (5) Members of the All-India Congress Committee.

31. The foregoing Rules shall apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Provincial or District Conferences organised by the Provincial Congress Committees as provided for in Article VI of the "Constitution."

APPENDIX E.

The Indian National Congress Organisation, 1915-1916.

President :—The Hon'ble Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, Kt.,
17, Elysium Row, Calcutta.

General Secretaries :—1. The Hon. Nawab Syed Mahomed Sahib Bahadur. "Humayun Manzil," Royapettah, Madras.
2. N. Subba Rao Pantulu Garu, Esq., B.A., B.L.,
Rajahmundry.

1. British Committee of the Indian National Congress.

Secretary :—Douglas Hall, Esq., 84 and 85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, London, S. W.

2. All-India Congress Committee (see Appendix B.)

Secretaries :—General Secretaries of the Congress, *Ex-Officio*.

3. Provincial Congress Committees.

With names of Secretaries with whom correspondence is to be carried on.

(i) MADRAS PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Secretary :—M. R. Ry. T. V. Muthukrishna Aiyar, B.A., B.L.,
Joint Hon. Secretary, Mahajan Sabha Hall, Mount
Road, Madras.

(ii) BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Secretary :—N. M. Samarth, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Vakil, High Court,
Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).

(iii) UNITED BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Secretary :—Satyananda Bose, Esq., 78, Dhurumtula Street,
Calcutta.

(iv) UNITED PROVINCES PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Secretary :—Hirday Nath Kunzru, Esq., B.A., B.Sc., 6, Bank
Road, Allahabad.

(v) THE PANJAB (INCLUDING N. W. FRONTIER PROVINCE).
PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE, LAHORE.

Secretary :—Lala Duni Chand, Barrister-at-Law, Lahore (Panjab.)

(vi) CENTRAL PROVINCES PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Secretary :—Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit, M.A., (Cantab.) Bar.-at-
Law, Nagpur.

(vii) BEHAR PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Secretary :—Parmeshwar Lall, Esq., Bar.-at-Law, Bankipore
(Behar).

(viii) BERAR PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Secretary :—G. N. Kane, Esq., Amraoti (Berar.)

(ix) BURMA PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Secretary :—S. S. Halkar, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Advocate,
No. 2, Shafraz Road, Rangoon (Burma).

Recognised Political Associations or Public Bodies and Affiliated District or other
Congress Committees.

1.—MADRAS.

The Mahajan Sabha.

Secretary :—M. R. Ry. K. N. Aiya Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Mahajan
Sabha, Mount Road, Madras.

Anantapur District Congress Committee, Gooty.

Secretary :—M. R. Ry. L. Balaji Rao, B.A., B.L., Gooty.

North Arcot District Congress Committee, Chittoor.

Secretary :—M. R. Ry. C. Doraiswamy Aiyengar, B.A., B.L.

South Arcot District Congress Committee, Cuddalore.

Secretary :—M. R. Ry. R. Srinivas A. Iyengar, B.A., B.L.

Bellary District Congress Committee.

Secretary :—M. R. Ry. N. Narayana Rao, B.A., B.L.

Bezvada District Congress Committee.

Secretary :—M. R. Ry. V. Gopala Krishna Aiyangar, M.A., LL.B.

Calicut District Congress Committee.

Secretary :—M. R. Ry. C. Kunhi Raman Menon, B.A.

South Canara District Congress Committee, Mangalore.

Secretary :—S. E. Rego, Esq.

Coimbatore People's Association.

Secretary :—M. R. Ry. T. A. Ramalinga Chettiar, B.A., B.L.

Cuddapah District Congress Committee.

Secretary :—M. R. Ry. K. Gundu Rao, B.A., B.L.

Chingleput District Congress Committee, Conjeevaram.

Secretary :—M. R. Ry. Venkata Chariar, Avl.

Dharmavaram Divisional Association.

Secretary :—M. R. Ry. H. Sankar Rau, B.A., Dharmavaram.

Ellore Divisional Association.

Secretary :—M. R. Ry. C. Chakradhara Row, B.A., B.L.

Ganjam District Association, Berhampore.

Secretary :—M. R. Ry. A. V. Subba Rao, Avl.

Guntur District Congress Committee.

Secretary :—M. R. Ry. P. V. Srinivas Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.

Godavari District Congress Committee, Coconada.

Secretary :—M. R. Ry. G. Kamoji Rao, B.A., B.L.

Kumbakonam Congress Committee.

Secretary :—M. R. Ry. T. K. Sivarama Aiyar, Avl. B.A., B.L.

Kurnool District Congress Association.

Secretary :—M. R. Ry. C. Venkataranga Reddy, B.A., B.L.

Kistna District Congress Committee, Masulipatam.

Secretary :—M. R. Ry. K. Chidambara Rao, B.A.

Madura Ramnad District Congress Committee.

Secretary :—M. R. Ry. R. S. Narayanaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.

- Nellore District Congress Committee.
Secretary :—M. R. Ry. M. V. Subba Rao, B.A., B.L.
- Negapatam Congress Committee.
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APPENDIX F.

(Official Correspondence between the Chairman of the Reception Committee, 30th Indian National Congress, Bombay and the Government of Bombay with reference to the latter's view that it was not open to Officers of Government to attend Meetings of the Indian National Congress even as mere visitors).

I

(COPY OF LETTER).

Bombay, 19th December 1915.

From

The Hon. MR. D. E. WACHA,
Chairman, Reception Committee,
The 30th Indian National Congress,
BOMBAY.

To

J. CRERAR, Esq., I. C. S.,
Private Secretary to
His Excellency the Governor of Bombay.

DEAR SIR,

At the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council, the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel put the following question (being his question No. 8) to which the answer given by the Government is also quoted below :—

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(a) Will Government be pleased to say whether it is permissible to Officers of Government to attend meetings of the Indian National Congress either as visitors or delegates ?</p> | <p>(a) No.</p> |
| <p>(b) Will Government be pleased to lay on the Table any standing rules or orders that may now be in force in this respect ?</p> | <p>(b) The standing orders on the subject are contained in rule 20 of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules.</p> |

2. I beg to submit that the negative answer to question 8(a) with reference to Officers of Government attending meetings of the Indian National Congress merely as visitors seems to have been given under a misapprehension of rule 20 of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules, referred to in Government's answer to question 8(b) quoted above.

3. The wording of rule 20 is substantially the same as the wording of the Orders of the Government of India communicated to all Local Governments and Administrations on 18th March 1890, a copy of which is annexed hereto as Appendix A.

4. The question whether it is open to Government Servants to attend meetings of the Indian National Congress and such other legitimate political organizations arose in December 1890 on account of the Orders that were issued by the Bengal Government as will be seen from the Resolution that was

passed by the 6th Indian National Congress held at Calcutta under the Presidency of Sir (then Mr.) Pherozechah M. Mehta, a copy of which Resolution is annexed hereto as Appendix B.

5. Thereupon Colonel Ardagh, Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy sent the following reply to Mr. A. O. Hume, General Secretary of the Indian National Congress :—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

January 19th, 1891.

DEAR SIR,

With reference to the communications which have recently taken place, first between Mr. Mehta and the Viceroy, and, after Mr. Mehta's departure from Calcutta, between yourself and His Excellency, upon the subject of the letter received by the Secretary to the Reception Committee from the Private Secretary of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in reference to the attendance of the Government Servants at meetings of the Congress, I am authorised by His Excellency to say that Mr. Lyon's letter of December 26th, in which it was stated that "the orders of the Government of India definitely prohibit the presence of Government Officials at such meetings" and the Circular in which that letter was communicated to the heads of departments under the Bengal Government, were issued under a misapprehension as to the purport of the orders of the Government of India. It was at once recognised by the Government of Bengal of its own motion, and by the Government of India that the letter in question went beyond those orders, and an amended Circular, in which it was pointed that the expression "absolute prohibition" had reference only to the participation of Government Officials in the proceedings of a political meeting, was subsequently issued by the Bengal Government to the heads of departments. I enclose herewith a copy of the orders of the Government of India. Those orders which arose out of a totally different matter, had no special reference to the Congress movement and were not framed in a spirit of hostility to it. The publications of some of the supporters of the Congress have in the opinion of the Government of India, been open to serious question: but apart from this, the movement is regarded as one of those which, in the words of the Circular, are "perfectly legitimate in themselves and which private persons are free to promote" but from participation in which Government Officials are, for the reasons specified in the orders, necessarily debarred.

The Government of India recognise that the Congress movement is regarded as representing in India what in Europe would be called the more advanced Liberal party, as distinguished from the great body of conservative opinion which exists side by side with it. They desire themselves to maintain an attitude of neutrality in their relations with both parties, so long as these act strictly within constitutional limits.

They intend that all Government Servants shall preserve a similar attitude of neutrality, and shall abstain from active participation in political or quasipolitical movements of all kinds: and also from putting pressure upon others in order to induce them to take part or not to take part, in any movement which is legitimate in itself. It was with the above objects that the orders of March 1890 were issued.

In reference to a specific question which you addressed to His Excellency, I am to say that the orders apply only to those who are actually, at the time being, Government Servants but not to pensioners and others who have quitted the service of the Government for good.

To
A. O. HUME, Esq. C. B., Etc.

Yours truly,
J. C. ARDAGH,
Colonel,
Private Secretary
to the Viceroy.

6. It will become evident from the foregoing that the question whether it is permissible for Government Officers to attend meetings of the Indian National Congress merely as visitors had been specifically raised in 1890 and decided in the affirmative by Lord Lansdowne's Government.

7. The answer given by Government to the Hon. Mr. Patel's question on the subject has created considerable uneasiness and dissatisfaction in the public mind. I have therefore to request you to be so good as to place this order before His Excellency the Governor in order that the matter may be reconsidered in the light of Colonel Ardagh's letter dated 19th January 1891 quoted above and a Press Note issued as early as possible so as to enable such Government Servants as may desire to attend merely as visitors the forthcoming Session of the Indian National Congress, to do so.

I have the honour to be,
Dear Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) D. E. WACHA,
Chairman, Reception Committee.

APPENDIX "A."

(COPY OF LETTER).

From

C. J. LYALL, Esq., C. I. E.,
Offg. Secy. to the Government of India.

To

All Local Governments and Administrations,
Calcutta, March 18th, 1890.

SIR,

I am directed to say that the Governor-General in Council has had under consideration the attitude which should be maintained by the Officers in the service of Government towards political or quasipolitical movements with which they may be brought in contact. Servants of Government have not the same liberty of action as private individuals and are bound to hold themselves aloof from many movements which are perfectly legitimate in themselves and which private persons are free to promote. Their participation in such movements is open to objection, because their connection with them is likely to create, and even to be appealed to for the purpose of creating, a false impression in the minds of ignorant persons that such movements have the countenance of Government, and because their influence with the Community at large is liable to be impaired by their identifying themselves with the class by which the movements is promoted.

2. For these reasons His Excellency in Council desires that the following rules may be observed by all Government Servants :—

- (a) As a general rule no Officer of Government should attend at a political meeting where the fact of his presence is likely to be misconstrued or to impair his usefulness as an official.

- (b) No Officer of Government may take part in the proceedings of a political meeting or in organizing or promoting a political meeting or agitation.
- (c) If in any case an Officer is in doubt whether any action which he proposes to take would contravene the terms of this Order, the matter should be referred to the Head of the Department or District and if necessary to the Local Government or Administration.

I have the honour to be,
 Sir,
 Your most obedient servant,
 (Sd.) C. J. LYALL,
 Offg. Secretary to the Government of India.

APPENDIX "B."

(COPY OF THE RESOLUTION).

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND THE CONGRESS.

That this Congress having observed with surprise a notice, apparently official, in various Calcutta newspapers which runs as follows :—

THE CONGRESS.

"The Bengal Government having learnt that tickets of admission to the visitors' enclosure in the Congress pavilion have been sent to various Government Officers residing in Calcutta, has issued a Circular to all Secretaries and heads of Departments subordinate to it, pointing out that under the orders of the Government of India the presence of Government Officials, even as visitors at such meetings, is not advisable and that their taking part in the proceedings of any such meetings is absolutely prohibited."

And having also considered a letter addressed by the Private Secretary of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to the Secretary of the Reception Committee of which the following is an exact copy :—

"Belvedere, 26th December 1890.

Dear Sir,—In returning herewith the seven cards of admission to the visitors' enclosure of the Congress pavilion, which were kindly sent by you to my address yesterday afternoon, I am desired to say that the Lieutenant-Governor and the members of his household could not possibly avail themselves of these tickets, since the orders of the Government of India definitely prohibit the presence of Government Officials at such meetings.

To J. GHOSAL, Esq., Secretary, Congress Reception Committee.	}	Yours faithfully, P. C. LYON, Private Secretary.
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authorises and instructs its President to draw the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy, to the declaration embodied in these papers that Government Servants are prohibited from attending any meetings of this Congress even as spectators, and to enquire most respectfully whether His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has or has not correctly interpreted the Orders of the Government of India."

II.

Dated, 19th December 1915.

PRESS NOTE ISSUED BY GOVERNMENT.

At the last meeting of the Legislative Council the Hon. Mr. Vithalbhai Jhaverbhai Patel, Bar-at-Law asked the following question :—

- (a) Will Government be pleased to say whether it is permissible to Officers of Government to attend meetings of the Indian National Congress either as visitors or as delegates ?
- (b) Will Government be pleased to lay on the Table any standing rules or orders that may now be in force in this respect ?

This was answered as follows :

- (a) No. (b) The standing Orders on the subject are contained in rule 20 of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules.

2. It appears from certain references made to Government that the answer has not been clearly understood. The misunderstanding has arisen through failure to read the answer to the first part of the question along with the answer to the second. Government do not desire to prohibit all Government servants from attending the meetings of the Indian National Congress, but merely to make it clear that they must in no case do so, even as visitors, without having obtained the previous permission of the appropriate authority mentioned in the rule quoted in the latter part of the answer.

III.

(COPY OF LETTER).

Bombay, December 20th 1915.

From

THE HON. MR. D. E. WACHA,
Chairman, Reception Committee,
The 30th Indian National Congress,

BOMBAY.

To

J. CRERAR, Esq., I. C. S.,
Private Secretary to

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay.

DEAR SIR,

After my letter dated 19th instant with reference to Government's answer to the Hon'ble Mr. Patel's question No. 8 put at the last Legislative Council was despatched, a Press Note has been published in to-day's papers on the subject.

2. I beg to point out that the Press Note is not consistent with and goes far beyond Colonel Ardagh's letter dated 19th January 1891, which interprets the Orders of the Government of India dated 18th March 1890, to which I have referred in my letter and that the purpose of my letter, therefore

still subsists and I beg to repeat my request that Government may be pleased to issue orders in consonance with the said letter of Colonel Ardagh communicated to the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress.

I have the honour to be,
Dear Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) D. E. WACHA,
Chairman, Reception Committee.

IV.

(Copy).

Private Secretary to the
Governor of Bombay,
GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
Bombay, 21-12-15.

DEAR SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letters dated December 19th and 20th which are under the consideration of Government.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) J. CRERAR.

THE HON. MR. D. E. WACHA.

V.

(Copy of the letter dated 22nd December 1915 addressed to the Hon. Mr. D. E. Wacha, Chairman, Reception Committee by the Acting Secretary to Government,)

No. 9836,
GENERAL DEPARTMENT,
Bombay Castle, 22nd December 1915.

From

P. W. MONIE, Esquire, I. C. S.,
Acting Secretary to Government.

To

THE HON'BLE MR. D. E. WACHA,
Chairman, Reception Committee,
The 30th Indian National Congress,
BOMBAY.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 19th and 20th December (addressed to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor) regarding the answer given at the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council to question No. 8 asked by the Hon'ble Mr. Patel, and regarding the Press Note on the subject which was issued on the 19th December.

You refer to a letter addressed to the General Secretary of the Congress by the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy on the 19th January 1891. You suggest that the negative answer to the first part of the Hon'ble Mr. Patel's question was given under a misapprehension of Rule 20 of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules, and you ask that orders may be issued "So as to enable such Government Servants as may desire to attend merely as visitors, the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress, to do so."

2. In reply, I am to say that the Governor in Council has considered your letters, and that heads of Departments are being informed that Government have no objection to Government Servants attending the present Session of the Indian National Congress.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) P. W. MONIE,
Acting Secretary to Government.

The Hon. Mr. D. E. Wacha.

VI.

(COPY OF LETTER).

Bombay, 22nd December 1915.

From

THE HON. MR. D. E. WACHA,
Chairman, Reception Committee,
The 20th Indian National Congress, Bombay.

To

P. W. MONIE, Esquire, I. C. S.,
Acting Secretary to Government.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 9836, General Department, dated 22nd December 1915, in reply to my letters of the 19th and 20th December, intimating that heads of Departments are being informed that Government have no objection to Government Servants' attending the present session of the Indian National Congress and I have to request you to be so good as to convey to His Excellency the Governor-in-Council the cordial thanks of the Reception Committee for the statesmanlike decision at which he has arrived and for the promptitude with which it has been communicated to me.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) D. E. WACHA,
Chairman, Reception Committee.

APPENDIX G.

LIST OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED THE

THIRTIETH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Held at Bombay, on the 27th, 28th and 29th December, 1915.

Province.—UNITED BENGAL.

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1	Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Sir S. P. Sinha, Kt.	Bengalee Kayastha.	Bar.-at-Law, 17, Elysium Row, Calcutta.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 30th November 1915.
2	"	Bhupendra Nath Basu, Esq., M.A., B.L.	"	Attorney-at-Law and Zemindar, 14, Bolaram Ghoshe's Street, Calcutta.	"
3	"	The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, Member, Supreme Legislative Council, also Member, Bengal Legislative Council.	Bengalee Brahmin.	Editor "Bengalee" 126, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.	"
4	"	R. C. Bonnerjee, Esq., B.A. ...	"	Bar.-at-Law, Bar Library, High Court, Calcutta.	"
5	"	Satyananda Bose, Esq., M.A., B.L.	Bengalee Kayastha.	Landholder, 78, Dhurumtula Street, Calcutta.	"
6	"	B. L. Mitter, Esq., M.A.	Bengalee Hindu.	Bar.-at-Law, Bar Library, High Court, Calcutta.	"
7	"	A. Rasul, Esq., M.A., B.C.L. (Oxon.)	Maho. medan.	Bar.-at-Law and Landlord, 1/4, Royd Street, Calcutta.	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
8	Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.	Satyendra Nath Basu, Esq. ...	Bengalee Kayastha.	Bar.-at-Law, Bar Library, High Court, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Committee held on 30th November 1915.
9	"	N. N. Gupta, Esq., B.A. ...	"	Bar.-at-Law, Bar Library, High Court, Calcutta.	"
10	"	Monilal Sen, Esq. ...	"	Attorney-at-Law, Calcutta. ...	"
11	"	Khagendra Bhusan Roy, Esq., M.A., B.L.	"	Zemindar and Vakil, Calcutta. ...	"
12	"	Bhava Sankara Banerjea, Esq. ...	"	Calcutta. ...	"
13	"	D. N. Basu, Esq. ...	Bengalee Hindu.	Bar.-at-Law, 14, Boloram Bose's St., Shambazar, Calcutta.	"
14	"	S. R. Das, Esq. ...	Bengalee.	Bar.-at-Law, 8, Moira Street, Calcutta.	"
15	"	Pandit Sunderlal Misser ...	Brahmin.	Landholder, Calcutta. ...	"
16	"	Prithwis Chandra Ray, Esq. ...	Bengalee Kayastha.	Journalist and Zemindar, No. 39, Creek Row, Calcutta.	" [Also by the Indian Association and Faridpur District Association at Meetings held on 11th December and 6th November 1915 respectively.]
17	"	D. D. Khandelwal, Esq. ...	...	Landholder, 2, Hanspuker Lane, Calcutta.	At a Meeting held on 11th December 1915.
18	"	The Hon'ble Mr. Ramani Mohan Das.	Bengalee Hindu.	Landholder, Karimgange, Sylhet (Assam.)	"
19	"	Akhil Chandra Dutta, Esq. ...	Kayastha.	Zemindar, Barisal. ...	"
20	"	Upendranath Bal, Esq., M. A. ...	Bengalee	Professor. Canning College. Lucknow.	"

21	Bengal Provincial Congress Committee,	H. M. Bose, Esq.	Bengalee Brahmo.	Bar.-at-Law, Bar Library, High Court, Calcutta.	At a Meeting held on 30th November 1915.
22	"	Sajani Kanta Sinha, Esq., B. L. ...	Bengalee Hindu.	Vakil, 178/1, Muktaram Babu's Street, Calcutta.	"
23	Indian Association.	Krishna Dass Ray, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Merchant and Zemindar, 17, Harichandra Mullick's Lane, Hatkhola, Calcutta.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on the 11th December 1915. [Also by the Faridpur District Association at a Meeting held on the 6th December 1915.]
24	"	C. C. Ghose, Esq., M. A.	Bengalee Hindu.	Bar.-at-Law, 54, Kansaripara Road, Bhowanipur, Calcutta.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on the 11th December 1915.
25	"	N. N. Bhose, Esq., M. A.	"	Bar.-at-Law, 54, Kansaripara Road, Calcutta.	"
26	"	D. C. Ghose, Esq.... ..	"	Bar.-at-Law, 54, Kansaripara Road, Calcutta.	"
27	"	Provash Chandra Mitra, Esq., M. A., B. L.	"	Vakil, High Court, 84/1, Elgin Road, Calcutta.	"
28	"	Jitendralal Banerjea, Esq., M. A., B. L.	"	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.	"
29	"	Surendra Nath Mallik, Esq., M. A., B. L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court, 2, Chandra Nath Chatterji's Street, Bhowanipur, Calcutta.	and also by the District 24 Parganas Bar Association at a Committee Meeting held on 10th December 1915.
30	"	K. H. Dutt, Esq.	"	Bar.-at-Law, 26, Rowland Road, Ballygonje, Calcutta.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 11th December 1915.
31	"	I. B. Sen, Esq., M. A., B. L. ...	Bengalee.	Bar.-at-Law, 57/1, Harish Mukerji Road, Bhowanipur, Calcutta.	"
32	"	The Hon'ble Dr. Nilratan Sircar, M. A., M. D.	Bengalee Brahmo.	Physician, 61, Harrison Road, Calcutta.	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
33	Indian Association.	Krishna Kumar Mitra, Esq., B. A.	Bengalee.	Editor, "Sanjibani," 6, College Square, Calcutta.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 11th December 1915.
34	"	Lalit Mohan Das, Esq., M. A. ...	Bengalee Brahmo.	Teacher, 82/1, Harrison Road, Calcutta.	and also by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee on 30th November 1915.
35	"	Sachindra Prasad Basu, Esq. ...	"	Journalist, 88/5, Harrison Road, Calcutta.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 11th December 1915.
36	"	Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, M. A.	"	Principal, City College, 65, Harrison Road, Calcutta.	"
37	"	Satish Chandra Chatterjee, Esq., M. A.	"	Professor, City College, 75, Bechoo Chatterji's Street, Calcutta.	"
38	"	Gopi Krishna Kundu, Esq., M. A., B. L.	Bengalee Hindu.	Vakil, District Judge's Court, Alipur, (24 Parganas) 29, Joy Mitter's Street, Calcutta.	and also by the District Bar Association, Alipur, (24 Parganas) on 15th December 1915.
39	"	Gagan Chandra Biswas, Esq., B. L.	Bengalee Mahisya, Hindu.	Zemindar and Engineer, Village Badkulla, (Nadia District); Bengal.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 11th December and by the Nadia District Association held at Krishnagar on 11th December 1915.
40	Calcutta District Association,	Hemanta Kumar Sircar, Esq., B. L.	Bengalee Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, 32/8, Beadon Street, Calcutta.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on the 21st December 1915.
41	"	Debendra Nath Bagchi, Esq., M.A., B. L.	Bengalee Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta. ...	"
42	"	Indu-Prakash Mitter, Esq. ...	Bengalee.	Merchant, 61, Harrison Road, Calcutta.	"
43	Dacca Peoples' Association.	Paresh Chandra Das Gupta, Esq.	Vaidya.	Chief Agent, (for East Bengal), National Insurance Co., Ltd., Dacca.	At a Meeting of the Association held on the 11th December 1915.

44	Dacca Peoples' Association.	Dr. Raj Kumar Chakravarty ...	Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Dacca. ...	...	At a Meeting of the Association held on the 11th December 1915.
45	Murshidabad District Congress Committee.	Babu Hemendra Nath Sen, B.L. ...	Hindu Vaidya.	Zemindar and Vakil, High Court, 76, Musjeedbai Street, Calcutta.		At a Meeting of the Standing Congress Committee held at Berhampore on 7th December 1915.
46	"	Babu Tarak Mohan Sen, B.L. ...	Hindu Vaidya.	Municipal Commissioner, Zemindar and Vakil, Berhampore, (Bengal).		"
47	"	Rai Baikuntha Nath Sen Bahadur, B.L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Vakil and Zemindar, Berhampore, (Bengal).		"
48	Hugli-Howrah District Association.	Krishnalal Chatterjee, Esq., B.L. ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Chinsurah, (Bengal). ...	..	At a Meeting held on 11th December 1915.
49	"	Dinanath Sen, Esq., B.L. ...	Hindu Subarnabanik.	Pleader, Chinsurah, (Bengal)..	...	"
50	"	Amulya Chandra Dutta, Esq., B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Hugli Judge's Court, Chinsurah, (Bengal).		"
51	Dinajpur Association.	Joges Chandra Khasnavis, Esq., M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Barabandar, Dinajpur, (Bengal).		At a Committee Meeting of the Dinajpur Association held on 8th December 1915.
52	"	Krishna Nath Sen, Esq. ...	Hindu Vaidya.	Zemindar, Kalitolla, Dinajpur, (Bengal).		"
53	"	Jogindra Chandra Chakravarti, Esq., M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Barabandar, Dinajpur, (Bengal).		"
54	Mymensingh Association,	Promatha Nath Bose, Esq. ...	Hindu Khastria.	Pleader, Mymensingh, (Bengal)...	...	At a Meeting of the Mymensingh Association held on 22nd December 1915.
55	"	Agniswar Ray, Esq. ...	Hindu Khastria.	Mukhtear, Mymensingh, (Bengal). ...		"
56	Tippera Peoples' Association.	Akpil Chandra Dutt, Esq., B.L. ..	Hindu Kavastha.	Pleader, District Court, Comilla, (Bengal).		At a Meeting held on 22nd December 1915

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
57	Tippera Peoples' Association.	Akshay Kumar Dutta, Esq., B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, District Court, Comilla, (Bengal).	At a Meeting held on 22nd December 1915.
58	Faridpur District and Peoples' Association.	Mathura Nath Maitra, Esq., B.L. ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Faridpur, Bengal, E. B. R. ...	At a Meeting of the District and Peoples' Association held on the 13th December 1915.
59	Khoolna District Congress Committee.	Hemnath Banerjea, Esq., B.L. ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Talukdar, Khoolna, (Bengal).	At a Meeting of the District Congress Committee held on 7th December 1915.
60	Rajshahi Congress Committee.	Kisori Mohan Chaudhari, Esq., M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Zemindar, Ghoramara, Rajshahi, (Bengal).	At a Committee Meeting held on the 17th December 1915.
61	Burdwan District Association.	Bhupendra Nath Ghosal, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Burdwan, (Bengal).	At a Meeting of the Burdwan Institute and Burdwan District Association held on the 11th December 1915.
62	Diamond Harbour Sarbojanik Hitakari Sabha.	Upendranath Basu, Esq. ...	...	Landholder, Kalagatchia, Diamond Harbour, (District of 24 Parganas) (Bengal).	At a Special Meeting held on the 18th December 1915.

PROVINCE.—MADRAS.

63	Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahomed Sahib Bahadur.	Mahomedan.	Zamindar, General Secretary, Indian National Congress, "Humayun Manzil" Royapettah, Madras.	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on 8th December 1915.
64	„	N. Subba Rao Pantulu, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, General Secretary, Indian National Congress, Rajahmundry.	„

65	„	K. A. Viraraghava Chariar, Esq., B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Educational Adviser, Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Madras.	„
66	„	Dewan Bahadur M. Audinarayaniah Garu (Since deceased).	Hindu Brahmin.	Tondiarpet, Madras.	„
67	„	The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma, B.A., B.L.	„	High Court Vakil, Mylapore, Madras.	„
68	„	The Hon'ble Mr. K. Chedambara- nath Mudaliar.	Hindu Non- Brahman.	Shiyali, Tanjore District, Madras. ...	„
69	„	The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar Avl, B.A., L.T.	Hindu Brahman.	President, Servants of India Society, 17, Sydoji Lane, Triplicane, Madras.	„
70	„	The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Rama- chandra Rao.	Brahmin.	Vakil and Member of the Madras Legis- lative Council, Ellore, Madras.	„
71	„	T. V. Muthukrishna Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Vepery, Madras. ...	„
72	„	G. A. Natesan, Esq., B.A.... ..	...	Journalist, Editor, "Indian Review" 60, Thumbu Chetti Street, Madras.	„
73	„	A. P. Patro, Esq., B.A., B.L. ...	Theist.	High Court Vakil, Landholder, Berham- pore, Ganjam District.	„
74	„	A. Ramachandra Aiyer, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Madras.	„
75	„	K. R. Arunachala Aiyer, Esq. ...	Hindu Brahmin.	First Grade Pleader, Madras.	„
76	„	R. Narayana Swami Aiyer, Esq.	„	High Court Vakil, Mylapore, Madras.	At a Meeting held on 20th December 1915.
77	„	S. Soma Sundaram Pillai, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Non- Brahman.	High Court Vakil, Madras.	At a Meeting held on 8th December 1915. 7

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
78	Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	C. K. Krishna Aiyangar, Esq., B.A., L.T.	Hindu Brahmin.	School Master, 15, South Mada Street, Triplicane, Madras.	At a Meeting held on 22nd December 1915.
79	"	K. R. Rama Krishna Aiyer, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Mylapore, Madras...	At a Meeting held on 20th December 1915.
80	"	C. S. Ramaswami Aiyar, Esq., B.A.	"	Landholder and Local Board Member, Kolinjivadi, Dharapuram, Coimbatore District.	"
81	"	T. E. Satakopa Chariar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	High Court Vakil, Cuddalore ...	At a Meeting held on 8th December 1915.
82	"	Rao Bahadur M. Gopalswamy Mudaliar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Chairman, M. C., Vakil, Bellary ...	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on 8th December 1915.
83	"	M. Govindarajulu Naidu, Esq. ...	"	Barrister-at-Law, 6, Miller Road, Kilpauk, Madras.	"
84	"	Miss M. D. Graham ...	English.	C/o Mr. B. P. Wadia, Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras S.	At a Meeting held on 8th December 1915.
85	"	C. Jinarajadasa, Esq., M.A. (Cantab.)	Sinhalese.	Author & Lecturer, Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras S.	"
86	"	T. S. Narayana Sastry, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	High Court Vakil, 16, Coral Merchant Street, G. T., Madras.	"
87	"	K. Narasimha Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, Egmore, Madras ...	"
88	"	Kayar C. Desika Chariar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, Budriah Garden Street, Park Town, Madras.	"
89	"	A. Srinivasa Iyengar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	High Court Vakil, Vellala Street, Purasawakam, Madras.	At a Meeting held on 8th December 1915.

90		Professor Ganesh Sakaram, Agashe M.A., M.Sc., F.T.S.	Hindu.	Professor, Pacharyappa's College, c/o Mr. B. P. Wadia, Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras. S.	"
91	"	C. Sita Ramiah, Esq., B.A., B.L.	...	High Court Vakil, 14, Singarachari St., Triplicane, Madras.	"
92	"	M. Parthasarathi Aiyanger, Esq., B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	C/o Mr. C. Sita Ramiah, 14, Singara- chari St., Triplicane, Madras.	"
93	"	A. V. Subba Rao, Esq., B.A., B.L....	"	High Court Vakil, Berhampore, Ganjam District, Madras.	"
94	"	C. V. Varada Chariar, Esq., B.A....	"	Pleader, Conjeevaram, Chingleput Dis- trict, Madras.	"
95	"	A. N. Ardhanari Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Tirupatur (North Arcot District) Madras.	At a Meeting of the Sabha held on the 22nd December 1915.
96	"	S. Saiyamurti Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, 76, Vellala Street, Parasawakam, Madras.	At a Meeting held on 8th December 1915.
97	"	M. A. Srinivasa Ayanger, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Banker, No. 21, South Mada Street, Triplicane, Madras.	At a Meeting held on 22nd Decem- ber 1915.
98	"	S. Guruswamy Chettiar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Non- Brahman.	High Court Vakil, 13, Law Chambers, Madras.	At a Meeting held on 8th December 1915.
99	"	P. Subramania Ayar, Esq.	Hindu Brahman.	Lecturer, Pacharyappa's College, Madras.	"
100	"	T. S. Hari Chettiar, Esq ...	Chetty.	Zemindar, Tirupatur, Madras ...	At the General Meeting of the Sabha held on 22nd December 1915.
101	"	K. Govinda Chariar, Esq.	Hindu Brahman.	Dubash, Messrs. Best & Co., Ld. "Mohana Vilas" Royapettah, Madras.	At a Meeting held on 8th December 1915.
102	"	Dr. Sankaranarayana Pillai	Hindu Non- Brahman.	C/o S. Somasundaram Pillay, Esq., High Court Vakil, Thumbu Chetti Street, Madras.	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
103	Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	Viswanatham Subbiah Setty, Esq.	Hindu Non-Brahmin.	Merchant, Bellary.	At a Meeting held on 20th December 1915.
104	"	Thimanappa Setty, Esq.	"	Merchant, Bellary.	"
105	"	Gadji Veerabhadrapa, Esq. ..	Hindu.	Merchant, Bellary.	"
106	"	I. R. Duraiswami Aiyar, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Pleader, Tirupatur, (North Arcot District) Madras.	At the General Meeting of the Sabha held on 22nd December 1915.
107	"	R. Ramasamy Iyer, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Tirupatur, (North Arcot District.)	"
108	"	V. C. Sesa Chariar, Esq.	"	Secretary, North Arcot District Association, Vellore.	At a Meeting held on 8th December 1915.
109	"	V. Venkata Chariar, Esq.	"	Pleader, Conjeevaram, Chingleput District, Madras	"
110	"	M. Siva Ram, Esq. ... ..	...	C/o C. Sita Ramiah, Esq., 14, Singarachary Street, Triplicane, Madras.	"
111	"	P. Srivenkata Aryan	Brahmin.	Landlord, Conjeevaram, (21, East Mada Street) Madras.	"
112	"	M. Raja Gopaul Naidu, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Contractor, Anantapur Gold Mines, Nagasamudram, Madras.	"
113	"	T. E. Krishnamurti Aiyangar, Esq.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Tindivanam, Madras... ..	"
114	"	V. Tirumalai Pillai, Esq.	Hindu Non-Brahman.	Attorney-at-Law, Madras.	"

115	"	P. Poonyakali Mudaliar, Esq. ...	"	Landlord and Municipal Councillor, Coimbatore.	At a Meeting held on 8th December 1915.
116	"	Chunilal S. Lawker, Esq. ...	Gujerati Brahmin.	Proprietor, Bombay and Madras Stores, Mint Street, Madras.	At a Meeting held on 20th December 1915.
117	"	A. Suryanarayana Murti, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Journalist, "Rukma Mansion," Triplicane, Madras.	At a Meeting held on 8th December 1915.
118	"	T. L. Crombie, Esq. ... ..	...	C/o Mr. B. P. Wadia, Theosophical Society, Madras. S.	"
119	"	S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Esq. ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Educational Representative, Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Theppakulam, Trichinopoly, Madras.	"
120	"	V. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, "Vani Vilas" Park Town, Madras.	"
121	"	T. S. Varadachariar, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Merchant, Poonamallee, Chingliput District, Madras.	"
122	"	M. D. Devadass, Esq. ... ..	...	Bar.-at-Law, Mylapore, Madras. ...	"
123	"	V. Sivarama Aiyar, Esq.	Hindu Brahman.	Merchant, 92, Armenian Street, Madras.	At a Meeting held on 22nd December 1915.
124	"	A. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Esq., B.A.	...	Landholder, 45, High Road, Egmore, Madras.	"
125	"	V. N. Kuppu Rao, Esq., B.A., B.L.	...	High Court Vakil, Egmore, Madras.	At a Meeting held on 8th December 1915.
126	"	A. Sabapathynainar, Esq.	Hindu Jain.	Merchant, Madras.	At a Meeting held on 22nd December 1915.
127	"	G. A. Vaidyarama Aiyar, Esq., B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Editor, "Wealth of India," etc., Kondy Chetty Street, Madras.	At a Meeting held on 8th December 1915.

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
128	Also Madras Mahajana Sabha.	Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon Avl, B.A.	Hindu Nair.	Editor and Proprietor, "The Indian Patriot," Veeranaghava Mudah Street, Triplicane, Madras.	At the General Meeting of the Sabha held on 13th December 1915.
129	"	Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, "Palmgrove" Mylapore, Madras.	At a Meeting held on 8th December 1915.
130	Madras Mahajana Sabha also Godawari District Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Shri Rajah K. R. V. Krishna Avl, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Zamindar of Polavaram, Coconada	At the General Meeting of the Sabha held on 13th December 1915. Also at a Meeting of the Committee held on 15th December 1915.
131	Madras Provincial Congress Committee also Madras Mahajana Sabha.	S. Srinivasa Iyengar Avl, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahman.	High Court Vakil, Mylapore, Madras.	At the General Meeting of the Sabha held on 13th December 1915 and Meeting held on 8th December 1915.
132	Also United Provinces and Benares District Congress Committee.	Mrs. Annie Besant, 1st M. B. and B. Sc. (Hon.) (London University).	Irish.	Editor, "New India," Author and Lecturer, President, Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras. S.	At the Meeting of the Sabha on 13th December 1915. At the Meeting held on 8th December 1915. At the Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee, 16th December 1915. At the Meeting of the District Congress Committee, 20th December 1915.
133	Madras Provincial Congress Committee and Madras Mahajana Sabha.	C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, "The Grove," Teynampet, Madras.	At a Meeting held on 8th December 1915 and at a Meeting of the Sabha on 13th December 1915.

134	Madras Mahajana Sabha and Madura Ramnad District Congress Committee.	A. Rungasami Iyengar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Madura.	At a Meeting of the Sabha on 13th December 1915 and at a Meeting of the Dist. Congress Committee on 9th December 1915.
135	Madras Provincial Congress Committee and Madras Mahajana Sabha.	T. A. Ramchandra Rao, Esq. ...	"	Proprietor, Messrs. Vest & Co., Mount Road, Madras.	At a Meeting of the Sabha on 13th December 1915 and at a Meeting held on 8th December 1915.
136	"	C. Selvaraju Mudaliar, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Journalist, 7, Parish Vencatachella Iyer Street, G. Town, Madras.	"
137	Madras Mahajana Sabha.	Dr. M. Krishnaswami Aiyar. M.D.	Brahmin.	304, Linghi Chetty Street, G. Town, Madras.	At a General Meeting of the Sabha held on 13th December 1915.
138	"	A. Nathamoony Chettyar, Esq.	Hindu.	Merchant, 32, Vencatachella Mudali Street, Park Town, Madras.	"
139	"	V. Chandarasakara Iyer, Esq. ..	Brahmin.	The Indian Bank Buildings, Madras.	"
140	"	V. V. Davaraj, Esq. ... ..	...	Contractor, Madras.	"
141	"	C. Abdul Hakim Sahib, Esq. ...	Mahomedan.	Chief Partner, Messrs. C. Abdul Hakim & Co., No. 7, Sydenham Road, Periamet, Madras.	"
142	"	S. Rangabhashyam Chettyar, Esq.	Hindu.	Managing Director, The Bharata Bhandir, Triplicane, Madras.	"
143	"	V. V. Jogiah Pantulu, Esq. ..	Brahmin.	Pleader, Berhampore, Madras.	"
144	"	T. K. Govinda Iyer, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	55, Selvavinayakar Covil Street, Mylapore, Madras.	"
145	"	K. Nageswara Rao, Esq. ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Andhrapatrika Office, 7, Thumbu Chetti Street, G. Town, Madras.	"
146	"	T. K. Swaminatha Iyer, Esq. ...	"	Editor, "The Indian Emigrant," Madras.	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
147	Madras Mahajana Sabha,	K. Raghavandrachar Esq., ... B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Tirupatur, Madras.	At a General Meeting of the Sabha held on 13th December 1915.
148	"	T. M. Lakshmana Iyer Esq. ...	"	Pleader, District Board Member, Municipal Councillor, Tirupatur, Madras.	"
149	"	F. G. Natesan, Esq.	Christian (R. C.)	Superintendent, (Freight Branch) South Indian Ry., Trichinopoly, Madras.	"
150	"	V. R. Subrahmania Iyer, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Landholder and Merchant, Polur, (North Arcot District,) Madras.	"
151	"	N. Doraisami Iyer, Esq.	"	Pleader, Vellore, (North Arcot District) Madras.	"
152	"	M. Krishnier Esq.	"	Teacher, P. S. High School, Mylapore, Madras.	"
153	"	C. Varadapha Naidu, Esq. ...	Hindu.	"Arcot House," Barnaby's Road, Kilpauk, Madras.	"
154	"	M. Venugopaul Naidu, Esq. ...	"	"Arcot House," Barnaby's Road, Kilpauk, Madras.	"
155	"	B. K. Garudachariar Esq. ...	"	Merchant, The City Mart, Bangalore City.	"
156	Madras Mahajana Sabha.	T. C. Vaidyanathier, Esq.	Hindu.	No. 28, Linga Chetty Street, Madras.	"
157	"	K. Surya Narayana Rao, Esq. ...	"	Merchant, Madras	"
158	"	P. M. Sivagnanam Mudaliar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	Legal Vakil, Strathendale, Vepery, Madras.	"
159	"	M. Narasimham Esq.,	"	Bar.-at-Law, 9, Philippo Street, George Town, Madras.	"

160	„	M. K. Rajagopala Chariar Esq., F.C.S.	... Brahmin.	Certified Public Accountant, Auditor, P. B. No. 902, Adyar, Madras.	„
161	„	P. Subramania Chetty, Esq....	... Devanga.	Merchant, Madras.	„
162	„	K. Lakshmi Narayan Pantulu, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder, Madras.	„
163	„	C. Gopal Menon, Esq. ... ..	...	Merchant and Honorary Secretary, Madras Mahajana Sabha, Madras.	„
164	„	A. Rangasami Ayengar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu. Brahmin.	Editor, "Swadesha Mitran," Madras.	„
165	„	P. N. Nageswara Aiyar, Esq. ..	...	High Court Vakil, Madras.	„
166	„	K. N. Aiyah Ayer, Esq., B.A., B.L.	...	High Court Vakil, Madras.	„
167	„	S. Veeraraghava Chariar Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Dy. Cashier, Bank of Madras, 18, South Mada Street, Triplicane, Madras.	„
168	„	T. Shiruvangada Chariar, Esq. ...	„	No. 6, Badria Garden Sreet, Park Town, Madras. .	„
169	„	Y. Narayan Esq. ... ..	...	Merchant, No. 3, Esplanade, George Town, Madras.	„
170	„	C. Vijiaraghava Chari, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Merchant, Madras.	„
171	„	G. Krishnasamy Iyer Esq. .	„	3, North Tank Square, Mylapore, Madras.	„
172	„	C. Narasayya, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Madras... ..	„
173	„	K. Raja Iyer, Esq., B.A., B.L. ...	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Triplicane, Madras.	„
174	„	K. Bala Subramania Iyer, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Madras.	„
175	„	A. Duraiswami Aiyer, Esq., B.A., B.L.	„	High Court Vakil, Madras.	„

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
176	Madras Mahajana Sabha.	Krishnadass Chotadass, Esq. ...	...	C/o Messrs. Pramanandas Chotadas, No. 16, Luckmoodass Street, Madras.	At the General Meeting of the Sabha held on 13th December 1915.
177	"	V. Kachapeswara Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Vellore, Madras. ...	"
178	"	C. Venkatarangam Naidu Avl, Esq., B.A.	Hindu.	3/4, Muthu Gramani Street, Perimet, Madras.	"
179	"	Dr. K. Pandalai, LL.D. ...	...	Barrister-at-Law, Madras. ...	"
180	"	R. M. Palat, Esq. ...	Malayalee.	Bar.-at-Law, No. 34, Alipur Road, Delhi	"
181	"	A. C. Parthasarathy Naidu Esq.	Hindu.	Editor and Proprietor, "The Andraprakasika," Municipal Commissioner and Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Mount Road, Madras.	"
182	"	G. R. Andekesavalu Naidu, Esq....	Hindu.	Shratriceodar and Municipal Commissioner Chintadrepet, Division No. 28 and 29, Mangopathy's Naidu Street, Chintadrapet, Madras.	At the General Meeting of the Mahajana Sabha held on the 13th December 1915.
183	"	K. Suriyana Narayana Rao Esq	Brahmin.	Mill owner & Merchant, 23, Augappa Naicken Street, George Town, Madras.	"
184	"	M. Subramaniam, Esq., B.A., B.L...	"	High Court Vakil, Law Reporter Office, Post Box 161, Madras. E. ...	"
185	"	Vidya Sagar Pandiya, Esq. ...	"	C/o Messrs. Madhodass Raghunathadass & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay 1.	"
186	"	S. C. Chennai Veerappa Chettyar, Esq.	Hindu.	Merchant, 42, Hanumantharayan Covil Street, Park Town, Madras.	"

187	"	G. Lodd Govindas, Esq. ... ..	...	Patters Garden, Mount Road, Madras.	"
188	"	Lodd Govindas Krishnadas, Esq.	...	Patters Garden, Mount Road, Madras.	"
189	Anantapur District Congress Committee.	Yeggone Seshappa, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Landlord, Member, Takuk Board and District Board, Gooty, (Anantapur District), Madras.	At the Anantapur Dist. Conference held at Kadiri on 21st & 22nd November 1915.
190	"	M. Narayana Rao, Esq., B.A.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Landholder and Secretary, Co-operative Nebaibush Pennkorre, Madras.	" on 20th & 21st Nov. 1915.
191	"	T. Sevasankaram, Esq.	Hindu.	Pleader, Landholder, Pennkorre, Madras.	" on 23rd Nov. 1915.
192	"	Nithu Lakshmi Narayana Rao, Esq., B.A.	...	Pleader & Landholder, Gooty, Madras.	" on 21st & 22nd Nov. 1915.
193	"	Siddavaram Subbo Rao, Esq., B.A.	Hindu.	Pleader, Dist. Munsiff's Court, Gooty, (Anantapur District), Madras.	At the Anantapur Dist. Congress held on 17th December 1915.
194	"	R. Nanjunda Rao, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Gooty (Anantapur District), Madras.	At the Anantapur Dist. Conference held at Kadiri on 21st & 22nd Nov. 1915.
195	"	Abbadoddi Tiruvengalappa, Esq...	Hindu Brahmin,	Retired Govt. Servant and Landlord, Gooty (Anantapur District), Madras.	At the Anantapur Dist. Congress Committee held at Gooty on 17th Dec. 1915.
196	Bellary District Congress Committee.	Pulamathy Siva Rao, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin of the Smartha Sect.	High Court Vakil, Practising, Bellary.	At the Meeting of the District Congress Committee held on 12th December 1915.
197	"	N. Narayana Rao Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Municipal Councillor, Bellary.	"
198	"	Beladona Bhima Rao, Esq., B.A.,	Hindu Brahmin.	First Grade Pleader, Bencepetta, Bellary. (S. I.)	At a Meeting of the District Congress Committee held on 9th Dec.

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199	Bellary District Congress Committee.	Dr. Tinnevelly Narasenhulu L. M. & S., (Madras).	Hindu Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Civil Lines, Bellary.	At a Meeting of the District Congress Committee held on 9th Dec. 1915.
200	"	B. Krishna Rao, Esq., B.A., B.L. ...	"	First Grade Pleader, Bellary.	At a Public Meeting held on 13th December 1915.
201	Bezwada Divisional Congress Committee.	Turlapati Seshachelu Rao Pantulu Garu, Esq., B.A.	Hindu.	Secretary, Theosophical Society, Bezwada.	At a Public Meeting held on 16th December 1915.
202	"	M. Venkataswami Naidu Garu, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	Vakil, Bezwada... ..	"
203	"	V. Hanumanta Rao, Esq., L.T.M....	Hindu Brahmin.	Assistant Weaving Master, Bezwada...	"
204	"	Aka Dandayya Pantulu Garu, Esq.	"	Vakil, Guntur.	"
205	"	P. V. Sreenivasa Rao Pantulu Garu, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, Bezwada.	"
206	"	V. Surya Narayana, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	District Court Vakil, Bezwada.	"
207	Malabar District Congress Committee.	P. Achathan, Esq, B.A.	Hindu Theyya.	Pleader, Calicut... ..	At a Meeting of the Malabar Congress Committee held on 4th December 1915.
208	"	N. S. Krishnan, Esq.	"	Merchant, Calicut.	"
209	"	C. M. Rarichan Moopan, Esq. ..	Brahmin.	Landlord, Calicut.	"
210	"	K. Appu Menon, Esq., B.A., B.L. ...	Hindu Nair	Pleader, Calicut.	"
211	Chingleput Congress Committee.	C. I. Krishnama Chariar, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Pleader and Landholder, Conjeevaram.	At the District Congress Committee held on 12-12-15.

212	"	P. K. Seshadri Ayangar, Esq., B.A., B.L.		First Grade Pleader, Chingleput. ..	"
213	"	M. Raghava Chariar, Esq., B.A. ...	"	Pleader and Landholder, Teruvallur, Conjeevaram.	"
214	"	P. Raghava Ayer, Esq., B.A., B.L. ...	"	Pleader, Chingleput.	"
215	"	M. Vedachala Ayer, Esq., B.A. ...	"	Pleader, Poonamallee	"
216	The Chittoor District Congress Committee.	R. Giri Raw Garu, Esq., B.A. ...	Hindu.	Head Master, Theosophical College, Vice President, Taluk Board, Madanapolle and District Board Member, Chittoor.	At a Meeting held on 9th December 1915.
217	"	T. K. Chengalvaraya Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Chittoor.	At a Meeting held on 18th December 1915.
218	"	R. Seshagiri Rao, Esq.	Hindu.	Pleader, Madanapolle.	At a Meeting held on 9th December 1915.
219	"	B. S. Seshagiri Rao, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	1st Grade Pleader & Landlord, Madanapolle, Chittoor District.	"
220	"	N. Venkatramana Rao, Esq., B.A.	Hindu.	Pleader, Madanapolle.	"
221	"	N. Pattabhi Rama Rao Garu, Esq., B.A.	"	Retired Dewan of Cochin now at Madanapolle.	"
222	"	C. R. Peerthasaratty Aiyangar, Esq.	"	High Court Vakil, Chittoor.	"
223	"	C. R. Kuppen Aiyangar, Esq. ..	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder, Chittoor.	"
224	"	M. Venkata Krishna Machari, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader, Chittoor.	"
225	"	M. Rangasami Aiyangar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader, Chittoor.	"
226	"	C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, Chittoor....	"

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227	The Chittoor Congress Committee.	M. Srinivasa Chariar, Esq., B.A. ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Retired Tahsildar, Tirupati, Chittoor.	At a Meeting of the Chittoor Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
228	"	G. Srinivasa Chariar, Esq., B.A. ...	"	Pleader, Chittoor.	"
229	"	T. V. Ranga Chariar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	High Court Vakil, Chittoor.	"
230	"	T. K. Vira Chariar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Chittoor.	"
231	Coimbatore District Peoples' Association.	S. S. Vendata Chariar, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Journalist, Coimbatore... ..	Public Meeting held on 3rd December 1915.
232	"	S. Rama Subramania Aiyar, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Landholder, Hermitage, Mylapore, Madras.	At a Meeting held at Coimbatore.
233	"	T. S. Kandasami Chettiar, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Landlord etc., Tirupur, Coimbatore. ...	Public Meeting held on 22nd December 1915.
234	"	S. V. Sundararaj Aiyar, Esq. ...	"	Landlord, Coimbatore	Public Meeting held on 3rd December 1915.
235	"	T. A. Ramalinga Chettiar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil and Vice President, District Board, Coimbatore.	Public Meeting held on 22nd December 1915.
236	"	M. Sambanda Mudaliar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil and Municipal Chairman, Coimbatore.	"
237	"	V. M. A. Muthukumara Chettiar, Esq.	Hindu.	Landlord and District Board Member, Coimbatore.	Public Meeting held on 12th Dec. 1915.
238	"	N. R. Malayandi Chettiar, Esq. ...	"	Landlord and District Board Member, Udamalpet, Coimbatore.	" " 22nd Dec. 1915.

239	"	D. Sundarami Iyer, Esq., B.A. ...	Brahmin.	Landowner, 145, Raja Street, Coimbatore.	At a Meeting of the District Peoples' Association, Coimbatore held on 3rd December 1915.
240	"	K. V. Ramachandra Sarma, Esq. ...	"	Landowner, Coimbatore.	"
241	"	G. Dorasami Naidu, Esq. ...	Vaishnavite	Cotton Merchant & Commission Agent, Kalangal, Suler Post, (Coimbatore).	Public Meeting held on 22nd December 1915.
242	"	P. N. Krishnasami Iyengar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	High Court Vakil, Rama Vilas, Coimbatore.	"
243	"	E. R. Srikanteshvara Iyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, Coimbatore. ...	" " 12th Dec. 1915.
244	"	W. D. Srinivasa Rao, Esq., B.A. ...	"	Pleader, Erode Coimbatore.	"
245	"	C. S. Sambamurti Iyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, Benholme, Coimbatore.	" " 22nd Dec. 1915.
246	"	M. V. Minakshisundara Mudaliar, Esq., B.A.	"	Pleader, and Municipal Councillor, Coimbatore.	"
247	"	N. S. Raghavendra Rao, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, and Municipal Councillor, Coimbatore.	"
248	The Cuddapah District Congress Committee.	T. M. Narasinha Charlu, Esq., B.A., B.L.	H i n d u Brahmin of the Srivishnava Sect.	First Grade Pleader, Vice President District Board, Cuddapah.	At a Meeting of the District Congress Committee of Cuddapah held on 12th December 1915.
249	"	G. Venkata Rao, Esq.	Brahmin Madwa.	District Board and Takuk Board Member, Union Chairman and Second Grade Pleader, Pulivendla, Cuddapah.	"
250	"	A. Sadagopa Charlu, Esq., B.A. ...	H i n d u Brahmin of the Srivishnava Sect.	First Grade Pleader, Cuddapah. ...	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
251	The Cuddapah District Congress Committee.	Kurudi Gundu Rao, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin Madhwa.	High Court Vakil, Vice Chairman, Municipal Council, Cuddapah.	At a Meeting of the District Congress Committee of Cuddapah held on 12th December 1915.
252	"	C. S. Narasinha Charlu, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin Vishnavite.	First Grade Pleader, Proddatur. ...	"
253	"	G. Venkatramayya, Esq. ...	Brahmin Smartha.	Second Grade Pleader, District Board and Taluk Board Member and Municipal Councillor, Proddatur.	"
254	"	P. Chengiah Naidu, Esq. ...	Hindu Sudra.	Landlord and Merchant, Chenivampali, Pullampet Taluk, Cuddapah District.	"
255	"	A. Parasurama Rao, Esq. ...	Brahmin Madhwa.	District Board Member, Vice President, Taluk Board and Second Grade Pleader, Nandalur, Cuddapah Dist.	"
256	"	V. Sesha Chariar, Esq. ...	Brahmin Vishnavite.	Landholder, Edigapalli Pullampet Taluk, Cuddapah District.	"
257	"	A. Sundararao, Esq. ...	Brahmin Madhwa.	Union Chairman and Second Grade Pleader, Nandalur, Cuddapah District.	"
258	"	Mada Eswaraiya Chetty, Esq.	Komiti.	Merchant, Landlord and Temple Comitidar of Cuddapah and Kamalapur Taluk, Cuddapah.	"
259	"	C. Narayanasamy Naidu, Esq., B.A., B.L.	.....	High Court Vakil, Cuddapah, now at Bangalore.	"
260	"	C. Narasinha Charlu Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin of the Srekrishna-va Section.	High Court Vakil, Cuddapah ...	"

261	"	A. Narjundappa, Esq., B.A., B.L. ...	Brahmin Smastha.	First Grade Pleader and Landlord, Cuddapah.	"
262	Proddatur Taluk, (Cuddapah District)	A. Srinivasa Rao, Esq. ...	Hindu Brahmin.	First Grade Pleader, Proddatur. ...	At a Meeting of the Taluk Congress Committee held on 5th December 1915.
263	"	N. Narasinga Rao, Esq., B.A. ...	"	Pleader, Proddatur. ...	"
264	"	S. V. Krishna Murthi Rao, Esq., B.A.	"	First Grade Pleader, Proddatur. ...	"
265	Dharmavaram Divisional Association.	H. Shankar Rao, Esq., B.A. ...	Brahmin.	Pleader and Landholder, Dharmavaram.	Elected by the Anantapur District Conference in its third sittings held at Kadiri on 20th and 21st Novem- ber 1915.
266	Erode Taluk Association.	S. R. Rangasami Aiyangar, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Secretary, Taluk Association, Secretary, Local Service, Erode.	At a Meeting of the 17th December 1915.
267	Ganjam District Association.	B. Jagannada Das Pantulu Garu, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Berhampore ...	At a Meeting of the District Associa- tion held on 7th December 1915.
268	"	Mrs. Srimati Uppala Sundaramma Garu (Mrs. U. Narasinhm).	"	Domestic Management, Berhampore ...	At a Meeting of the District Associ- ation held on 15th December 1915.
269	"	Srimati Gampa Sivakantamma Garu (Mrs. G. Sutharamaswamy).	"	Domestic Management, Berhampore ...	"
270	Ganjam District Association.	Gampa Sitaramaswami Pantulu, Esq.	Brahmin.	Landholder, Berhampore. ...	By Ganjam District Association on 25th December 1915.
271	"	Srimati Digumarti Lakshmina- ramma Garu (Mrs. D. Visva- nadhavan).	Hindu Brahman.	Domestic Management, Berhampore ...	"
272	"	Srimati Damerla Bhramaramba Garu (Mrs. D. Dungapra- sadaram).	"	Domestic Management, Berhampore ...	"

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273	Ganjam District Association.	W. V. B. Ramalingam Pantulu, Esq.	Brahmin.	Messrs. Burn & Co., Agent and General Contractor and Merchant, Berhampore.	By Ganjam District Association on 7th December 1915.
274	"	Kopergaum Ramamurti Pantulu Garu, Esq., B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Berhampore.	"
275	"	Srimati Wannuna Mahalakshmma (Mrs. W. V. B. Ramalingam).	Brahmin.	Domestic Management, Berhampore...	By Ganjam District Association on 15th December 1915.
276	"	Wannuna Venkata Subha Rao Pantulu, Esq., B.A.	"	Dewan, Chikati Zemindar, Chikati, Berhampore.	By Ganjam District Association on 7th December 1915.
277	"	Naniseti Jaggarau Naidu Garu, Esq.	Non-Brahmin.	Retired Magistrate, Berhampore. ...	By Ganjam District Association on 25th December 1915.
278	"	Srimati Aiyagari Venkataratnamma (Mrs. A. V. Subha Rao).	Brahman.	Domestic Management, Berhampore...	By Ganjam District Association on 15th December 1915.
279	"	Srimati Varahagivi Venkata Subhamma Garu (Mrs. V. V. Jogiah.)	Hindu Brahman.	Domestic Management, Berhampore...	"
280	"	Srimati Konda Vijialakshamma Garu (Mrs. K. Sutharamaswamy).	"	Domestic Management, Berhampore ...	"
281	"	Srimati Mallimadugula Lalitambamma Garu (Mrs. M. Bangariat).	...	Domestic Management, Berhampore ...	"
282	"	Srimati Radhabai Amma	Brahmin.	Domestic Management, Berhampore ...	By Ganjam District Association on 27th December 1915.
283	"	Nyapathi Ramaniyaswamy Pantulu, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahman.	High Court Vakil, Berhampore. ...	By Ganjam District Association on 7th December 1915.
284	"	Tadepalle Pattabhiramayya Pantulu, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, Berhampore. ...	"

285	"	Tadepalle Venkatakrishnarya Pantulu, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	Landlord & Vice-President, District Board, Ganjam, Chetrapore.	"
286	"	Tripasuru Venkata Narasingaram Pantulu, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil and Malukdar, Berhampore.	"
287	"	M. Runganadha Chari Garu, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Berhampore.	At a Meeting of the District Association held on 7th December 1915.
288	Godavari District Congress Committee.	Avasarala Rama Rao Pantulu Garu, Esq.	"	Pleader, Peddapuram, Godavari, Coconada.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 15th December 1915.
289	"	Lakkaraju Subba Rao Garu, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, Coconada.	"
290	"	G. Seetharamaswamy Garu, Esq.	Hindu.	Hon. Secretary, Co-operative Society, Inamdar, Peddapuram, Godavari, Coconada.	General Meeting held by the Town people of Peddapuram on 5th December 1915.
291	"	Duggirala Lakshmi Deval Raji Garu, Esq.	Hindu Brahman.	Landholder, Coconada.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 15th December 1915.
292	"	Nalaru Ramalingayya Garu, Esq.	Hindu Vysya.	Merchant, Coconada.	"
293	"	Bulusu Sambamurti Garu, Esq., B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	First Grade Pleader, Coconada.	"
294	"	Vepperlure Sitaramaswami Garu, Esq., B.A., B.L., M. R. P. A.	Hindu Brahman.	First Grade Pleader, Coconada.	"
295	"	Kruthiventi Perraji Garu, Esq. ...	"	Landholder, Coconada	"
296	"	Paruni Chakrapany Rao Naidu Garu, Esq., B.A.	Hindu Adivelana.	First Grade Pleader, Coconada.	"
297	"	K. Lakshmi prasada Rao, Esq. ...	Hindu Brahman.	Zamindar, Urlam, Ganjam.	"
298	"	B. Suryanarayana Rao, Esq., M.A.	"	Coconada.	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
299	Guntur District Association.	G. V. Srinivasa Rao Pantulu, Esq.	Hindu Brahman.	High Court Vakil, Guntur.	At a Meeting of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee held on 8th December 1915.
300	Kistna District Congress Committee.	V. Surayanarayana, Esq., B.A., B.L.	,,	Vakil, District Court, Guntur.	At a Meeting of the Kistna District Congress Committee held at Masulipatam on 20th December 1915,
301	"	B. Pattubhi Sitaramayya, Esq., B.A. M.B & C.M.	,,	Medical Practitioner and Municipal Councillor, Masulipatam.	"
302	"	C. Narayanaswami Naidu, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Landholder, Masulipatam.	"
303	"	Cherukuvada Ramaraju, Esq. ...	Kshatriya.	Agriculturist Yandagandi, Bhimavaram Taluk, Kistna District, Ellore.	At a Meeting of the Ellore Divisional Association held at Ellore on 28th December 1915.
304	"	Penumetcha Jaggaraji Garu, Esq.	,,	"	"
305	"	Kurma Venkata Reddi, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Kapu Hindu,	High Court Vakil, President, Taluk Board, Ellore.	At a Meeting of the Divisional Association held on 20th Dec. 1915.
306	"	I. Krishna Rao Naidu, Esq. ...	...	First Grade Pleader, Ellore.	At a Meeting of the Divisional Association held on 28th Nov. 1915.
307	Hospet Taluk Congress Committee.	Budital Gopalacharlu, Esq., B.A....	Madhva Brahman.	Vice President, Pleader, Inamdar, Hospet Taluk Board, Hospet.	At a Public Meeting held under the auspices of the Hospet Taluk Congress Committee on 19th December 1915.
308	"	Sondur Venkata Bhimachar, Esq., B.A.	Brahmin.	Pleader and Landholder, Hospet. ...	"
309	"	T. S. Krishnarao, Esq., B.A. ...	Madhva.	Pleader, Landholder, Hospet....	"
310	"	Kanakapur Gururaja Rao, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Bellary... ..	"
311	"	Dandin Sripathi Rao, Esq., B.A. ...	,,	First Grade Pleader and Landholder,	"

312	Ellore Divisional Association.	Neti Hanamanta Rao, Esq., B.A., B.L.	,,	District Court Vakil, Ellore.	At a Meeting of the Ellore Divisional Association held on 20th December 1915.
313	,,	Kotaru Rama Rao, Esq., M.A., L.T.	Brahmin.	I. K. P. H. School, Bezwada	,,
314	,,	K. S. Sundara Rao, Esq., B.A. ...	,,	I. K. P. H. School, Bezwada	,,
315	,,	P. Ananda Rao, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Gudivadu Kistna District, Masulipatam.	,,
316	Kumbakonam Congress Committee.	G. V. Venkata Rama Aiyar, Esq.	,,	First Grade Pleader, Landholder and Secretary to the Kumbakonam Congress Committee, Kumbakonam.	By Meeting dated 3rd December 1915.
317	,,	R. Soundara Raja Aiyangar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	,,	First Grade Pleader and Landholder, Kumbakonam.	,,
318	,,	M. K. Vaidyanatha Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	,,	First Grade Pleader, Landholder and Secretary "Economic Club," Kumbakonam.	,,
319	Kurnool District Congress Committee.	Rao Bahadur S. V. Narasinha Rao, B.A.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Municipal Chairman, District Board Member, and President, District Congress Association, Kurnool.	At a Meeting of the Association held on the 11th December 1915.
320	,,	C. Venkataranga Reddy, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Sudra.	High Court Vakil, Municipal Councillor, Taluk Board President and District Board Member, Kurnool.	,,
321	,,	R. Aiyakutti Aiyangar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Kurnool.	,,
322	,,	Manya Muniswamiyya, Esq., B.A.,	,,	Pleader, Nandyal, Kurnool District. ...	,,
323	,,	K. Ekambara Aiyar, Esq., B.A. ...	,,	Pleader, District Board Member, Nandyal, Kurnool District.	By Taluk and District Congress Committee, Kurnool.
324	,,	J. Ramayya Chetty, Esq.	Vysya.	Merchant and Municipal Councillor, Kurnool.	At a Meeting of the Association held on the 11th December 1915.

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
325	Kurnool District Congress Committee.	D. Subha Rao, Esq, B.A. ...	Brahmin.	Pleader, Municipal Chairman, and Vice President Taluk Board, Nandyal, Kurnool District.	At a Meeting of the Association held on the 11th December 1915.
326	"	Pangan V. Bhimasami Rao, Esq.	Madhwa Brahmin.	Landlord and Horticulturist, Union Member, Pangam, Kurnool.	At a Meeting of the Association held on 19th December 1915.
327	Madura Ramnad District Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Mr. K. Rama Iyengar Avl., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Additional Member of the Madras Legislative Council, Member, Madura Dist. Board Vice President, Madura Ramnad Co-operative Bank—Madura.	At a Meeting of the Madura Ramnad Dist. Congress Committee held on 9th Dec. 1915.
328	"	D. Sundara Raja Iyengar, Esq., B.A.	"	Vakil and Devasthanam Committee Member, Madura.	"
329	"	S. Gopalaswami Iyengar, Esq., B.A.	"	Vakil, Madura.	"
330	"	I. V. Krishna Murthi Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, Madura.	"
331	"	R. Krishnaswami, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader, Danapa Muday Street, Madura.	"
332	"	M. S. Sessa Aiyangar, Esq., B.A.	"	Vakil, Secretary, Madura Ramnad Dist. Congress Committee, Dist. Peoples' Association and Dist. Agricultural Association, Madura.	"
333	"	V. S. Ramaswamy Sastrigal, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	Vakil, Madura.	"
334	"	R. Venkata Varada Iyengar, Avl, Esq., B.A., B.L.	...	High Court Vakil, Madura.	"
335	"	G. Ramaswami Iyengar, Esq. ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder, Madura.	"

336	„	M. Ramakrishna Aiyar, Esq. ...	„	Union Chairman, Sholavandan District Board Member, Madura.	„
337	„	T. V. Appudurai, Esq., B.A., B.L. ...	„	High Court Vakil, Neni Street, Madura, S. I. R.	„
338	„	T. A. Aiyasami Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Madura.	„
339	„	M. G. Mukuda Raja Aiyangar, Esq., B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, Shivaganja, Madura.	At a Meeting held on the 12th December 1915.
340	„	S. M. Narayana Aiyangar, Esq., B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, Shivaganja, Madura.	At the Meeting held on 12th December 1915.
341	„	K. Somasundaram Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	„	High Court Vakil, Madura.	At a Meeting of the Dist. Committee held on 9th December 1915.
342	„	V. Ramachandra Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	„	High Court Vakil, Madura.	„
343	„	N. Ramasami Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	„	High Court Vakil, Madura.	„
344	„	M. K. Sundara Raja Iyengar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	„	Vakil, Madura.	„
345	„	V. Viswanath Iyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	„	High Court Vakil, Neni Street, Madura, S. I. R.	„
346	„	George Joseph Esq., M.A.	Indian Christian.	Bar.-at-Law, Madura (S. I. R.) ...	„
347	„	V. S. Lakshminarayana Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Madura.	„
348	„	R. Lakshmana Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	„	First Grade Pleader, Madura (S. I. R.)	„
349	„	T. S. Ananthanarayana Aiyar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	„	Pleader, Madura, S. I. R.	„

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350	Madura Ramnad District Congress Committee.	M. K. Sankara Rama Iyer, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, Madura, S. I. R.	At a Meeting of the District Committee held on 9th December 1915.
351	"	G. Somayaji Iyer, Esq., B.A., B.L. ...	"	High Court Vakil, Madura, S. I. R. ...	"
352	"	E. R. Krishnasami Iyer, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader, Tirumangalam (Madura District).	"
353	"	S. Ananthanarayana Iyer, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, Madura, S. I. R. ...	"
354	"	A. Narayanaswami Iyer, Esq. ...	"	Landholder, Librarian, Victoria Edward Library, Madura, S. I. R.	"
355	"	T. R. Krishnaswami Iyer, Esq. ...	"	Vakil, Tirumangalam, Madura ...	"
356	Negapatam Congress Committee.	Samiappa Mudaliar, Esq. ... ..	...	Negapatam	At a Meeting of 20th December 1915.
357	"	Arunachala Mudaliar, Esq. ...	...	Negapatam	"
358	Nellore Dist. Congress Committee	The Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Row, B.A., B.L.	Brahman.	High Court Vakil, Nellore	At a Meeting of the Nellore Congress Committee held on 21st Dec. 1915.
359	"	O. Visvanadha Row, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, Nellore	At a Meeting of the Nellore Congress Committee on 21st Dec. 1915.
360	"	K. Andinarayana Reddy, Esq. ...	Sudra.	Landholder, Kovur Taluk, Allur, Nellore District.	"
361	"	P. Panchala Reddi, Esq.	"	Landholder, Kota Gudur Taluk, Nellore District.	At a Meeting of the Committee held at Nellore on the 21st December 1915.
362	"	D. Subha Reddi, Esq.	"	Landholder, Kota Gudur Taluk, Nellore District.	"

363	„	Venkata Subha Reddi, Esq. ...	„	Landholder, Kurugonda, Gudur Taluk, Nellore Dist.	„
364	„	N. Ramaniya Chariar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahman.	First Grade Pleader, Nellore	„
365	„	M. Narasinha Chariar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	„	First Grade Pleader, Nellore	„
366	„	M. Suryanarayana Row Pantulu, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Retired Deputy Collector, Nellore ...	„
367	„	K. V. Raghava Chari, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Brahman.	First Grade Pleader, Nellore	„
368	„	T. V. Sivaramiya, Esq., B.L. ...	„	First Grade Pleader, Nellore	„
369	„	Bezwada Sundara Rama Reddi, Esq.	Sudra.	Landholder, Buchireddipaliem, Kovur Taluk, Nellore District.	„
370	„	Thikkaverapa Rami Reddi, Esq.	„	Landholder, Pottepallem, Nellore Taluk, Nellore District.	„
371	„	M. Seetha Rami Reddi, Esq. ...	„	Landholder, Buchireddipaliem, Kovur Taluk, Nellore District.	„
372	„	M. Rama Krishna Raw, Esq. ...	Brahman.	Editor, "Subadhini Grantha Mala" Series, Trunk Road, Nellore.	„
373	„	P. Venkata Subha Reddi, Esq. ...	Sudra.	Landholder, Korahur, Nellore Taluk, Nellore District.	„
374	„	Akkaraya Venkata Rama Naiya, Esq.	Brahman.	Landholder, Sangam, Kovur Taluk, Nellore District.	„
375	„	M. Seshacha Raw, Esq., B.A. ...	„	Head Master, Incomplete Secondary School, Allur, Kovur Taluk, Nellore District.	„
376	„	Vennala Kante Venkatiamanayya, Esq.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Kavali, Nellore

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377	Palghat Divisional Congress Committee.	Dr. V. Kunjuraman Nair, G.B.V.C	Hindu Nair.	Medical Practitioner, Sultanpet, Palghat, (S. Malabar.)	At the Public Meeting held under the auspices of the Divisional Congress Committee, Palghat, on the 7th December 1915.
378	"	T. S. Lakshmana Aiyar, Esq. ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Banker, Tirunillai, Palghat (S. Malabar)	"
379	"	L. A. Subharama Aiyar, Esq. ...	"	High Court Vakil, Lakshminarayana-puram, Palghat (S. Malabar).	"
380	"	T. L. Swaminatha Aiyar, Esq. ...	"	Banker and Merchant, Tirunillai Village, Palghat (S. Malabar).	"
381	"	V. K. Gayatri Iyer, Esq. ...	"	Pleader and Municipal Councillor, Vada Kantara, Palghat (S. Malabar).	"
382	"	S. K. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Esq., B.A.	"	Pleader and Municipal Vice-Chairman, Sekharipuram, Palghat (S. Malabar).	"
383	"	M. Krishnama Chariyar, Esq., B.A., L.T.	"	Head Master, Ottappalam High School, Ottappalam (S. Malabar).	"
384	"	C. S. Sahasranama Patter Kariakar, Esq.	"	Landlord, Chathapuram, Palghat (S. Malabar).	"
385	Rajahmundry Divisional Association.	B. S. Narasinha Raw Pantulu Garu, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, Member of the District Board, Rajahmundry, Godavari District.	At a Meeting of the Divisional Association held on 9th December 1915.
386	"	Podury Perrazu, Esq. ...	"	Alluminum Merchant, Rajahmundry, Godavari District.	"
387	"	P. Sundara Siva Row, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	Vakil, Rajahmundry, Godavari District.	"

388	"	Venneti Ramachandra Rao, Esq., B. A.	"	Senior English Assistant Master, Virasalingam High School, (Durespetta, Rajahmundry, Godavari).	"
389	"	Achanta Ram Gaiah, Esq., B.A., L.T.	Hindu Andhra Brahmin.	Teacher, Innespetta, Rajahmundry, Godavari District.	"
390	"	Gajavelli Ramachandra Row, Esq., M. A.	"	Teacher, Innespetta, Rajahmundry, Godavari District.	"
391	"	Jangamakoti Raja Row, Esq. ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder, Insurance Secretary for Southern India, Rajahmundry.	"
392	"	G. Bapanna, Esq.	"	Advocate, Rajahmundry, Godavari District.	At a Meeting of the Divisional Association held on 9th December 1915.
393	"	V. Satyanarayana, Esq., B.A. ...	"	District Court Vakil, Rajahmundry, Godavari District.	"
394	"	K. V. R. Swami, Esq.	Hindu Telagu.	Advocate, Rajahmundry, Godavari District.	"
395	Salem District Association.	Srivanga Venkata Rama Kandasami Chetty, Esq.	Devanga Brahmin.	Merchant and Mivadar Devastana, Vanavasi Village, Nangavelli Post, Omalar Taluka, Salem District.	At a Meeting of the District Congress Committee.
396	"	N. Venkoba Rao, Esq.	Brahmin.	Mittadar and Taluk Board Member, Krishnagiri Taluk (Salem District).	At a Public Meeting held on 14th December 1915 at Alagapuram under the auspices of the District Association, Salem.
397	"	M. B. Kishna Chettiar, Esq., F. T. S.	Hindu.	Inamdar, Taluk and District Board Member, Union Chairman, Palakod.	"
398	"	Sankara Ellappa Chetty, Esq. ...	Devanga Brahmin.	Principal, Councillor, Merchant and Mivadar, Moongapadi Street, Gogai, Salem.	At a District Congress Committee Meeting at Salem 14th December 1915.

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
399	Tanjore District Congress Committee.	Rao Saheb S. A. Subramania Aiyar, B.A., B. C. E., M. S. A., A. M. and I. C. E.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder and Retired Executive Engineer, Mayavaram, Tanjore District.	At a Committee Meeting dated 16th December 1915.
400	"	T. Sadasiva Row, Esq., B.A., B. L.	"	High Court Vakil and Secretary to the Tanjore Permanent Fund (Ltd.) Tanjore.	"
401	"	V. Nagesvara Sastriar, Esq. ...	"	Poet and Astrologer, Kumbakonam, Tanjore District.	At a Meeting of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee held on 8th December 1915.
402	"	N. K. Ramaswami Aiyar, Esq., B. A., B. L.	"	High Court Vakil, North Main Street, Tanjore.	At a Committee Meeting dated 16th December 1915.
403	"	M. P. Duraiswamy Aiyar Avl, Esq.	"	Journalist, Tanjore	At a Committee Meeting dated 20th December 1915.
404	Tinnevelly District Congress Committee.	K. V. Ananthanarayana Iyer, Esq.	Hindu Swartha Brahman.	Pleader, Ambasamudram, Tinnevelly District.	At a Meeting of Committee held on 22nd December 1915.
405	"	K. A. Sivagnanam Pillei, Esq. ..	Hindu Villala.	Pleader, Ambasamudram, Tinnevelly District.	"
406	"	R. S. A. Kasi Iyer, Esq.	Hindu Swartha Brahman.	Landholder and Merchant, Kallidai-Kurichi, Ambasamudram Taluk, Tinnevelly District.	"
407	"	R. Venkatachalam Aiyar, Esq. ...	"	Landholder and Pleader, Ambasamudram, Tinnevelly District.	At emergent Meeting of Committee held on 24th December 1915.
408	"	R. S. A. Ramayah Aiyar, Esq. ...	"	Landholder and Merchant, Kallidai-Kurichi, Ambasamudram Taluk, Tinnevelly District.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 22nd December 1915.

409	Tirupur Taluk Association.	K. V. Krishnaswami, Esq., B.A. ...	Brahmin.	Landholder and Merchant, and Secretary to the 3rd Coimbatore District Conference Srinivasapuram, Tirupur.	At a Meeting held on 19th December 1915.
410	„	K. C. Venkatrama Iyer, Esq. ...	„	Landholder and Government Contractor, Kolumam, Coimbatore District.	At a Meeting held on 20th December 1915.
411	„	C. S. Sundaram Iyer, Esq. ...	...	Merchant and Landholder, National Stores Agency, Tirupur.	„
412	Trichinopoly District Congress Committee.	Dr. I. S. S. Rajan, L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S.	Hindu Vaishnavili.	Medical Practitioner, Teppakulam Trichinopoly.	Elected by the Provincial Congress Committee on 8th December 1915.
413	„	S. K. Sarma, Esq.	Hindu Brahman.	Assistant Editor, "The Wednesday Review", Trichinopoly.	At a Public Meeting held under the auspices of the District Congress Committee, Trichinopoly on 16th December 1915.
414	Vizianagram Taluk Congress Committee.	Pusuloory Manga Iyer, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Merchant, Bimlipatam.	Taluk Congress Committee Meeting held on 19th December 1915.
415	„	Gottimukkala Bungarraju, Esq. ..	Kshatriya.	Inamdar, Mopada, Bimlipatam Taluk Vizianagram.	„
416	„	P. V. Rama Rao, Esq.	Hindu.	Landholder, "Kaspa" Vizianagram. ...	„
417	„	N. Venkata Raman, Esq., M.A. ..	Brahman.	Lecturer, Maharaja's College, Vizianagram.	At a Meeting of the Vizianagram Taluk Congress Committee held on 14th December 1915.
418	Vizagapatam District Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Mr. C. V. S. Narasinha Raja Garu, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Kshatriya.	High Court Vakil, Vizagapatam. ..	Elected on 10th December 1915, by the District Congress Committee.
419	„	B. Venkata Patiraju Garu, Esq., B.A., B.L.	,	High Court Vakil, Vizagapatam. ...	„

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
420	Vizagapatam District Congress Committee.	Ati Appadu Pantulu Garu, Esq., B. A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Dewan of Kurapan, Vizagapatam. ...	Elected on 20th December 1915, by the District Congress Committee.
421	"	Mallemanigula Bangaryya Pantulu Garu, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	High Court Vakil, Vizagapatam. ...	"
422	"	P. Venkatapathy Raju Garu, Esq.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Landholder, Jonnavalasa. ...	"
423	"	Pusapaty Laksmi Narasinha Raju Garu, Esq.	"	Landholder, Jonnavalasa. ...	"
424	"	Dantuluvi Sanyasi Raju Garu, Esq.	"	Proprietor, Tummapala. ...	"
425	"	Dantuluvi Satyanarayana Raju Garu, Esq.	"	Landholder, Tummapala. ...	"
426	"	Dantuluvi Venkata Visiagopala Raju Garu, Esq.	"	Landholder, Tummapala. ...	"

Province—UNITED PROVINCES.

427	Provincial Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil High Court, Member of the Viceregal Legislative Council, Allahabad.	At a Meeting of the U. P. Congress Committee held on 16th December 1915.
428	"	The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru.	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Advocate, High Court, "Anand Bhavan," Allahabad.	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on the 16th December 1915.
429	"	The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, M.A., LL.D.	Hindu.	Advocate, 19, Albert Road, Allahabad.	"
430	"	The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Munshi Gokul Prasad, M.A., LL.B.	Hindu-Kayastha.	Vakil High Court, Allahabad. ...	"

431	also by Behar Provincial Congress Committee.	S. Sinha, Esq.	Hindustani Kayastha.	Barrister-at-Law, Editor, "Hindustan Review," 7, Elgine Road, Allahabad.	Also Meeting of "Behar Provincial Congress Committee, Dec. 20th 1915.
432	Provincial Congress Committee.	C. Y. Chintamani, Esq.,	Hindu Brahman.	Editor, "The Leader" 14/A, South Road, Allahabad.	At a meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on 16th Dec. 1915.
433	"	Girdharilal Agarwala, Esq., B.A.,	Hindu Agarwala.	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad, 33, George Town, Allahabad.	"
434	"	Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, M. A. (Cantab).	Kashmiri Brahman.	Barrister-at-Law, "Anand Bhavan," Allahabad.	"
435	"	Pandit Kailas Nath Katju, M.A., M.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad... ..	"
436	"	Venkatesh Narayan Tivary, Esq., M.A.	"	Member, Servants of India Society, Allahabad.	"
437	"	Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, B.A., B.Sc.	"	Member, Servants of India Society, 6, Bank Road, Allahabad.	"
438	"	Benegal Sanjiva Rao, Esq., M.A. (Cantab).	Brahman.	Principal, Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad.	"
439	"	Babu Damodar Das, M.A.	Agrawal (Vaishya.)	Vakil, N. W. P. High Court and Municipal Commissioner, Allahabad; Municipal Board Mohalla Mirganj, Allahabad City.	"
440	"	K. N. Laghate, Esq., B.A., LL. B.,	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, Allahabad	"
441	"	Dr. Mulchand Tandon	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner, Allahabad	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full	How and when Elected.
443	Provincial Congress Committee.	Lala Sheocharanlal, B. A., LL. B.	Vyash Agarwal Jain.	Municipal Commissioner, Vakil & Banker, No. 8, Nuchanandi, Allahabad, U. P.	At a meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on the 16th December 1915.
443	"	Babu Maksoodanalal Banker ...	Agarwala (Vaishya.)	Banker, Jhusi, Allahabad ...	"
444	The District Congress Committee, Cawnpore.	Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya, B. A.	Indian.	Editor, The "Abhyudaya" and "The Mharyada" Allahabad.	By the District Congress Committee.
445	Provincial Congress Committee.	Babu Kalka Prasad, B. A., LL. B. ...	Kayasth (Hindu.)	Vakil, Telhar, Dist. Shahjehanpur U.P.	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on the 16th December 1915.
446	"	Lala Brijpaldas Munshiji ...	Bania.	Landed Proprietor, Allahabad ...	"
447	"	Pandit Ladliprasad Zutibi...	... ..	Vakil, High Court, N.-W.P., Allahabad.	"
448	"	Gulzarilal, Esq., B. A., LL. B. ...	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad ...	"
449	"	Kamta Prasad, Esq., B. A., LL. B. ...	Khattri.	Vakil High Court and Municipal Commissioner, 10 and 16, Rani Mandi, Allahabad.	"
450	"	Pandit Radha Kant Malaviya, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, Allahabad ...	"
451	"	Mrs. Sarojini Naidu ...	.....	Hyderabad (Deccan) ...	"
452	The Peoples' Association, Lucknow.	Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, M.A., LL.B.	Brahman Hindu.	Advocate, 7, Neill Road, Lucknow ...	On a Public Meeting on 16th December 1915.
453	"	Pandit Ikbāl Narayan Masaldan.	Kashmiri	Barrister-at-Law, Golaganj, Lucknow.	"

454	,	A. P. Sen, Esq.	Brahman.	Barrister-at-Law, 2, Banks Road, Lucknow and 58, Harrison Road, Calcutta.	"
455	,	Rai Saheb S. P. Sanyal	Bengali-Brahman.	Editor, "The Advocate," Aminabad, Lucknow.	"
456	,	Chaudhari Bhagwan Dass, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Rais Landholder and Municipal Contractor, Hasanganj, Par, Lucknow.	In a Public Meeting on 16-12-15.
457	,	Babu Ramachandra, M.A.	Kayastha.	Advocate, Lucknow	"
458	,	Babu Prabhu Dayal	Hindu.	Hindu University, Society Assistant, 7, Neill Road, Lucknow.	"
459	,	Pandit Harkaran Nath Misra, B.A., LL. B. (Cantab).	Brahman Hindu	Bar.-at-Law, 6, Neill Road, Lucknow.	"
460	,	Ranga Iyer, Esq.	Hindu.	Assistant Editor, "The Advocate" Aminabad, Lucknow.	"
461	,	Tej Bahadur, Esq., M. S. C....	Kashmiri Brahman.	Medical Practitioner, Golaganj, Lucknow.	"
462	,	Mrs. T. Bahadur	"	Golaganj, Lucknow	"
463	,	The Hon'ble Mirza Samiulla Beg, B.A., LL. B.	Mohammedan.	Vakil, High Court, Lucknow	"
464	,	Dr. R. K. Kackker, L. M. S. ...	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner, Pirjalil, Lucknow.	"
465	,	Babu Murli Dhas Tandon ..	Kshatriya-Hindu.	Landholder, Gold and Silver Merchant, Chowk. Lucknow.	"
466	,	Babu Gulabchand Srimal, B.A., LL. B.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Lucknow	"
467	,	Babu Hari Kishen Dhaon, B.A., LL. B.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Chowk, Lucknow...	"
468	,	Pandit Besheshwar Dayal Trivedi.	Brahman Hindu.	Contractor, Ganeshganj, Lucknow ...	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
469	The Peoples' Association, Lucknow.	Pandit Ganesh Behari Misra ...	Brahman.	Zamindari, Golaganj, Lucknow ...	In a Public Meeting on 16th December 1915.
470	"	Chandra Bhal Bajpai, Esq. ...	Hindu Brahman.	Taluzdar, Kardaha, District Unao ...	"
471	"	Babu Gopal Dass Varma ...	Hindu.	Cloth Merchant, Aminabad, Lucknow.	"
472	"	Pandit Jugmohan Nath Chak, B.A., (Oxon).	Hindu.	Bar.-at-Law, Pirjalil, Lucknow ...	"
473	"	Mrs. Jugmohan Nath Chak ...	Hindu.	C/o Pandit Jugmohan Nath Chak, Bar.-at-Law, Pirjalil, Lucknow.	"
474	"	Pandit Paskhar Nath Tankha ...	Hindu.	No. 1, Way Road, Lucknow ...	"
475	"	Pandit Manohar Nath Sapru ...	Kashmiri Pandit Hindu.	Latonche Road, Lucknow ...	"
476	"	Pandit Brij Narain Tankha ...	"	Bar.-at-Law, No. 1, Way Road, Lucknow.	"
477	"	Pandit Ram Nath Sapru ...	"	Manager, National Bank, Upper India, Lucknow.	"
478	"	Pandit Man Mohan Nath Chak ...	"	Bar.-at-Law, Pirjalil, Lucknow ...	"
479	"	Babu Ramapat Ram M.A., LL.B.,	Hindu.	Vakil and Talukdar, Honorary Magistrate, Lucknow.	"
480	"	Babu Lackman Prasada Varma, R. A. I. R.	Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court, Lucknow ...	"

481	"	Babu Besheshvar Nath Srivastava, B.A., LL.B.	"	Vakil, Lucknow... ..	"
482	"	Babu Har Dhian Chandra, B.A., LL.B.	"	Vakil, High Court, Lucknow	"
483	"	Babu Rudra Dutt Sinha, M.A., LL.B.	Hindu	Vakil, High Court, Nazirabad, Lucknow	"
484	"	Sajjad Ali Khan, Esq.	Moham- medan.	Zamindar, Sheesh Mahal, Lucknow ...	By the Lucknow Secretary.
485	"	Nawab Syed Ali Khan, B.A. ...	"	Municipal Commissioner, Nawab Sheesh Mahal, Lucknow.	In a Public Meeting on 16th Decem- ber 1915.
486	"	Babu Gunpat Sahai Varma, B.A., LL.B.	Kayasth.	Vakil, High Court, Sultanpur (Oudh)...	"
487	"	Babu Manilal, B.A., LL.B. ...	"	Vakil, District Hardoi	"
488	"	Babu Awadt Behari	"	Pleader, District Gonda	"
489	"	Babu Sarju Prasad Bhatnagar, B.A., LL.B.	"	Vakil, District Gonda	"
490	Cawnpore Peoples' Association.	The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur B. Bishambher Nath, Honorary Magistrate.	Hindu Vaish.	President, Hindu Sabha and the Peoples' Association, Cawnpore, Banker and Zemindar, Civil Lines, Cawnpore.	At a Meeting of the Peoples' Associa- tion held on the 12th Dec. 1915.
491	"	Pandit Devi Prasad Shukla, B.A....	Hindu Brahman.	Professor, Christ Church College Joint Secretary, Baleker Vedealay, Cawn- pore.	"
492	"	Babu Akhoy Kumar Chakravarty	Hindu Brahman (Bengalee).	Pleader, Notary Public, Putkapore, Cawnpore.	"
493	"	Pandit Brishna Nath Tholal, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Brahman (Kashmiri).	Vakil, High Court, Editor, "Cawnpore Journal," Parade, Cawnpore.	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
494	Cawnpore Peoples' Association.	Babu Basant Kumar Bose, B.A.	.....	Pleader, Cawnpore	At a Meeting of the Peoples' Association held on the 12th December 1915.
495	"	Nandar Pershad Banker, Esq. ...	Khattree Hindu.	Piece Good and Grain Merchant, Philkhana Bazar, Cawnpore.	"
496	"	Babu Narendra Nath Bannerji	Hindu Brahman (Bengalee.)	Merchant, Pulkapore, Cawnpore ...	"
497	"	N. G. Pranjpey, Esq., B.sc. ...	Hindu Brahman.	Head Master, Theosophical School, Cawnpore.	"
498	"	Mrs. Ramabai N. Pranjpey ...	(Maharash-triya)Hindu Brahman.	c/o N. G. Pranjpey, Esq., B. sc., Head Master, Theosophical Society, Cawnpore.	"
499	"	K. R. Deobhankar, Esq., B.A. ...	Hindu Brahman.	Teacher, Theosophical School, Cawnpore.	"
500	"	Babu Narain Prasad Nigam, B.A., LL. B.	Hindu Kayasta.	Vakil, High Court, Secretary, Cawnpore Peoples' Association, Chapper Nichawl, Cawnpore.	"
501	"	Babu B. N. Sen	Hindu Brahman (Bengalee).	Chemist and Druggist, "The Mall", Cawnpore.	"
502	"	Babu Munnalal	Kayasth Hindu.	Pleader, Vice-President, Savatan Dharma Sabha, Cawnpore.	"
503	U. P. Congress Committee.	Kashi Nath, Esq.	Hindu.	Merchant, Chauk, Cawnpore	At a Meeting of the U. P. Congress Committee held on the 16th December 1915.
504	Cawnpore Peoples' Association.	Babu Brij Mohanlal N. Modi ...	Hindu.	Merchant, Chala Mohal, Cawnpore ...	"

505	Provincial Congress Committee.	Igbal Narain Gurtu, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	Kashmiri Brahman.	General Secretary, Theosophical Society, Benares.	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on 16th December 1915.
506	Benares District Congress Committee.	Pandit Lakshmi Kant Pande, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Lawyer, Pande Home, Benares ...	District Congress Committee.
507	"	Krishna Ram Mehta, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Nagar Brahman.	Journalism, Bulanala, Benares... ..	At a Meeting of the District Congress Committee on 20th December 1915.
508	Benares District Congress Committee also Provincial Congress Committee.	Babu Gauri Shankar Prasad, B. A., LL. B.	Hindu Agraval Arya.	Vakil, High Court, Zemindar and Merchant, Bulanala, Benares City.	At a Meeting of the District Congress on 20th December 1915 and at a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee 16th December 1915.
509	"	Dr. Shobharam, B. A., M. B. DP. H.	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner, Bulanala, Benares City.	"
510	Benares District Congress Committee.	Saran Sankar, Esq, B. A.	Kayasth.	Legal Practitioner, Benares ... ..	.....
511	"	Dr. T. J. S. Taraporewala, B. A., PH. D.	Parsi.	Bar.-at-Law, Head Master, Central Hindu Collegiate School, Benares City.	.....
512	"	Babu Bayke Behari Varma	Hindu.	Journalist, Theosophical Society, Benares.	At a Meeting of the District Congress Committee, Benares.
513	"	Rai Krishnaji, Esq... ..	Hindu.	Banker, etc. Phatak Rangildas, Benares City.	"
514	Agra District Congress Committee	Pandit Manakchand Sharma, M. A., LL. B.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Legal Professioner, Agra.	In a Public Meeting held on 18th December 1915.
515	Provincial Congress Committee.	Pandit Suraj Bal Dikshit, M. A., L.L. B.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, Meerut	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on 16th December 1915.
516	Agra District Congress Committee.	Lala Jivala Parshad, B. A., LL. B.	Vaish.	Vakil, High Court, Legal Professioner, Agra.	In a Public Meeting held on 18th December 1915.

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517	Agra District Congress Committee.	Govind Sahai Sharma, Esq., B.A.	Brahman.	Bar.-at-Law, Legal Professioner, Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board, Agra.	In a Public Meeting held on 15th December 1915.
518	"	Thakur Ram Singh, Esq., M.A. ..	Rajput.	Vakil, High Court, Legal Professioner, 97, Civil Lines, Opposite Civil Court, Agra.	"
519	Naini Tal District Congress Committee.	Mathura Dutt Pande, Esq., LL. B.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Naini Tal ...	By District Committee, Naini Tal.
520	Agra District Congress Committee.	Babu Suraj Prasad	Hindu Vaish.	Banker and Zemindar, Agra	In a Public Meeting held on 18th December 1915.
521	"	Sat Radha Krishna, Esq. ...	Hindu Vishya.	Banker & Zemindar, Bailangruy, Agra.	"
522	"	Madhuri Prasad, Esq.	Vaish Agarwal.	Merchant, Firozabad, District Agra ...	"
523	Sitapur District Congress Committee.	Akshay Kumar Basu, Esq., B.A. ...	Bengalee Kayasth.	Pleader, Sitapur... ..	By the District Congress Committee held on 13th December 1915.
524	"	Babu Chhail Behari Lal, B.A. ...	Kayasth.	Vakil, High Court, Member of the District Board, Sitapur.	"
525	"	Babu Sidh Prasad, B.A.	"	Vakil, High Court, Sitapur	"
526	"	Shambhu Nath Srivastava, Esq. ...	"	Zemindar and Merchant, Sitapur ...	"
527	"	Babu Bishambhar Nath Saksena, B.A., LL.B.	"	Member, Municipal Board, Vakil, High Court, Vai Basti, Sitapur.	"
528	"	Kalika Prasad Trivedi, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil and Zemindar, Sitapur	"

529	"	Pandit Gaya Prasad Tewari ...	"	Pleader and Zemindar, Sitapur ...	"
530	Farrukhabad District Congress Committee.	M. Baburam Saksena, Esq., B.A....	Kayasth.	Vakil, High Court, Mohalla Nawab Kametkhan, Farrukhabad.	By the District Congress Committee on the 18th December 1915.
531	"	M. Amba Prasad, Esq., L.M.S. ...	"	Private Medical Practitioner, Mohalla Motilal, Farrukhabad.	"
532	"	Babu Bhagwati Prasad ...	"	Pleader & Zemindar, Mohalla Khodhana, Farrukhabad.	"
533	Hardi District Congress Committee.	Mata Prasad Saksena, Esq., B.A....	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Hardoi. ...	"
534	"	Babu Raghbir Sahai Srivastava...	Kayastha.	Vakil, Hardoi. ...	"
535	"	Maharaj Narayen Varma, Esq. ...	Arya.	Pleader, Hardoi. ...	"
536	Provincial Congress Committee.	Chaudhry Jai Narain Singh, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	Hindu Kshatrya.	Vakil, High Court, Muttra. ...	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on 16th December 1915.
537	"	Pandit Jagdishwar Nath Kaul, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, Muttra. ...	"
538	"	Pandit Gopal Chand Sharma, M.A., LL.B.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, Muttra. ...	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on 16th December 1915.
539	Azamgadh District Congress Committee.	Pandit Baijnath Misra, B.A., LL.B ...	Brahman.	Legal Practitioner, Azamgadh.	At a Meeting of the District Congress Committee held on 23rd December 1915.
540	"	Babu Gopal Dass, B.A. ...	Vaishya Agarwal.	Pleader, Azamgadh. ...	"
541	Provincia Congress Committee.	Piyari Lal, Esq. ...	Jain.	Barrister-at-Law, Meerut. ...	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on 16th December 1916.
542	"	Mansumrat Das Jaini, Esq., B.A., (Cantab.)	Jain.	Bar.-at-Law, Meerut ...	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
543	Provincial Congress Committee.	Kedarnath Khandelwal, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Vaishya.	Vakil, High Court, Mirzapur	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on 16th December 1915.
544	"	The Hon'ble Mr. Rai Shankar Shah Sahib.	Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court, Member, Legislative Council, U. P. Service; Vice-Chairman Municipal Board, Joint Secretary, District Board and Secretary Macdonnell High School, and President, Bar Association, Jhansi, &c., Jhansi, U. P.	"
545	"	Pandit Baleshwar Prasad Misra ...	Hindu Brahman.	Zemindar, Banker and Member, District Board, Etawah.	"
546	Bareilly Dist. Congress Committee.	Sarada Pado Mukerji, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Bengalee.	Vakil, High Court, Bareilly.	To-day by Extraordinary Special Meeting of Bareilly District Congress Committee.
547	Shahjehanpur District Congress Committee.	Babu Janki Prasad, B.A.	Kayastha Hindu.	Pleader, Telkar, District Shahjehanpur, U. P.	At an Extraordinary Meeting of the District Congress Committee on 19th December 1915.
548	Saharanpur District Congress Committee.	Ugra Sen, Esq., B.A., (Oxon.) ...	Agraval Jain.	Bar.-at-Law, Dehra-Dun.	In the District Congress Committee Meeting held on the 10th December 1915.
549	Provincial Congress Committee.	Rai Sahib Chandrika Prasad ...	Hindu Brahman.	Assistant Traffic Superintendent, B. B. & C. I. Ry. (retired) Ajmere.	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on 16th December 1915.
550	"	Lala Damodar Das Rathi ...	Hindu Vaishva.	Merchant and Banker, Beavour, (Ajmere-Merwara.)	"

Province—CENTRAL PROVINCES.

551	Provincial Congress Committee.	Rao Bahadur Vasudeo Ramakrishna Pandit, M.A., (Cantab.)	Hindu Brahmin.	Bar.-at-Law, Nagpur, (C. P.) ...	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on 12th December 1915.
552	"	Dr. H. S. Gour, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D.	Rajput.	Bar.-at-Law, Nagpur, (C. P.) ...	"
553	"	Rao Bahadur Waman Mahadeo Kolhatkar.	Brahmin.	Government Pensioner, Sitabaldi, Nagpur.	"
554	"	Mahadeo Krishna Padhye, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader and Landholder, Nagpur ...	"
555	"	N. K. Kelkar, Esq. ...	"	Pleader, Member, Legislative Council, Balaghat.	"
556	"	Raj Saheb D. Laxmi Narayan, M.R.A.S., F.R.S.A., &c. &c.	Brahmin.	Honorary Magistrate, Banker and Merchant, Kamptee, (C. P.).	"
557	"	Ramprasad Avasti, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Betal, (C. P.) ...	"
558	"	Natesh A. Dravid, Esq., M.A. ...	"	Member, Servants of India Society, Nagpur, (C. P.).	"
559	"	Ramprasad Deshmukh, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Kurmi.	Pleader, Raipur, (C. P.) ...	"
560	"	Ramdayal Tinvari, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Raipur, (C. P.) ...	"
561	"	Maniklal Kocher, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Oswal.	Municipal Commissioner, Pleader, Narsinghpore, (C. P.)	"
562	"	Ravishankar Shukla, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Raipur, (C. P.)... ..	"
563	"	Yadorao Amrit Deshmukh, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader, Vice-President, Municipal Committee, Raipur.	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
564	Provincial Congress Committee.	Shridhar Damodar Khare, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Wardha, (C. P.).	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on 12th December 1915.
565	"	Umesh Datta Pathak, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Mandla, (C. P.).	"
566	"	Vishnu Madhao Jakatdar, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader and Landholder, Chairman, District Council, Bhandara, (C. P.)	"
567	"	Shankar Yadavrao Deshmukh, Esq.	"	Barrister-at-Law, Landlord, Nagpur ...	"
568	"	Seth Bachhraj	Oswal.	Merchant, Narsinghpore.	"
569	"	Govind Keshorao Mahajan, Esq.	Brahmin.	Landlord and Banker, Burhanpur, Nimar District,	"
570	"	Shaikh Suleiman Haji Mahmadji, Esq.	Mahomedan.	Cloth Merchant, Sohagpur.	"
571	"	Shaikh Sulemanji Sultanji, Esq. ...	"	Cloth Merchant, Sohagpur	"
572	"	Seth Ishakji	"	Cloth Merchant, Sohagpur	"
573	"	Gopalrao Saptrishee, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Retired, Sub. P. W. Inspector, Dalali 2nd Street, Kamptee.	"
574	"	R. Venkat Ram, Esq.	"	Journalist, Assistant Editor, "Hita- vada," Nagpur.	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 12th December 1915.
575	"	T. R. Gadre, Esq.	"	Journalist, Akola, Berar.	"
576	Raipur District Congress Committee.	Ramdas Naik, Esq., B.A., LL.B. ...	"	Malguzar and Pleader, Raipur, (C. P.)	At a Meeting of the District Congress Committee held on 7th December 1915.
577	"	Sakharam Dube, Esq., B.A., B.L.	"	Pleader, Raipur, (C. P.).	"

578	"	Bala Prasad Pachory, Esq., B.Sc., LL.B.	"	Malguzar and Vakil, Raipur, C. P. ...	"
579	Saugor District Congress Committee.	Ramkrishna Laxman Shrikhande, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Saugor, C. P. ...	At a Meeting of the Bar Association held on 22nd December 1915.
580	"	Gopi Lal Srivastava, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	Kayastha.	Pleader, Saugor, C. P. ...	"
581	Khandwa District Congress Committee.	Madhav Krishna Wagle, Esq., B.A.	Brahmini.	Pleader, Khandwa, C. P. ...	At a Meeting of the District Congress Committee held on Nimar.
582	Nimar District Congress Committee.	Pandit Krishna Prasad Mishra, M.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Burhanpur. ...	At a Public Meeting at Khandwa.
583	Damol District Congress Committee.	Rao Bahadur Damodar Ramchandra Shrikhande.	"	Pleader, Damol... ..	At a Public Meeting held on 12th December 1915.
584	Nagpur District Congress Committee.	Rai Saheb, Kullyanji Murarji Thacker.	Bhatia.	Barrister-at-Law, President, District Council, Raipur (C. P.)	At a Meeting of the Congress Committee at Raipur.

Province—BERAR.

585	Berar Provincial Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, C.I.E., B.A., LLB.	Brahmin.	Advocate, Amraoti (Berar). ...	At a Meeting of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee held on 9th November 1915.
586	"	The Hon'ble Mr. M. V. Joshi, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Advocate, Member of Council, Amraoti (Berar).	"
587	"	Ramkrishna Raoji Jayavant, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Chandan Singa Kayastha Prabhu.	Pleader, Amraoti Camp. ...	"
588	"	Narayan Malhar Bedarkar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin Deshastha.	Vakil, High Court, Amraoti Camp. ...	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
589	Berar Provincial Congress Committee.	Rao Saheb Ganesh Nagesh Sahasrabudhe.	Brahmin.	Pleader and Landholder, Vice-Chairman, Ellichpur Municipality, Ellichpur (Berar).	At a Meeting of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee held on 9th November 1915.
590	"	S. B. Tambe, Esq., B.A., LL.B. ..	"	High Court Pleader, Vice-Chairman, Amraoti Town Municipality, Amraoti (Berar)	"
591	"	S. G. Mudholkar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Malkapur (Berar).	"
592	"	Laxman Raghunath Abhyankar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Yeotmal (Berar).	"
593	"	Ramchandra Vishnu Mahajani, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	High Court Pleader, Akola (Berar) ..	"
594	"	Shridhar V. Ketkar, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.	"	Amraoti.	"
595	"	Ramchandra Annaji Deshpande, Esq.	"	Pleader, Amraoti.	"
596	"	Gopalsingh Narayansingh Jame-dar, Esq.	Rajput.	Landholder, Karanja, (Berar). ..	"
597	"	G. R. Kshirsagar, Esq.	Brahmin.	Assistant Secretary, Indian Industrial Conference, Amraoti, (Berar).	"
598	"	M. B. Sane, Esq.	"	Assistant Secretary, Indian Industrial Conference, Amraoti, (Berar.)	At a Meeting of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee held on 27th November 1915.
599	"	Narayandas Pragji Sampat, Esq., Member, Municipal Committee.	Bhatia.	Cotton and Cloth Merchant., Karanja, (Berar)	"
600	"	Shankar Laxman Dahihandekar, Esq.	Brahmin.	Merchant, Ramji Kanas, Karanja, (Berar).	"
601	"	Phagawant Ramji Kanao, Esq. ...	"	Cotton Merchant, Ramji Naik Kanas, Karanja, (Berar).	"

Province—PUNJAB.

603	Punjab Provincial Congress Committee.	Lala Harkishen Lal	Hindu.	Barrister-at-Law, Lahore.	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee, Lahore, on 12th December 1915.
604	"	Diwan Chand Kapur, Esq. ...	Hindu Khatri.	Merchant, Dhab Khatikan, Amritsar .	At a Meeting of Punjab Provincial Congress Committee held on 24th December 1915.
605	"	Dr. Paira Mall, M.D., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., Ph. D.	"	Medical Practitioner, Katra Dodlo, Amritsar.	"
606	"	Sham Das, Esq.	Hindu.	Pleader, Amritsar	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee, Lahore, held on 20th December 1915.
607	"	Motiram Mehra, Esq.	Khatri.	Merchant, Amritsar	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee, Lahore, held on 12th December 1915.
608	"	Sheo Narain, Esq., B.A.	Hindu.	Pleader, Amritsar	"
609	"	Todar Mal Bhandari, Esq. ...	"	Barrister-at-Law, Amritsar (Punjab) ...	"
610	"	Lala Shiv Narain, B.A , LL.B. ...	"	Pleader, Ferozepore	"
611	"	Lala Ram Rakhamal	"	Cotton Merchant, Ferozepore City ...	"
612	"	Lala Shiv Ram, Pleader, B.A., LL.B.	Khatri.	Pleader, Ferozepore City	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on 24th December 1915.
613	"	Lala Fakir Chand....	Aggarwal.	Merchant, Ferozepore City.	"
614	"	Lala Mohan Lal	Hindu.	Merchant and Proprietor, Cotton Factory, Ferozepore.	"
615	"	Lala Ram Lal, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Pleader, Chief Court, Ferozepore ...	.....

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
616	Punjab Provincial Congress Committee.	Dr. Pandit Paras Ram Sharma, L.M.S. (Nat.)	Hindu Brahman.	Medical Practitioner, Ferozepore City..	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee, Lahore, held on 12th December 1915.
617	"	Lala Prithivi Singh, B.A., LL.B. ...	Hindu.	Pleader, Ferozepore.	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee, Lahore, held on 20th December 1915.
618	"	Lala Bullo Mal, B.A., LL.B. ...	"	Pleader, Ferozepore City.	"
619	"	Lala Jai Kishan Das, B.A., LL.B....	"	Pleader, Ferozepore City	"
620	"	Lala Jagan Nath Ghulatiya, B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Ferozepore City.	"
621	"	Lala Barkat Ram, B.A., LL.B. ...	"	Pleader, Ferozepore City.	"
622	"	Ghulam Mohynd Din, Esq. ...	Mohamedan.	Pleader, Kasur District, Lahore. ..	"
623	"	Behari Lall Batsa, Esq.	Hindu.	Electric Engineer, Lahore. ... ..	.....
624	"	Dharm Chand Esq., B.A., LL B. ..	"	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore. ...	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on 20th December 1915.
625	"	Lala Dhanpat Rai, B.A., LL.B. ...	...	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore. ...	"
626	"	Duni Chand, Esq.	Hindu.	Bar.-at-Law, Lahore.	"
627	"	Dr. Nihal Chand Sikri, L.M.S. ...	Aryen Hindu.	Practitioner of Medicine and Surgery, Wachh Owali, Lahore.	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on 25th December 1915.
628	"	Nanak Chand, Esq.	Hindu.	Bar.-at-Law, Lahore.	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on 12th December 1915.

629	„	Devi Dayal, Esq....	Hindu.	Pleader, Kasur District, Lahore.	„
630	„	Metha Bahadur Chand, Esq., M. A., LL.B.	„	Pleader, Chief Court, Landholder, Nis- ket Road, Eclipse House, Lahore.	„
631	„	Jagan Nath, Esq., M. A., LL.B.	Hindu Aggarwal.	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab, Jullunder.	At a Meeting of the Provincial Con- gress Committee held on 24th December 1915.
632	„	Ganesh Lal, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	„	Pleader, Jullunder	„
633	„	Faqir Chand, Esq.	Hindu.	Pleader, Chief Court, Hoshiarpur, (Punjab).	At a Meeting of the Provincial Con- gress Committee held on 12th December 1915.
634	„	Lala Beni Prasad.	Khatri.	Merchant, Benares.	At a Meeting of the Provincial Con- gress Committee held on 24th De- cember 1915.
635	„	Guru Das Nanda, Esq.	Hindu.	Barrister-at-Law, Gujranwala, La- hore.	„
636	„	Madan Gopal Badhwar, Esq., of Ferozepore.	Hindu.	Merchant and Proprietor, Punjabee Factory, Muthra.	„
637	„	Lala Shanker Dass Badhwar.	„	Proprietor, Cotton Factory and Cotton Merchant, Lahore.	„
638	„	Lala Bhagwant Rai....	„	Merchant, Lahore.	„
639	„	Lala Manohar Lal Badhwar.	„	Electric Engineer, Cotton Merchant, and Proprietor, Cotton Factory, Rohtak.	„

Province—BEHAR AND ORISSA.

✓ 640	Muzaffarpur District Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Dwarka- nath, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Kayesth.	Pleader and Zemindar, Muzaffarpur, (Behar).	At a Meeting of the District Con- gress Committee held on 6th De- cember 1915.
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Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
641	Muzaffarpur District Congress Committee.	Babu Basanti Charan Sinha, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayesth.	Vakil, Muzaffarpur.	At a Meeting of the District Congress Committee held on 6th December 1915.
642	"	Babu Arikshan Sinha	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Muzaffarpur.	"
643	"	Mohammad Shafee, Esq.	Mussalman.	Vakil, High Court, Muzaffarpur. ...	By the District Congress Committee.
644	Orissa Association.	Miss Saila Bala Das	Christian.	Orissa	At a Meeting held on 19th December 1915.
645	Behar Provincial Congress Committee.	Babu Bhubanashwar Prasad. ...	Hindustani Kayastha.	Assistant Secretary, Behar Landholders' Association, Bankipore, Exhibition Road, Bankipore.	At a Meeting of Behar Provincial Congress Committee held on 20th December 1915.
646	"	S. A. Raja, Esq.	Brahman Hindu.	Journalist, Exhibition Road, Bankipore.	"
647	"	Syed Noorul Hasan, Esq. ...	Mussalman.	Vakil, High Court, Bankipore. ...	By District Committee, Bankipore.
648	"	Khan Bahadur Sarfaaz Hossain Khan.	Mohamedan.	Zemindar, Exhibition Road, Bankipore.	At a Meeting of Behar Provincial Congress Committee 20th December 1915.
649	"	Harnandan Lall Nand Keolyar, Esq., M.A., (Edin).	Hindustani Kayastha.	Barrister-at-Law, Kadan Kuan Road, Bankipore.	"
650	"	Dr. S. Mahmood, Ph. D.	Mohamedan.	Barrister-at-Law, Neyotola, Bankipore.	"
651	"	Babu Nand Kumar Lall, B.A., B.L.	Hindustani Kayastha.	Pleader, Arrah.	"
652	"	Babu Ramanugrah Narain Sinha .	"	Zemindar, Dumraon (Arrah)	"

Province—BURMA AND SOUTH AFRICA.

653	Burma Provincial Congress Committee.	Dr. P. J. Mehta, M.D.	Jain Hindu.	Bar.-at-Law, Diamond Merchant, Mogul Street, Rangoon (Burma).	At a Meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on 27th November 1915.
654	South Africa.	Imam A. K. Bawazeer, Esq. ..	Mahommedan.	Farmer, Natal. (Present Address) Juma Masjid, Bombay.	.....
655	„	Sorabjee Rustomjee, Esq. ...	Parsee.	Merchant, Natal. (Present Address) 8 A, Khetwadi, 12th Lane, Bombay (4).	.....

Province—BOMBAY (SIND).

656	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Karachi District Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Lohana.	Pleader, Judicial Commissioner's Court, Member, Bombay Legislative Council, President, Karachi Municipality, President, Citizens' Association, Member, Karachi Port Trust, Karachi (Sind.)	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915, also at a Public Meeting held at Karachi under the auspices of the Karachi District Congress Committee on 3rd December 1915.
657	„	Seth Gulamali G. Chagla. ...	Mahomeden Khoja.	Vice-President, Citizens' Association, Landlord, Karachi (Sind).	„
658	Karachi District Congress Committee.	Tikamdas Wadhmal, Esq., B.A., (Oxon).	Hindu Lohana.	Bar.-at-Law, Karachi (Sind).	At a Public Meeting held at Karachi under the auspices of the Karachi District Congress Committee on 3rd December 1915.
659	„	Persram Tolaram, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	„	Pleader, Karachi (Sind).	„
660	„	M. A. Hafiz, Esq., B.A.	Mahomeden.	Bar.-at-Law, Tatta (Sind).	„
661	„	Kalumal Pahloomal, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Lohana.	Pleader, Karachi (Sind).	„

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
662	Karachi District Congress Committee.	Asanmal B. Vozirani, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	„	Pleader, Joint Secretary, Citizens' Association, Karachi (Sind).	At a Public Meeting held at Karachi under the auspices of the Karachi District Congress Committee on 3rd December 1915.
663	„	Srichand Vishindas, Esq., B. A. ...	„	Merchant, Zemindar and Contractor, Karachi (Sind).	„
664	„	Motiram Panmal, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Pleader, Bunder Road, Karachi (Sind).	„
665	„	Chellaram S. Advani, Esq., B. A.	„	Merchant, Bunder Road, Karachi (Sind).	„
666	„	Shrikishindas Harbhagwandas Lula, Esq., M. A. LL.B.	Hindu Lohana.	Pleader, Member, D. J. Sind College Board, Karachi (Sind).	„
667	„	Talasing Khushalsing, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	„	Pleader, Karachi (Sind).	„
668	„	Isardas Oodharam, Esq., B. A. ...	„	Bar.-at-Law, Municipal Councillor, Karachi (Sind).	„
669	„	Dialmal Rijhumal, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	„	Pleader, Merchant, Karachi (Sind) ...	„
670	„	Jairamdas Doulatram, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	„	Pleader, Karachi (Sind).	„
671	„	Partabsing Sahibsing Shahani, Esq., B. A.	„	Bar.at-Law, Karachi (Sind).	„
672	„	Gurdassing Jotesing Shahani, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	Hindu Amil.	Pleader, Zemindar, Karachi (Sind)...	„
673	„	Naraindas Chandiram Bhavnami, Esq., B. A.	„	Zemindar, Bhai Mulchand Lane, Hyderabad (Sind).	„
674	„	Udharam Kubchand, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	„	Pleader, Karachi (Sind).	„

675	Karachi District Congress Committee.	Dr. Chainrai D. Karo, L. M. & s...	Hindu Lohana.	Medical Practitioner, Karachi (Sind) ...	At the Public Meeting held at Karachi under the auspices of the Karachi District Congress Committee on 3rd December 1915.
676	"	Govindram Lalchand, Esq. ...	"	Merchant, Karachi (Sind). ...	"
677	"	Kewalram Virbhandas, Esq. ...	"	Merchant, Karachi (Sind). ...	"
678	"	Naraindas Virbhandas, Esq. ..	"	Merchant, Karachi (Sind). ...	"
679	"	Ladharam Alumal, Esq. ...	Hindu Bhatia.	Head Clerk, Messrs. Lalchand & Co., Pleaders, Karachi (Sind).	"
680	"	Bhai Khialdas Varindmal, Esq. ...	Hindu Lohana.	Agent, G. R. B. Seth Vishindas Nihalchand, Merchant and Landlord, Karachi (Sind).	"
681	"	Seth Udhawdas Vishindas, Esq. ...	"	Merchant, Karachi (Sind). ...	"
682	"	Visuji Dosa Kalyan, Esq. ...	Cutchi Lohana.	Merchant and Landlord, Karachi, (Sind).	"
683	"	Hirdaram Nevaram, Esq....	Hindu Lohana.	Pleader, Karachi (Sind). ...	"
684	"	Rewachand Ratanchand, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Supdt. of Octroi, Old Town, Naund Lane, Karachi (Sind).	"
685	"	Tirathdas Mohandas Gelhi, Esq. ...	Hindu Bhagnari	Managing Partner, Messrs. G. Gelhi & Co., Karachi (Sind).	"
686	"	Gopaldas Khamchand Michandari, Esq.	Hindu Amil.	Zemindar, Sudhan Mansion, Hyderabad (Sind).	"
687	"	Seth Hassomal Chellaram, Esq. ...	Hindu Lohana.	Honorary Secretary, Seth Narain Indian Piece Goods Merchants' Association, Merchant, Bombay Bazar, Karachi (Sind).	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
688	Karachi District Congress Committee,	Moolji Morarji, Esq.	Hindu Bhatia.	Merchant, Karachi (Sind).	At the Public Meeting held at Karachi under the auspices of the Karachi District Congress Committee held on 3rd December 1915.
689	"	Atmasing Jesasing, Esq.	Hindu Lohana.	Banker, Karachi (Sind).	"
690	"	Ladharam Kewalram, Esq.	Hindu.	Manager, Messrs. A. B. Karsondas & Co., Newham Road, Kharadhar, Karachi (Sind).	"
691	"	Lokaram Chellaram, Esq.	Hindu Lohana.	Merchant, Karachi (Sind)	"
692	"	Satoomal Chellaram, Esq.	"	Merchant, Karachi (Sind)	"
693	"	Hasanand Daloomal, Esq.	"	Merchant, Karachi (Sind)	"
694	"	Dipchand Chandoomal, Esq.	"	Pleader, Karachi (Sind)	"
695	"	Seth Hasasing Lalsing	"	Merchant, Cloth Market, Karachi (Sind).	"
696	"	Khemchand Chellaram, Esq.	"	Merchant, Karachi (Sind)	"
697	"	Tribhovandas Prägji, Esq.	Hindu Bhatia.	Merchant, Karachi (Sind)	"
698	"	Lalchand Khushaldas, Esq.	Hindu Lohana.	Merchant, Jorie Bazar, Karachi (Sind).	"
699	"	Tolaram Kundanmal Molkanl, Esq.	Hindu.	Manager, Sind Supply Stores, Karachi (Sind).	"
700	"	Seth Jethalal Kallianji	Hindu Lohana.	Merchant, Joria Bazar, Karachi (Sind.)	"

701	„	Seth Ravji Jethabhai	„	Merchant, Joria Bazar, Karachi (Sind).	„
702	„	Jeumal Ragumal, Esq.,	„	Merchant, Joria Bazar, Karachi (Sind).	„
703	„	Moolchand Asumal, Esq.	Hindu.	Salesman, Karachi (Sind)	„
704	„	Achalsing Maniksing Advani, Esq., B.A.	Hindu Lohana.	Pleader, Municipal Councillor Member, D. J. Sind College Board, Karachi (Sind).	„
705	„	Jaffer Faddoo, Esq.	Mahome- dan Khoja.	Proprietor, "Phoenix" and "Praja Mittra," Landlord, Karachi (Sind).	„
706	„	H. G. Kassim, Esq.	„	Merchant, Kharader, Karachi (Sind) ...	„
707	„	Khabchand Pahlumal, Esq.	Hindu Lohana.	Merchant, Rampart Row, Karachi (Sind).	„
708	„	Chapsi Umersi, Esq.	Hindu Lohana Kutchi.	Merchant, Bunder Road, Karachi (Sind).	„
709	„	R. K. E. Sidhva, Esq.	Parsi.	Proprietor and Editor, "Parsee Sansar," Karachi (Sind).	„
710	„	Seth Bootamal Sohnamal... ..	Hindu Lohana.	Merchant, c/o Seth Kishinchand, Boota- mal, Karachi (Sind).	„
711	„	Chandrabhan Mulchand, Esq.	„	Bootamal, Karachi (Sind.)	„
712	„	Rochaldas Gidoomal, Esq.	„	Merchant, Karachi (Sind)	„
713	„	Kimatrai Bhojraj, Esq.	„	Pleader, Opposite Khalikdina Library, Karachi (Sind).	„
714	„	Asudamal Rewachand, Esq.	„	Head Clerk, Messrs. Harchandrai & Co., Pleaders, Karachi (Sind).	„
715	„	Hormasji P. Byramji, Esq.	Parsee	Head Clerk, Messrs. David Sassoon & Co., Karachi (Sind).	„

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
716	Karachi District Congress Committee.	Jamshed N. R. Mehta, Esq. ...	Parsee.	Vice-President, Citizens Association, Municipal Councillor, Merchant, Karachi (Sind.)	At the Public Meeting held at Karachi under the auspices of the District Congress Committee on 3rd December 1915.
717	"	Isardas Varidmal, Esq. ...	Hindu Lohana.	Merchant, Agent, R. B. Seth Vishindas Nehalchand, Karachi (Sind.)	Elected 19th December 1915.
718	"	Seth Bhasasing Chimansing, Esq.	Hindu.	Contractor, Cloth Market, Karachi (Sind).	At a Public Meeting held at Karachi under the auspices of the District Congress Committee on 3rd December 1915.
719	"	Seth Meghraj Virbhandas ...	"	Merchant, Cloth Market, Karachi (Sind),	"
720	"	Seth Tahalsing Lalsing ...	"	Merchant, Cloth Market, Karachi (Sind).	"
721	"	Chatursing Aimal, Esq., B.A. ..	"	Pleader, Hyderabad (Sind) ...	"
722	Hyderabad (Sind) District Congress Committee.	Rai Bahadur Hiranand Khemsing, B.A., LL.B., F. T. S.	...	Pleader, Zemindar, Hyderabad (Sind).	At Delegates' Meeting by District Congress Committee on 5th December 1915.
723	"	Kewalram Tekchand, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Lohana.	Pleader, Hyderabad (Sind), ...	"
724	"	Hazarimal H. Advani, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Amil.	Pleader, Near Municipal Office, Hyderabad (Sind).	"
725	"	Chuharmal Hassasing, Esq. ...	Hindu Lohana.	Pleader, Zemindar, Hyderabad (Sind).	"
726	"	Hasamal Mulchand, Esq. ...	"	Pleader, Hyderabad (Sind) ...	"
727	"	Sahijram Hassasing, Esq. ...	"	Pleader, Zemindar, Hyderabad (Sind).	"

728	..	Tahilram Atmaram, Esq., L.C.E. ...	Hindu Lohana.	Merchant in Silk, Old Postal Road, Hyderabad (Sind.)	..
729	..	Kadumal Isardas, Esq., B.A. ...	Hindu Amil.	Landlord, Hyderabad (Sind.) ... ..	..
730	..	Narsingdas K. Javeri, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Bhatia.	Pleader, Hyderabad (Sind.) ... ..	..
731	..	Thakurdas Thawadas, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Lohana.	Pleader, Jhuramals Lane, Hyderabad (Sind.).	..
732	..	Parsram Dharamdas Advani, Esq., B.A., LL.B., F.T.S.	Hindu Amil	Pleader, Hyderabad (Sind.) ... ..	..
733	..	Hiranand Santokram, Advani, Esq., B.A., LL.B., F.T.S.	Hindu Amil Khattrya.	Pleader, Hyderabad (Sind.) ... ..	..
734	..	Jethmal Parsram Guhajani, Esq., S.T.C. HONORS, F.T.S.	Hindu Amil.	Manager, The Literative Book Depôt and Bhaskar Press, Hyderabad (Sind.)	..
735	..	Udharam Kevalram Sujan Sujand, Esq., F.T.S.	..	Merchant & Proprietor, Bharat Stores, Karachi (Sind.).	..
736	..	Hashmatia Neshanlal, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Khetu.	Pleader, Hyderabad (Sind.) ... ..	..
737	..	Dr. Valiram Chartsing	Hindu Amil.	Medical Practitioner, Advani Street, Hyderabad (Sind.)	..
738	..	Ghanshyam Jethanand, Esq., M.A. .	..	Landlord, Old Postal Road, Hyderabad (Sind.)	..
739	..	H. N. Phernani, Esq., L.M.C. ..	Hindu Bhatia.	Engineer, Shikarpur (Sind.) ... ..	..
740	..	Gopaldas Jhamatmal, Esq. ...	Hindu Khshattria.	Pleader, Hyderabad (Sind.) ... ..	..
741	..	Nandiram Panjumal, Esq. ...	Hindu Lohana.	Zemindar and Landlord, Hyderabad (Sind.)	..

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
742	Hyderabad Sind District Congress Committee.	Mrs. Mithi Nandiram,	Hindu Amil.	C/o Nandiram Panjuml, Esq., Hyderabad (Sind.)	At Delegates' Meeting by District Congress Committee on 5th December 1915.
743	"	Bava Sarandas Keshavdas, Esq....	Hindu Udasi.	Keeper of a Temple, Bazar, Hyderabad (Sind.)	"
744	"	Tekchand Gulabrai, Esq.... ..	Hindu Lohana.	Pleader, Haru Sadhnam Lane, Hyderabad (Sind.).	"
745	"	Detaram Hasomal, Esq.	Hindu Lohana.	Zemindar & Merchant, Kirpalani Lane, Hyderabad (Sind.).	Elected at a Public Meeting called by the Congress Committee 5th December 1915.
746	"	Jethanan Pritumdas, Esq... ..	"	Merchant, Hyderabad (Sind.)	"
747	"	Hashmatrai K. Malkani, Esq. ...	"	Zemindar, Hyderabad (Sind.) ...	"
748	"	Sukhramdas Neghersing, Esq. ...	"	Contractor & Engineer, Hyderabad (Sind.).	"
749	"	Saran Nund Hassomal, Esq.	Hindu Amil.	Pleader, Hyderabad (Sind.)	"
750	"	Shamdas Sadhmal Thavani, Esq... ..	Hindu.	Merchant, Hyderabad (Sind.)	"
751	"	Diwan Udham Shewakram.	Hindu Amil.	Zemindar, Hyderabad (Sind.)	"
752	"	Bhagsing N. Advani, Esq.	Hindu Kshattria.	Merchant, Commercial Building, Calcutta.	"
753	"	Chuhermal Lalchand Advani, Esq.	Hindu Lohana.	Landlord, Police Lines, Road Western Katdha, Hyderabad (Sind.).	"
754	"	Valiram Dhanamal, Esq.	"	Merchant, Main Bazar, Hyderabad (Sind.).	"

755	"	Jhavetmal Dhanamal, Esq. ...	Hindu Khudabadi.	Sind Work Merchant, Hyderabad (Sind).	"
756	"	Ramchand Dharamdass, Esq. ...	Hindu Amil.	Merchant, Hyderabad (Sind). ...	"
757	"	Kishinchand Dharamdas, Esq. ...	"	Merchant, Sind Juvenile Co-operative Society, Hyderabad (Sind).	"
758	"	Valiram Alimchand Bhatia, Esq. ...	Hindu Bhatia.	Contractor and Merchant, Hyderabad (Sind).	"
759	"	Hoondamal Kishinchand, Esq. ...	Hindu Lohana.	Agent, Asian Commercial Association & Co., Hyderabad (Sind).	"
760	"	Hiranand H. Manghirmalani, Esq.	Hindu Amil.	Jewellery Merchant, Austral Cottage, Fort Meline, Hyderabad (Sind).	"
761	"	Detaram Shamdas, Esq. ...	"	Pleader and Zemindar, Hyderabad (Sind).	"
762	"	Santdas Mogharam, Esq. ...	Hindu Lohan.	Pleader, Hyderabad (Sind). ...	"
763	"	Jethsing Narusing, Esq. ...	"	Pleader, Hyderabad (Sind). ...	"
764	"	Jagatsing Nenoomal, Esq. ...	Hindu Kshattria.	Pleader, Hyderabad (Sind). ...	"
765	"	Hassamal Kalachand, Esq. ...	Hindu Lohana.	Pleader, Hyderabad (Sind). ...	"
766	"	Bulchand Kundamal, Esq. ...	"	Pleader, Hyderabad (Sind). ...	"
767	"	Wadhupal Bellaram, Esq. ...	"	Pleader, Hyderabad (Sind). ...	"
768	"	Jawarmal Tejoomal, Esq. ...	"	Merchant, Hyderabad (Sind). ...	"
769	"	Bhai Sitaldas Tirathdas. ...	Hindu Panjabi.	Broker, Walkeshwar Road, Bombay ...	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
770	Hyderabad Sind District Congress Committee.	Seth Tahilram Sobhraj	Hindu Lohana.	Sind Work Merchant, Hyderabad (Sind).	Elected at a Public Meeting called by the Congress Committee on 6th December 1915.
771	"	Kisharam Khanchand, Esq.	Hindu Bhatia.	Merchant and Contractor, Shikarpur (Sind).	"
772	"	Topandas K. Gandhi, Esq.	Hindu Bhatia.	Contractor, Hyderabad (Sind).	"
773	"	Chellaram Lokamal, Esq.	Hindu Lohana.	Merchant, Hyderabad (Sind).	"
774	"	Diwan Hukamatrai Rochiram	"	Merchant and Contractor, Hyderabad (Sind).	"
775	"	K. C. Gandhi, Esq.	Hindu Bhatia.	Merchant, Shikarpur (Sind).	"
776	Larkana District Congress Committee.	Mangatram Hukumatsing 'Gaisinghi, Esq.	Hindu Amil.	Zemindar, Taib, District Larkana.	At a Meeting held at Secretary's Office on 12th December 1915.
777	"	Nanikram Tridatrai Bhambhani, Esq.	"	Landlord, Fort Market, Larkana.	"
778	"	Lalchand Navatrai, Esq., B.A.	"	Pleader, Larkana.	At a Meeting held in Larkana on 7th December 1915.
779	"	Lilaram Bahhatrai, Esq., B.A.	"	Pleader, Larkana.	"
780	"	Parsram Hardasmal, Esq., B.A.	Hindu Khattri.	Pleader, Mehar District, Larkana.	"
781	"	Madhawdas Mangatram Ochani, Esq.	Hindu Amil.	Zemindar and Municipal Councillor, Garhi Yasin (Sukkur, Sind).	.....

782	Naushahro Pheroze District Nawabshah Congress Committee.	Diwan Pessumal Ochiram, B. A. ...	Hindu Lohana.	Pleader, Naushehro, Pheroze District, Nawabshah (Sind)	Elected on 8th December 1915.
783	"	Diwan Bhagchand Chotumal, B.A.	"	Pleader, Naushehro, Pheroze District, Nawabshah (Sind).	"
784	"	Diwan Tarachand Ochiram, B.A....	"	Pleader, Naushehro, Pheroze District, Nawabshah (Sind).	"
785	Shikarpur District Congress Committee.	Bhagwandas Khanechand, Esq. ...	...	Shikarpur (Sind). ... ..	.....
786	"	Kanaylal Hiranand, Esq. ... ..	...	Shikarpur (Sind). ... ..	.....
787	"	Pranchand Sevaram, Esq. ... ..	..	Shikarpur (Sind). ... ..	.....
788	Sukkur District Congress Committee.	Bhagwandas Pesumal Samtani, Esq., B.A.	Hindu.	Bar.-at-Law and Advocate (High Court, Madras) Sukkur (Sind).	At a Meeting held at the Secretary's Office on 10th December 1915.
789	"	Holaram Hassanand Keswani, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Sukkur (Sind).... ..	"
790	"	Lakhasing Karamchand, Esq., B.A.	Hindu Lohana.	Pleader, Rohri (Sind).	"
791	"	Kishinchand Metharam Mausharamani, Esq., M.A.	Hindu.	Contractor, Rohri (Sind).	"
792	"	Gurmukhdas Notamdass Jethmalani, Esq., B.A.	"	Pleader, Shikarpur (Sind).	"
793	"	Suganlal Hassanand, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Sukkur (Sind).... ..	"
794	"	Virumal Begraj, Esq.	Hindu Lohana.	Proprietor, "Bindh and Sind Advocate Papers," Sukkur (Sind).	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected
795	Sukkur District Congress Committee.	Ghanshamdas Kalumal, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Merchant, Lakhi Gali, Shikarpur (Sind)	At a Meeting held at the Secretary's Office on the 10th December 1915.
796	"	Seth Gangaram Chatomal Jotwani, Esq.	Hindu.	Contractor, Rohri (Sind). ...	"
797	"	Sadhuram Tinsinmal Bakhru, Esq.	"	Zemindar, Rohri (Sind)	"
798	"	Sugnamal Narsamal, Esq. ...	Hindu Lohana.	Contractor, Old Sukkur (Sind)...	"

Province—BOMBAY (TOWN AND PRESIDENCY.)

799	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Dr. Abdulsattar A. Gaya, L. M. & S	Cutchee Memon Mahomedan.	Medical Practitioner, 351, Jackaria Musjid Street, Bombay.	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
800	"	Abdul Shukur H. Saleh Mahomed, Esq.	Mahomedan.	Merchant, Park House No. 2, Wodehouse Road, Colaba, Bombay (5).	"
801	"	A. C. Chatterjee, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Journalist, 15, Elphinstone Circle, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
802	"	Amarchand Ghelabhai, Esq. ...	Jain and Jainism.	Merchant, c/o Messrs. Atanji Jivandas & Co., Vadgadi, Bombay.	"
803	"	A. P. Sabavala, Esq. ...	Parsi.	Bar.-at-Law, Petit Mansion, Slater Road, Bombay (7).	"
804	"	Ahmed Abdeenbhoy Peerbhoy, Esq., B. A.	Khoja Mahomedan	Leather Merchant, Star Mansion, Fazal Road, Colaba Reclamation, Bombay (5)	"

805	" also Bombay Presidency Association.	Ameeroodin Tyabji, Esq., J. P. ...	Mahomedan.	Justice of Peace and Honorary Magistrate, Amir-Manzil, 10, Khetwady, Main Road, Bombay (4).	also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
806	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Anant Vasudeo Lele, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	High Court Vakil, Sandhurst Road, Bombay (4).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
807	"	A. V. Patvardhan, Esq., B.A. ...	Brahmin Hinduism.	Member, Servants of India Society, Aryabhushan Press, Poona City.	"
808	" also Broach District Association.	Rao Saheb Ambashanker Uttamram Malji.	Brahmin Kshatriya.	Honorary Organizer, Co-operative Credit Societies, Pleader, Landholder, Money-lender, Chunar-Vada, Broach.	also by the Managing Committee of the District Association on 12th December 1915.
809	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Amritlal B. Hinglokewala, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Patidar.	High Court Vakil, Municipal Councillor, Vadifalia, Elore's Street, Surat.	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
810	"	Abbas S. Tyabji, Esq. ...	Mahomedan.	Bar.-at-Law, Camp, Baroda. ...	"
811	"	Ali Asghar H. Fyzee, Esq. ...	"	Landlord, 5, Chowpatty Road, Bombay (2).	"
812	"	Amritlal Raichand, Esq. ...	Jain.	Diamond Merchant, Zaveri Bazar, Kharakuva, Bombay.	"
813	"	Ahmed R. Sayani, Esq., J. P. ...	Khoja Mahomedan.	Barrister-at-Law, Chambers, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
814	"	Abdool Karim I. A. Lalljee, Esq. ...	"	Merchant, c/o. Messrs. A. & J. Lalljee, 9, Green Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
815	"	A. L. Khokhani, Esq. ...	Modi Barfia Hindu.	Merchant, c/o. Ramchand Hurgovind, Esq., Khand Bazar, Bombay.	"
816	"	Ajam Haji Goolam M. Ajam, Esq.	Mahomedan.	Merchant, Khand Bazar, Bombay. ...	"

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817	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Ashgarali S. Isseabhoy, Esq. ...	Bohra Mahomedan.	Broker, Khand Bazar, Bombay ...	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on the 13th December 1915.
818	"	Abdul Aziz Haji Tayab, Esq. ...	Mahomedan.	Merchant, Khund Bazar, Bombay ...	"
819	"	Ambalal Motiram Modi, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Bania Hindu.	Pleader, High Court, "Anand Bhuvan," Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"
820	"	Amichund Panalal, Esq. ...	...	No. 62, Walkeshwar, Bombay (6) ...	"
821	"	Alibhai Mulla Jeevanjee, Esq. ...	Bohra Mahomedan.	Merchant, Chowpatty, Bombay (7) ...	"
822	"	B. B. Joshi, Esq., B., A. LL.B.	Hindu.	Bar.-at-Law, Gamdevi, Bombay ...	"
823	"	B. P. Narielwala, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Partner, Messrs. B. P. Narielwala & Co, 76, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
824	"	B. R. Madgaokar, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Merchant, Mulji Jetha Market, No. 2, Mathew Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
825	"	Dr. B. S. Shroff, L. M. & S.	Parsi.	Medical Practitioner, Love Lane, Mazagaon, Bombay (10).	"
826	"	Baban Gokhale, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Engineer, Atmaram Mansion, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
827	" also Bombay Presidency Association.	Barjorji Nowroji Apyakhtyar, Esq.	Parsi.	Editor, "Hindi Punch" (of Bombay) Hindi Punch Office, Frere Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	" also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
828	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Badrudin Abdulla Koor, Esq. ...	...	Khambekar Street No. 3, Bombay ...	.....

829	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Barjor F. Dastur, Esq.	Parsi.	High Court Pleader, Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay.	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held 13th December 1915.
830	"	Bhagwandas Nagindas Jamnadas Shroff, Esq.	Bania.	Landlord, 221, Sheik Memon Street, Opposite Mulji Jetha Cloth Market, Bombay.	"
831	"	Bhagwandas Madhavdas, Esq. ...	Bania Hindu.	Silk Merchant, 2, Mathew Road, Chowpati, Bombay (4).	"
832	" also Girgaon District Congress Committee and Bombay Presidency Association.	Bhavanidas Narandas Motiwala, Esq., B.A., LL.B., J.P.	Hindu.	Hon. Magistrate and Landed Proprietor, Calliandas House, Ridge Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	" also at a Meeting of the Girgaon District Congress Committee on 9th December 1915, and by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
833	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Girgaon District Congress Committee.	Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt., L.M., J.P., F.C. P.S., Fellow of the Bombay University.	Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Churney Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915, also Girgaon District Congress Committee on 9th December 1915.
834	"	Bhalchandra Sitaram Sukthankar, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	Goud Saraswat Hindu Brahmin.	Lawyer, Shantaram Narayan's House, Walkeshwar Cross Lane, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
835	"	Bholabhai Nanabhai Javeri, Esq....	Jain.	Merchant, c/o Messrs. Javeri & Co., Forbes Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
836	" also Girgaon District Congress Committee.	Bhaskarrao V. Mehta, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Advocate, High Court, Owen-Dunn Road, New Gamdevi Road, Bombay (7).	" also at a Meeting of Girgaon District Congress Committee on 9th December 1915.
837	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Bhogilal Virchund Deepchand, Esq., J.P.	Jain (Hindu).	Cotton Merchant, Pedder Road, Cumballa Hill, Bombay (6).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.

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838	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Byramjee Hormusjee, Esq. ...	Parsi.	Insurance Counsel, Alice Buildings, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
839	"	Bhagwandas Chaturbhuj Khimji, Esq.	Bhatia.	Merchant. "Sagar Vilas" Warden Road, Bombay (6).	"
840	Gujerat Sabha.	Seth Balabhai Damodardas ...	Bania.	Mill Agent, The New Sarangapur Mills Co., Ltd., Ahmedabad.	At a General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.
841	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Balabhai Jamnadas, Esq., B.A. ...	Jain.	Mill Agent, Reid Road, Ahmedabad ...	"
842	"	Bakubhai Mansukhbhai, Esq. ...	"	Banker and Agent, 20, Cantonment, Ahmedabad.	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
843	Gujerat Sabha.	Dr. Balvantrai N. Kanuga, L.M. & S.	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner, Khadia, Ahmedabad.	At the General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.
844	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Balvantrao Tripurashankar, Esq.	Nagar Brahmin.	Vakil, Khapatia Chekla, Surat. ...	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
845	"	Bezonji M. Jambusaria, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Parsi.	Pleader, High Court, Rustompura, Surat.	"
846	" also Gujerat Sabha.	Bhaskar Rao Motilal Mehd, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Nagar.	Vakil, Lakhapatel's Pole, Sankadi Sheri, Ahmedabad.	" also at a General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.
847	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Bapuji D. Lam, Esq., B.A., LL.B. ...	Parsi.	Solicitor, Member of the Firm of Messrs. Ardeshir Hormasji Dinshaw & Co., Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.

818	"	Bhagwandas Mughanbhai, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Electrical Engineer, No. 1, Apollo Street, Rogay Building, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
849	Bombay Presidency Association.	Behramji Cowasji Batliwala, Esq.	Parsi.	Assistant, Messrs. Ralli Brothers, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
850	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Dr. B. S. Patkar. ... ..	...	Medical Practitioner, 416, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
851	"	Dr. B. A. Lukmani, M.R.C.S.,(Eng.), L.R.C.P. (Lond.) J.P.	Mahomedan.	Physician and Surgeon, Ratan House, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
852	"	Bhalshankar Nanabhai, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Solicitor, High Court, Dani Building, Sandhurst Road, Chowpati, Bombay (4).	"
853	"	Behramji N. Karanjia, Esq. ...	Parsi.	Merchant, 144, Bazar Gate Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
854	"	Battshri Balbadra Sharma, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Pandit, "Bada Mandir," Bhuleshwar, Bombay (2).	"
855	"	Balkrishna Narayen Bhajekar, Esq.	Brahmin Hindu.	Pleaser, High Court, Angre Wadi, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"
856	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	B. Durgadatt, Esq.	Hindu and Hinduism.	Merchant, 18, Cathedral Street, Bhuleshwar, Bombay (2).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
857	" also Bombay Presidency Association,	Bhulabhai J. Desai, Esq.	Hindu.	Advocate, High Court, Chowpati, Bombay (4).	also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
858	"	C. M. Cursetjee, Esq., B.A., (Oxon.) J. P.	Parsi Zoroastrian	Bar.-at-Law, 5, Altamont Road, Cumballa Hill, Bombay (6).	"

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859	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Cassinath Dewjee Dhuru, Esq., J. P.	Surya Vamshi Kshatriya Hindu.	Municipal (Bombay) Pensioner, 173, Lower Mahim Bazar, Dadar, Bombay (14).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
860	also Bombay Presidency Association & Girgaon District Congress Committee.	Chandrashankar Narmadashankar Pandya, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Nagar Brahman, Hinduism Hindu.	Pleader, High Court, China Bag, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association, and Girgaon District Congress Committee on 9th December 1915.
861	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Chaturbhuj Gangaram, Esq. ...	Bhatia.	Pearl Merchant, Commission Agent, Barbahea Mohla, Bombay (3).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
862	"	Chaturbhuj Motilal Gandhi, Esq...	Bania-Jain.	Merchant and Commission Agent, Anantwadi, Chaturbhuj Morarji's New Building, Bombay.	"
863	"	Chhotalal Kilachand, Esq. ...	Bania.	Merchant, c/o Messrs. Kilachand Devchand & Co., 65, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
864	"	Chhaganlal Jamnadas, Esq. ...	"	Iron Merchant, Carnac Bunder, Bombay (3).	"
865	"	Chhaganlal Dayabhai, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Bania.	Solicitor, High Court, 135, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
866	"	Chahturbhuj Tulsidas, Esq. ...	Bhatia.	Merchant in his own Chawl, Parel, Bombay (12).	"
867	"	C. N. Gajjar, Esq... ..	...	Lamington Road, Dongri Building, Bombay (7).	"
868	"	Chhotubhai A. Vakil, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Anavil Brahmin	Solicitor, High Court, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"

869	"	The Hon'ble Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad, B. A., LL. B.	Hindu.	Advocate, High Court, Nepean Sea Road, Bombay (6).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
870	"	Currimbhoy Laljee Sajun, Esq. ..	Mahomedan	Merchant, Carnac Bunder, Frere Road, Bombay (3).	"
871	"	Chimanlal Girdharlal Desai, Esq.	Bania.	Merchant Changpole, Richey Road, Ahmedabad.	"
872	" also Gujerat Sabha.	Chimanlal Parshotamdas Broker, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Jain.	Vakil, Khetar Pots Pole, Ahmedabad.	also at a General Meeting of Gujerat Sabhá held on 7th December 1915.
873	...	Chunilal V. Mehta, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Ridge Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	.....
874	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Chimanlal M. Munshaw, Esq. ...	Hindu Bania.	Mill Agent, c/o Messrs. Shri Ram Krishna Mills Co., Ltd., Ahmedabad.	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
875	Gujerat Sabha.	Sheth Chandulal Karsandas Masaruvala.	Bania.	Mill Agent, City of Ahmedabad S. W. & M. Co., Ltd., Raja Metha's Pole, Ahmedabad.	At a General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on December 1915.
876	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Chimanlal Lallubhai, Esq. ...	...	c/o Dalsookbhai Vadilal, Esq., Wilderness Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	"
877	"	Charandas Chaturbhuj, Esq., J. P.	Bhatia.	Merchant, 355, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2).	"
878	...	Sheth Chimanlal Motilal Samar Becharvala, Esq.	...	Panch Bhai-ni-Pole, Ahmedabad ...	.....
879	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Mr. D. E. Wacha...	Parsi.	Member of Bombay Legislative Council, Member, Bombay Municipal Corporation, and Mill Agent, Jiji House, Ravelin Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
880	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	D. C. Virkar, Esq., B. A., LL.B. ...	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Goregaonker's Building, No. 5, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
881	"	Sir Dinshaw M. Petit, BART. ...	Parsi.	Mill Agent, Petit Hall, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	"
882	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Girgaon District Congress Committee.	D. F. Cama, Esq.	"	Merchant, Pedder Road, Cumballa Hill, Bombay (6).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915, also Girgaon District Congress Committee on 9th December 1915.
883	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	D. L. Vaidya, Esq., B.A., LL. B. ...	Kayastha Prabhu Hindu.	Solicitor, High Court, 121, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
884	"	D. M. Madan, Esq., M.A., LL. B. ...	Zoroastrian (Parsi).	Advocate, High Court, Alice Buildings, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
885	"	D. N. Bahadurji, Esq. ...	Parsi.	Bar.-at-Law, High Court, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	"
886	"	D. S. Dongre, Esq.	Hindu.	Chunam Merchant, Grant Road, near Floral Fountain, Bombay (7).	"
887	Byculla District Congress Committee also Bombay Presidency Association.	Daji Abaji Khare, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	Brahmin.	High Court Pleader, 210, Bellasis Road, Byculla, Bombay (8).	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
888	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Dalsukbhai Vadilal Veerchand, Esq.	Jain.	Merchant, Walkeshwar, Wilderness Road, Bombay (6).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.

889	"	Damodar Savalaram Yande, Esq.	Maratha.	Managing Proprietor, "Indu Prakash Press," 388-400, Girgaon Road, P.O. Kalbadevi, Bombay (2).	"
890	also Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee and Bombay Presidency Association.	Dattaram Ganpat Dalvi, Esq., M. A., LL. B.	Goud Saraswat Hindu.	Pleader, High Court, Thakurdwar, Bombay (2).	also Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee held on 11th December 1915; and by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
891	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Dattaram Wasudeo Rege, Esq....	Goud Saraswat Brahmin.	Head Clerk, N. C. Department, Messrs. The Bombay Co., Ltd., No. 1, Kandewady, Bombay (4).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
892	Mandvi District Congress Committee.	Devji Raisey Jave Esq, ...	Kutchi Dasa Osanal.	Jewellery Broker, Kanji Parvat's Building, Dongri Street, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	At a Meeting of the Mandvi District Congress Committee on 11th December 1915.
893	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Devidas Madhawji Thackersey, Esq., J. P.	Bhatia.	Hon : Magistrate, Merchant, 72, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
894	"	Devidas J. Desai Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu	Solicitor, High Court, 121, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
895	"	Dharamsi J. Thacker Esq., B.A., LL.B.	...	Solicitor, 375, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
896	"	Dharamsey Thakordas, Esq., ...	Bhatia.	Merchant, member of the firm of Mr. Ghanshlal Dharamsi, Chippiwada, Bombay (3).	"
897	"	Dhirajlal K. Thakore Esq., B.A. ...	Brahman Khatri.	Bar.-at-Law, No. 6, New Queen's Rd., Bombay (4).	"
898	"	Dhirajlal Motilal Vakil, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Gujarat Bania.	High Court Pleader, Vajeram Building, 52, Dadysett Agiari Lane, Bombay (2).	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
899	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Dhondiba Panduji Banker, Esq...	Mali.	Contractor, Near Tram Terminus, Grant Road, Bombay (7).	At the Meeting of the Council Committee held on 13th December 1915.
900	"	Dinanath B. Dalvi, Esq.	Goud Saraswat Brahmin.	Salesman, Messrs. E. Spinner & Co., No. 3, Kandewadi, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
901	"	Dost Mahomed Peermahomed, Esq.	Mahomedan.	13, Cuffe Parade, Colaba, Bombay (5).	"
902	"	Dwarkadas Gordhandas, Esq., J. P.	Bhatia Hindu.	Hon. Magistrate, Merchant, Nepean Sea Road, Bombay (6).	"
903	Surat District Congress Committee.	Dullabhji R Desai, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Pleader, Balsar (B. B. & C. I. Ry.) ...	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 12th December 1915.
904	Bombay Presidency Association.	Dulichand Dalmia, Esq.	Hindu.	Merchant, c/o Manraj Rambhagad, Esq., Mambadevi, 580, Bombay.	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
905	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Dharamdas Nagordas Vohra, Esq.	Bania Hindu.	Landed Proprietor, c/o Devidas J. Desai, Esq., 121, Medows Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
906	"	Damodher Govindjee Madhowjee, Esq.	Bhatia Hindu.	Merchant, 68, Warden Road, Bombay (6).	"
907	"	Dulerai V. Desai, Esq.	Bania Hindu.	Merchant, Bombay.	"
908	"	Devji Sunderdas, Esq.	Hindu Bhatia.	Merchant, Bombay.	"
909	"	D. G. Juvekar, Esq., B.A., LL.B. ...	Brahmin Hindu.	Pleader, Jalagaon.	"

910	"	Dwarkadas Vusonjee, Esq.	..	Bhatia.	Merchant, Mulji Jetha, English Street, Bombay.	"
911	"	Dhirajlal P. Shroff, Esq.	...	Jain.	Bar.-at-law, Santa Cruz, (B.B. & C.I. Railway).	"
912	"	Dwarkadas Jekisondas Shroff, Esq.		Vegitarian Hindu Bania.	Landlord and Merchant, 56-58, Walkeshwar Road, Bombay.	"
913	"	Dost Mahomad Ismail Jan Mahomad, Esq.		Mohamedan.	Raj Mahal, Altamont Road, Bombay (6)	"
914	"	E. K. Palia, Esq., M.A., F.I.S.A., F.C. R. A., &c.		Parsi.	Mill, Gin and Rly. Stores Supplier, Bruce Lane, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
915	"	Eduljee B. Ukaji, Esq.	... ..	"	Manager, J. B. Mills, 9, Green Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
916	"	Faredun K. Dadachanji, Esq., B.A., LL.B.		Parsi Zoroastrian.	Solicitor, 361, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
917	"	The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Kt.		Khoja Mohamedan.	Merchant and Mill Owner, 13, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
918	"	Fazulbhoy Jumabhoy Lalji, Esq...		"	Merchant, 9, Green Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
919	"	Faiz B. Tyabji, Esq., M.A....	..	Mussulman.	Bar.-at-Law, 82, Chawpati Road, Bombay (4).	" also at the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
920	"	Fidahusain Abdulhusain, Esq.	...	Bohra Mohamedan.	Merchant, Bombay	"
921	"	Fulshankar Sunderlal Desai, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	...	...	Pleader, Khadia, Ahmedabad.	.....

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
922	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	G. B. Trivedi, Esq., B.A....	Brahmin.	Merchant, 201, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association, also at the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
923	"	G. K. Devadhar, Esq., M.A. ...	"	Servants' of India Society, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
924	" also Bombay Presidency Association and Girgaon District Congress Committee.	G. K. Gadgil, Esq., B.A. ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Advocate, High Court, Dongre Building, Lamington Road, Bombay (4).	" also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association, and Girgaon District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
925	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and Bombay Presidency Association.	G. M. Gupte, Esq., B.A., LL.B. ...	Hindu.	Advocate, High Court, 102A, Hill Road, Bandra, Bombay.	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915, also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
926	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Ganesh Govind Navare, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Merchant, Sion, Post Dharavi ...	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
927	"	Girdharlal Harilal Metha, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Visa Nagar Bania.	Solicitor, High Court, 1-3, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"
928	" also Girgaon District Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Mr. Gokuldas K. Parekh, B.A., LL.B.	Vania.	Vakil, High Court, New Queen's Road, Bombay (4).	" also Girgaon District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
929	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Gopaldas Nathoobhai, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Merchant, 128, Girgaon Back Road, Rele's House, Bombay (4).	"
930	.....	Gopaldas Virjee, Esq. ...		93 Anantwadi Bhuleshwar, Bombay (2)	

931	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Gopaljee Ramjee, Esq.	Lohana Hindu.	Cotton Merchant, Mantri Building, New Bhatwadi Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
932	"	Gordhandas Bhagwandas Narotamdas, Esq., L. M. & S.	Hindu.	Merchant, St. Vincent's Ridge Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	"
933	"	Govindlal B. Pittie, Esq. ... ..	...	Banker and Mill Owner, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	"
934	"	Govindlal N. Thakor, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahma Kshatriya.	Vakil, High Court, Bhimrao Atmaram's Wadi, Thakurdwar Road, Bombay (2)	"
935	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Girgaon District Congress Committee.	Gulabchand Dewchand Javeri, Esq.,	Jain.	Merchant, Pranjiwan Building, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915, also Girgaon District Congress Committee on 9th December 1915.
936	"	Gulabchand M. Damania, Esq., B. A., LL. B., J. P.	Jain.	Solicitor, Chowpatty, Bombay (4) ...	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
937	"	Prof G. C. Bhate, M. A., Fellow of the University, Bombay.	Mahratta Brahmin.	President of the Board of Studies, Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy, Fergusson College, 277, Narayan Peth, Poona City.	"
938	"	G. C. Bhate, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Roha (District Kolaba) ...	"
939	"	Rao Bahadur G. G. Garud	Aryan Hindu Brahmin.	Hon. Magistrate, Landlord, Dhulia (Khandesh).	"
940	Ahmednagar District Association.	Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale, B.A., LL. B.	Brahmin Hindu.	High Court Pleader, Hon. Organizer, Co-operative Societies, President, Ahmednagar Municipality, Hon. Sec., Ahmednagar Educational Society, Near City Library, Ahmednagar.	At a Meeting of the District Association held on 12th December 1915.

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
941	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Mr. G. M. Bhurgri.	Mahomedan.	Bar.-at-Law, Hyderabad (Sind) ...	At a Meeting of the District Association held on 12th December 1915.
942	"	Giridherdas M. Desai, Esq. ...	Patidar Hindu.	Landholder, Nadiad (Kaira District).	"
943	"	Gokuldas Dwarkadas Talati, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Bania Hindu.	Pleader, Nadiad (Kaira District) ...	"
944	"	Gopaldas V. Desai, Esq. ...	Hindu Patidar.	Landholder, Nadiad (Kaira District).	"
945	"	Govindrao Appaji Patel, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	...	Pleader, Outside Panchkova Gali, Ahmedabad.	.....
946	"	Govindlal Manilal, Esq. ...	Bania.	Merchant, Raja Mehta's Pole, Brampari Pole, Ahmedabad	"
947	"	Goverdhandas Purshottam, Esq., B.A., Graduate of the Bombay University.	Bhatia.	Merchant, 355, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2).	"
948	"	W. A. Chambers, Esq. ...	Englishman.	Architect and Civil Engineer, C/o Messrs. Chambers & Fritchley Hornby Road, Bombay. (1.)	.....
949	"	Gangadharappa S. Saboji, Esq.	Lingayet.	General Merchant and Commission Agent, Princess Street, Bombay (2).	"
950	"	Govind Balvant Pradhan, Esq. ...	Hinduism.	Pleader, Thana... ..	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
951	"	H. S. Captain, Esq., B. A. (Bom. & Oxon.)	Parsi.	Bar.-at-Law, Palitana House, Cumballa Hill, Bombay (6).	"

952	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Bombay Presidency Association.	H. J. Bhaba, Esq., M.A. ... ..	..	..	Late Inspector General of Education in Mysore, 31, Pedder Road, Cumballa Hill, Bombay (6).	also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
953	"	H. C. Coyajee, Esq., B.A., LL.B. ...	..	..	Advocate, High Court, Hughes Road, Bombay (6).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
954	"	H. M. Mehta, Esq. ... ..	..	..	Merchant and Mill Owner, 43, Forbes Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
955	"	H. P. Mody, Esq., M.A., LL.B. ...	Zoroastrian.	..	Advocate, High Court, Pedder Road, Cumballa Hill, Bombay (6).	"
956	"	H. S. Spencer, Esq., B.A., LL.B. ...	Parsi.	..	Merchant, The Seaside, Middle Colaba, Bombay (5).	"
957	" also Girgaon District Congress Committee.	H. V. Divatia, Esq., M.A., LL.B. ...	Hindu.	..	Vakil, High Court, Maharaj Building, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	also Girgaon District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
958	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Haji Eisa Haji Oosman, Esq. ...	Memam.	..	Poonawala, No. 20, Club Back Road, Byculla, Bombay (8).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
959	"	Hansraj Pragji Thakersey, Esq... ..	.....	..	Merchant, Pedder Road, Bombay (6).	"
960	"	Harischandra S. Kowly, Esq., J. P.	Surya Vaunshi Kshatriya.	..	Landed Proprietor, 225, Parbhadevi Road, Dadar, Bombay (14).	"
961	Bombay Presidency Association.	Hiralal Dayabhai Nanavati, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Bania Hindu.	..	Solicitor, 80, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.

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962	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Hirji Mulji, Esq... ..	Lohana (Hindu).	Merchant, Surat Street, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
963	"	Hooseinbhoj Abdoolabhoy Lalljee, Esq.	Khoja.	Merchant, 9, Green Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	At the Meeting of the Mandvi District Congress Committee on 11th December 1915.
964	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Hoosenally Mahomedbhoy Rahimtoola, Esq., B.A.	Mahomedan.	Merchant, 112, Tandel Street, Umar-khadi, P. O. Bombay (9).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
965	"	Hormusji A. Wadya, Esq. ...	Parsi.	Bar.-at-Law, No. 18, Marine Lines, Bombay.	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
966	"	Haribhai Vajishanker Govrishanker Esq.,	Nagar Brahmin.	Banker and Merchant, Gamdevi, Lalgar Mansions, Office Sevasdan, Harvey Road, Bombay (7).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
967	" also Poona District Congress Committee.	Dr. H. S. Deva, L. M. & S. ...	Hindu.	Secretary, Servants of India Society, Poona City.	also elected at the Meeting of the Council on the 20th December 1915.
968	"	Hari Govind Limaye, Esq., B.A., Fellow of the Bombay University.	Hindu.	Member, Poona City Municipality, Professor, Fergusson College, Poona City.	"
969	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Gujerat Sabha.	Rao Saheb Harilal Desai, B. A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, Danapeth, Ahmedabad.	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915. At a General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.
970	Bombay Provincial Congress Com-	Hirachand Fulchand, Javeri, Esq.	Jain.	Merchant, Jeweller, Kara Kuva, Javeri Bazar, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th Decem-

971	"	Hadi C. Tyabjee, Esq., B.A., ...	Mahomedan.	Merchant, 21, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
972	"	H. A. Talcherkar, Esq., B.A. ..	Hindu.	Bar.-at-Law, Khetwadi Main Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
973	"	Hoosein Hassun Cassum, Esq. ...	Khoja Mahomedan.	Manager etc., Abdoolabhoy and Joomabhoy Lalljee, 9, Green Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
974	"	Harishankar Dulabhji, Esq. ...	Hindu Bania.	Merchant, c/o Shah Ruttonjee Khimji, Khan Bazar, Bombay (3).	"
975	"	Haji Gulam Mahomed Ajam, Esq.	Mia Mahomedan.	Merchant, Khan Bazar, Bombay (3). ...	"
976	"	Hassanbhoy Jivanji, Esq. ...	Bohra Mahomedan.	Merchant, Khan Bazar, Bombay (3). ...	"
977	"	H. N. Apte, Esq.	Brahmin.	Journalist, c/o J. R. Gharpure, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
978	"	Harmukhrai Gopiram, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Cotton Merchant, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2).	"
979	...	The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Kt.	Mahomedan.	Merchant, 112, Tandel Street, Bombay (9).	"
980	"	Indarnarayan Brijmohanlall, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Kshatriya Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Bombay, Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab, Opposite Small Causes Court, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay (4).	"
981	"	I. N. Mehta, Esq., B. A., LL. B. ..	Hindu.	Bar.-at-Law and Advocate, High Court, Purshottam Building, New Queen's Road, Bombay (4).	"
982	"	Ishwardas Lukhmidas, Esq. ...	Kapole Bania.	Yarn Merchant, "Garden View," Hughes Road, Bombay (6).	"

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983	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Girgaon District Congress Committee.	Ishwardas Ichharam Mashruvala, Esq., B. A.	Gujrati Hindu.	Cotton Broker and Muccadam, Topiwala's Building, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915, also Girgaon District Congress Committee on 9th December 1915.
984	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Ismailbhoj A. Lalljee, Esq. ...	Khoja Mahomedan.	Merchant, c/o. Messrs. A. & J. Lalljee 9, Green Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
985	"	Ismail Piredina, Esq. ...	Mahomedan.	Merchant, Mandvi, Bombay (3) ...	"
986	"	Ilias Haji Oomer, Esq. ...	Mahomedan Memon.	Merchant, Mandvi, Bombay (3) ...	"
987	"	J. K. Mehta, Esq., M.A. ...	Hindu.	Secretary, The Indian Merchants' Chamber, Old Telephone Building, 19, Bank Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
988	...	J. K. Tarachand, Esq. ...	...	373, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1) ...	.....
989	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Bombay Presidency Association and Girgaon District Congress Committee.	J. R. Gharpure, Esq., B. A., LL. B. (Hon.)	Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, Angre's Wadi, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915, also Girgaon District Congress Committee on 9th December 1915, and by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
990	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee,	Jagmohandas Motilal Shroff, Esq.	Bania.	Landlord, 221-223, Shaik Memon Street, Opposite Mulji Jetha Cloth Market, Bombay.	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.

991	„	Jaffer Hajeebhoy Lalji, Esq.,	Mahomedan	Bar.-at-Law, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	„
992	„	Jamnadas D. Dharamsey, Esq., B.A.	Hindu Bhatia.	Merchant, Banker's Bungalow, Chowpatty, Bombay (4).	„
993	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Bombay Presidency Association.	Jamnadas M. Mehta, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Bar.-at-Law, 121, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay (1.)	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915, also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
994	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee.	Jamnalal R. Bachhraj, Esq.	Agarwal Bajaj.	Cotton Merchant and Banker, Rai Bahadur Bachhraj Jamnalal, No. 183-185, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2.)	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915, also Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee on 11th December 1915.
995	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Jamshedji Nawroji Kapadia, Esq...	Parsi.	Merchant, c/o Jehangir Byramji Madraswala, Esq., 799, Cawasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
996	„	Jehangir Bomanji Petit, Esq.	„	Mount Petit, Pedder Road, Bombay (6).	„
997	„	Jehangir P. Mehta, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Parsi (Zoroastrian.)	Solicitor, High Court, "The Towers," 110, Colaba, Bombay (5).	„
998	Mandvi District Congress Committee.	Jethabhoy Anandji, Esq...	Cutchi Dasa Osaval.	126, Katha Bazar, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	At a Meeting of the Mandvi District Congress Committee on 11th December 1915.
999	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee.	Jethmal Narandas, Esq. ...	Bhatia.	Merchant, Govindgate, Mulji Jetha Market, Bombay.	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915, also Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee on 11th December 1915.

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1000	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Fort District Congress Committee.	Jivandas Pitamber, Esq., J.P. ...	Modh Bania.	Merchant, Khatau Building, Bazar Gate, Fort, Bombay (1).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915, also Fort District Congress Committee on 15th December 1915.
1001	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Jivanlal Choonilal Chinai, Esq. ...	Bania.	Silk Merchant, 111, Tamba Kanta, Mandvi Post, Bombay (3).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1002	"	Sir Jugmohandas Veerjivandas, Kt.	Aryan Hindu Kapole Bania.	Merchant, Westfield, Warden Road, Bombay (6).	"
1003	"	Jehangir M. Rao, Esq.	Parsi.	Merchant, Mirzapur Road, Ahmedabad	"
1004	"	Dr. Jamnadas P. Nanavati, L. M. & s.	Jain.	Medical Practitioner, Reid Road, Ahmedabad.	"
1005	"	Jagabhai Dalpathbhai, Esq., B.A	Jain Visa Oswal.	Mill Agent, Merchant and Banker, Pankore's Naka, Ahmedabad. ..	"
1006	"	Jatashankar Liladhar Vaidya, Esq.	Hindu.	Ayurvedic Practitioner, Ahmedabad ...	"
1007	"	Jagabhai Nanabhai Javeri, Esq. ...	Jain.	Merchant, Sakar Bazar, Ahmedabad ...	"
1008	" also Bombay Association Gujerat Sabha.	Dr. Joseph Benjamin, L. M. & s. ...	Jew.	Medical Practitioner, Municipal Councillor, Agiari Lane, Ahmedabad ...	" also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association, and at a General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.

1009	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	J. H. Vakeel, Esq., B. A.	Parsi.	Bar.-at-Law, "The Clift," Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1010	"	Jekisandas Morarbhai Vakilna, Esq., B. A.	Bania Hindu.	Merchant and Vajifdar, Machlipeth, Surat.	"
1011	Girgaon District Congress Committee.	Jivraj Narayan Mehta, Esq., M.D. M. R. C. S. (London).	Hindu Kapole Bania.	Physician, Bhatwadi, Sandhurst Road, Bombay (4).	At a Meeting of the Girgaon District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
1012	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee,	Jafferbhoy A. Lalljee, Esq.	Mahomedan (Khoja)	Merchant, c/o Messrs. A. & J. Lalljee 9, Green Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1013	"	Jatashanker K., Esq.	Hindu Bania.	Merchant, Bombay	"
1014	"	Jeshingbhai Premabhai Seth	Jain.	Jeweller, 521, Omrao Villa, Walkeshwar Road, Bombay (6).	"
1015	"	K. A. Mehta, Esq.	Bania.	Auctioneer, 53, Medows Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1016	"	K. J. Dubash, Esq., B.A., LL.B. ..	Parsi Zoroastrian.	Solicitor, High Court, 12, Charni Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1017	" also Girgaon Dist. Congress Committee.	K. R. Mitra, Esq.	Brahmin.	Journalist, Manoranjan Office, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	" also Girgaon District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
1018	"	K. T. Dongre, Esq.	Brahmin.	Merchant, Dongre's Building, Lamington Road, Bombay (7).	"
1019	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	K. Natarajan, Esq., B.A.	Hindu.	Journalist, Empire Building, Fort, Bombay (1).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1020	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Kanji Cursondas, Esq.	Bhatia.	Merchant, Anand Bhavan, Santa Cruz, (B. B. & C. I. Ry.)	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1021	"	Kaikhosro Maneckji, Esq., B.A., J. P.	Parsi.	Editor and Proprietor, "Bombay Samachar," 117, Frere Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1022	"	Kalianrai Shankerprasad, Esq. ...	Nagir Brahmin.	Manager, The Venishunker Luxmishunker Cotton Mill Company, Limited, 65, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay (1)	"
1023	"	Kalianji Thobhanbhai, Esq. ...	Jain Cutchi.	Cotton Merchant, No. 289, Kharek Bazar, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1024	"	Kanaiyalal R. Dave, Esq., B. A. ...	Khedawal Brahmin.	Merchant, 36A, Chowpatty Road, Bombay.	"
1025	"	Karsandas Hargovindji, Esq. ...	Bhatia.	Cloth Merchant, Mulji Jetha Market, Bombay.	"
1026	"	Kanaialal M. Munsji, Esq., B.A., LLB.	Bhargav Brahmin Hindu.	Advocate, High Court, 44, Morarji New Buildings, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1027	"	Kashinath D. Khote, Esq. ...	Goud Sarasvat Brahmin.	Merchant, French Bridge, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1028	" also Bombay Presidency Association.	Kavasji Bejanji Sethna, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Zoroastrian.	Vakil, High Court, 58A, Cumballa Hill, Bombay (6).	also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.

1029	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Khemraj Shrikrishnadas, Esq. ...	Vaishya.	Proprietor, Shrivenkateshwar Steam Press, 7, Khetwadi Back Road, Bombay (4).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915
1030	"	Khiasi Ladha, Esq. ...	Cutchi Dasa Oswal Jain.	Merchant, Kharek Bazar, Dongri Street, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1031	"	Keshavdas Gokaldas, Esq. ...	Kapole Bania Hindu.	Merchant, 18, Church Gate Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1032	"	Keshavlal Manekchand, Esq. ...	Jain.	Merchant and Commission Agent, Princess Street, Opp. Police Station, Bombay (2).	"
1033	"	Karsandas Dharamsey Soonderdas, Esq.	...	Oriental Buildings, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1034	"	Karsandas Bhimji Ved, Esq. ...	Bhatia.	Merchant, 36-40, Bhandari Street, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1035	"	Kazi Kabiruddin, Esq. ...	Kazi.	Bar.-at-Law, Mazagaon, Bombay(10)...	"
1036	also Mandvi District Congress Committee.	Kanji Karamji Shah, Esq...	Cutchi Dasa Osaval Jain.	Proprietor Mandvi A. V. School, Dongri Street, Kharek Bazar, Bombay (3).	also Mandvi. District Congress Committee held on 11th December 1915.
1037	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Khimji Assur Veerjee, Esq. ...	Hindu (Bhztia.)	Merchant, 320, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915
1038	"	Khimji Hirji Kayani, Esq., J. P...	Jain Cutchi Bania.	Cotton Merchant, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1039	"	Kikabhai Premchand, Esq. ...	Jain Bania.	Broker, Share and Stock, Premodyan, Love Lane, Byculla, Bombay (8).	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1040	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Krishnaji Hari Kelkar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin Hindu & Aryan.	Pleader, High Court, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	At the Meeting of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1041	Gujerat Sabha.	Seth Kacharabhai Leherabhai...	Jain.	Merchant, Chhipa Pole, Ahmedabad..	At a General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.
1042	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Professor K. R. Kanitkar, M. A. ...	Hindu Aryan.	Professor, Fergusson College, Poona City.	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1043	also Surat District Congress Committee.	Kanaialal Nanabhai Desai, Esq...	Hindu Nagar Brahmin Hinduism.	Jagirdar, Jamindar and Vatandar, Gopipura, Setanfalia, Surat.	also at the Meeting of the Committee held on 12th December 1915.
1044	...	Rao Bahadur Khandubhai G. Desai, L.C.E.	...	Sagrampura, Surat ... ..	...
1045	Gujerat Sabha.	Krishnalal N. Desai, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	Brahma Kshatriya.	Vakil, Khadia, Ahmedabad	At a General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.
1046	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	K. P. Gadgil, Esq.	Brahmin.	Bar.-at-Law, 426, Sadashiv Peth, Poona City.	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1047	..	Rao Bahadur Keshavjee Nathoo Sailor, J.P.	Loowana.	Merchant, Darithan Street, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	..
1048	..	Keshavlal Lalubhai Javeri, Esq...	Jain.	Diamond Merchant Jeweller, c/o. Messrs. Surajmal Lalubhai & Co., 225-227, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2)	..
1049	..	Keshavjee Ramjee Luckmidas, Esq.	Bhatia Hindu.	Cloth Merchant, New Piece Goods Bazar, 249, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.

1050	also Girgaon District Congress Committee.	Dr. Kavasji Edalji Dadachanji, L. M. & S.	Parsi.	Medical Practitioner, 36, Ardesir Dadyseth Street, Khetwadi, Bombay (4).	also Girgaon District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
1051	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Surat Dist. Congress Committee.	Kapilram H. Vakil, Esq., B.A., B.Sc. Tech. (Manchester) F. C. S.	Valmik Kayasth.	Consulting Chemist, "Villa Vasant" Santa Cruz (B. B. & C. I. Ry.)	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915, also at a Meeting of the Committee of Surat held on 12th December 1915.
1052	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Kanaialal N. Gunderia, Esq. ...	Bania.	Secretary Insurance Department, Messrs. A. & J. Lalljee, 9, Green Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1053	..	Krishnarao Wamanrao Bhat, Esq.	Kokanasth Brahmin.	Bar.-at-Law, Thakurdwar Road, Bombay.	..
1054	..	Kanji Malvi Javeri, Esq. ...	Soni Hinduism.	Merchant, Jeweller, Abdul Rehman Street, Bombay.	..
1055	also the Deccan Sabha, Poona City.	K. A Ghaswala, Esq. ...	Parsi.	Bar.-at-Law, Wanowric, Poona ...	also at the Meeting of the Sabha on the 20th December 1915.
1056	...	Karimbhoy Adamjee Peerbhoy, Esq.	...	Tardeo, Bombay (7) ...	.....
1057	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also the Deccan Sabha, Poona City.	Krishnaji Moreshwar Phatak, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Narayen Pet, No. 357, Poona.	At a Meeting of the Deccan Sabha 20th December 1915.
1058	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Keshavji Narsi, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Merchant, Dabholkar Building, Chowpatty, Bombay (4).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1059	..	Labhshanker Ratishanker Oza, Esq.	Nagar Brahmin.	Shroff, Kanani Building, 2nd Floor, Princess Street, Bombay (2).	..
1060	..	Lakhmichand M. Doshi, Esq. ...	...	Vithaldas Road, Kalbadevi, Bombay (2).	..

No. Serial	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1061	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Mandvi District Congress Committee.	Lakhamsey Khetsey, Esq. ...	Jain Cutchie.	Cotton Broker, Seth Hemraj Khiasi's Building, 2nd Floor, Police Gate, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915, also at a Meeting of the Mandvi District Congress Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1062	"	Lakhamsey Hirji Meisheri, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Cutchie Dasa Oswal Jain.	Vakil, High Court, 49, Chinch Bunder Road, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1063	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee	The Hon'ble Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, C.I.E.	...	65, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay (1) ...	"
1064	"	Laxmidas Haridas, Esq.	Hindu (Bhatia).	Merchant, 320, Mint Road, Bombay (1).	"
1065	Gujerat Sabha.	Sheth Lalbhai Tricumlal	Bania.	Mill Agent, New Manekchok Mills Co., Ltd., Sankdie Sheri, Ahmedabad.	At a General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.
1066	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Lalji Doongarsey Gangji, Esq.	Lohana Hindu.	Merchant, Masjid Bunder Road, Mandvi Bombay (3).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1067	"	L. M. Khokhani, Esq.	Hindu Bania.	Merchant, Mandvi, Bombay (3). ...	"
1068	"	L. K. Mehta, Esq....	"	Merchant, Mandvi, Bombay (3.) ...	"
1069	"	Lalchand Rattan Chand, Esq.	"	Mansur Buildings, Princess Street, Bombay (2).	"
1070	"	L. R. Gokhale, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Poona	"
1071	"	M. A. Jinnah, Esq. ... ..	...	Bar.-at-Law, Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	"

1073	„	M. K. Azad, Esq.	Indian (Kokni).	(1). Bar.-at-Law, Milton House, Parsi Statue, Byculla, Bombay (8).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1074	„	M. M. Murzban, Esq. ... ..	...	Bar.-at-Law, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	„
1075	„	Makanji Juthabhai Mehta, Esq., B.A. LL.B.	Bania Jain.	Bar-at-Law, High Court, Lalji Mansing Building, Lohar Chawl, Near Craw- ford Market, Bombay.	„
1076	„	M. S. Captain, Esq.	Parsi.	Solicitor, 121, Esplanade Road, Bombay (1).	„
1077	„	M. S. Patker, Esq., B.A., L.C.E. ...	Hindu.	Civil Engineer, 44, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	„
1078	„	M. J. Gajjar, Esq., M.A., F.C.S. ...	Suthar Hindu Hinduism.	Consulting Chemist and Pharmacist, Vanita Vishram Building, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4.)	„
1079	„	M. V. Merchant, Esq.	Hindu.	Supdt. of Agencies Manufacturers Life Insurance Company of Canada, 25-29, Church Gate Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	„
1080	„	Maganlal Himatram, Esq.	Hindu Lohana.	Dealer in Sweetmeats, C. P. Tank Road, Bombay (4).	„
1081	„	Rao Saheb Manaji Rajooji	Telagu Vangari.	Contractor, Kamathipura, 3rd Street, Bombay (4).	„
1082	„	Manilal Dayabhai Nanavati, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Bania Hindu.	Solicitor, 80, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	„
1083	„	Madhavji Virji, Esq., B.A., LL.B. ...	Bhatia.	Solicitor, High Court, Chowpatty, Bombay (4).	„

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1084	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Maganlal Thakordas Modi, Esq., L.C.B.	Bania.	Merchant, 50, Dadyseth Agiary Lane, Bhuleshwar, Bombay (2).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1085	"	Morarji Mulraj Khatav, Esq. ...	Bhatia Hindu.	Mills Agent, Insurance Agent, Oriental Buildings, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1086	Bombay Presidency Association.	Manilal Itcharam Desai, Esq. ...	Bania Hindu.	Proprietor and Editor, "The Gujarati" Sassoon Buildings, Elphinstone Circle, Fort, Bombay (1).	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
1087	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Markand Nandshanker Mehta, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, Kumar Villa, Santa Cruz (B. B. & C. I. Ry.)	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1088	"	Mirza Ali Reza Khan, Esq., M.A....	Mohamedan	Bar.-at-Law, "Arthur House," Cooperage, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1089	"	Motilal Dayabhai Shroff, Esq. ...	Vaido Vania.	Jeweller, 280, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2).	"
1090	"	Mavji Govindji Sheth, Esq. ...	Lohana Hindu.	Merchant, 72, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1091	" also Girgaon District Congress Committee.	Manishankar Manchharam Bhatt, Esq.	Brahmin.	Broker, Representative, Bombay Telephone Coy., Ltd., No. 1, Raja Birbhagir Mansion, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	also Girgaon District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
1092	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Mangaldas Maganlal, Esq. ...	Bania.	Cotton Broker, c/o Messrs. P. Chrystal & Co., York Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1093	"	Madhavjee Damodar Thakersey, Esq.	Hindu Bhatia.	Merchant and Mill Owner, "Damodar Bhuwan," Warden Road, Bombay (6).	"

1094	„	Mansukhlal Atmaram Master, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Bania.	Secretary, The Sultania Mill, Doctor's Bungalow, Santa Cruz (B. B. & C. I. Ry.).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1095	„	Manubhai Rangildas, Esq. ...	„	Merchant, 404, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2).	„
1096	„	Matharadas Liladhar, Esq. ...	Bhatia.	Merchant, Vithalwadi, Bombay (2) ...	„
1097	„	Mathuradas Canji Matani, Esq. ...	„	Merchant, 83, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	„
1098	„	Mathooradass Goculdass Thacker, Esq.	„	Merchant and Broker, 24/27, Matunga Road, Matunga, Bombay.	„
1099	„	Mathuradas Vissanji, Esq. ...	„	Merchant, 3, Wallace Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	„
1100	„	Mattubhai Kasanbhai Atmaram Bhukanwalla, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	.....	Solicitor, 9, Bell Lane, Fort, Bombay (1).	.....
1101	„	Meghji Vasanji Trikamji, Esq. ...	Cutchie Jain.	Cotton Merchant and Exporter, Nepean Sea Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1102	„	Mooljimal Maghoomal Motiwalla, Esq.	Bhatia.	Pearl Merchant, Proprietor of the Firm Maghoomal, Jethanand Esq., Nagdevi Street, Bombay (3).	„
1103	„	Morarji M. Kamdar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	„	Solicitor, High Court, "The Luxmikant," Chowpatty, Bombay (4).	„
1104	„	Moreshwar Chintaman Javle, Esq., J. P.	Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, 684, Dadar, Bombay (14).	„
1105	„ also Bombay Presidency Association.	Moreshwar Wishwanath Pradhan, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Vakil High Court, Sai Pradhan Baug, Santa Cruz (B. B. & C I. Ry.).	„ also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1106	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Motichand Girdharlal Kapadia, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Jain Bania	Solicitor, 121, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1107	"	Motilal Lalloobhoy Chawalla, Esq.,	Jain.	Merchant, Ridge Road, Walkeshwar, Bombay (6).	"
1108	"	Motilal Vallabhji, Esq.	Hindu.	Merchant, 4, Bruce Lane, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1109	"	Mukund R. Jayakar, Esq., M.A., LL.B., Fellow of the University of Bombay.	"	Bar.-at-Law, 399, Thakurdwar Road, Bombay (2).	"
1110	"	Mathradas Ramchand Javeri, Esq. B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Bhatia.	Pleader and Zemindar, Hyderabad (Sind).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1111	"	Motilal M. Munshi, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Kayastha Hindu,	Pleader, High Court, (Retired) Gopipura, Surat.	"
1112	"	Manilal S. Parekh, Esq., Municipal Councillor.	Bania Hindu.	Banker, Modisank, Nadiad (Gujerat)...	"
1113	"	Mohanlal Gokaldas Shah, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	Jain Vesa Oswal Shrank Bania.	Pleader, 720/721, Panjara Pole, Ahmedabad.	"
1114	" also Gujerat Sabha.	Mulchand Asharam Shah, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	Bania.	Vakil, Panch Kuva, Madhav Baug, Ahmedabad.	" also at a General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.
1115	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Moolji Haridas, Esq.	Hindu Bhatia.	Iron Merchant, Carnac Bunder, Bombay (3).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.

1116	"	Mohanlal B. Shah, Esq. ...	Jain Hindu.	Mill Stores and Machinery Merchant, Javeriwada, Ahmedabad.	"
1117	"	M. K. Gandhi, Esq. ...	...	Sarkhej Road, Ahmedabad ...	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1118	"	Mahadev Vyankatesh Lele, Esq., B. A., L C. E.	Brahmin.	Retired Engineer and Landholder, c/o Professor Dikshit, 67, Shanvar Peth, Poona City.	"
1119	"	Mangaldas Girdhardas Parekh Esq.	Vania.	Mill Agent, Laldurwaja, Ahmedabad ...	"
1120	"	Manilal Mohanlal Shak, Esq. ...	Jain.	Pleader, New Gate, Panch Koowa, Ahmedabad.	"
1121	" also Gujerat Sabha.	Maganbhai Chaturbhai Patel, Esq., B. A., LL B.	Patidar.	Advocate, Punch Koowa Gate, Golvad, Ahmedabad.	" also at a General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.
1122	Bombay Provincial Congress Com- mittee.	Mafatlal Gagalbhai, Esq. ...	Kunbi.	Mill Agent, The Shorrocks Mills Co., Ltd., Ahmedabad.	At the Meeting of the Council Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1123	"	M. H. Dehdashti, Esq. ...	Mohamedan.	Merchant, No. 1, Ash Lane, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1124	"	Mohindin Narmawala, Esq., B. A.	Mahomedan.	Bar.-at-Law, Richey Road, Panch Koowa, Ahmedabad.	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915, also at a General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.
1125	"	Madhoram Raghoomal, Esq. ...	Bania Hindu.	Iron Merchant, Carnac Bunder, Bombay (3.)	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected
1126	Belgaum Dist. Congress Committee.	Moro Balvant Marathe, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Pleader and Landlord, Belgaum ...	At a Meeting of the District Congress Committee on 15th December 1915.
1127	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Maganlal Bhukandas Sheth, Esq. B.A., LLB.	Bania (Hindu).	Pleader, High Court, Ravi Talao, Surat.	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1128	„	Mathuradas G. Raja, Esq. ...	Bhatia.	Secretary, J. B. Mills, 9, Green Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	„
1129	„	Motilal Rangildas, Esq. ...	Bania Hindu.	Merchant, Bombay	„
1130	„	Mathuradas Bhuvan, Esq. ...	Bhatia Hindu.	Merchant, Bombay	„
1131	„	Mohomed Husain Hasanbhoi, Esq.	Bohra Mohamedan	Merchant, Bombay	„
1132	„	Mohipatram Govindji Raval, Esq.	Brahmin.	Marble and Tile Merchant, c/o Messrs. Raval and Co., Bank Street, Fort, Bombay (3).	„
1133	„	Munji Gulamhusein Padamsee, Esq.	Khoja Mohamedan.	Glassware Merchant, c/o Messrs. Sale Mahomed Padamsee and Co., Chuckla Street, Bombay.	„
1134	„	Mohamedali N. Chaiwala, Esq., B.A., LLB.	„	Solicitor, c/o Messrs. Captain & Vaidya, Solicitors, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	„
1135	Bombay Presidency Association.	M. B. Kolaskar, Esq.	Brahmin.	Bar.-at-Law, 3, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.

1136	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Murlidhar Jerandas, Esq., ...	Hindu.	Pleader, Shikarpur ...	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1137	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Karachi District Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Mr. M. de P. Webb, C.I.E., F.R.G.S., etc.	Englishman.	Merchant, 12, Staff Lines, Karachi (Sind).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 18th December 1915, also at a Public Meeting held at Karachi on 3rd December 1915.
1138	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Mohanlal Parvatishankar Dave, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Lawyer, Coronation Building, 3rd Floor, C. P. Tank Road, Bombay (4).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1139	"	Mahadeo Gadodi, Esq. ...	Hindu Hinduism.	Merchant, 18, Cathedral Street, Bhuleshwar, Bombay (2).	"
1140	"	N. F. Kanny, Esq. ...	Parsi.	Retired, Merchant, "Batha House," Middle Colaba, Bombay (5.)	"
1141	" also Bombay Presidency Association and Girgaon District Congress Committee.	N. B. Vibhakar, Esq., B.A., LL.B. ...	Hindu.	Advocate, High Court, 43-45, Kande-wadi, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	" also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association and Girgaon District Congress Committee on 7th December 1915.
1142	"	Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, KT., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Retired High Court Judge, Pedder Road, Bombay (6).	"
1143	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	N. H. Patuck, Esq., G M.A.C. ...	Rational Zoroastrian.	Consulting Agriculturist and Machinists, Merchant, 62, Lamington Road, Bombay (7).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1144	"	Nanalal Parbhuram, Esq. ...	Bania Hindu.	Managing Clerk to Messrs. Mulji and Kharnbata, Solicitors, Bhaskar Bhuvan, Gamdevi, Bombay.	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1145	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Nowroji Hormasji Belgamvala, Esq.	Parsi.	Cotton Merchant, Santa Cruz (B. B. & C. I. Ry.)	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1146	"	Nilkant Atmaram Sheveshvarkar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	High Court Vakil, Thakurdwar, Bombay (2.)	"
1147	" also Bombay Presidency Association.	The Hon'ble Mr. N. M. Samarth, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Chandra-seriya Kayastha Prabhu.	Vakil, High Court, Girgaon Back Road, Street No. 3, Bombay (4).	" also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
1148	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Nadirshaw Hormusjee, Esq. ...	Parsi Zoroastrian	Managing Clerk to Messrs. Smetham Byrne & Co., Solicitors, Chinoy Mansions, Colaba, Bombay (5.)	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1149	"	Nagurdas Vatsaraj, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Vatsaraj Lane, Matunga, Bombay ...	"
1150	Girgaon District Congress Committee.	Dr. Miss Nagutai Moreshwar Joshi, L. M. & S., L. R. C. P., L. R. C. S.	Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Topiwala's Bungalow, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	At a Meeting of the Girgaon District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
1151	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Nanchand C. Doshi, Esq. ...	Jain and Jainism.	Merchant, c/o Messrs. Trivedi & Co., 201, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1152	" also Surat District Congress Committee.	Nandavadan Karpuram Mehta, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Nagar Brahmin Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, French Bridge, Chowpatty, Grant Road Post, Bombay (7).	" also at a Meeting of the Committee held on 12th December 1915.
1153	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Naranji Haribhaiji, Esq. ...	Lohana Sanatani.	Merchant, Warden Road, Bombay (6).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.

1154	" also Girgaon District Congress Committee and Bombay Presidency Association.	Narayan Vishnu Gokhale, Esq., B.A., LL. B., Honorary Fellow of the University.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, 695-697, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	also Girgaon " District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915, and by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
1155	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Kolaba Dist. Congress Committee and Girgaon District Congress Committee.	Rao Bahadur Narayan Trimbak Vaidya, J. P.	Konka- nastha Brahmin Hindu.	Landed Proprietor and Pensioner, Vai- dya's Wadi, Thakurdwar Road, Bom- bay (4).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915, also at a Meeting of the Com- mittee held at Bombay on 20th December 1915, and Girgaon District Congress Committee on 13th December 1915.
1156	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Narottam Morarji Gokuldas, Esq., J. P.	Hindu Bhatia.	Mill Owner, "Shanti Bhavan," Pedder Road, Bombay (6).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 15th December 1915.
1157	"	Narottamdas Bhanji Kapadia, Esq.	Jain and Jainism.	Merchant, c/o Messrs. Premchand Ra- tanji & Co., Chhipichawl, Bombay (2).	"
115	"	Narsinha Bhau Thakur, Esq. ...	Gaud Saraswat Brahmin.	Merchant, Bazar Road, Bandra ...	"
1159	"	Nasserwanjee Bomanjee Jassawalla, Esq.	Parsi.	Merchant, Warden Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	"
1160	"	Nassurbhoy A. Lalljee, Esq. ...	Moha- medan.	Merchant, 9, Green Street, Fort, Bom- bay (1).	"
1161	"	Natverlal Maganlal, Esq. ...	Hindu Bania.	Merchant, 404, Kalbadevi Road, Bom- bay (2).	"
1162	"	Nenshi Devshi, Esq. ...	Cutchie Dassa Oswal Jain.	Coir, Ropes and General Merchant, Katha Bazar, Mandvi, Bombay (3)	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1163	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Nowrojee Rustomjee Wadia, Esq.	Zoroastrian.	Architect, No. 10, Woodhouse Road, Middle Colaba, Bombay (5).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1164	"	Nemchand Naginchand Vakilwala, Esq.	...	Jeweller, c/o Gulabchand Devichand Javeri, Esq., Lamington Road, Bombay (4).	"
1165	"	N. C. Dalal, Esq.	Hindu.	Solicitor, 16, Oak Lane, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1166	" also Gujerat Sabha.	Nathubhai Motichand Shah, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Jain.	Vakil, High Court, Samla's Pole, Ahmedabad.	also at a General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.
1167	Gujerat Sabha.	Navalshanker Narsimhprasad, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Nagar.	Vakil, Richey Road, Chang Pole, Ahmedabad.	At a General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.
1168	"	Seth Naranlal Jivanlal ... ..	...	Nansha-Jivan-ni-Pole, Sankdisheri, Ahmedabad.	"
1169	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Noorbhoy Jivanji, Esq.	Bohra Mahomedan.	Merchant, Bombay	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1170	"	Nathubhai Kirparam, Esq. ...	Vegetarian Hindu Bania.	Landed Proprietor, Dani Building, Sandhurst Bridge, Near Chowpatty, Bombay (4).	"
1171	" also Gujerat Sabha.	Naginlal Maganlal Jeychand, Esq.	Hindu.	Mill-Agent, Kalupur, Ahmedabad ...	also at a General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.

1172	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Osman Sobani, Esq.	Mahomedan.	Mill Owner Umer Manzil, Colaba Reclamation, Bombay (5).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1173	"	Oomabhai M. Nagarseth, Esq. ...	Hindu Jain.	Merchant and Banker, Cuffe Parade, Colaba, Bombay (5).	"
1174	"	Professor P. A. Wadia, M. A. ...	Parsi.	Professor, Wilson College, "Hormuzd Villa," Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	"
1175	"	Pandharinath Kashinath Telang, Esq., M. A., LL.B.	Hindu Aryan.	Teacher, Mathew Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1176	"	Dr. Pherozechah Nasarvanji Daruvala, B.A., LL.B.	Parsi.	Bar-at-law, 91, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1177	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Phiroz B. Mistry, Esq.	"	Mill Store Merchant, Rogay Building, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1178	" also Mandvi District Congress Committee and Bombay Presidency Association.	Dr. Poonsey Hirji Meisheri, L. M. & S.	Cutchi Dassa Oswal Jain.	Medical Practitioner, 49, Chinch Bunder, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	" also Mandvi District Congress Committee held on 11th December 1915, and by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
1179	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Pragji Dayal Hariani, Esq. ..	Lohana Hindu.	Merchant, 24-32, D'Souza Street, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1180	"	Pragji Monji Kothare, Esq. ...	Lohana Arya (Hindu).	Grain Merchant, c/o Messrs. Shivjee Cooverjee & Co., Clive Road, Bombay (3).	"
1181	"	Pratapchand Gulabchand, Esq. ...	Jain.	Jeweller, 96, Ridge Road, "Gool-Bahar," Bombay (6).	"

Serial No	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1182	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Rao Bahadur Purushottam Balkrishna Joshi, F.R.G.S., J.P.	...	Pensioner, Hon. Magistrate, Benham Hall Lane, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1183	"	Purshottamdas Harkisondas Shah, Esq.	Hindu Bania.	Merchant and Commission Agent, 136, Bhuleshwar Road, Bombay (2)	"
1184	"	Purushottamdas Thakurdas, Esq., B.A.	Hindu Hinduism.	Merchant, "Malabar Castle," Ridge Road, Bombay (6).	"
1185	"	Purshotam V. Mawji, Esq., J.P. ...	Hindu Bhatia.	Merchant, Warden Road, Bombay (6).	"
1186	"	Rao Saheb Purshotam Odhowjee, J. P.	Bhatia.	Hon. Presidency Magistrate, Merchant, Patni Building, Princess Street, Bombay (2).	"
1187	"	Purnand Mahanand Bhat, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Solicitor, 11, Hummum Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1188	"	Rao Saheb Pamanand Jivandas Vakil.	Dasamal Bania Hindu Vishnav.	Jemindar of Ukharla and Trimbuk Gogha (District Ahmedabad).	"
1189	" also Surat District Congress Committee.	Prasanvadan Motabhai Desai, Esq.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin Hinduism.	Jagirdar, Jemindar and Vatandar, Gopipura, Surat.	" also at a Meeting of the Committee held on 12th December 1915.
1190	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Pratapsinh Mohanlalbhai, Esq. ...	Jain.	Merchant, Gheekanta Wadi, Ahmedabad.	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1191	Gujerat Sabha.	Purshotamdas Narandas Kinari-vala, Esq... ..	Bania.	Merchant, Raja Mehta's Pole, Ahmedabad.	At a General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.

1192	...	Pranlal A. Parneria, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	...	Wadifalia, Surat	... ..	..
1193	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	P. S. Laud, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	...	Gaud Saraswat Brahmin.	Solicitor, High Court, "Laud House," Kandewadi, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1194	"	Premdas Khimji, Esq.	...	Bhatia.	Merchant, Mulji Jehtha Market, English Street, Bombay.	"
1195	"	Prabhashanker D. Acharya, Esq.	...	Hindu Brahmin.	Merchant, 19, Bank Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1196	"	Padamshi Narshibhai, Esq.	...	Hindu Bhatia.	Merchant, 19, Bank Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1197	"	Dr. Popat Prabhuram, L. M. & S., J.P.	...	Hindu. Nagar Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Anant Wadi, Bhuleshwar, Bombay (2).	"
1198	"	Purshottamdas Ramchand, Esq.	...	Kshatri (Marwadi.)	Mill Owner c/o R. B. Amolokchand Govindram, Esq., 274, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2).	"
1199	Byculla District Congress Committee.	Rambhaw Jankoji Avhad, Esq.	...	Hindu.	Merchant, 79-81, Lamington Road, Bombay.	"
1200	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Rajoo Babaji, Esq.	...	...	Building Contractor, 3rd Kamattipura, Byculla, Bombay (8).	"
1201	"	Rahimtulla Curreembhoy, Esq.	...	Khoja.	Merchant, 13, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1202	"	Raghunandan Nanu Kothare, Esq., B.A.	...	Pathari Prabhu Hindu.	Solicitor, High Court, c/o Messrs. Nanu, Hormasji & Co., 89, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1203	"	R. S. Navalkar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	...	Pathari Prabhu.	Vakil, High Court, 4A, Bhai Jivanji's Lane, Thakurdwar, Bombay (2).	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1204	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Rustom K. R. Cama, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Parsi.	Solicitor, Jiji House, Ravelin Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1205	"	Ramdas Dossa, Esq. ...	Bhatia Hindu Vaishnai.	Muccadum, 451 C. Walkeshwar Road, Bombay (6).	"
1206	"	Ratansey Manekchand, Esq. ...	Jain.	Cotton Merchant, 49, Chinch Bunder Road, Khadak, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1207	"	Dr. Rahim Hassum Muljiani, L. M. & S.	Mahomedan-Khoja.	Medical Practitioner, 1st Chinch Bunder Road, Khadak, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1208	"	Ranchhordas Vallabhoy, Esq. ...	Bania.	Merchant, 43-47, 3rd Bhoivada, Bhuleshwar, Bombay (2).	"
1209	"	Ramchandra Bhaskar Mantri, Esq., J. P.	Some Vanshi Kshatriya Pathare Hindu.	Hon. Presidency Magistrate, Member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, Pensioner, Landed Proprietor, "Bhasker Bhuvan," 1st Gamdevi, Grant Road, Bombay (7).	"
1210	" also Bombay Presidency Association and North Bombay Dist. Congress Committee.	Ramkrishna M. Chonkar, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Asst. Secy., V. J. Technical Institute, Secy. Committee of Direction of Tech. Education, 867, Portuguese Church Street, Dadar, Bombay (14).	also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association and at a Meeting of the North District Congress Committee on 12th December 1915.
1211	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Ranchhoddas Bhavan, Esq. ...	Hindu Lohana.	"Arya Bhavan," Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1212	"	Ranchoddas Narandas, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Gujrati Bania	Solicitor, High Court, No. 79, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"

1213	"	Raoji Vinayak Jegannath Shunker Seth, Esq., J.P.	Daivaduya Brahmin.	Hon. Magistrate, Landlord, "Shunker-seth House," Girgaon Road, Bombay (2).	"
1214	"	Ratanlal Choonilal Jeweller, Esq...	Jain.	Jewellery Merchant, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	"
1215	"	Ratanlal M. Mody, Esq.	Hindu.	Solicitor, High Court, No. 41, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"
1216	"	Ratilal Ghelabhai Munsif, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Bar-at-Law, High Court Bar Room, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1217	" also Bombay Presidency Association	Dr. Rustum N. R. Ranina, L. M. & S.	Parsi.	Medical Practitioner, Sea Face, Chowpatty, Bombay (4).	also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
1218	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Ruttanchand Tullockchand Master, Esq.	Jain.	Stock-Broker, 348, Shaik Memon Street, Bombay (2).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1219	"	Runchhoddas Tribhovandas, Esq.	Bania Hindu.	Landed Proprietor, Ridge Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1220	" also Girgaon District Congress Committee and Bombay Presidency Association.	Ratansi D. Morarji, Esq.	Bhatia Hinduism Hindu.	Mill Owner, Chinabag, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	also Girgaon District Congress Committee on 9th December 1915 and by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
1221	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Rustum N. Vatchaghandhy, Esq.	Parsi Zarhosti.	Merchant, Editor and Proprietor, "Sanj Vartaman," Mint Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1222	"	Ruttonsee Mooljee, Esq., J. P. ...	Bhatia.	Merchant and Freight Broker, 22, Elphinstone Circle, Fort, Bombay (1).	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1223	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Ranchhodlal Amratlal Vasa, Esq.	Kaidwa Patidar Hindu.	Merchant and Mill Store Dealer, 1872, Hanuman Pole, Ahmedabad.	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1224	also "Gujerat Sabha.	Ram Rai Mohan Rai, Esq., B. A., F. T. S.	Nagar Brahmin.	Journalist, Lakia Street, Khadia, Ahmedabad.	also at a General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.
1225	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Poona District Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, M. A., B. S. C., Fellow of St. John's College, (Cantab.) etc. Fellow of the Bombay University.	...	Principal, Fergusson College, Poona City.	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915, and elected at a Joint Meeting of the Poona District Congress Committee and Deccan Sabha on 20th December 1915.
1226	Gujerat Sabha.	The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkant, B. A., LL.B.	Nagar.	Vakil, Oliphant Road, Ahmedabad. ...	At a General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.
1227	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Rao Saheb Rango Govind Naik.	Brahmin.	High Court Pleader and Landlord, Belgaum.	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1228	"	Ramrao B. Dalvi Esq. ...	Gound Saraswat Brahmin.	Merchant and Chief Agent, Fire Insurance Company, No. 4, Kandewadi, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1229	"	Rajaram Tukaram, Esq. ...	Bhandari.	Merchant, 21, Hummum Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1230	"	Ragnath Khemraj, Esq. ...	Vaishya Agarwal.	Member of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Proprietor of the Sri Venkateshwar Press, 7, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay (4).	"
1231	"	Ruttonjee Virpal, Esq. ...	Jain Hindu.	Merchant, 9, Green Street, Fort, Bombay (1)	"

1232	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Ramchand Hargovind, Esq. ...	Jain Hindu.	Merchant, 9, Green Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1233	"	Rahim Ebrahim Chatriwalla, Esq.	Khoja Mohamedan.	Umbrella Merchant, c/o Messrs. Ebrahim Currim & Sons, Juma Musjid, Market, Bombay.	"
1234	"	R. Jiwraj Ratansi Momaya, Esq.	Katchi Dasha Oswal Jain.	Merchant, c/o Messrs. Jewaraj Ratansi Co., Katha Bazar, Mandvi, Bombay (3)	"
1235	" also Bombay Presidency Association.	R. K. Dadachanji, Esq., B.A., LL. B	Parsi.	Vakil, High Court, Miss Petit Mansions, Slater Road, Grant Road, Bombay (7).	" also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
1236	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Ramsingh Dongursingh, Esq. ...	Aryan.	Harvey Road, Chowpatty, Bombay (4)	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1237	"	Fazalmiya Rahimtoolla, Esq. ...	Mahomedan.	112, Tandel Street, Bombay (9) ...	.....
1238	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Sadashiv R. Bakhale, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	...	Vakil, High Court, and Mamdar Kennedy Bridge, Grant Road, Bombay (7).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1239	" also Bombay Presidency Association.	Sorabji E. Warden, Esq. ...	Parsi.	Merchant, 37, Hummum Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	" also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
1240	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Sheriff Dewji Canjee, Esq. ...	Mahomedan.	Merchant, 13, Cuffe Parade, Colaba, Bombay (5).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1241	"	Shoorji Vallabhdass, Esq. ...	Lohana.	Merchant, Vadgadi, Bombay (3) ...	"
1242	"	Shivdas Mulchand, Esq. ...	Bhamsate.	Landlord, Princess Street, Keshavbag, 3rd Floor, Bombay (2).	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1243	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Dr. S. R. Shirgaokar, M. D. (London).	Hindu.	Consulting Physician, Mahamadi Mahal, Bombay (2).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1244	"	S. N. Pochkhanawala, Esq. ...	...	c/o Central Bank of India, Limited, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	.....
1245	"	Shantidas Askuram Shah, Esq. ...	Jain.	Merchant, c/o Messrs. Gilt & Co., Fort, Bombay (1).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1246	.....	Sayaji Naguji, Esq. ...	...	Clare Road, Byculla, Bombay (8).	.....
1247	"	Shankerlal Ghellabhai Haridas Esq., M.A.	Hindu.	Landed Proprietor, "Belle View" 34, Chowpatty, Bombay (4).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1248	Girgaon District Congress Committee.	Shankar Raoji Sathe, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Merchant, No. 2, Charni Road, Near Girgaon Tram Terminus, Bombay (4).	At a Meeting of the Girgaon District Congress Committee on 9th December 1915.
1249	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Shankar K. Phanse, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Landlord, Kashi Bag, C. P. Tank, Bombay (4).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1250	"	Shantaram Atmaram Sabnis, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin Hindu Aryan.	Solicitor, High Court, 2nd Bhatwadi Street, Sandhurst Road, Bombay (4).	"
1251	"	S. S. Rangnekar, Esq. ...	Hindu Aryan.	Bar.-at-Law, New Bhatwadi Lane, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1252	"	S. G. Velinker, Esq. ...	...	Ratan House, Girgaon, Bombay (4). ...	"
1253	"	Shivram V. Bhandarkar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Aryan Gaud Saraswat.	Vakil, High Court, Tata Blocks, Bandra, (B. B. & C. I. Ry.)	"

1254	" also North Bombay District Congress Committee.	Dr. S. S. Batliwala, L. M. & S., J.P.	Parsi.	Hon. P. Magistrate, Medical Practitioner, "Goolcher Lodge," Soparibag Road, Parel, Bombay (14) (Dadar).	also at the Meeting of the North Bombay District Congress Committee 12th December 1915.
1255	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Surajmal Bhojubhai Mehta, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Jain.	Solicitor, 25, Medows Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1256	"	Sunderdas Padamsi, Esq. ...	...	Mulji Jetha Cloth Market, Kamdhen Lane, Bombay.	"
1257	"	Shuffi C. Tyabji, Esq. ...	Mohamedan.	Merchant, 27, Medows Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1258	" also Gujerat Sabha	Somnath Bhudhardas, Esq. ...	Patidar Hindu.	Contractor, Raipur, Lamba Pada, Ahmedabad.	also at a General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.
1259	"	Shankerrai Amritrai, Esq. ...	Nagar Brahmin.	Manager and Proprietor of a Printing Press, Raipur, Ahmedabad.	"
1260	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Surat District Congress Committee.	Shavakshah Hormusji Khasukhan, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Parsi.	Pleader, Nanpura, Surat ...	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915, also by the Surat District Congress Committee at Surat on 12th December 1915.
1261	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Gujerat Sabha.	Shivabhai Motibhai Patel, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Patidar.	Vakil, Landholder, Khadia, Ahmedabad,	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915, also at a General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha on 7th December 1915.
1262	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	S. G. Phadke, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Kalyan Municipality, Merchant, Kalyan. ...	President At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1263	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Sudan G. Divatia, Esq.	Nagar Hindu Hinduism.	Pearl-bleaching, Maharaja Building, Girgaon Tram Terminus, Bombay (4).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1264	"	Shewakram Gaganmal, Esq. ... ..	...	Hyderabad (Sind)	"
1265	"	Sorabjee B. Kapadia, Esq.	Parsi.	Balaram Street, Grant Road, Bombay (7).	"
1266	"	S. Y. Abhyankar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, 3rd Parsiwada, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1267	"	S. K. Daftary, Esq.	Hindu Jain.	Manager, Messrs. Abdoolabhoy and J. Lalljee, 9, Green Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1268	"	Shah Premchand Babaldas, Esq. ...	Jain Hindu.	Merchant, 9, Green Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1269	"	Shah Narotamdas Samratlal, Esq.	Hindu Jain.	Merchant, 9, Green Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1270	"	Sheikh Issabhoy G., Esq.	Bohra Mahomedan.	9, Green Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1271	"	S. A. Manurkar, Esq.	Lingayat.	Trader, 942, Bhawani Peth, Poona City.	"
1272	Surat District Congress Committee.	Sanmukhlal Bhagwandas Shroff, Esq.	Bania.	Banker, Nanavat, Surat	At a Meeting of the Committee held on 12th December 1915.
1273	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Shriram Nandaram, Esq.	Marwari.	Timber Merchant, c/o Devidas J Desai, Esq., 121, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1274	"	Sangappa Annappa Sirdesai, Esq.	Lingayat Hindu	Landlord, Rakasgi, Amingad Post, Bikaner District	"

1275	„	Seth Radhakishan	Hindu.	Merchant and Contractor, Amritsar. ...	„
1276	„ also Dharwar District Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Shri- nivas Koner Rodda.	Brahmin.	Additional Member of the Bombay Legislative Council, Pensioner, Dharwar.	„ also at the Meeting of the District Congress Committee held on 12th December 1915.
1277	Deccan Sabha, Poona City.	Shrinivas C. Moodaliar, Esq., Sardar, 1st Class.	Hindu.	Landlord, Raste's Peth, Poona City ...	At the Meeting of the Deccan Sabha on the 28th December 1915.
1278	...	Sulaiman H. Ibrahim, Esq. ...	...	Nepean Sea Road, Malabar Hill, Bom- bay (6).	.....
1279	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Shah Mahomed D. Lahori, Esq.	Maho- medan.	Zemindar of Larkhana (Sind)	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1280	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Bhuleshwar Dis- trict Congress Committee.	T. A. Kulkarni, Esq., B.A. ..	C. K. Prabhu.	Principal, Bombay New English School, Kashi Baug, C. P. Tank, Bombay (4).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915, also Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee on 11th December 1915.
1281	„	T. D. Kapadia, Esq., L. C. E. ...	.....	Architect & Civil Engineer, 44, Tama- rind Lane, Fort, Bombay (1).	.....
1282	Bombay Provin- cial Congress Committee.	Tulsidas Khimji, Esq.	Hindu Bhatia	Landing and Shipping Agent, Ghod Bunder Road, Santa Cruz (B. B. & C. I. Ry.)	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1283	„	Tokarsey Kanji, Esq.	Cutchi Dasa Oswal Jain.	Merchant, Kharek Bazar, Dongri Street, Bombay (3).	„
1284	„	Teju Kaya, Esq. ... ..	.....	New Nagpada, Byculla, Bombay (8) ...	„
1285	„	Tribhowandas Munguldas Nathu- bhoy, Esq.	Hindu.	Landlord, Munguldas House, Laming- ton Road, Bombay (4).	„

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1286	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Tribhovandas Vurjeevandas, Esq., J. P.	Kapol Bania.	Merchant and Banker, 5-7, Hummum Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1287	"	Tribhuvandas Narottumdas Malvi, Esq., M.A., LL. B.	Gujarati Hindu Bania.	Solicitor, High Court, 402, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2).	"
1288	" also Bombay Presidency Association.	Trikamlal R. Desai, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	Hindu Khasayata Bania Vaishnav.	High Court Pleader, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
1289	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Trikamdas Dharamsi Morarji, Esq.	Bhatia Hinduism Hindu.	Mill Owner, China Baug, Girgaon, Bombay (11).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 15th December 1915.
1290	"	Tulseydass Mohanjee, Esq. ...	Hindu Bania.	Freight Broker, 20, Elphinstone Circle, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1291	"	T. M. Kajiji, Esq., M.A., LL. D. ...	Mahomedan.	Bar.-at-Law, "Dilkhoosh," Grant Road, Bombay (7).	"
1292	Gujerat Sabha.	Trikamlal U. Mehta, Esq....	Jain.	Vakil, Sarangpur, Talia's Pole, Ahmedabad.	At a General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.
1293	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Tulsidas J. Parekh, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Pleader, Lekhapatel's Pole, Ahmedabad.	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1294	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Surat District Congress Committee.	Thakorram Kapilram, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	Hindu.	Lawyer, Sanghadiawad, Surat... ..	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915, also at a Meeting of the Committee held on 12th December 1915.

1295	„	Tribhovandas Kahandas Engineer, Esq.	Hinduism & Bania.	Property Holder, Sonifalia, Surat ...	„
1296	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Umar Sobani, Esq...	Indian (Memon.)	Merchant, Umar Manzil, Cuffe Parade, Colaba, Bombay (5).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1297	„	Uttamlal K. Trivedi, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	Hindu.	High Court Vakil, Morarji Goculdas Buildings, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	„
1298	„	Uttamlal Manilal, Esq. ...	Bania Jain.	Sugar Merchant, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	„
1299	„	The Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel ...	Hindu.	Bar -at-Law, Bandra (B. B. & C. I. Railway.)	„
1300	„ also Bombay Presidency Association.	V. M. Pakvasa, Esq., B.A., LL. B...	Hindu Modh Bania.	Solicitor, High Court, Kalyan Kirparam's Wadi, Bhuleshwar, Bombay (2).	„ also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
1301	...	V. Y. Swaminathan, Esq...	...	187, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1 ).	.....
1302	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Valabh Narain Dani, Esq. ...	Agarwal Vaidya Arya.	Banker, Walkeshwar Road, Bombay (6).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1303	„	Vithaldas G. Dalal, Esq., B.A. ...	Bania.	Assistant, Messrs. P. Chrystal & Co., Fort, Bombay (1).	„
1304	„	Vithaldas Samaldas Mehta, Esq...	Hindu.	Money Lender, Panalal Terraces, Grant Road, Bombay (7).	„
1305	„	Vrajlal Bhagawandas, Esq. ...	Hindu Bania.	Cloth Merchant, Damodar Bhagawan Mala, Princess Street, Bombay (2).	„
1306	„	Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., B.A. ...	...	Murzbanabad, Andheri (B. B. & C. I. Railway).	„
1307	„	Vasanji Mulji, Esq., B.A...	Hindu Bhatia.	Merchant, Summer Hill, Mathew Road, Bombay (4).	„

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1308	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Hassan Rahimtoolla, Esq... ..	Mohamedan.	112, Tandel Street, Bombay (9).
1309	"	Morarjee Vussonjee Munjee, Esq., J. P.	Bhatia.	Mill Owner, Sandhurst Road, Bombay (4).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1310	" also Bombay Presidency Association and Girgaon District Congress Committee.	Vasant Narayan Naik, Esq., M A.	Hindu.	Student of Law, 17, Bhatwadi, 2nd Lane, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	" also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association and Girgaon District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
1311	"	Vasantrao S Ravut, Esq. ...	Somavanshi Kshatrya Pathare.	Merchant, French Bridge, Chowpatty, Bombay (7).	"
1312	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Velji Lukhamsi Nappoo, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Bania.	Merchant, Dana Bunder, Bombay (3)...	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1313	"	Rao Bahadur Vinayak Sadanand Joshi, J.P.	Brahmin.	Hon. Magistrate, Landed Proprietor, 3, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"
1314	" also Bombay Presidency Association and Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee.	Vishvanath P. Vaidya, Esq., B. A., M.R.A.S., J.P., and Fellow, University of Bombay.	Brahmin Prashnava Vajai.	Bar.-at-Law, High Court, 121, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	" also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association and Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee on 11th December 1915.
1315	.....	Rao Bahadur Vissanji Khimji ...	...	Dadar, Bombay (14). ... ..	.....

1316	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also Gujerat Sabha.	Velchand Umedchand Mehta, Esq., I.L. B.	Jain.	High Court Pleader, Nagji Bhudar's Pole, Ahmedabad.	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915, also at a General Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on 19th December 1915.
1317	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Bar.-at-Law, Ahmedabad ...	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1318	Poona District Congress Committee.	Prof. V. G. Kale, M.A. ...	Brahmin.	Professor, Fergusson College, Poona City.	At a Joint Meeting of the District Congress Committee and the Deccan Sabha on 20th December 1915.
1319	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Vithaldas Damodher Govindjee, Esq.	Bhatia.	Merchant, Mulji Jetha Market, Chowk, Bombay (2).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1320	"	Sir Vithaldass D. Thackersey ...	Hindu Bhatia.	Merchant and Mill Owner, 12, Hummum Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1321	"	V. F. Taraporevala, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Parsi.	Bar.-at-Law, Orient Club Building, Chowpatty, Bombay (4).	"
1322	"	Vallabdas Vussondas, Esq., J. P. ...	Lohana "Sindhi."	Merchant, Banker, Bharbhaya Moholla, Bombay (3).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1323	"	Vadilal Chhotalal Shah, Esq. ...	Bania.	Mill Store Supplier, 786, Nansa Jivan Street, Shankdeseri, Ahmedabad.	"
1324	"	Vrijvallavdas Jeykishandas, Esq.	Bania Hindu Vishnati.	Agent of the Bharatkhand Cotton Mills Co., Ltd., Lessees of the New Islam Mills of Bombay, Raja Mehta's Pole, Kahanji Divan Khacha, Ahmedabad.	"
1325	Gujerat Sabha.	V. S. Kanetkar, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Photographer, Richey Road, Ahmedabad.	At a Meeting of the Gujerat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1326	Girgaon District Congress Committee also Bombay Presidency Association.	Vaman Ramchandra Joshi, Esq....	Brahman.	Working Member, Aryan Education Society, Prarthana Samaj, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	At a Meeting of the Girgaon District Congress Committee 9th December 1915, also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
1327	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Varjiwandas Chunilal Sheth, Esq.	..	77, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6)...	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1328	..	Vassonjee Naranjee Bhimjee, Esq.	Bhatia.	Merchant, 30-32, Vadgadi, Bombay (3).	..
1329	.. also Mandvi District Congress Committee.	Vallabhji Ramji Ebjee, Esq. ...	Lohana.	Merchant, Sugar Bazar, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	.. also Mandvi District Congress Committee on 11th December 1915.
1330	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Vallabhdas Jamandas, Esq. ..	Hindu.	Merchant, Mulji Jetha Market, Clock Lane, Bombay (2).	At the Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1331	..	Vasudew Jetha, Esq.	Brahmin Hindu.	Merchant, Bombay ... ..	..
1332	Deccan Sabha, Poona District.	Rao Bahadur Vinayek Narayan Khopkar.	Kayastha Prabhu.	Retired Deputy Collector, Civil Station, Poona.	At a Meeting of the Deccan Sabha, Poona held on 20th December 1915
1333	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Seth Vadilal Chunilal	Bania Hindu.	Shroff, 99, Tambakanta, Bombay (3).	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1334	..	W. B. Thakur, Esq. ... ..	..	Malabar Hill, Bombay (6). ... ..	..
1335	..	W. P. Pradhan, Esq., B.A., LL. B...	Kayastha Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Benham Hall Lane, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	..

1336	"	Walchand Hirachand, Esq. ...	Jain.	Railway Contractor, Sion (G. I. P. Ry.) Bombay (17).	"
1337	"	W. B. Soman, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Merchant, 20, Cross Lane, Parel, Bom- bay (12).	"
1338	"	Yeshwant T. Wagle, Esq....	Gaud Sara- swat Brahmin.	Merchant, c/o Messrs. Y. Dalvi & Co., 18, Bank Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1339	"	Yoosuf Ismail Abdoolbhoj Lalljee, Esq.	Mohamedan	Merchant, 9, Green Street, Fort, Bom- bay (1).	"
1340	"	Y. G. Pandit, Esq. ..	Hindu.	Consulting Chemist and Expert to Government of Bombay, Whiteway Laidlaw Buildings, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1341	Bombay Presi- dency Association.	Yeshvantrao Govind Gurjar, Esq.	Gujarathi Brahmin.	Trade and Agriculture, "Rajee Villa" Alibag, District (Kolaba).	By the Council of the Bombay Presi- dency Association.
1342	"	Dr. Accacio Gabriel Viegas, L. M. & s., F. C. P. S., and J. P.	British Goan.	Medical Practitioner, Chowpatty Parade, Bombay.	By the Council of the Bombay Pre- sidency Association.
1343	"	B. G. Horniman, Esq. ...	Englishman	Editor, "Bombay Chronicle," Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1344	"	Bhagwanlal Panalal, Esq....	Jain.	Jeweller, 289, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2).	"
1345	"	Byramji N. Gamadia, Esq., J. P....	Parsi.	Hon. Magistrate, Merchant, Homji Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1346	"	Byramji Cowasji, Esq. ...	"	Proprietor, The Globe Dairy Co., 20, Charni Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1347	"	D. B. Shukla, Esq., B.A. ...	Brahmin.	Bar-at-Law, Rajkot ...	"
1348	"	D. B. Lam, Esq. ...	Parsi.	Nepean Sea Road, Bombay (6) ...	"

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1349	Bombay Presidency Association.	Edaljee Manekjee Modi, Esq., D.Sc., LL.D., Litt. D., F.R.S., (Edin.) F.C.S (London) J. P.	Parsi Zoroastrianism.	Hon. Presidency Magistrate, Merchant and Scientist Proprietor, Arthur Road Chemical Works, Meher Buildings, Tardeo, Bombay.	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
1350	"	Harishanker N. Pandya, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Pleader, Rajkot	"
1351	"	J. H. Majumdar, Esq.	"	Bar.-at-Law, High Court, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4)	"
1352	"	Jatashankar Jivanlal Chhaya, Esq.	Nagar.	Kathiawar Agency, Pleader, Junagadh.	"
1353	"	Kazim C. Tyabjee, Esq.... ..	Mohamedan.	Solicitor, High Court, 10, Dongersi Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	"
1354	"	Kursondas Hari, Esq.	Bhatia.	Freight Broker, 22, Elphinstone Circle, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1355	"	K. D. Wacha, Esq.	Parsi.	Jiji House, Ravelin Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1356	"				
1357	"	Manordas Tribhovandas Varjeevandas, Esq.	Kapal Bania.	Merchant, 5-7, Hummum Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1358	"	Mrs. Madhavji D. Thackersey ...	Bhatia Hindu.	Warden Road, Bombay.	"
1359	"	Muljee B. Barbhaya, Esq.... ..	Kapole Bania Hindu.	Solicitor, Westropp House, Ridge Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	"
1360	"	Mrs. N. N. Saher	Parsi.	Colaba, Bombay (5)	"
1361	"	Rustam P. Mody, Esq.	"	Solicitor, Cumballa Hill, Bombay (6) ...	"

1362	"	Raagnath Khemraj, Esq.	Vaishya Agrawal.	Member of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Proprietor's Son of the Shrivenkatesh- war Steam Press, 7th Khetwadi, Khambatta Lane, Bombay (4).	"
1363	" also Berar Provin- cial Congress Committee.	Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, B.A., LL. B	Brahmin.	Pleader, Vice-Chairman, District Board, Yeotmal,—Yeotmal (Berar).	" also at a Meeting of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee held on 9th November 1915.
1364	Bombay Presi- dency Association.	Sarafally Mamoojee, Esq	Borah Mahomedan.	Merchant, 20/24, Custom House Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
1365	"	Shapur N. Guzder, Esq.	Parsi.	Hughes Road, Bombay	"
1366	"	S. M. Manga, Esq.	Mahomedan.	Bar-at-Law, High Court Library, Fort, Bombay, (1).	"
1367	"	Tulsidas Keshavdas, Esq., J. P.	Kapole Hindu.	Hon. Magistrate, Laila Hall, Bandora, (B. B. & C. I. Ry.)	"
1368	"	Lady Thackersey	Bhatia Hindu.	Warden Road, Bombay.	"
1369	"	V. S. Nargundkar, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Inamdar and Pleader, Marutee Street, Belgaum.	"
1370	"	Mrs. Vithaldas D. Govindjee	Bhatia Hindu.	C/o Vithaldas Damodher Govindjee, Esq., Mulji Jetha Market, Chowk, Bombay.	"
1371	"	Vishnu M. Gadgil, Esq.	Brahmin. Hindu.	Landlord, Vice-President, District Local Board, Belgaum.	"
1372	"	Y. G. Gokhale, Esq.	Hindu.	Bar-at-Law, Dongre Buildings, Laming- ton Road, Bombay (7).	"

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1373	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Dorab N. D. Khandalavalla, Esq.	Parsi.	Bar.-at-Law, Bombay	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1374	"	Mrs. Gulbanoo Y. Lalljee ...	Mahomedan.	"Raj Mahal," Altamont Road, Bombay.	"
1375	"	Miss Jilobai Jehangir Vakeel. ...	...	"The Cliff," Malabar Hill, Bombay (6.)	"
1376	"	Miss Navajbai Mehta	Parsi.	Vussanjee House, Nepean Sea Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	"
1377	"	Thakoredas Tulsidas Parekh, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Vaishnav.	Vakil, High Court, 423, Walkeshwar Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	"
1378	"	Shankarao Narayan Karnad, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Memon Lodge, Bandra, (B. B. & C. I. Ry.)	"
1379	"	Sadashiv Ramachandra Gokhale, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	Vakil, High Court, 96, Hill Road, Bandra, (B. B. & C. I. Ry.)	"
1380	" also Bijapur District Congress Committee.	Rao Saheb Raghawendra Krishna Khembhavi.	Brahmin Hindu. Aryan.	Pleader, Bijapur	" also in a Public Meeting held by the District Congress Committee, Bijapur on 13th December 1915.
1381	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Vithal Narayan - Chandavarkar, Esq.	Hindu.	Bar -at-Law, Pedder Road, Bombay...	At a Meeting of the Council of the Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1382	Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee.	A. Rangaswami Ayengar, Esq., B.A.	Brahmin.	Law Student, Sirdar Griha, Carnac Street, Bombay (2).	At a Meeting of the Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee on 11th December 1915.
1383	"	Amritlal Chunilal Shah, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Jeweller, c/o. Kalianchand Sobhagchand Zaveri, Esq., Zaveri Bazar, Bombay.	"

1384	"	Anandrao Vinayak Dhurandhar, Esq.	Pathare Prabhu.	Accountant, 56, Zaoba's Oart, Thakurdwar, Bombay (4).	"
1385	"	Ambalal Dhirajram Pathak, Esq.	Brahmin Hindu.	Estate Manager, Kumbhar Tukada, Bhai Seth Building, No. 4, Bombay.	"
1386	"	Amritlal Manekchand Parekh, Esq., B.A.	Jain Jainism.	Law-student, Keshav Baug, Princess Street, Bombay (2).	"
1387	Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee.	Bhatt Gajanan Umashanker, Esq.	Brahmin.	Native Physician, c/o V. P. Vaidya, Esq., 18, Cathedral Street, Bombay (2).	At a Meeting of the Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee held on 11th December 1915.
1388	"	Bholabhai Chotalal Kothari, Esq.	Bania Hindu.	Yarn Merchant, Bombay	"
1389	"	Bulakhidas Tribhowandas Jariwala, Esq.	Hindu Kunbi.	Jariwala, Gokaldas Devji's Building, Bhendi Bazar, Bombay.	"
1390	"	Bhaidas Nanalal Mody, Esq. ...	Modh Bania.	Commission Agent, 136, Bhuleshwar Road, Bhuleshwar Library, 2nd Floor, Bombay (2).	"
1391	"	Chunilal Dayaram Mehta, Esq. ...	Bania.	Vakil, High Court, 5, Bhasker Lane, Cathedral Street, Bombay (2)	"
1392	"	Chunilal Damoderdas Barfivala, Esq., M.A., LL. B.	Sirte Dasa, Nagar Bania.	Articled Clerk, 2nd Khateralli Lane, Thakurdwar, Bombay.	"
1393	"	Chhotalal Bhagwandas Galliarah, Esq.	Hindu.	Diamond Merchant, c/o Maneklal Jasibhai, Esq., Jeweller, Javeri Bazar, Bombay.	"
1394	"	Chamanlal Bhagwanji Metha, Esq.	Jain.	Merchant, c/o Mehta Nathalal Manishanker, Esq., Vithaldas Road, Princess Street, Bombay (2).	"
1395	"	Cooverji Hormusji Plumber, Esq.	Parsi.	Plumber, 44, Dhobi Talao, Opposite New Fire Temple, Bombay (2).	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1396	Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee.	Chaturbhuj Kapurchand Kapadia, Esq.	Modh Bania.	Woollen Cloth Merchant, Vithalwadi, 72-74, Bombay (2).	At a Meeting of the Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee held on 11th December 1915.
1397	"	Chimanlal Laxmichand Javeri, Esq.	Jain.	Jeweller, Kalbadevi, No. 371-373, Bombay (2).	"
1398	"	C. B. Srinivas Rao, Esq., M.A. ...	Hindu.	Law-Student, Sirdar Griha, Carnac Street, Bombay (2).	"
1399	"	Chhaganlal Kakalbhai Pandya, Esq.	Brahmin.	Silver Merchant, Sutar Chawl, Bombay (2).	"
1400	"	Chhotalal Maganlal Kothari, Esq. ...	Jain Bania.	C/o Bank of India, Limited, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1401	"	Chhotalal Motilal Bakshi, Esq. ...	Bania.	Cotton Commission Agent, Maksura Buildings, Princess Street, Bombay (4).	"
1402	"	Chunilal Bhaichand Mehta, Esq. ...	Bania Hinduism.	Broker, 532, Marwadi Bazar, Bombay (2.)	At a Meeting of the Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
1403	"	Chaturbhuj Bhagwanji Bhorday, Esq.	Hindu.	C/o Tulsidas Tejpal, Esq., Vadgadi, Mandvi, Bombay (3)	At a Meeting of the Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee on 11th December 1915.
1404	"	Dharamchand Maganlal, Esq. ...	"	Merchant, 78, Vithalwadi, 1st Floor, Bombay (2.)	"
1405	"	Damoder Pragji, Esq. ...	Bhatia.	Munim, 323, Bohra Bazar, Fort, Bombay (1.)	"
1406	"	Datto Sakharam Kale, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Commission Agent and General	"

1407	"	Dayabhai Panachand Javeri, Esq.	Jain Jainism.	Jeweller, Javeri Bazar, Opposite Mumbadevi, Bombay (2.)	Bhuleshwar District Congress Com- mittee Meeting on 9th December 1915.
1408	"	Dwarkadas Dalsukhram Parekh, Esq.	Hindu.	Private Service, Bhatia Building, Bhoi- wada, Bhuleshwar, Bombay (2.)	Bhuleshwar District Congress Com- mittee Meeting on 11th December 1915.
1409	"	Dwarkadas Vallabhji, Esq. ..	Bania.	Merchant 78, Vithalwadi, Bombay (2.)	At a Meeting of the Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee held on 11th December 1915.
1410	"	Devchand Bhagwanji Shah, Esq.	Jain.	Merchant, Gopalak Galli, Mulji Jetha Cloth Market, Bombay.	"
1411	"	Dwarkadas Tribhuvandas, Esq...	Kapoli Bania.	Cotton Broker, 7, Fofalwadi, Bhuleshwar, Bombay (2.)	"
1412	"	Damodar Ramprasad Vaidya, Esq.	Brahmin.	Physician and Jeweller, Khara Koova, Zaveri Bazar, Bombay (2.)	"
1413	"	Damodar Tribhowandas Kapadia, Esq.	Jain.	Merchant, C/o Messrs. Premchand Ratanji & Co., Chhipi Chawl, Bom- bay (2.)	"
1414	"	Dwarkadas Purshottam Kapadia, Esq.	...	Salesman, Halai Bhatia Mahajan Wadi, 2nd Floor, Bombay (2. )	.....
1415	"	Durga Dass Diwanchand, Esq...	Hindu Khatri.	Merchant, Shawl and Benares Goods C/o Messrs. Morlidhar Mohanlal, 397, Marwadi Bazar, Bombay (2.)	At a Meeting of the Bhuleshwar Dis- trict Congress Committee on 11th December 1915.
1416	"	Damodar Keshavrao Devare, Esq	Hindu.	Photographer, 276, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2.)	"
1417	"	Goverdhandas Purushotam Hari- das, Esq.	Bhatia.	Broker, 323, Bohra Bazar, Fort, Bom- bay (1).	"
1418	"	Gajanan Sadanand Desai, Esq. ...	Hindu P. Prabhu.	Manager of a Firm, 477, Girgaon, Bom- bay (4).	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1419	Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee.	Gordhandas Kalianji, Bhatt, Esq.	Brahmin.	Merchant, Mulji Jetha Market, Bombay (2).	At a Meeting of the Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee held on 11th December 1915.
1420	"	Gangadharappa Sangapa Saboji, Esq.	Lyngayah.	General Merchant, Commission Agent, Messrs. G. S. Saboji and K. S. Maregoddi, Princess Street, Bombay (2).	"
1421	"	Gopalbhai Manibhai Parikh, Esq.	Hindu.	Mangaldas Building, Princess Street, Bombay (2).	"
1422	"	Gokaldas Ranchhodas Shroff, Esq.	Vaishnav	Yarn Broker, Madhav Bhuvan, Kande-wadi, Bombay.	"
1423	"	Gokaldas Jivraj Dayal, Esq. ..	"	Cloth Merchant, Gadiyal Gulley, Mulji Jetha Market, Bombay.	"
1424	"	Godedbhai Dosji Shah, Esq. ...	Jain.	Jeweller, Zaveri Bazar, Bombay (2). ...	"
1425	"	Hiralal Nathalal Desai, Esq., B. E.	Bania.	Architect and Engineer, Motilal Mansions, 14, Hummum Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1426	"	Harjiwan Kalidas Metha, Esq. ...	Nagar Brahmin.	Hon : Lecturer of the Theosophical Society, c/o Messrs. Ratilal Vrajlal & Co., Picket Road, Bombay (2).	"
1427	"	Hiralal Ranchhoddas Munim, Esq.	Bania.	Secretary, G. T. Charities, No. 17, Cavel, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2).	"
1428	"	Dr. Harikrishna Narsinhram Joshi.	Hindu Brahmin.	Sub-Assistant Surgeon, Bharucha Building, c/o Messrs. Keshavlal Bros., Princess Street, Bombay (2).	"
1429	"	Hirachand Vanechand Desai, Esq.	Jain.	Proprietor of a Firm, Opposite Bhatias Mahajan Wadi, Kalbadevi, Bombay (2).	"

1430	„	Hanmantapa Bhimarayapa Rajenahalli, Esq.	Hindu Vaishya.	Cotton Merchant, Messrs. R. Hanmantapa and M. Basettapa, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	„
1431	„	Hemchand Tokersey Shah, Esq....	Jain Bania.	Jeweller, Oomersi Raisywadi, Ghat Kopper, (G. I. P. Ry.)	„
1432	„	Hiralal Bhagwandas Mull, Esq. ...	Bania.	80-82, Bhuleshwar, 3rd Bhoiwada, Bombay (2).	„
1433	„	Hirachand Govardhandas Ambani, Esq.	Modh Bania.	Ghee-Merchant, c/o Govardhandas Premji Gheewala, Esq., Vithalwadi, Bombay (2).	„
1434	„	Hansraj Gokaldas, Esq.	Hindu.	Cloth Merchant, Gopalak Gulli, Mulji Jetha Market, Bombay (2).	„
1435	„	Hirachand Amichand Javeri, Esq.	Jain.	Jeweller, Chhippi Chawl, Bhuleshwar, Bombay (2).	„
1436	„	Hiralal Hemraj Mehta, Esq. ...	„	Diamond Merchant, c/o Messrs. Surajmal Lallabhai & Co., 227, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2).	„
1437	„	Hiralal Kalidas Vakhana, Esq. ...	Ghanchi-Hindu.	Managing Clerk to Solicitors, Bhaiseth Building, Kumber Tukda, Bombay (4).	„
1438	„	Hariantlal Nidhilal Chitnis, Esq ...	Hindu.	Share and Stock Broker, 11-13, Dadyseth Agiary Lane, Bombay (2).	„
1439	„	Hiralal Chhotalal Baki, Esq. ...	„	Farming, Mansoor Building, Princess Street, Bombay (2).	„
1440	„	Ishverapa Hodiappa, Esq. ...	„	Merchant, c/o Hirji Nensey House, Mandvi, Bombay (2).	„
1441	„	J. F. Valladares, Esq.	Roman Catholic.	Teacher, C/o P.A. Baptist, Esq., Morarji Goculdas Mill, Parel, Bombay (12).	„

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1442	Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee.	Jugatram Shankarprasad Vaidya, Esq.	Brahmin.	Chemist, The Zander Pharmaceutical Works, Kalbadevi, Bombay (2).	At a Meeting of the Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee on 11th December 1915.
1443	"	Jagmohandas Jekisondas Kapadia, Esq.	Bania.	Heerji Mulji's Building, Dadyseth Agiary Lane, Bombay (2).	"
1444	"	Jethashankar Narsibhai Bhatt, Esq.	Brahmin.	C/o Messrs. Premchand Ratanji & Co., Chhippi Chawl, Bombay (2).	"
1445	"	Jagjiwan Ujainshi Seth, Esq. ...	Bania Hindu.	Cloth Merchant, Ghatkopper, (G. I. P. Ry.)	At a Meeting of the Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
1446	"	Jhaveri Motilal Kalidas, Esq. ...	Hindu Bania.	Pearl Merchant, Bhuleshwar, Bhagat New Chawl, 1st Floor, Bombay (2).	At a Meeting of the Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee on 11th December 1915.
1447	"	J. K. Vias, Esq.	Brahmin Hinduism.	Merchant, C/o Sunderjee Virjee, Esq., Gopal Galli, Mulji Jetha Market, Bombay (2).	"
1448	"	Jivaji Krishna Parulkar, Esq. ...	G. S. Brahmin.	Palao Road, Near Takurdwar, Bombay (2).	"
1449	"	Jadavji Dulabhdas Modi, Esq. ...	Hindu Bania.	Marble and Tiles Merchant, Khanji Ladha's Building, Champa Gulli, Bombay (2).	"
1450	"	Jamnadas Morarjee, Esq....	Bhatia.	Merchant, 96, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2).	"
1451	"	Jhaveri Vithaldas Chaturbhuj, Esq.	Bania.	Jeweller, 45, Mamadevi, Jhaveri Bazar, Bombay (2).	"
1452	"	Jamnadas Ramdas, Esq.	Bhatia.	Merchant and Commission Agent, 31, Hummum Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"

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1453	"	Khurshed Framji Nariman, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Parsi.	Vakil, High Court, Corner Grant Road, Bombay (7).	"
1454	"	Kashinath Ramkrishna Koregao- ker, Esq.	Maratha.	Vakil, High Court, Fanaswadi, Kalba- devi, Bombay (2).	"
1455	"	Dr. Kanchanlal Vithaldas Tolat, M.B., B.S.	Bania Hindu.	Medical Practitioner, Chandanwady, C. P. Tank Road, Bombay (4).	"
1456	"	Keshavlal Umedram Reshamwala, Esq.	Hindu Bania.	Supdt., Bombay Municipality Assesment, 67, 3rd Bhoiwada, Bombay.	"
1457	"	Keshavji M. Doshi, Esq. ...	Jain Bania.	Proprietor of a Firm, 301, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1458	"	Kadapa Shivapa Mareguddi, Esq.	Lingayati.	General Merchant and Commission Agent, Messrs. G. S. Saboji and K. S. Mareguddi, Princess Street, Bombay (2)	"
1459	"	Keshavji Hirji Bhojraj, Esq. ...	Jain Bania.	Shroff, 1st Pathan Street, Bombay (2).	"
1460	"	Kishanlal Ramchander, Esq. ...	Marwadi.	Merchant, c/o Khushalchand Gopaldas, Esq., Opp. Fire Brigade, Bombay (2).	"
1461	"	Keshavlal Popatbhai Vaidya, Esq.	Brahmin.	Native Physician, c/o U.P. Vaidya, Esq., Bar.-at-Law, 18, Cathedral Street, Bombay (2).	"
1462	"	Kakalbhai B. Vakil, Esq....	Bania.	Merchant, Mansoor Building, Princess Street, Bombay (2).	"
1463	"	Kuwarji Mulchand Shah, Esq. ...	Jain.	Accountant, Mandhar Buildings, Prin- cess Street, Bombay (2).	"
1464	"	Kevalram Girdharlal Ganatra, Esq.	Lohana.	Managing Clerk to Solicitors, Tavawala Buildings, Princess Street, Bombay (2).	"
1465	"	Kaikhusroo Hormusji Vakil, Esq.	Parsi.	Private Tuition, Chinoy Mansions, Colaba, Bombay (5).	"

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1466	Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee.	Lasimchand Hemraj Jhaveri, Esq.	Jain.	Jhaveri Bazar, Bombay (2)	At a Meeting of the Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee on 11th December 1915.
1467	"	Lakhmidas Keshavji, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Merchant, Vishram Mauji's House, Kalbadevi, Bombay (2).	"
1468	"	Laxamidas Nagordas Shroff, Esq.	Bania Jarola.	Merchant, No. 69, Bhuleshwar, Bombay (2).	"
1469	"	Laxmichand Velchand Mehta, Esq.	Jain.	Merchant, c/o Messrs. Surajmal Lallubhai & Co., Jewellers, No. 225-227, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2).	"
1470	"	Laxmidas Ratansi Kapadia, Esq...	Bhatia.	Jeweller, Damodar Govindji's House, Princess Street, Bombay (2).	"
1471	"	Lallubhai Shankarbhai Bhat, Esq.	Brahmin.	Voras Mala, Sindhi Gully, Bombay ...	"
1472	"	Lalbhai Jethalal Mehta, Esq. ...	Jain.	Jeweller, c/o Maneklal Jasibhai Jhaveri, Esq., Jhaveri Bazar, Bombay (2).	"
1473	"	Makanji Juthabhai Mehta, Esq. ..	Jain.	Bar.-at-Law, Lalji Mansions, Lohar Chawl, Bombay.	"
1474	"	Maneklal Mulshankar Vyas, Esq.	Hindu.	Bar.-at-Law, Sandhurst Road, Bombay (4.)	"
1475	"	Manibhadra Nilkanthrai Chhalrupati, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Bhimrao Atmaram's Vadi, Thakurdwar, Bombay.	"
1476	"	Maneklal Harilal Vakil, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Pleader, Patni Buildings, Princess Street, Bombay (2.)	"
1477	"	Mohanlal Maganlal Desai, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Pleader, Mavji Raghavji's Mala, Baskar Lane, Bombay.	"

1478	"	Mohanlal Dalichand Desai, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Dasa Shrimali Bania.	Pleader, High Court, Lalsing Mansing Buildings, 3rd Floor, Lohar Chawl, Bombay. (2).	"
1479	"	Maneklal Purshottam Sheth, Esq.	Hindu Bania.	Merchant c/o. Sheth Jasraj Moolji, Flour Merchant, Nall Bazar Bombay.	"
1480	"	M. H. Kantavala, Esq., M.A. ...	Bania Hinduism.	Merchant, Bhuleshwar, Near Market, Bombay (2).	"
1481	"	Moolchand Roopchand Porecha, Esq.	"	c/o. Dr. Chandalia, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2).	"
1482	"	Madhusudan Raoji Sunkersett, Esq.	Daivad- naya Hindu.	Article Clerk to Solicitors, Sunkersett House, Palao Road, Bombay (2).	"
1483	"	Motilal Vallabhji, Esq. ...	Hindu	Merchant, 78, Vithalwadi, Bombay (2.)	"
1484	"	Mohanlal Kalidas Shah, Esq. ...	Dasa Srimali.	Businessman, c/o. Thackordas Nem- chand Shroff, Esq., Mulji Vakil's Chawl, Girgaon, Bombay (4.)	"
1485	"	Mansookhlal Dolatchand Zaveri, Esq.	Jain.	Diamond Merchant, c/o. Messrs Amulakh Kubchand & Sons, Shaik Memon Street, Bombay (2.)	"
1486	"	Mohanlal Makandas Mehta, Esq.	Indian.	Merchant, Zander Pharmacy, Kalbadevi, Bombay (2)	"
1487	"	Manilal Chotalal Dani, Esq. ...	Bania.	New Chawl, Bhagats Wadi, Bhulesh- war, Bombay (2).	"
1488	"	Matharadas Narandas, Esq. ...	Bhatia.	Cotton Merchant, Mulji Jetha Market, English Lane, c/o. Dayal Narsi's Shop, Bombay (2).	"
1489	"	Mangaldas Motilal, Esq. ...	Bania.	Jeweller, C. P. Tank, Pinjrapole, 1st Lane, Bombay.	"

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1490	Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee.	M. A. Narayana Iyengar, Esq., B. A.	Hindu.	Law-Student, Sirdar Griha, Carnack Street, Bombay (2).	At a Meeting of the Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee on 11th December 1915.
1491	"	Mahasukhbhai Chunilal Sheth, Esq.	Jain.	Shroff, Near Mangaldas Market, Princess Street, Bombay (2).	"
1492	"	Mudhanlal Makanji, Esq....	Brahmin.	Merchant, C/o Messrs. Keshavlal Brothers, Princess Street, Bombay (2)	"
1493	"	Mayashanker Jattashanker, Esq....	Hindu.	Insurance Agent, 61, Shamset Street, Bombay.	"
1494	"	Maganlal Harakchand Ghia, Esq., B. A.	"	Jeweller, Ghia Buildings, Princess Street, Bombay (2).	"
1495	"	Maneklal Thakordas Shroff, Esq.	Modh Bania.	Merchant and Commission Agent, 136, Bhuleshwar Road, Bombay (2).	"
1496	"	Maneklal Jaxibhai Javeri, Esq. ...	Jain.	Jeweller, Jhaveri Bazar, Bombay (2)....	"
1497	"	Mehta Vrajlal Narbheram, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Cloth Merchant, Gopalak Gulli, Mulji Jetha Market, Bombay (2).	"
1498	"	Mohanlal Hemchand Javeri, Esq	Hindu Jain.	Share and Stock Broker, Javeri Bazar, Bombay (2).	"
1499	"	Manilal Vrijvalavdas, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Broker, Maharaja's Bhoiwada, Gangadas Building, Bhuleshwar, Bombay (2).	"
1500	"	Motilal Lalloobhai Marfatia, Esq	Bania.	Clerk, Hirachand Building, Bhuleshwar Road, Bombay (2).	"
1501	"	Nathabhai Narottamdas Choksi, Esq., B. A , LL. B.	Bania.	Pleader, High Court, Khakhar's Building, Girgaon Post, Bombay (4).	"

1502	"	Dr. N. K. Mody, L. M. & S. ...	Jain.	Medical Practitioner, Moti Bazar, 267-269, Shaik Memon Street, Bombay.	"
1503	"	Dr. N. T. Vaidya, L. M. & S. ...	Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, 24-26, Cathedral Street, Bombay (2).	"
1504	"	Natvarlal Vidyashanker Acharya, Esq.	Hindu & Hinduism.	Jeweller, Bombay	"
1505	"	Narbheram Vanichand Desai, Esq.	Jain.	Proprietor of a Firm, Ganesh Chowk, 1st Lane, Mulji Jetha Market, Bombay (2).	"
1506	"	Natvarlal Dayabhai Kankodiwala, Esq.	Bania.	Student, 114, Dadiseth Agiary Lane, Bombay (2).	"
1507	"	Natvarlal Narandas, Esq.	Hindu.	Merchant, Gopalak Galli, Mulji Jetha Cloth Market, Bombay (2).	"
1508	"	Narsidas Karumshankar Purohit, Esq.	"	Merchant, Gopalak Galli, Mulji Jetha Cloth Market, Bombay (2).	"
1509	"	Nanji Hirji Bhojraj, Esq.... ..	Jain Bania.	Shroff and Money Lender, 1st Pattan Street, Bombay (2).	"
1510	"	Narottamdas Ujandas Kothari, Esq.	Bania.	Yarn Merchant, Bombay	"
1511	"	Narandas Trambakram, Esq.	Hindu.	Merchant, c/o Ratansi Lalji, Esq., Dadar Galli, Mulji Jetha Market, Bombay (2).	"
1512	"	Natverlal Itcharam Desai, Esq.	Vaishnav.	Sub-Editor, Hargovind Desai's Chawl, Cathedral Street, Bombay (2).	"
1513	"	Narbheram Anupchand Mehta, Esq.	Jain.	Merchant, Ghellabhai Buildings, Chowpatti, Bombay.	"
1514	"	Nantamlal Bhagwanji Mehta, Esq.	"	Merchant, c/o Mehta Nathalal Manishanker, Esq., Vithaldas Road, Princess Street, Bombay (2).	"

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1515	Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee.	Naranji Purshotam Sangani, Esq.	Vaishya.	Cashier, Nanabhai Fakarji China Buildings, Bhendi Bazar, Bombay.	At a Meeting of the Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee held on 11th December 1915.
1516	"	Pranlal Vishvanath, Esq....	Brahmin Hinduism.	Merchant, Bhuleshwar, Near Market, Bombay (2).	"
1517	"	Premchand Chaturbhuj Bhayani, Esq.	Bania Hinduism.	Merchant, 113, Vithalwadi, Bombay (2).	At a Meeting of the Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
1518	"	Parashram Vishnoo Joglekar, Esq.	Brahmin.	Head Clerk and Accountant, Signal Engineer's Office, G. I. P. Railway, Laxmi-Bag, Sion, Bombay.	At a Meeting of the Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee held on 11th December 1915.
1519	"	Premji Gokuldas Naranji, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Merchant, c/o Hansraj Goculdas, Esq., Mulji Jetha Market, Gopal Gulli, Bombay (2).	"
1520	"	Preheladhji Dalsookhram Bhat, Esq.	Brahmin.	Private Service, 39, C. P. Tank Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1521	"	Premchand Tribhowandas Kapadia, Esq.	Jain.	Merchant, c/o Messrs. Premchand Ratanji & Co., Chhippi Chawl, Bombay (2).	"
1522	"	Phirozashah R. Green, Esq. ...	Parsi.	Building Surveyor, 145, Queen's Road, Bombay.	"
1523	"	R. Jaganath Mankar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Prabhu.	Vakil, High Court, 431, Thakurdwar Road, Bombay.	"
1524	"	Dr. Ranchhodas Harakhji Parekh, L. M. & S.	Hindu Bania.	Medical Practitioner, Nagdevi Street, Bombay,	"

1525	"	Revashanker Jagjivan, Esq.	...	Jain Hinduism.	Diamond Merchant, Javeri Bazar, Bombay (2).	At a Meeting of the Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
1526	"	Ranchhoddas Bhagwandas Ghvi, Esq.	San-	Bania Hinduism.	Student, Bhuleshwar, Bombay (2).	"
1527	"	Ratansi Hirji Bhojraj, Esq.	...	Bania Jain.	Shroff, 1st Pathan Street, Bombay (2).	At a Meeting of the Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee held on 11th December 1915.
1528	"	Ramrao Ganpatrao Vijayakar, Esq.		Prathare Prabhu.	56, Zaoba's Oart, Bombay (4).	"
1529	"	Rangildas Jamnadas Lala, Esq.	...	Hindu.	41, Cavel Street, Kalbadevi, Bombay (2)	"
1530	"	Ranchhodlal Chunilal Mehta, Esq.		Bania Hindu.	Managing Clerk to Solicitors, Bhai Seth's Buildings, Koombar Tookda, Bombay (4).	"
1531	"	Ratilal Mohandas Parekh, Esq.	...	Bania.	Plumber, c/o Messrs. Ratilal Vrajlal & Co., Picket Road, Kalbadevi, Bombay (2).	"
1532	"	Sadashankar M. Bhat, Esq., LL. B.	B.A.,	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Keshavbaug, Princess Street, Bombay (2).	"
1533	"	Shivlal Nimji Mehta, Esq.	...	Bawa Hindu.	Timber Merchant, 72, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1534	"	Shankerdas Jethabhoy, Esq.	...	Bhatia.	Merchant, 354, Moolji Anandji's House, Holichakla, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1535	"	Sunderrao Gopinath Jayakar, Esq.		Pathare Prabhu.	Merchant, 156-158, Old Hanuman Lane, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2).	"
1536	"	Shantappa Virappa, Esq.	...	Hindu.	Merchant, c/o Hirji Nensi, Esq., Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Cate, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1537	Bhuleshwar Dist. Congress Committee.	Sunderrao Dinanath Navalkar, Esq., M.R.A.S.E.	Pathare Prabhu.	Landed Proprietor, Agriculture and Farming, 316, Princess Street, Bombay (2).	At a Meeting of the Bhuleshwar Dist. Congress Committee held on 11th December 1915.
1538	"	Sheth Haridas Mathradas. ...	Bhatia.	Merchant, Nanji Keshavji's Shop, Mulji Jetha Market, Bombay (2).	"
1539	"	Sunderdas Permanandas Kapadia, Esq., B.A.	Hindu.	Merchant, Gopalji Kalianji's Shop, Mulji Jetha Market, Bombay (2).	"
1540	"	Sunderji Devchand, Esq.	Jain Bania.	Merchant, Patni Building, Princess Street, Bombay (2).	"
1541	"	Shivji Poonja Kothari, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Cotton Commission Agent, Dawood Jariwala's House, Kalbadevi, Bombay (2),	"
1542	"	Shripad Khrishna Bramhandkar, Esq., M.A.	Pathare Prabhu.	Law-Student, New Wadi, Kalbadevi Post, Bombay (2).	"
1543	"	Thakoredas Atmaram Ghandi, Esq.	Hindu.	Solicitor, High Court, 283, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2).	"
1544	"	Thakorlal Chandrashankar Master, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	"	Pleader, High Court, Bhuleshwar, Bhagwan Kalyan's Wadi, Bombay (2).	"
1545	"	Thribhuwan Pandamsingh Mahuwakar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Picket Cross Road, Bombay (2).	"
1546	"	Thribhovandas Khusaldas Popat, Esq.	Hindu Lohana.	Agent, Bhavnagar State, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1547	"	Thakordas Tribhovandas Popat, Esq.	Hindu.	Merchant, Manhar Buildings, Princess Street, Bombay (2).	"
1548	"	Trikamdas Ranchhordas, Esq. ...	Bhatia.	Broker, 15-17, Dwarkadas Lane, Bazar Gate Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"

549	"	Thakorlal Harilal Desai, Esq. ...	Bania.	Managing Clerk to Attorneys-at-Law, Prince Buildings, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
550	"	Tribhovandas Pranjivandas Roolwala, Esq.	"	Cotton Merchant, 24-26, Cathedral Street, Bombay (2).	"
551	"	Venilal Jekisondas Vakil, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Merchant, c/o T. N. Malvi, Esq., Solicitor, 402, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (2).	"
552	"	Vishvambhar Gopal Gayatonde, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, High Court, Kashi Baug, C. P. Tank, Bombay (4).	"
553	"	Vishnu Govind Basarkar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, 80-82, C. P. Tank Road, Bombay (4).	"
554	"	Varjivandas Lallubhai Mahimwalla, Esq.	Hindu Bania.	Vakil, High Court, Above Lad Bania's Oart, C. P. Tank Road, Bombay (4).	"
555	"	Vagbhat Narayan Deshpande, Esq., B.A.	Hindu.	Law Student, Sardar Griha, Bombay (2).	"
556	"	Vamanrao Ganpatrao Pitale, Esq.	"	Merchant, Princess Street, Bombay (2).	"
557	"	Valabhdas Gokuldas, Esq. ...	...	Merchant, 58, Pedder Road, Bombay.	"
558	"	Vrajlal Vanmali Modi, Esq. ...	Bania.	Contractor, c/o Messrs. Ratilal Vrajlal & Co., Picket Road, Bombay (2).	"
559	"	Varajdas Bhaidas, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Insurance Agent, 1-3, C. P. Tank Road, Bombay (4).	"
1560	"	Waman J. Nimker, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, High Court, 413, Girgaon Road, Bombay (2).	At a Meeting of the Bhuleshwar Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
1561	Byculla District Congress Committee.	Basettappa Shadaksharappa Manganhalli, Esq.	Lingayati.	Cotton Merchant, c/o Messrs. R. Hanumantappa and M. Basettappa, 187, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	At a Meeting of the Byculla District Congress Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1562	"	Bhaskar Sadashiv Govande, Esq.	Protestant Christian.	Superintendent, American Mission High School, 2nd Peerkhan Street, Byculla, Bombay (8).	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1563	Byculla District Congress Committee.	Baboorao Ramkrishna Soman, Esq.	Brahmin.	Merchant, 20, Cross Lane, Parel, Bombay (12.)	At a Meeting of the Byculla District Congress Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1564		Chinapa Krishnaje, Esq... ..	Telgu Fulmali.	Contractor, No. 18, Kamathipura, 6th Street, Bombay.	
1565		Dattatrya Atmaram Jayawant, Esq.	C. K. Prabhu.	Motiwala Buildings, Lamington Road, Bombay.	
1566		Dr. Dattatraya Ramchandra Desai, L. M. & S.	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner, National Medical Hall, Parel, Bombay (12.)	
1567		Govind Damodar Mhatre, Esq ...	"	Clerk, Mount Road, Mazagaon, Bombay (10).	
1568		Jagjivan Manekchand Shah, Esq.	Jain.	Merchant, 241, Bazar Gate Street, Fort, Bombay (1.)	
1569		Jagannath Gangaram Pulee, Esq.	Telagu Hindu.	Commission Agent and Merchant, 9th Street, Kamathipura, Bombay.	
1570		Krishnarao Bhaskar Phadke, Esq.	Brahmin.	Landlord, Charni Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	
1571		Lallubhai Girdharlal Javeri, Esq	"	Jeweller, 45, Mumbadevi, Kalbadevi, Bombay (2).	
1572		Mahadevrao Mahadev Khandray, Esq.	Vangari.	Pensioner, Kamathipura, 4th Street, House, No. 64, Bombay.	
1573		Mehta Dhanwantraï Mukundrai, Esq., B.A.	Hindu.	Student, Opposite Bhajekar's Hospital, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	
1574		Nanabhoy Framji Mama, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Parsi.	Pleader, High Court, Nana Building, Near Tardeo Bridge, Bombay.	
1575	Prabhulal Hathibhai Vaishnav,	Nagar	$\frac{A}{58}$ Pannalal Terraces, Grant Road,	"	

1576	„	Ramchandra Malu Jilker, Esq. ...	Telugu.	Landlord, Kamathipura, 9th Street, Bombay.	„
1577	„	Rajaram Chimaya Kumar, Esq. ...	„	Building Contractor, Doorgadevi Street, Bombay.	„
1578	„	R. Narayana Aiyar, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Representative "New India," China Baug, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	„
1579	„	Ratnakar Abaji Joshi, Esq. ...	Christian.	Private Tutor, Jagni Building, 2nd Peerkhan Street, Byculla, Bombay (8).	„
1580	„	Shankar Sayena Paisha, Esq. ...	Telugu.	Kamathipura, 3rd Street, Bombay ...	„
1581	„	Shankar Rajana Jirkar, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Contractor, Kamathipura, 9th Street, Bombay.	„
1582	„	Sirdar Gouskhan Desai, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Sunni Mahomedan.	Vakil, High Court, Railway Hotel, Charni Road, Bombay (4).	„
1583	„	Sorabji Hormusji Umrigar, Esq....	Parsi Zoroastrian	Abkari Contractor, Girgaon, Opp. Dr. Bhajekar's Hospital, Bombay (4).	„
1584	„	Sambhaji Bhagooji Hamand, Esq.	Telugu Vangari.	Contractor, 3rd Kamathipura Street, Bombay.	„
1585	„	Sadanand Ramkrishna Parelkar, Esq.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Building Contractor, 1251, Parel Village Bombay (12).	„
1586	„	Sitaram Vishwanath Joshi, Esq....	Brahmin.	Commission Agent, Soman Building, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	„
1587	„	Survottam R. Shenai, Esq. ...	Gaud Saraswat Brahmin.	Commission Agent, 1355, Parel Village Road, Bombay (12).	„
1588	„	Sitaram Yeshwant Dalvi; Esq., B.A., LL.B.	„	Pleader, High Court, 18, Borebhat Lane, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	„
1589	„	Tribhowandas Jamnadas, Esq. ...	Bania.	Merchant, Kalyan Buildings, Kande-wadi, Bombay (4).	„

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1590	Byculla District Congress Committee.	Trimbak Purushottam Khare, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, 20, Cross Lane, Parel, Bombay (12).	At a Meeting of the Byculla District Congress Committee held on 13th December 1915.
1591	"	Vithoba Krishnaji Pupala, Esq. ..	Telugu.	Licensed Plumber, 6th Street, Kamathipura, Byculla, Bombay (8).	"
1592	"	Vithal Shivlingu Alakonde, Esq. ...	"	Landlord, 88, Kamathipura Street, Bombay (8).	"
1593	"	Dr. Vaswani Nihalchand Udharan, M.B., B. G.	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner, Juma Sheriff Building, Byculla, Bombay (8).	"
1594	"	Vasantraj Shankerprasad, Esq. ..	Nagar Brahmin.	A Parvati Mansion, Grant Road, Bombay (7).	"
1595	"	Vaman Shridhar Apte, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Merchant, Peerbhoy Mansion, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1596	Fort District Congress Committee.	Amerchand Kalidas, Esq. ...	Bania.	Share Broker, 329, Bhora Bazar, Fort, Bombay (1).	At a Meeting of the Fort District Congress Committee on 15th December 1915.
1597	"	Bipin Krishna Sinha, Esq. ...	Theist.	Private Tutor, Empire Hotel, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1598	"	Bhaidas Bechardās Doshey, Esq. ...	Jain Bania.	West Field, Warden Road, Bombay (6).	"
1599	"	Bhupatrai Ichhashankar Mehta, Esq.	Hindu.	Share Broker, Share Bazar, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1600	"	Champaklal Harilal Bhagodia, Esq., B.A.	Bania.	Teacher, 10, Cowasji Patel Tank Road, Bombay.	"
1601	"	Dhruva Sumanas, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Merchant, 65, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"

1602	"	Devji Umarsi, Esq.	Bhatia.	Cotton Merchant, Khatau Ladha's Building, 177, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1603	"	Devidas Lukhmichund Ghereriah, Esq.	Jain Bania.	Broker, Old Modikhana, Fort, Bombay	"
1604	"	Doongersey V. Moolji, Esq.	Hindu.	Commission Agent, No. 83, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1605	"	Goculdas Mooljee Matani, Esq.	Bhatia.	Merchant, 83, Mint Road, Bombay (1).	"
1606	"	Jagjiwan Ujamsi, Esq.	Jain.	Devraj Tokersey's Wadi, Ghatkopper, (G. I. P. Ry.)	"
1607	"	Jehangir Rutonji Gilder, Esq.	Parsi.	Merchant, Bazar Gate Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1608	"	Jaram Liladhar, Esq.	Hindu.	Commission Agent and Merchant, 83, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1609	"	Sha Jivandas Liladhar, Esq.	Bhatia.	Merchant, No. 83, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1610	"	Jethalal Ramji, Esq.	Jain Bania.	Share Broker, Share Bazar, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1611	"	Sha Khataw Morarji Matani, Esq.	Bhatia	Merchant, No. 83, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1612	"	Krishnabai Bhau Thaker... ..	Goud Brahmin.	Lady Supdt., Balkrishna H. B. Poona, Bazar Road, Bandra, (B. B. & C. I. Ry.)	"
1613	"	Lalji Bhagwanji Trivedi, Esq.	Brahmin.	Merchant, No. 201, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	At a Meeting of the Fort District Congress Committee held on 15th December 1915.
1614	"	Liladhar Javerchand Thar, Esq.	Modh Bania.	Cotton Broker, 171, Mody Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1615	Fort District Congress Committee, also Bombay Presidency Association.	Meherjibhai Palanji Madan, Esq....	Parsi.	Editor, "Praja Mitra and Parsi," Broach Building, Gilder Lane, Tardeo, Bombay.	At a Meeting of the Fort District Congress Committee held on 15th December 1915, also by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.

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1616	Fort District Congress Committee.	Mulji Pitamber Parekh, Esq. ...	(Bania) Hindu.	Merchant, 285, Bazar Gate Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	At a Meeting of the Fort District Congress Committee held on 15th December 1915.
1617	"	Mathradas Khimjee, Esq....	Bhatia.	Cotton Broker, Khatau Ladha's Building, 177, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1618	"	Madhavji Jothabhai, Esq. ...	Jain.	Insurance Broker, Odhavji Girdhar's House, 203, Bazar Gate Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1619	"	Mehta Liladhar Amratlal, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Merchant, Ghelabhai Building, Chowpati Road, Bombay.	"
1620	"	Sha Megjee Ranchhordass Toprani.	Bhatia.	Merchant, 83, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1621	"	Ootamchand R. Broker, Esq.	Bania Jain.	Share Broker, 89, Frere Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1622	"	Pallanji Kaikaus Madan, Esq. ...	Parsi.	Representative, Associated Press of India, Gilder Lane, Tardeo, Bombay.	"
1623	"	Premji Nagurdas, Esq. ...	Bania Jain.	Share Broker, Bazar Gate Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1624	"	Ranjitram Vavabhai, Esq. ...	Kayastha.	Secretary to Sir Prabhashankar Pattani, Khatau Bhuwan, Wodehouse Road, Colaba, Bombay (5).	"
1625	"	Syed Abdullah Brelvi, Esq., M.A. ...	Islam,	Journalist, "The Bombay Chronicle," Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"

1626	"	Tapidas Durlabhdas Sanghvi, Esq.	Bania Hindu.	Merchant, 285, Bazar Gate Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1627	"	T. V. Bhagat, Esq.	Hindu.	Landlord, 65, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1628	"	Tulsidas Parmanand Maknaji Sethna, Esq.	Jain Bania.	Share and Stock Broker, Bazar Gate Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1629	"	Varjivan Liladher, Esq.	"	Broker, No. 89, Frere Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1630	"	Vishnuprasad D. Trivedi, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Business, 52, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1631	"	Wissanji Thakersey Halai, Esq. ...	Bhatia.	Managing Clerk to Solicitors, 138, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1632	Girgaon District Congress Committee.	Amratlal Amarchand, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Landed Proprietor, Moodi Bazar, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	At a Meeting of the Girgaon District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
1633	"	Amrai Bhupatrai Oza, Esq. ...	"	Laxmi-Nivas, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1634	"	Amritlal Vithaldas Thakkar, Esq., L. C. E.	Lohana.	Member of the Servants of India Society, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1635	"	Amritlal D. Vakil, Esq., B.A. ...	Bania.	Partner of a firm, Narayan Buildings, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"
1636	"	Ambalal Bapalal Pandya, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Private Service, Ramashram, 72-80, Kandewadi, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1637	"	Amritlal Kevaldas Shah, Esq. ...	Visa Shrimali Shrawik.	Cotton Broker, Morarji Goculdas Building, Sandhurst Road, Bombay (4).	"
1638	"	Ananta Bhikoba Goregaoker, Esq.	Hindu.	Building Contractor, 3rd Dammar Lane, Bombay.	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected
1639	Girgaon District Congress Committee.	Anant Ganesh Sathaye, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, 735, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	At a Meeting of the Girgaon District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
1640	"	B. R. Swamy Rao, Esq.	Hindu Hinduism.	Engineer, Bombay.	"
1641	"	Balvantrao Keshavrao Desai, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	Anavil Brahmin.	Law Student, Ranji Laxmidas House, Near Girgaon Post Office, Bombay (4).	"
1642	"	Bhaskar Sadanand Turkhad, Esq.	Brahmin.	Hon. Secretary, Students Brotherhood, Dr. Turkhad's House, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1643	"	Balaram Krishnanath Dhurandhar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Pathare Prabhu.	Advocate, High Court, 10, Sadashiv Street, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1644	"	Bhagwandas Kaliandas Modi, Esq.	Kapole Bania.	Landed Proprietor, Krishna Kunj, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	"
1645	"	Balvantrai Harijivandas Metha, Esq.	Wadnagara Brahmin.	Secretary of a Factory, Laxuminiwas, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1646	"	Balubhai T. Desai, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	Bania.	Vakil, High Court, Sandhurst Road, Dattu Building, Bombay (4).	"
1647	"	Bapuji Jivraj Dhondi, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Parsi.	High Court Pleader, Zaihal Manzil, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay (4).	"
1648	"	Bhagwant Sadanand Palekar, Esq.	Hindu.	Merchant and Landed Proprietor, 44, Sandhurst Road, Bombay (4).	"
1649	"	Bhagwanjee Hemchand Shah, Esq.	Jain Jainism.	Broker, Maniar Building, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"

1650	"	Bejonji Hormusji Umrigar, Esq.	Parsi Zoroas- trian.	Abkari Contractor, Girgaon, Opp. Dr. Bhajekar's Hospital, Bombay (4).	"
1651	"	Burjorji Kaikhashrow Nicholson, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Parsi	Pleader, 2, B. New Queen's Road, Bombay.	"
1652	"	Rai Saheb, Rai Bahadur, Brij- mohanlall Sacharandas.	Vaishnav Kshatriya.	Retired District Traffic Superintendent, B. B. & C. I. Railway, Santa Cruz	"
1653	"	Brijratandas Jamnadas Akkad, Esq., B. A.	Hindu Bania	Teacher, 101, Amritwadi, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"
1654	"	Burjor Shapurji Sanjana, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Parsi.	Pleader, High Court, Kashinath Build- ings, Khetwadi Lane, No. 7, Bom- bay (4).	"
1655	"	Chhotalal Karsandas Mulji, Esq...	Kapole Bania.	Vakil, High Court, 3rd Parsiwada, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1656	"	Chhotalal Jekisondas, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Bania.	Vakil, High Court, Morarji Goculdas Buildings, No. 5, Sandhurst Road, Bombay (4).	"
1657	"	Chhotalal Vamalchand Shroff, Esq.	Jain Dasa Shrimali Murtipujak.	Superintendent, Shri Mahavir Jain Vidyalaya, Sandhurst Road, Bom- bay (4).	"
1658	"	Chhaganlal N. Kanuga, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	Brahma- Kshatriya.	Vakil, High Court, New Queen's Road, Bombay.	"
1659	"	Chandulal Bulabhai Nanavati, Esq.	Jain.	Merchant, c/o Messrs. Nanavati Venai- na's Co., Ismail Building, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1660	"	Chhotalal Lalloobhai Amin, Esq...	Hindu.	Contractor, Patkar Building, First Floor, Sandhurst Road, Bombay (4).	"
1661	"	Chhotalal Anopram Vyas, Esq. ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Commission Agent, 108, Amritwadi, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1662	Girgaon District Congress Committee.	Chaturbuj Jivandas, Esq.	Bhatia.	Freight Broker, c/o Narandas Topan, Esq., Trambakata, Pydhowni, Bombay.	At a Meeting of the Girgaon District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
1663	"	Champaklal Girdharlal Modi, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Bania.	Vakil, High Court, 73, Charni Road, Bombay.	"
1664	"	Chintamani Ravishankar Joshi, Esq.	Brahmin.	Managing Clerk to Solicitors, Kalyan Building, Kandewadi, Bombay (4).	"
1665	"	Chunilal Sakerlal Mehta, Esq. ...	Nagar Brahmin.	Merchant, R. B. Mantri's Building, Plot No. 6, New Bhatwadi, Sandhurst Road, Bombay (4).	"
1666	"	Chunilal Mulchand Kapadia, Esq., M A., B.S.C., LL.B.	Jain.	Managing Clerk, c/o C. V. Shroff, Esq., B.A., Wandekar's Buildings, Opposite Chowpatty P. O., Sandhurst Road, Bombay.	"
1667	"	Chimanlal Motilal Nanavati, Esq.	"	Coal Merchant, c/o The Victoria Mills Co., Ltd., Gamdevi, Grant Road, Bombay (7).	"
1668	"	Chimanlal Bhogilal Sheth, Esq. ..	Hindu.	Member of Hon'ble Society of Middle Temple, London, c/o Dr. C. M. Desai, Opposite Powell's Stores, Sandhurst Road, Bombay (4).	"
1669	"	Dr. Chimanlal N. Shroff, Esq. ...	Jain Bania.	Medical Practitioner, c/o C. V. Shroff, Esq., B. A., Sandhurst Road, Opposite Chowpatty Post Office, Bombay.	"
1670	"	D. Kashinath, Esq.	Hindu.	Proprietor of "Nav-Yug" Bombay Art Printing Works, Elphinstone Circle, Custom House Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"

1671	"	Dadabhoy Mancherji Darabseth, Esq.	Parsi.	Merchant, Banoo Mansions, Cumballa Hill, Bombay (6).	"
1672	"	Dayabhai Khushalbai Patel, Esq.	Patidar.	Commission Agent, Amritwadi, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"
1673	"	Dattatraya Pundlik Rege, Esq. ...	Hindu Gaud Saraswat.	Clerk, Top Floor, Ravate Buildings, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1674	"	Dayabhai M. Khandwalla, Esq. ...	Bania Hinduism.	Pleader, Girgaon Tram Terminus, Bombay (4).	"
1675	"	Dattatraya Anant Telang, Esq., B.A.	Goud Saraswat Brahmin.	Principal, Babu P. P. Jain High School, Koregaonker Building, New Bhatwadi, Bombay (4).	"
1676	"	Dattatraya Soyaraba Borker, Esq.	"	Haji Cassam Blocks, French Bridge, Grant Road, Bombay (7).	"
1677	"	Damsi Umersi, Esq.	Hindu Lohana.	Sakharam Ganesh House, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1678	"	Desai Ramrai Gulabrai, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Ramchandra Mantri's Mala, Bhatwadi Bombay (4).	"
1679	"	Dharamdas Tribhovandas Vurjevandas, Esq.	Hindu Kapole Bania.	Merchant, Westfield, Warden Road, Bombay.	"
1680	"	Dinker Sakharam Varde, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Gaud Saraswat Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, Bhai Jivanji's Lane, Thakurdwar, Bombay (2).	"
1681	"	Dhirajlal Chhaganlal Modi, Esq., B.A.	Hindu.	Merchant, Ramashram, 72-80, Kande-wadi, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1682	"	Dharnidhar J. Trivedi, Esq. ...	Nagar Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, 4/14, Pannalal Terraces, Grant Road, Bombay (7).	"
1683	"	Dwarkadas Kaliandas Modi, Esq.	Kapoli Bania.	Landed Proprietor, Ridge Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1684	Girgaon District Congress Committee.	Dinkar Dattatray Sabnis, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Qualifying Service, 72-80, Kandewadi, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	At a Meeting of the Girgaon District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
1685	"	Devidas Hargovindas Shah, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	"	Private Service, Ramashram, 72-80, Kandewadi, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1686	"	Dinshaw L. Panday, Esq. ...	Parsi.	Piece-Goods Merchant, Nepean Sea Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	"
1687	"	Durlabhjee Kalyanjee Parekh, Esq.	Visa Shrimali Shrawik.	Jeweller, Morarji Goculdas Chawl, Sandhurst Road, Bombay (4).	"
1688	"	Durgaram Ganpatram Vin, Esq....	Brahmin.	Inspector of Agencies, Kanji Khetsi's Chawl, Kandewadi, Bombay (4).	"
1689	"	Framroz Jamsedji Ginwala, Esq., M. A., LL. B.	Parsi.	Solicitor, High Court, Hardinge Building, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1690	"	Dr. Framji J. Patel, L. R. C. P. (London).	"	Medical Practitioner, 3, Church Gate Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1691	"	Ghandhi Amershi Pragji, Esq. ...	Kapole Bania.	Pleader, c/o Brijlal Bhagwandas, Esq., Ladha Narayan Building, Paper Mill, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"
1692	"	Dr. Gamanlal Varajdas Merchant, L. M. & S.	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner, 1-3, C. P. Tank, Bombay (4).	"
1693	"	Gangaram R. Rele, Esq., A.M.S.T., F.C.S. (London).	"	Technological Textile Expert, Anant Shivaji Desai Building, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1694	"	Ganesh Padmanabh Murdeshwar,	S. Brah-	Pleader, Khanderao Buildings, Gir-	"

1695	„	Ganpatrao Sadashiv Madan, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, 24, Benham Hall Lane, Bombay.	„
1696	„	Ghanasham Harischandra Rele, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Kshatriya.	Articled Clerk to Solicitors, 6, Sadashiv Street, Kandewadi, Bombay (4).	„
1697	„	Ghanasham V. Wagh, Esq. ..	Gaud Saraswat Brahmin.	Merchant, Bhatwadi Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	„
1698	„	Govindji Shamji Kotak, Esq. ...	...	Girgaon, Bombay	„
1699	„	Govindbhai A. Patel, Esq. ...	Patel Hinduism.	Merchant, Amritwadi, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	„
1700	„	Govind Shanker Waniker, Esq., M. E.	Hindu.	Engineer and Manager, Peerbhoy Mansions, Sandhurst Road, Bombay (4).	„
1701	„	Goolabdas Jamnadas Barahia, Esq. B. A., LL.B.	Bania.	Pleader, High Court, Kalyan Building, No. 2, Kandewadi, Bombay (4).	„
1702	„	Gopal Bhaskar Datar, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Private Tuition, c/o Kapole Office, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	„
1703	„	Govindji Narandas, Esq. ...	Bhatia.	Cotton Merchant, c/o Narandas Topan's Shop, Trambakata, Pydhowni, Bombay.	„
1704	„	Gulabhbai Pragji, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Commission Agent and Merchant, 186, Pundlik House, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	„
1705	„	Gulabrai Vajeshanker Vaishnav, Esq.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Motilal Buildings, Khetwady Main Road, Bombay (4).	„
1706	„	H. Ramchandra Rao, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Private Tuition, Hanuman Building, Chawl No. 5, Room 39, Lamington Road, Bombay.	„
1707	„	Haji Mahmad Allarakhu Shivji, Esq.	Mahomedan.	Merchant, c/o Ramvikrai A. Mehta, Esq., No. 4, Kalyan Moti Chawl, Kandewadi, Bombay (4).	„

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1708	Girgaon District Congress Committee.	H. J. Kania, Esq., B.A., LL.B. ...	Hindu.	Advocate, High Court, Opposite Wilson Church, 3rd Parsiwada, Bombay.	At a Meeting of the Girgaon District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
1709	"	Harilal Chaturbhai Mehta, Esq. ...	Jain.	Cloth Merchant, Messrs Wadilal Harilal & Co., Mulji Jetha Market, Station Gali, Bombay.	"
1710	"	Harilal Rayaram Mehta, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	106, Amrutwadi, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"
1711	"	Harshadray Mehta, Esq. ...	Aryan.	Head Clerk, Manmohan Building, Gaiwadi, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1712	"	Hashuatrai Tahibram Shivdasani, Esq.	Hindu.	Sakharam Ganesh House, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1713	"	Hiralal Matheradas Modi, Esq. ...	Hindu Bania.	Merchant, Mulji Jetha Market, Chowk, Bombay (2).	"
1714	"	Hiralal Maganlal Khandwala, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	Articled Clerk to Solicitors, Jivanlal Maharaj's Round Chawl, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1715	"	Hiralal Motiram Mehta, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Bania.	Solicitor, High Court, Sandhurst Road, Bombay (4).	"
1716	"	Indrashankar Umiashankar Lakhia, Esq.	Hindu.	Merchant, Patkar Buildings, Sandhurst Road, Bombay (4).	"
1717	"	Indulal Kanayalal Yajnik, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Member of the Servants of India Society, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1718	"	Ishwerdas Tribhowandas Varjivandas, Esq.	Kapole Vaishnav.	Banker and Landed Proprietor, West field, Warden Road, Bombay.	"

1719	„	Ishvarlal K. Desai, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahma Kshatriya.	Articled Clerk to Solicitors, Purshottam Building, New Queen's Road, Bombay (4).	„
1720	„	Jamnadas Narandas Motiwala, Esq.	Hindu.	Landed Proprietor, Culliandas House, The Ridge, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	„
1721	„	Jamshetji A. Battlewala, Esq. ...	Parsi.	Merchant, Govalia Tank Road, Bombay.	„
1722	„	Jagjivandas Narayan Mehta, Esq.	Bania.	Commission and Shipping Agent, 11, Bibijan Street, Mandvi, Bombay (8).	„
1723	„	Jagjiwandas Chaturbhuj Shanghvi, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	„	Vora's Chawl, Sadashiv Lane, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	„
1724	„	Jagmohandas Kaliandas Keshavdas, Esq. .	Kapole Bania.	Merchant, Krishnakunj, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	„
1725	„	Jayaprasad Shambhuprasad Mehta, Esq.	Nagar Brahmin.	Importer and Exporter, Atmaram Mansions, Block No. 9, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	„
1726	„	Jaswantlal Sakerlal Mehta, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	„	Pleader, High Court, Opp. The Court of Small Causes, Lamington Road, Bombay (4).	„
1727	„	Jyotindra Lalubhai Mehta, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	65, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	„
1728	„	Jeshinglal Jagjiwan Shah, Esq. ...	Jain.	Merchant, Maniar Building, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	„
1729	„	Jehangir Hormusji Umrigar, Esq., B.A.	Parsi Zoroastrian.	Abkari Contractor, Girgaon, Opp. Dr. Bhajekar's Hospital, Bombay (4).	„
1730	„	Jivraj Kasturchand Bhandari, Esq.	Jain.	Jeweller, Javeri Bazar, Dhanji Street, Bombay (2).	„
1731	„	Jivanlal Shantilal, Esq.	Hindu Hinduism.	Merchant, Bombay	„
1732	„	Jivanlal Chimanlal Setalvad, Esq.	Bania.	Business Man, 64, Napean Sea Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay (6).	„

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1738	Girgaon District Congress Committee.	Jhinabhai P. Joshi, Esq.	Brahmin.	Managing Clerk to Messrs. Daphtary Ferreira and Divan, Solicitors, Governor Road, Parel, Bombay (12).	At a Meeting of the Girgaon District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
1734	"	Jinubhai Bhagwandas Metha, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	Bania.	Pleader, High Court, Maneck Buildings, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1735	"	Karsondas Jagjiwandas Chitalia, Esq.	"	Member of the Servants of India Society, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1736	"	Kapil Rai B. Metha, Esq.	Nagar Brahmin Hindu.	Merchant, Bombay	"
1737	"	K. Madhvesh, Esq.	Brahmin.	Private Tuition, Hanuman Building, Chawl No. 5, Room 39, Lamington Road, Bombay (4).	"
1738	"	K. B. Joshi, Esq.	"	Merchant, 321, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1739	"	Kashinath Ganesh Upasani, Esq.	"	Merchant, Badam Wadi, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"
1740	"	Kashidas Ambaram Divecha, Esq., B. A.	Brahma Kshatriya.	Managing Clerk to Solicitors, c/o S. R. Jilker, Esq., Kamatipura, 9th Street, Bombay (4).	"
1741	"	Katapadi Jagannath Bakal, Esq., B. A.	Hindu Bunt.	No. 4, Hanuman Building, 3rd Floor, Room No. 32, Grant Road, Bombay (7).	"
1742	"	Keshanlal Harilal Setalvad, Esq....	Hindu.	Merchant, 25-29, Church Gate Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1743	"	Khetsey Kara, Esq.	Arya.	Merchant, c/o Damoder Khetsi, Esq., Military Square Lane, Fort, Bombay	"

1744	"	Keshav Daji Puranik, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Agency, c/o J. R. Gharpure, Esq., Angre Wadi, Bombay (4).	"
1745	"	Krishnarao Harischandra Goregaoker, Esq.	S. K. Patharb.	Solicitor, High Court, 16-22, Kennedy Bridge, Bombay (7).	"
1746	"	Khushaldas Kurji Parekh, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	Kapole Bania.	Secretary, Seth V. M. Kapole Boarding School, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1747	"	Kuvarji Ruttonji Jussawalla, Esq.	Parsi.	Investor in Stock and Shares, Patel Buildings, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1748	"	Lallubhai Pragji, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Merchant, Girgaon, Bombay (4) ...	"
1749	"	Laxmidas Premji Goculdas, Esq.	Hindu Hinduism.	Merchant, Girgaon, Bombay (4) ...	"
1750	"	Lalbhai Kallianbhai Javeri, Esq....	Hindu.	Hon. Jeweller to Their Highness Maharajas of Baroda and Indore, C/o M. C. Modi, Esq., Ramashram, Kandewadi, Bombay (4).	"
1751	"	Lakshman Krishnaya Balse, Esq.	Hindu Saraswat.	Head Clerk, Messrs. A. F. Fergusson & Co., Chartered Accountants, Graham's Buildings, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1752	"	Lalshanker D. Joshi, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Salesman, Messrs. Shimwell & Bros., Bank Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1753	"	Lakhshminarayan Jamielram Shastri, Esq.	"	Assistant Master, G. T. High School, Room No. 247, Amritwadi, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"
1754	"	Mrs. Laxmibai G. K. Gadgil ...	"	Social Work and Joint Secretary, Sevadan Home Classes, Dongre Building, Lamington Road, Bombay (4).	"
1755	"	Laxmishanker D. Oza, Esq. ...	Arya.	Accountant, Sir Mangaldas House, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"

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1756	Girgaon District Congress Committee.	Liladher Kara, Esq.	Arya	Merchant, Dabholker's Bungalow, Chowpati, Bombay.	At a Meeting of the Girgaon District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
1757	"	Lingaya Sayanna, Esq.	Telagu.	Contractor, c/o M. S. Patkar, Esq., L.C.E., Sandhurst Road, Bombay (4).	"
1758	"	Mangesh Vankatesh Kulkarni, Esq.	Saraswat Brahmin.	Student, Laxuminiwas, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1759	"	M. S. Venkatarama Aiyar Raja Aiyar, Esq.	Brahmin.	Clerk, Top Floor, Hanuman Building, No. 2, Grant Road, Bombay (7).	"
1760	"	Manikram Nanabhoy Talpade, Esq. B.A., (Hon.)	Pathare Prabhu	Law Student, c/o N. W. Pradhan, Esq., Bar.-at-Law, Pallow Road, Bombay (4).	"
1761	"	Madhav Damodar Altekar, Esq., B. A.	Brahmin.	Editor, "Indu Prakash," Vajeram Buildings, Dadyseth Agyari Lane, Bombay (2).	"
1762	"	Mangesh Vishwanath Rajadhaksha, Esq.	Saraswat Brahmin.	Mangesh Buildings, Bhatwady, Bombay (4).	"
1763	"	Manchhubhai Sakerchand Javeri, Esq.	Jain.	Jeweller, Pranjewan Buildings, Lamington Road, Bombay (4).	"
1764	"	Mahipatram Dolatram Dave, Esq.	Brahmin.	Amritwadi, No. 152, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"
1765	"	Manmohan Lallubhai Pratap, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Pleader, High Court, 84-92, Kande-wadi, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1766	"	Manilal Hakemchand Udani, Esq., M. A., LL. B., (Bombay) M. A., (America) F. L. L. C.	Jain Dasa Shrimali Osawal.	Vakil, High Court, Panalal Terraces, Grant Road, Bombay (7).	"

1767	"	Manubhai Achabhai Desai, Esq.	Brahmin.	Dyeing Master, Simplex Mills, Babulnath Chawls, No. 3, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1768	"	Manilal Bhagwanji Desai, Esq. ...	Ananil Brahmin.	Private Service, Kalyan Building, Kandewadi, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1769	"	Mavji Vallabhdas Kavadia, Esq....	Hindu.	Merchant, Mantri Building, New Bhatwadi Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1770	"	Manilal Uttamchand Javeri, Esq.	Jain.	Jeweller, Morarji Goculdas New Chawl, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1771	"	Dr. Madhusudan Dhondu Malwan-ker, L. M. & S.	Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, 184, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"
1772	"	Manilal Jagjiwan Shah, Esq. ...	Jain.	Merchant, Maniar Building, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1773	"	Manilal Amarchand, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Landed Proprietor, Moodi Bazar, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1774	"	Manekshaw Bapooji Desai, Esq., B. A.	Parsi Zoroastrian.	Manager of a Mill, Sopari Baug, Parel Road, Bombay (12).	"
1775	"	Manilal Chhaganlal Modi, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Manager, Gujarati Type Foundry, Ramaskram, Kandewadi, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1776	"	Manchersha Hormasji Taleyarkhan, Esq.	Parsi.	Proprietor and Principal, Proprietary and Fort High School, Grant Road, Govalia Tank Road, Bombay (7).	"
1777	"	Madhavdas Vithaldas Desai, Esq., B. A.	Hindu Bania.	Shroff, Kennedy House, Kennedy Bridge, Grant Road, Bombay (7).	"
1778	"	Dr. Mehta Vallabhadas Dhanji, M. B. B. S.	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner, Sanitarium, Sion, Bombay.	At a Meeting of the Girgaon District Congress Committee held on 11th December 1951.
1779	"	Motilal Itchalal Gandhi, Esq., L.C.E	Bania	Surveyor and Engineer, 82, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	At the Meeting of the Girgaon District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.

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1780	Girgaon District Congress Committee.	Mohanlal Virjibhai Patel, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Law Student, c/o J. L. D. Barbhaya, Esq., Girgaon Back Road, Bombay(4)	At a Meeting of the Girgaon District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
1781	"	Mukundrao Janardan Goregaoker, Esq.	Kshatriya Pathare.	Clerk, Goregao Wadi, Gamdevi Road, Bombay.	"
1782	"	Mundkur S. Madhavrao, Esq. ...	Hindu Saraswat Brahmin.	42, Pannalal Terraces, Grant Road, Bombay (7).	"
1783	"	Narayan Malhar Joshi, Esq., B.A.	Brahmin.	Member of the Servants of India Society, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1784	"	Narayan Yashavant Vethe, Esq. ...	Aryan.	Merchant and Commission Agent, Pendse's Wadi, Girgaon, Bombay (4)	"
1785	"	Narhar Shabhaji Phene, Esq. ...	Gaud Saraswat Brahmin.	Merchant, Haji Kassum's Blocks, Chowpatti, Bombay (4).	"
1786	"	Narsibhai U. Patel, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Manager of Messrs. Kalidas Narandas and Bros. c/o S. J. Amin, Esq., Solicitor, above Girgaon Post Office, Bombay (4)	"
1787	"	Navanidhray Harjiwandas Mehta, Esq.	Brahmin.	Banking, Laxmi-Nivas, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1788	"	Natwerlal Bhaidas Barfiwala, Esq.	Bania.	Law Student, Ebrahim Nurudin's Chawl, Room 17, IV Floor, Kande-wadi, Bombay (4).	"
1789	"	Nayansukhlal Harilal Pandia, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	Nagar Brahmin.	Solicitor, High Court, Topiwala's House, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"

1790	"	Nanabhai Tulsidas Merchant Esq.	Bania.	Managing Clerk to Messrs. Mehta Dalpatram and Lalji, Solicitors, Ameroli Buildings, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1791	"	Natwarlal Madhavlal Desai, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	Hindu.	Solicitor, High Court, Shingne House, Lamington Road, Bombay (4).	"
1792	"	Narottamdas Dwarkadas, Esq., ...	"	Private Service, c/o Ranchhoddas Varjiwandas, Esq., Madhau Bhuwan, Kandewadi, Bombay (4).	"
1793	"	Narottam Narandas Merchant, Esq.	Bhatia.	Yarn Merchant, c/o Narandas Topan, Trambakata, Pydhownie, Bombay.	"
1794	"	Dr. Nilkantha Anant Purandare, M.D., (Bom.)	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1795	"	Nilkant Sadashiv Takakhav, Esq. M.A.	Pathare Kshatriya Hindu.	Professor, Wilson College, French Road, Bombay (7).	"
1796	"	Nensey Narandas, Esq.	Bhatia.	Yarn Merchant, Trambakata, Pydhownie, Bombay.	"
1797	"	Dr. Nawroji Nusserwanji Lam, L.M. & s.	Parsi.	Medical Practitioner, Walker House, 2, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1798	"	Padamshinh Narshinhbhai, Esq. ...	Bhatia.	Merchant, Mantri Building, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1799	"	Parashuram Narayan Kelkar, Esq.	Chitpawan Brahmin.	Manager, The Great Eastern Life Assurance Co., Ltd., of Singapore, Opposite Prathna Samaj, Contractor's Buildings, Bombay.	"
1800	"	Peter A. Baptist, Esq.	Roman Catholic Indian.	Manager, Morarji Gokuldas Mills, 97, Khetwadi, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1801	"	Pranjiwan Vithaldas Gupta, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Bania.	Pleader, High Court, 84-92, Kandewadi, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"

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1802	Girgaon District Congress Committee.	Purshottam Jivandas, Esq. ...	Bhatia.	Cotton Merchant, c/o Narandas Topan, Esq., Trambakata, Pydhownie, Bombay.	At a Meeting of the Girgaon District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
1803	"	Dr. Ramchandra Kashinath Dhuru, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S., L.M.	Suryawan-shi Kshya-triya.	Medical Practitioner, 173, Lower Mahim, Dadar, Bombay (14).	"
1804	"	Ranchhoddas Vurjivandas Shroff, Esq.	Hindu.	Yarn Broker, Madhau Bhuwan, Kande-wadi, Bombay (4).	"
1805	"	Ratilal Damoderdas Mehta, Esq. ...	Vaishnav.	Loan and Insurance Agent, 82, Gir-gaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"
1806	"	Ramaniyaram Govardhanram Tri-pathi, Esq.	Nagar Brahmin.	Private Business, Morarji Goculdas Chawls, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1807	"	Ratilal B. Gandhi, Esq. ...	Kapole Bania.	Share Broker, c/o Vrajlal B. Gandhi, Esq., Mistry Building, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"
1808	"	S. V. Palekar, Esq., B.A., LL.B. ...	Gaud Saraswat Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Mohan Buildings, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1809	"	Shankar Yeshwant Nadkarni, Esq.	Hindu.	Contractor's Chawl, No. 4, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1810	"	Shankarbhai J. Amin, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	Solicitor, High Court, above Girgaon, Post Office, Bombay (4).	"
1811	"	Shambhoolal B. Dave, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Kalyan Moti's Chawl, No. 4, Kande-wadi, Bombay (4).	"
1812	"	Shankar Anandrao Wagh, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Landlord, 79, Girgaon Road, Bom-bay (4).	"

1813	"	Shantaram Ramchandra Phause, Esq.	"	Merchant, Motilal Building, No. 3, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay (4).	"
1814	"	Shivshankar B. Trivedi, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Merchant, Radha Krishna Chawl, Kandewadi, Bombay (4).	"
1815	"	Shripad Mahadev Varde, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	Vakil, High Court, Dr. Dadarkar's House, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"
1816	"	Shrikant Sohiroha Wagle, Esq. ...	G. S. Brahmin.	Head Clerk, No. 10-11, Kandewadi, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1817	"	Shrikrishna Ramrao Shashital, Esq.	Hindu.	Contractor, 2nd Lamington Road, Bombay.	"
1818	"	Sohrab P. Davar, Esq.	Parsi.	Tankerville, Govalia Tank Road, Bombay.	"
1819	"	Tansukhlal Hiralal Nanavati, Esq.	Hindu.	Rambaug, Cawasji Patel Tank Road, Bombay.	"
1820	"	Talibali Shamsuddin Najju, Esq. ...	Mahomedan.	Munshi, Shroff Building, Clare Road, Byculla, Bombay (8).	"
1821	"	Tatya Neminath Pangal, Esq. ...	Jain.	Proprietor of a Publishing Firm, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1822	"	Thaker Gopalji Odhavji, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Banker, Servants of India Society, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1823	"	Thakordas Parmananddas Munim, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	...	Solicitor, High Court, Morarji Goculdas Chawl No. 4, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1824	"	Thakordas Nemchand Shroff, Esq.	Jain Bania.	Jeweller, c/o C. V. Shroff, Esq., B.A., Sandhurst Road, Oppo. Chowpaty Post Office, Bombay.	"
1825	"	Tribhovandas Jagjiwanddas Raja, Esq., M. A.	Lohana Hindu.	Lecturer in History, New Amritwadi, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1826	Girgaon District Congress Committee.	Tribhowandas Damodardas Gad-hia, Esq.	Hindu Lohana.	Merchant, 4, Kakadwadi, Bombay (4).	At a Meeting of the Girgaon District Congress Committee held on 9th December 1915.
1827	"	Umiashankar Manishankar Lak-hia, Esq.	Hindu.	Merchant, Patkar Buildings, Sandhurst Road, Bombay.	"
1828	"	Vaman Vishnu Phadke, Esq., M.A.	Brahmin.	Bar.-at-Law, Secretary to Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebboy, Bart. (Mazagon) 10, Jiwaji's Buildings, Bombay.	"
1829	"	Vandravan Laxmichand Shah, Esq., B.A.	Jain Bania.	Supdt., H. A. D. Boarding House, Laxmi-Bhuwan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay (4).	"
1830	"	Vaman Shantaram Dabholkar, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	Gaud S. Brahmin.	4, Charni Road, Bombay (4).	"
1831	"	Vadilal Premchand Shah, Esq. ...	Dasa Shrimali Shrawik.	Seeds Merchant, Morarji Goculdas Chawl, Sandhurst Road, Bombay(4).	"
1832	"	Vaikunthrai Madhavlal Desai, Esq.	Hindu.	Student of Dental Surgery, Shingne House, Lamington Road, Bombay(4)	"
1833	"	Vaikunthrai Ambalal Desai, Esq., B.A.	Bhrama Khatri.	Merchant, 58, Chowpaty Road, Bombay (4).	"
1834	"	Vadilal Gaglchand Doshi, Esq....	Jain.	Jeweller, 55-61, Bhendi Bazar, Bombay	"
1835	"	Vasantrao Mangesh Laud, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Gaud Saraswat Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, 18, Kandewadi, Girgaon Bombay (4).	"
1836	"	Vallabhdas Hemraj Dalal, Esq. ...	Bhatia.	Share Broker, 180, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"

1837	"	Vithalrai Mahipatrai Mehta, Esq., M A., LL.B.	Vadnagar Brahmin.	Professor of English, Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, Opp. Dr. Bhajekar's Hospital, Girgaon Back Road, Bombay (4).	"
1838	"	Vithal Ramkrishna Sirur, Esq., B A., LL.B.	Saraswat Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, Motilal Buildings, No. 3, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay (4).	"
1839	"	Vishnu Balkrishna Pundit, Esq., L. C. E.	Hindu.	Civil Engineer, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
1840	"	Vishnuprasad Jivanlal, Esq. ...	Hindu Hinduism.	Merchant, Bombay	"
1841	"	Vishnuprasad Durgaprasad Mehta, Esq.	Brahmin.	Shroff, Umed Bhuwan, Gamdevi, Bombay.	"
1842	"	Vijayrai Himatrai Hazarat, Esq., M. A., LL.B.	Nagar Brahmin.	Articled Clerk to Messrs. Edgelow Gulabchand Wadia & Co., Solicitors, 65, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1843	"	Vohra Mahasukhray Jatashanker, Esq., B. A.	Brahmin.	Laxmi-Nivas, Girgaon, Bombay (4) ...	"
1844	"	Vinayak Dattabiaya Kamat, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	S. Brahmin.	Pleader, Khetwadi Main Road, Bom- bay (4).	"
1845	"	Wamanrao Vinayak Kothare, Esq.	Pathare Prabhu.	Businessman, 2, Mughhat Lane, Gir- gaon, Bombay (4).	"
1846	"	Yashwant Vasudev Bhandarkar, Esq.	Saraswat Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, Telang's House, Kandewadi, Bombay (4).	"
1847	"	Yeshwantrao Sakharam Ravut, Esq.	Hindu.	Merchant, North of French Bridge, Grant Road, Bombay (7).	"
1848	"	Yadneshwar Vasudev Bhandarker, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, Kandewadi, Gir- gaon, Bombay (4).	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1849	North Bombay District Congress Committee.	B. Natesan, Esq.	Hindu.	Chapra Chawl, Lady Jamshetji Road, Dadar, Bombay (14).	At a Meeting of the North Bombay District Congress Committee held on 12th December 1915.
1850	"	Bhagwanlal Girjashankar Bhatt, Esq.	Hinduism Indian.	Merchant, Zendu Pharmacy, Elphinstone Road, Bombay (12).	"
1851	"	Bhagwantrao Gangadher Paralker, Esq.	Pathare K Soma-vaushi.	Landlord 1328, Parel Village, Bombay (12).	"
1852	"	Daji Bandhuji Tungare, Esq. ...	C. K. Prabhu (Hindu).	1309, Parel Village, Bombay (12) ...	"
1853	"	Durgashankar Kevalram Bhatt, Esq.	Brahmin.	Shastri to the Zendu Pharmaceutical Works, Elphinstone Road, Bombay (12).	"
1854	"	Gajanan Balkrishna Chaubal, Esq.	C. K. Prabhu.	Madan Panduranga's House No. 1372, Government Gate Road, Parel, Bombay (12).	"
1855	"	Ganpat Purshotam Paralkar, Esq.	Somavanshi Kshatriya.	Licensed Engineer and Surveyor, 1379, Parel Village, Bombay (12).	"
1856	"	Gopinath Raghunathrao Pradhan, Esq.	C. K. Prabhu.	Asstt. Carding Master, Pradhan Lodge, 1347, Parel Village, Bombay (12.)	"
1857	"	Krishnarao Narayan Mahale, Esq.	Saraswat Brahmin.	Merchant, Hon. Secretary, Society for the Promotion of Education among the Masses, Bazar Road, Mahim, Bombay (16).	"
1858	"	N. V. Kapadia, Esq.	Indian.	Asstt. Spinning Master, Morarji Goculdas Mills, Lalwadi, Parel, Bombay (12).	"

1859	"	Narayan Atmaram Vaidya, Esq...	Hindu C. K. Prabhu.	Clerk, Messrs. Trivedi & Co., 201, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay (1.)	"
1860	"	Dr. Narayan Vinayak Kothare, L. M. & S. (Bombay.)	Hindu Prabhu.	Medical Practitioner, Hill Road, Bandra (B. B. & C. I. Ry.)	"
1861	"	Narayan Harishanker Rawal, Esq.	Brahmin.	Accountant to a Firm, 17, Elphinstone Road, Bombay (12.)	"
1862	"	Nanalal Vishwanath Pathak, Esq.	"	Salesman, Khimji Damji's Chawl, No. 17, Elphinstone Road, Bombay (12.)	"
1863	"	Pandurang Vithal Patel, Esq. ...	Hindu Vanjara.	District Court Pleader, Thana, Thar Road, Bandra (B. B. & C. I. Ry.)	"
1864	"	Peter D'Souza, Esq., G. B. V. C. ...	Indian Christian.	Pleader, Thana, Chakal Road, Bandra (B. B. & C. I. Ry.)	"
1865	"	Ramdas Tribhowandas Dalal, Esq.	Bania.	Bill Clerk, Messrs. Smetham Byrne & Co., Solicitors, 18, Church Gate Street, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1866	"	Ramrao Ganpatrao Mahimker, Esq.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Law-Student, 1172A, Parel Village, Bombay (12).	"
1867	"	Dr. Shamrao Narayan Navalkar, L. M. & S.	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner, 145, Dadar Main Road, Dadar, Bombay (14).	"
1868	"	Sitaram Keshav Bole, Esq., J. P....	Kitte- Bhandari.	House Owner, Keshavalaya, Dadar, Bombay (14.)	"
1869	"	Vithaldas Narandas Kothari, Esq.	Bania.	Attorneys' Clerk, c/o Messrs. Jehangir Seervai, Solicitors, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay (1).	"
1870	"	Vithal Ramkrishna, Esq. ...	Hindu Kshatriya.	1267, Parel Village, Bombay (12). ...	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1871	Mandvi District Congress Committee.	Abdulla Bhanji Peermahomed, Esq., A.R.I., B.A.	Khoja Mahomedan.	Architect, 181, Nishanpada Road, Umerkhandi, Bombay (9).	At a Meeting of the Mandvi District Congress Committee held on 11th December 1915.
1872	"	Dr. Alimahomed Naserbhoy, L. M. & S.	"	Medical Practitioner, 81, Nishanpada Road, Bombay (9).	"
1873	"	Ambalal Virchand Javeri, Esq. ..	Jain.	Jeweller, 18-20, Dhanji Street, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1874	"	Cassamali Manjibhai, Esq. ...	Khoja Mahomedan.	Merchant, c/o Manji Nathoobhai, Esq., Khoja Moholla, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1875	"	Chunilal Shivram, Esq.	Jain.	Musician, Mandvi School, Bombay (3).	"
1876	"	Damji Kessowji, Esq.	"	Cotton Broker, Clive Road, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1877	"	Dewji Gokaldas Hamlai, Esq. ...	Lohana.	Merchant, Masjid Bunder Road, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1878	"	Devsi Sarang, Esq.	Cutchi Dasa Oswal Jain.	Rice Merchant, Bombay (3)	"
1879	"	Devji Kallianji, Esq.	"	Cotton Merchant, Santa Cruz (B. B. & C. I. Ry.).	"
1880	"	Ghellabhai Poonsi, Esq.	"	Merchant, Bombay (3)	"
1881	"	Govindji Trikamji, Esq.	"	Merchant, Bombay (3)	"
1882	"	Gordhandas Nathabhai, Esq. ...	Hindu Patidar.	Business, c/o Mandvi A. V. School, Dongri Street, Bombay (3).	"
1883	"	Gordhandas Jamnadas, Esq. ...	Bhatia.	Merchant, 36, Nepean Sea Road, Bombay (6).	"

1884	"	Hansraj Harji, Esq.	Lohana.	Cotton Merchant, Shrinathji's House, Chinch Bunder, Bombay (3).	"
1885	"	Hansraj Canji, Esq.	Bhatia.	Merchant, Jackaria Musjid Road, Bombay (3).	"
1886	"	Hansraj Dharamsi, Esq.	Cutchi Dasa Oswal Jain.	Merchant, c/o Messrs. Khiasi Ladha & Co., Kharek Bazar, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1887	"	Hirji Mulji, Esq. ... ..	...	Merchant, c/o Messrs. Dharsey Nanji & Co., Surat Street, Dana Bunder, Bombay (3).	"
1888	"	Jal Ruttonjee Mody, Esq.	Parsi.	Messrs. A. J. Lalljee & Co., Khoja Moholla, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1889	"	Jadavji Doongersey Gangji, Esq.	Lohana.	Merchant, Musjid Bunder Road, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1890	"	Jethabhai Densi, Esq.	Bania Dasa Shrimali Jain.	Jeweller, Lalji Poonsey's Bungalow, Near Jain Temple, Ghatkopper, (G. I. P. Ry.).	"
1891	"	Jivram Kalianji, Esq.	Hindu Lohana.	Merchant, c/o Messrs. Khimji Kessowji & Co., 51, Poona Street, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1892	"	Joshi Vasanti Devji, Esq.	Shripanthi Saraswat Jain.	Merchant, Kharek Bazar, Mandvi, Bombay (3.)	"
1893	"	Joshi Mohanlal Kurji, Esq.	Brahman.	C/o Messrs. Ragnath Devji's Co., Kharek Bazar, Bombay (3).	"
1894	"	Dr. Jethalal Vanmali Vora, L.M. & S.	Bania Hindu.	Medical Practitioner, Narayan Dhuru Street, Masjid Bunder Road, Bombay (3.)	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1895	Mandvi District Congress Committee,	Kanaiyalal Mulji Vedant, Esq. ..	Hindu Vedant Brahmin.	Merchant, Lakhamsi Nappoo's House, Clive Road, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	At a Meeting of the Mandvi District Congress Committee held on 11th December 1915.
1896	"	Khatow Vallabhadas, Esq... ..	Bhatia.	Merchant, Vadgadi, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1897	"	Kaikobad D. Patel, Esq... ..	Parsi.	C/o Messrs. A. J. Lalljee & Co., Khoja Moholla, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1898	"	Karsondas Dewji, Esq.	Bhatia.	Sugar Merchant, Vallabhadas Ramji's Shop, Sugar Bazar, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1899	"	Keshavji Waghji Bechar, Esq.	Lohana.	Merchant, Argyle Road, Waghji Bechar's Building, Bombay (3.)	"
1900	"	Khimji Dayal, Esq.	"	Merchant, Dana Bunder, Mandvi, Bombay (3.)	"
1901	"	Khimji Nagji, Esq.	Hindu Lohana.	Merchant, c/o Messrs. Khimjee Kes-sowji & Co., 51, Poona Street, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1902	"	Khimji Nathoobhai Manek, Esq... ..	"	Vadgadi, Mandvi, Bombay (3) ...	"
1903	"	Sha Khetsi Hansraj Javeri	Cutchi Dasa Oswal Jain.	Jeweller, Kanji Parbat's Mala, Kharek Bazar, Dongri Street, Bombay (3).	"
1904	"	Sha Kuverji Narpar	"	Cotton Merchant, Sha Jivraj Ratansi's Co., 126, Katha Bazar, Bombay (3).	"
1905	"	Khimjee Shamji, Esq.	"	Merchant, Broach Street, Dana Bunder, Bombay (3).	"
1906	"	Sha Khimji Raisey	Kutchi Dasa	C/o Sha Kuverji Oomersi's Co., Kharek Bazar, Bombay (3).	"

1907	"	Odhavji Toolsidas, Esq.	Lohana.	Supdt., The Cutchi Lohana Orphanage Purshotam Dharamsi's House, Vad- gadi, Bombay (3).	"
1908	"	Purshotam Hirji, Esq.	"	Merchant, Mandvi, Bombay (8) ...	"
1909	"	Ratilal Laxmanbhai Thakkar, Esq.	"	Merchant, Barbhai Mohalla, Nagdevi Cross Lane, No. 67, Bombay (3).	"
1910	"	Raghovjee Raysi, Esq.	Bania Jain.	Merchant, c/o Messrs. Chapsi Bhara & Co., Dana Bunder, Bombay (3).	"
1911	"	Ramji Shivji, Esq.	Bania.	Merchant, c/o Messrs. Hirji Jetha & Co., Mandvi, Bombay (8).	"
1912	"	Ranji Punja, Esq	Lohana.	Town Duty Refund Agent, Sugar Bazar, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1913	"	Ramdas Vishram, Esq.	Bhatia.	Iron Merchant, Iron Store, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1914	"	Ratilal Narotamdas Sanghevy ...	Bania.	Merchant, c/o Runchodas Khodidas, Esq., Nagdevi Street, Bombay (3).	"
1915	"	Rattansey Hirji, Esq.	Lohana.	Merchant, Mandvi, Bombay (3) ...	"
1916	"	Dr. Shambhulal Gaurishankar Adhyaru, L. M. & S.	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner, 74, Samuel Street, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1917	"	Sha Shamji Raghavji	Dasa Osawal Jain	Sha Devji Jevat's Buildings, Dana Bunder, Bombay (3).	"
1918	"	Shivji Morarji, Esq.	Bhatia Hindu.	Commission Agent, Khand Bazar, Mersey Khatav Mala, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"
1919	"	Sha Tricamji Dosabhai	Cutchi Dasa Osawal Jain	Cotton Broker, Sha Kanji Ladha's Building, 3rd Floor, Dana Bunder, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1920	Mandvi District Congress Committee.	Vanmali Hargovind Pandya, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Salesman, c/o Madhoram Raghmal, Esq., Iron Jatha, Carnac Bunder, Bombay (3).	At a General Meeting of the Mandvi District Congress Committee held on 11th December 1915.
1921	„	Valji Ladha, Esq.	Dasa Osawal Jain	Broker, c/o Dewji Ladha, Esq., Kharek Bazar, Mandvi, Bombay (3).	„
1922	„	Velji Anandji Meisheri, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	„	182, Dongri Street, Bombay (3) ...	„
1923	„	Virji Gangajar Meisheri, Esq. ...	„	Merchant, Mandvi, Bombay (3) ...	„
1924	Gujarat Sabha.	Ambalal Jethalal Amin, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Talia's-Pole, Sarangpur, Ahmedabad. ...	At a General Meeting of the Gujarat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.
1925	„	Ambalal Dalsukhram Lakhiara, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Leva Patidar.	Vakil, Raipur, Pipardi's Pole, Ahmedabad.	„
1926	„	Arjunlal Nanalal Pandit, Esq. ...	Nagar.	Merchant, Khadia, Kaweshwar Pole, Ahmedabad.	„
1927	„	Bhulabhai Pragjibhai Patel, Esq.	Hindu.	Merchant, Ahmedabad	„
1928	„	B. P. Thakore, Esq., B.A.	„	Teacher, Opp. The Police Chowkey, Khadia, Ahmedabad.	„
1929	„	Bhailal Sarabhai Patel, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Patidar.	Vakil, Richey Road, Ahmedabad ..	„
1930	„	Bhogilal Amritlal Javeri, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Jain.	Vakil, Pachhia's Pole, Ahmedabad ...	„
1931	„	Bhogilal Tarachand Javeri, Esq.	Jain.	Jeweller, Doshivada's Pole, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.	„
1932	„	Bhogilal Maganlal Shah, Esq. ..	Bania.	Weaving Master, Asarva Mill, Ahmedabad.	„

1933	„	Balmukand Ray A. Desai, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Merchant, Khadia, Ahmedabad ...	„
1934	„	Bhogilal Tribhuvan Thacker, Esq.	„	Merchant, Khadia, Ahmedabad ...	„
1935	„	Chimanlal Nathoobhai Doshi, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	Jain.	Vakil, Kathari Pole, Zaverivad, Ahmedabad.	„
1936	„	Sheth Chimanlal Girdhardas Parekh,	Bania.	Mill Agent, The Rajnagar Mills Co. Ltd., and The Aryodaya Mills Co., Ltd., Ahmedabad.	„
1937	„	Chandulal Motilal Kothari, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	„	Vakil, 3078, Richey Road, Ahmedabad.	„
1938	„	Chandulal Shivilal, Esq.	Jain.	Merchant, Golwad, Zaveriwad, Ahmedabad.	„
1939	„	Chhotalal Trikamlal Parekh, Esq.	...	Vakil, Viramgam, Ahmedabad ...	„
1940	„	Chandulal Mohanlal Jhaveri, Esq.,	Jain.	Jewellery Merchant, Richey Road, Ahmedabad.	„
1941	„	Chhotalal Kalidas Gandhi, Esq.	„	Vakil, Pada Pole, Ahmedabad. ...	„
1942	„	Chhotalal Dhirajram Lala, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Member District Board, Surat, Merchant, Khadia, Ahmedabad....	„
1943	„	Chandulal Kashiram Dave, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Vakil, Near Khadia Police Station, Ahmedabad.	„
1944	„	Chandulal Ujamlal Shah, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Banker, Near Dhinkwa Gate, Ahmedabad.	„
1945	„	Chaturbhuj Mankeshwar Bhatt, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Sadra, Ahmedabad	„
1946	„	Dayabhai Ijatram Vakil, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Pleader, Desai's Street, Khadia, Ahmedabad.	„

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1947	Gujarat Sabha.	Dahyabai Balkrishna Mehta, Esq. B. A.	Hindu.	Teacher, Fafda-ni-Pole, Sarangpur, Ahmedabad.	At a General Meeting of the Gujarat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.
1948	"	Dwarkadas Chhakadshi Patel, Esq.	"	Merchant, Kadwa Pole, Dariapur, Ahmedabad.	"
1949	"	Dinanath Mohanlal Mehta, Esq....	Nagir Brahmin.	Insurance Agent, Khadia Gate Sheri, Ahmedabad.	"
1950	"	Dinkerrao M. Medh, Esq. ...	Nagir.	Hardware Merchant, Labha Patel's Pole, Ahmedabad.	"
1951	"	Dalasukharam Hargovindas Sahaba, Esq.	Patidar.	Land Owner, Shamla-ni-Pole, Raipur, Ahmedabad.	"
1952	"	Goculdas Acharatlal Shah, Esq., B. A.	Bania.	Merchant, c/o Messrs. Pandit Shah & Co., Richey Road, Ahmedabad.	"
1953	"	Hariprasad Pitambardas Mehta, Esq.	Mewada Brahmin.	Land-Lord, Sarangpur, Ahmedabad ...	"
1954	"	Harilal Nathabhai Parekh, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Bania Hindu.	Pleader, Richey Road, Ahmedabad ...	"
1955	"	Harilal Sukhlal Shah, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Merchant, c/o Seth Maganlal Jeychand, Char-Rasta, Ahmedabad.	"
1956	"	Dr. Hariprasad V. Desai ...	Brahmin Kshatriya.	Medical Practitioner, Sarangpur, Ahmedabad.	"
1957	"	Jamnadas Maganlal Kinarivala, Esq	Hindu.	Merchant, Ahmedabad....	"
1958	"	J. H. Diwan, Esq., M.A. ...	"	Teacher, Amritlal Pole-Khadia, Ahmedabad.	"
1959	"	Jivanlal Vrajrai Desai, Esq., B.A.	Brahma	Advocate, Panchkuva, Ahmedabad ...	"

1960	"	Jivanlal Chimanlal Mehta, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Merchant, Empire Dairy Co., Ahmedabad.	"
1961	"	Jethalal Davshankar Dave, Esq....	Brahmin.	Editor, of "Bhagyodaya," Char-Rasta, Ahmedabad.	"
1962	"	Kalidas J. Jhaveri, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Jain.	Pleader, Richey Road, Ahmedabad. ...	"
1963	"	Kalidas Harjivan Desai, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Shroff, Vadi-Gam, Dariapur, Ahmedabad.	"
1964	"	Keshavlal Amatha Shah, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Jain.	Vakil, Ratan Pole, Ahmedabad ...	"
1965	"	Kalyan Rai V. Desai, Esq. ...	Brahmin Kshatriya.	Manager, International Panorama, (Magazine), Near Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad.	"
1966	"	Kripashanker B. Pandit, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Merchant, Khadia, Ahmedabad ...	"
1967	"	Lalbhai Jamnadas Dalal, Esq., B.A.	Jain.	Laxmi Naraya's Pole, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.	"
1968	"	Laxmidas Ratanjee Adhia, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Municipal Councillor, Merchant, Dholira, Ahmedabad.	"
1969	"	Manilal Virchand Sha, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Banker, Near Dinkwa Gate, Ahmedabad.	"
1970	"	Maganbhai Purushottamdas Amin, Esq.	"	Merchant, Kadwa Pole, Dariapur, Ahmedabad.	"
1971	"	Mohanlal Raichand Jhaveri, Esq...	Jain.	Jewellery Merchant, Richey Road, Ahmedabad.	"
1972	"	Mohanlal Amritlal Mehta, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Merchant, Empire Dairy Company, Ahmedabad.	"
1973	"	Manilal P. Setalvad, Esq. ...	"	Pleader, Gali-ni-Sheri, Khadia, Ahmedabad.	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
1974	Gujarat Sabha.	Dr. Manilal G. Desai, L. M. & s...	...	Medical Practitioner, Khadia, Ahmedabad.	At a General Meeting of the Gujarat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.
1975	"	Mohanlal V. Gandhi, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Pleader, Khadia, Ahmedabad. ...	"
1976	"	Manilal V. Kothari, Esq. ...	"	Pleader, Raja Metha's Pole, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.	"
1977	"	Manilal Chhotalal Patel, Esq. ...	"	Merchant, Landholder, Jethabhai's Pole, Khadia, Ahmedabad.	"
1978	"	Mohanlal Kameshwar Pandya, Esq.	Brahmin.	Dairy Proprietor, Jethabhai's Pole, Ahmedabad.	"
1979	"	Nanalal Mohanlal Shah, Esq., B. A.	Hindu.	Teacher, Sutarvada's Pole, Ahmedabad.	"
1980	"	Nanalal Maganlal, Esq. ...	Bania.	Agent, Alfred Mill, Ahmedabad ...	"
1981	"	Nyalchand Lakmichand Soni, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Pleader, Sadra Mahikantha Agency, Ahmedabad.	"
1982	"	Narahare D. Parikh, Esq., B.A., LL.B	Bania.	Vakil, Raipur, Nagar Bhagat's Pole, Ahmedabad.	"
1983	"	Dr. Nilkanthrai Dahyabhai Chhatrapati, L. M. & s.	Brahma Kshatriya.	Principal, Victoria Memorial Blind School, Bombay.	"
1984	"	Popatlal Maganlal Oza, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Vakil, Near Bala Hanuman, Ahmedabad.	"
1985	"	Popatlal Chhotalal Shah, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Bania.	Vakil, Dhanasutar's Pole, Ahmedabad.	"
1986	"	Purshotamdas Bhavanidas Goradia, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	Vakil, Richey Road, Ahmedabad ...	"

1987	„	Purshotamdas G. Gajjar, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Merchant, Dhanasutar's Pole, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.	„
1988	„	Punjabhai Someshwar Bhat, Esq.	„	Pleader, Dhobie's Pole, Ahmedabad...	„
1989	„	Ranjitbhai Vajubhai Divatia, Esq., B A., LL.B.	Nagar.	Vakil, Lakha Patel's Pole, Ahmedabad.	„
1990	„	Ramnikrai Jadavrai Thakor, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin Kshatriya.	Vakil, Jethabhai's Pole, Ahmedabad. ...	„
1991	„	Ravishanker Jatashankar Vaidya, Esq.	Hindu.	Vaidya, Khajuri's Pole, Ahmedabad...	„
1992	„	Rammohunray Jaswantrai Desai, Esq.	Nagar.	Editor, "Sundari-Subodh," Aka Seth, Kuva-ni-Pole, Raipur, Ahmedabad.	„
1993	„	Seth Ranchorelal Amritlal ...	Hindu.	Mill Owner, Ahmedabad	„
1994	„	Ratilal Bapalal Dewanji, Esq., I.S.M.	„	Teacher, Raghunath Bamb's Pole, San- kdi-Sheri, Ahmedabad.	„
1995	„	Savailal Dullabhji Desai, Esq., B.A., etc.	„	Teacher, Mandvi-ni-Pole, Ahmedabad.	„
1996	„	Seth Sakarlal Balabhai	„	Mill Owner, Sankdi-Sheri, Ahmedabad.	„
1997	„	Sarabhai Dayabhai, Esq... ..	Jain.	Store Merchant, Zaverivad, Ahmedabad.	„
1998	„	Shambhuprasad Chimanlal, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Merchant, Ghasiram-ni-Pole, Sarangpur, Ahmedabad.	„
1999	„	Shambhuprasad Bhagwandas Maha- devia, Esq.	„	Jadabhagat's Pole, Dariapur, Ahme- dabad.	„
2000	„	Shankarprasad Mahasukhram Pan- dit, Esq.	Brahmin.	Teacher, Native Institution, Ahme- dabad.	„
2001	„	Shantiprasad Trikamlal, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Merchant, Raipur, Ahmedabad ...	„
2002	„	Shivprasad Makanji Desai, Esq. ...	„	Khadia, Ahmedabad	„

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
2003	Gujarat Sabha.	Somabhai Bechardas, Esq. ...	Jain.	Merchant, Mirzapur, Ahmedabad. ..	At a Meeting of the Gujarat Sabha held on 7th December 1915.
2004	"	T. P. Thakor, Esq... ..	Hindu.	Proprietor, "Praja Bandhu," Khadia, Ahmedabad.	"
2005	"	Dr. Trikamlal Amtha Shah, M.D. .	"	Medical Practitioner, Kalupur Road, Ahmedabad.	"
2006	"	Trikamlal Narsilal Thakor, Esq...	"	Private Service, Jethabhai's Pole, Khadia, Ahmedabad.	"
2007	"	Trimbaklal S. Trivedi, Esq., B.A....	"	Teacher, Mali's Pole, Ahmedabad. ...	"
2008	"	Vadilal Chunilal Shah, Esq. ...	"	Merchant, Same-Shiker's Pole, Mandvi Pole, Ahmedabad.	"
2009	"	Velchand Chhaganlal Shah, Esq. ..	"	Banker, Dana Sutar Pole, Ahmedabad.	"
2010	"	Veerchand Panachand Shah, Esq.	"	Banker, Near Dinkwa Gate, Ahmedabad.	"
2011	"	Vishnuprasad Nandray Desai, Esq.	"	Khadia, Ahmedabad	"
2012	Ahmednagar District Association.	C. M. Saptarishi, Esq., M. A., LL. B.	Brahmin Hindu.	Pleader, High Court, Hon. Secretary, Anatha Vidyarthi Graha, Ahmednagar.	At a Meeting of the Ahmednagar District Association held on 12th December 1915.
2013	"	D. K. Parashrami, Esq., B.A., LL.B	Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, Ahmednagar ...	"
2014	"	H. K. Patwardhan, Esq., F. T. S., B. A., LL. B.	Brahmin Hindu.	Pleader, High Court, Opp. District Court, Ahmednagar.	"
2015	"	N. L. Ranade, Esq., B.A., LL.B. ...	"	Pleader. Ahmednagar ...	"

2016	"	Dr. P. M. Saptarishi, L. R. C. P., L.R. C. S. (Edin.)	"	Medical Practitioner, Ahmednagar ...	"
2017	"	Premasukh Ramdayal Kabare, Esq.	Marwadi Hindu.	Cotton Merchant, Ahmednagar ...	"
2018	"	Shankar Bapuji Saut, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, Ahmednagar ...	"
2019	"	S. G. Paregaonker, Esq.	"	Trader, Ahmednagar	"
2020	Belgaum District Congress Committee.	Ramchandra Balaji Anikhindi, Esq.	"	Landlord and Merchant, Rabkavi, Belgaum.	At a Meeting of the Belgaum District Congress Committee on 15th De- cember 1915.
2021	"	Raoji Gangadhar Khot, Esq. ...	"	Pleader and Landlord, Belgaum ...	"
2022	"	Ramchandra Raghvendra Naik, Esq.	"	Pleader and Landlord, Shapur, Belgaum.	"
2023	"	Shidapa Chanbasapa Mariguddi, Esq.	Lingayet.	Landlord and Merchant, Rabkavi, Belgaum.	"
2024	"	Tamappa Sattepa Chikodi, Esq ...	"	Landlord and Merchant, Rabkavi, Belgaum.	"
2025	"	Virupax San-Shivapa Mariguddi, Esq.	"	Landlord and Merchant, Rabkavi, Belgaum.	"
2026	Bijapur District Congress Committee.	Rao Saheb Annarao J. Deshpande.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Muddebihal, District Bijapur...	In a Public Meeting held on 13th December 1915, by the Bijapur District Congress Committee.
2027	"	Bodhrao Vasudev Dharwadkar, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	Brahmin Hindu Aryan.	Pleader, Bijapur... ..	"
2028	"	Daso Bhimrao Kulkarni, Esq., B.A.	"	Pleader, Bijapur... ..	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
2029	Bijapur District Congress Committee.	Fakirappa Gurubasappa Halkatti, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Lingayat Hindu Aryan.	Pleader, Bijapur... ..	In a Public Meeting held on 13th December 1915, by the District Congress Committee, Bijapur.
2030	"	Govind Ramachandra Kumbhare, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Private Service and Agriculturist, Bijapur.	In a Public Meeting held on 24th December 1915, by the District Congress Committee, Bijapur.
2031	"	Govind Gopal Havaladar, Esq. ..	Brahmin Hindu Aryan.	Pleader, Bijapur... ..	In a Public Meeting held on 13th December 1915, by the District Congress Committee, Bijapur.
2032	"	Gunas Tamnarao Doddihal, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Muddebihal, District Bijapur...	In a Public Meeting held on 24th December 1915, by the District Congress Committee, Bijapur.
2033	"	Kushnaji Bhimaji Bommanji, Esq.	"	Agriculturist, Chummelaji in Bagewadi Taluk, District Bijapur.	"
2034	"	Nilkant Sakharam Thite, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin Hindu Aryan.	Pleader Bijapur	In a Public Meeting held on 13th December 1915, by the District Congress Committee, Bijapur.
2035	"	Shambhu Shankar Datar, Esq. ...	Brahmin Hindu Aryan.	Pensioner, Bagalkot, District Bijapur.	"
2036	"	Shriniwasrao S. Setlur, Esq., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Advocate, High Court, Bombay ...	By the Congress Committee at Bijapur on its Meeting held on 22nd December 1915.
2037	"	Swamiracharya Raghwendracharya Kirsur, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Bagalkot, District Bijapur ..	By the Congress Committee at Bijapur on its Meeting held on 24th December 1915.

2038	„	Vithalrao Ramchandra Gulwadi, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Bagalkot, District Bijapur. ...	By the Congress Committee at Bijapur on its Meeting held on 13th December 1915.
2039	„	Velgurd Vasudev Dharwadkar, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Bagalkot, District Bijapur. ...	By the Congress Committee at Bijapur on its Meeting held on 24th December 1915.
2040	„	Yerappa Mamallappa Joladu, Esq.	Hindu Lingayat.	Agriculturist, Bagalkot, District Bijapur.	„
2041	Broach District Association.	Bhagubhai Pranvallabhdas Desai, Esq.	Vaishya.	Chairman, Sanitary Committee, Hansot, Member, District Local Board, Broach and Taluka Local Board, Ankleswar, Landholder and Money Lender, Hansot, Broach.	By the Managing Committee of the Broach District Association on 12th December 1915.
2042	„	Dr. Chhaganlal Gulabhdas Kaji, L.M. & S.	„	Medical Practitioner, Broach.	„
2043	„	Ghelabhai Chhaganlal Seth, Esq....	„	Member, Sanitary Committee, Hansot, Landholder and Money Lender, Hansot, Broach.	„
2044	„	Harilal Govandas Jhaveri, Esq. ...	„	Municipal Councillor, Landholder and Money Lender, Bhut Nath Falia, Broach.	„
2045	„	Hiralal Harjivandas, Esq. ...	„	Merchant, Vejalpore, Broach	„
2046	„	Haribhai Jhaverbhai Amin, Esq....	Kanbi.	Member, District Local Board, Landholder, Zadeshwar Taluka, Broach.	„
2047	„	Ishwarlal Girdharlal Inamdar, Esq.	Brahmin Kshatriya.	Landholder, Juna Bazar, Broach. ...	„
2048	„	Jamietram Harjivan Patel, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Landholder, Broach.	„
2049	„	Jamietram Narbheram Trivedi, Esq.	„	Pleader, Vagra, <i>via</i> Broach.	„

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
2050	Broach District Association.	Krishnalal Balvantray Desai, Esq.	Brahmin.	Hon. Organizer, Cooperative Societies, Broach District, Pleader, Vagra, <i>via</i> Broach.	By the Managing Committee of the Broach District Association on 12th December 1915.
2051	"	Kirtarsingh Karamsingh Thakor, Esq.	Rajput.	Landholder, Broach	"
2052	"	Manilal Motilal Arya, Esq. ...	Vaishya.	Pleader and Landholder, Lalbhai's Pat, Broach.	"
2053	"	Navrosji Dinshawji Kelawala, Esq.	Parsi.	Landholder, Kajambar, Broach ...	"
2054	"	Sakerlal Duwarkadas Desai, Esq.	Vaishya.	Landholder and Money Lender, Hansot, Broach.	"
2055	"	Thakorlal Chimanlal Munshi, Esq.	Bhargas Brahmin.	Pleader, Acharwada, Broach	"
2056	Dharwar District Congress Committee.	Dattatrayan Narayan Chandavarkar, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	Hindu Saraswat Brahmin.	Pleader, Dharwar	At the Meeting of the Dharwar District Congress Committee held on 12th December 1915.
2057	"	Narayanrao Gurnath Karagudri, Esq., B.A., LL. B.,	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Dharwar ...	"
2058	"	Ramchandra Gopal Sabnis, Esq....	"	Pleader, District Court, Mangalwar Peth, Dharwar.	"
2059	"	Shantaram Narayan Vinekar, Esq. B.A., LL. B.	Brahmin.	Vice-President, Gadag Municipality, Pleader, Gadag.	At a Meeting specially convened by the Taluka Congress Committee to elect Delegates.
2060	Hubli Taluka Congress Committee.	Gopalrao Annaji Sule, Esq. ...	Kayastha Prabhu.	Contractor, Hubli	At a Public Meeting on 28th November 1915.

2061	"	Gururao Krishna Walvekar, Esq., B.A.	Brahmin Hindu.	Landholder, Hubli	"
2062	"	Krishnarao Raghavendra Val- vekar, Esq.	"	President, Hubli City Municipality, Pleader, Hubli.	"
2063	"	Raghavendraro Subrao Byahatti, Esq.	"	Pleader, Landholder, Hubli	"
2064	"	Shriniwas G. Gunjekar, Esq., B.A.	"	Law Student, Hubli	"
2065	"	Sidapa Totapa Kambli, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	Lingayat.	Pleader, Hubli	"
2066	"	Dr. Shankarrao Parashuram Kum- bhakonam, L. M. & S.	Brahmin Hindu.	Private Medical Practitioner, Secretary, Agricultural Association, Hubli.	"
2067	"	Timmapa Tulsigiriyapa Mudrady, Esq.	Raddy.	Merchant, Hubli	At a Public Meeting on 29th Novem- ber 1915.
2068	"	Venkatrao Laxumanrao Gudy, Esq.	Brahmin Hindu.	Pleader, Hubli	At a Public Meeting on 28th Novem- ber 1915.
2069	"	Vinayak Purushotam Wagle, Esq.	Saraswat Brahmin.	Pleader, Hubli	"
2070	Kaira District Association.	Baldevdas Gordhandas Parikh, Esq., B.A., LL B.	Baina Hindu.	Pleader, Kapadwanj (Kaira)	By the Kaira District Association in the Meeting held on 8th December 1915.
2071	"	Bhagwandas Girdhardas Desai, Esq., B.A., LL B.	Patidar Hindu.	Pleader, Landholder, Nadiad	"
2072	"	Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, Esq., B.A., M.S.C.I.	Patidar Hindu.	Partner of the Agent Firm, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Bombay and Baroda, Nadiad.	"
2073	"	Chunilal Amritlal Pandya, Esq., LL.B.	Brahmin Hindu.	Pleader, Borsad (Kaira)	"
2074	"	Chimanlal Kirpashanker Dave, Esq.	"	Jamindar, Anand (B. B. & C. I. Ry.)...	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
2075	Kaira District Association.	Chandulal Amaratlal Dalal, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Bania Hindu.	Lawyer, Punch Kuyi, Nadiad	At a Meeting of the Kaira District Association held on 8th December 1915.
2076	"	C. N. Gami, Esq.	Bania.	Trader, Falate Pole, Nadiad	"
2077	"	Dharmasukharam Tanahsukharam Tripathi, Esq., B. A.	Brahmin Hindu.	Merchant, Nagarawada, Nadiad	"
2078	"	Foolchand Bapuji Shah, Esq. ..	...	Banker, Solun Bazar, Nadiad	"
2079	"	Gordhandas Chunilal Desai, Esq.	Patidar Hindu.	Contractor, Desai Vaga, Nadiad	"
2080	"	Gordhandas Keshavlal Patel, Esq.	"	Zemindari, Anand (B. B. & C. I. Ry.).	"
2081	"	Jayashanker Kirpashanker Daftari, Esq.	Bania Hindu.	Borsad (Kaira)... ..	"
2082	"	Keshavlal Ranchoddas Patel, Esq.	"	Pleader, Umreth (Kaira)	"
2083	"	Kishordas Vaghjibhai Desai, Esq.	Patidar Hindu.	Landholder, Desai Buildings, Nadiad... ..	"
2084	"	Kushaldas Revandas Desai, Esq...	"	Municipal Councillor of Nadiad, Landholder, Nadiad.	"
2085	"	Lallubhai Bhikhabhai Patel, Esq., B A., LL.B.	"	Pleader and Landholder, Nagarkui, Nadiad.	"
2086	"	Mukandaraya Harasukharam Pandya, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Moneylender and Landholder, Nagarawada, Nadiad.	"
2087	"	Manilal Chhotalal Patel, Esq. ...	Patidar Hindu.	Landholder, Dave Pole, Nadiad	"
2088	"	Mangaldas Nandlal Parekh, Esq..	Bania.	Banker, Ahmedabudi Bazar, Nadiad	"

2089	"	Morarji Kunvarji Mehta, Esq. ...	Brahmin Hindu.	Pleader, Borsad (Kaira)	"
2090	"	Dhanabhai Narshibhai Patel, Esq.	Patidar Hindu.	Pleader, Borsad (Kaira)	"
2091	"	Ambalal Bapuji Patel, Esq. ..	"	Pleader, Borsad (Kaira)	"
2092	"	Naradbhai Manordas Parikh, Esq.	Bania Hindu.	Mill Owner, Manordas Mill, Nadiad ...	"
2093	"	Ratilal Narayandas Gami, Esq. ...	Vaish.	Dealing business in the name of Ramanlal Ratilal, Khariwaudi, Delhi.	"
2094	"	Someshwar Mohasukhram Trivedi, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Girgaon, Bombay (4)	"
2095	"	Shivshankar Chhaganlal, Pleader, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Jambusar, Nadiad	"
2096	"	Somabhai Motilal Shah, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	Bania.	Kovada Pole, Nadiad	"
2097	"	Tanahsukharam Manahsukharam Tripathi, Esq., B.A.	Brahmin Hindu.	Merchant, Nagaravada, Nadiad... ..	"
2098	"	Trikamlal Sankalchand Parikh, Esq.	Bania Hindu.	Banker, Modisavth, Nadiad.	"
2099	"	Vollavbhai H. Desai, Esq. ...	Patidar Hindu.	Pleader, Nadiad.	"
2100	Kolaba District Congress Committee.	Atmaram Anant Chitre, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Kayastha Parbhu Hindu.	Advocate, High Court, Grant Road, Bombay (7).	At a Meeting of the Committee held at Bombay on 20th December 1915.
2101	"	Chintaman Sakharam Deole, Esq., B. A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Member, Servants of India Society, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
2102	"	Dwarakanath Ganesh Deshmukh, Esq.	Hindu.	Pleader, Roha, District Kolaba. ...	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
2103	Kolaba District Congress Committee.	Ganesh Bapuji Deshmukh, Esq...	Prabhu Hindu.	District Pleader, Roha, District Kolaba.	At a Meeting of the Committee held at Bombay on 20th December 1916.
2104	"	Govind Gopal Tipnis, Esq. ...	Hindu Kayasth.	Landlord (Khot) Mohad, District Kolaba.	"
2105	"	Kashinath Krishna Bhatlekar, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Manager, " Dnyan Prakash " Marathi Daily, Servants of India Society, Bombay (4.)	"
2106	"	Moreshwar Mahadev Ranadive, Esq.	C. Kayasth Prabhu Hindu.	Pleader and President of Pen Municipality, District Kolaba.	"
2107	Khandesh District Congress Committee.	Balkrishna Ramchandra Kotwal, Esq.	Hindu Kayasth Prabhu.	Pleader, Dhulia	At a Meeting of the District Congress Committee of Dhulia.
2108	"	Barbatlal Balkishan, Esq. ...	Hindu Marawadi.	Member of Dhulia Municipality, Merchant, Dhulia, West Khandesh.	"
2109	"	Kashinath Mulchand Seth, Esq. ...	"	Hon. Magistrate, Member of Dhulia Municipality, Merchant, Dhulia, West Khandesh.	"
2110	"	Madhav Pandharinath Khaladkhar, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Private English Teacher, Utran, Taluka Erandol, Zilla East Khandesh.	"
2111	"	Mansing Daji, Esq. .. ...	...	Landlord, Jalgaon.	"
2112	"	N. R. Jinasiwalle, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Member of Shirpur Municipality, Pleader, Shirpur, West Khandesh.	"
2113	"	Ramchandra Narsinh Ranasing, Esq.	"	Hon. Magistrate and Member of Dhulia Municipality, Pensioner, Dhulia, West Khandesh.	"

2114	"	Ramchandra Vaman Kane, Esq. ...	"	Pleader, Erandol, East Khandesh ...	"
2115	"	Ramchandra Narayan Shimpi, Esq.	Hindu Shimpi.	Merchant, Dhulia, West Khandesh ...	"
2116	"	Sidhanath Dhondev Garud, Esq., B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, President, Dhulia Municipality, Honorary Organizer of Co-operative Societies, Member of Khandesh Dist. Local Board, etc., etc., Dhulia, West Khandesh.	At a Meeting of Khandesh District Congress Committee held on 5th December 1915.
2117	"	Shankar Balkrishna Wadekar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Dhulia, West Khandesh ...	"
2118	"	Shridhar Balkrishna Upasani, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	Member of Bombay Legislative Council, Member of Dhulia Municipality and K. District Local Board, Pensioner, Dhulia, West Khandesh.	"
2119	"	Sakharam Vaman Joshi, Pleader, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Shirpur, West Khandesh ...	"
2120	"	Shantaram Mahadeo Sonalkar, Esq.	...	Municipal Councillor, Pleader, Jalgaon, East Khandesh.	At a Meeting of Khandesh District Congress Committee held on 6th December 1915.
2121	"	Vinayak Vasudeo Soman, Esq. ...	"	Pleader, Pachora, East Khandesh ...	"
2122	"	Vinayak Vaman Garud, Esq., B.A.	"	Landlord, Dhulia, West Khandesh ..	"
2123	"	Yadav Balkrishna Bahalkar, Esq.	"	Editor of "Khandesh-Vaibhav" Member of Dhulia Municipality, Village Munsiff, Dhulia, West Khandesh.	"
2124	Nasik District Congress Committee.	Bhargao Bhikaji Mulay, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Pleader, Malegaon, District Nasik. ...	At a Meeting of District Congress Committee, Nasik, on 19th December 1915.
2152	"	Krishnaji Parshuram Khare, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Malegaon, District Nasik ...	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
2126	Nasik District Congress Committee.	Lakshivan Vishwanath Pophale, Esq.	Brahmin.	Factory Owner, Malegaon, District Nasik.	At a Meeting of District Congress Committee, Nasik, on 19th December 1915.
2127	"	Nilkant Pandurang Patanker, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Nasik	"
2128	"	Ramchandra Govind Kashikar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Malegaon, District Nasik ...	"
2129	"	Ramchandra Ganesh Pradhan, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Kayastha Prabhu.	Pleader and Journalist, Nasik	"
2130	"	Waman Chintaman Muke, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Pleader, Pimpalgaon, (Nasik)	"
2131	"	Balvant Govind Kamat, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Saraswat Brahmin.	Pleader, Saswad, Poona District ...	Elected in a Joint Meeting of the Poona District Congress Committee and Deccan Sabha, Poona, on 20th December 1915.
2132	Poona District Congress Committee.	Datto Vasudev Velankar, Esq. ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Assistant, Servants of India Society, Poona.	At a Meeting of the Congress Committee held on 20th December 1915.
2133	"	Krishnadas Goverdhandas Madiwale, Esq.	"	Shroff, c/o Sakharam Mancharam, Esq., Poona City.	"
2134	"	Lakshman Ganesh Shastri Lele, Esq.	Hindu Brahmin.	Sanskrit Teacher, Vaidya Panchanan Marathi Poet & Author, 117, Budhwar Peth, Poona City.	"
2135	"	Mahadeo Rajaram Tarkunde, Esq.	"	Pleader, Saswad, Poona District.	"
2136	"	Narayan Ganesh Virakar, Esq., B.A., LL B.	Hindu Arvan.	Pleader, 682, Sadashiv Peth, Poona Citv.	"

2137	„	Rao Bahadur Ramanarayan Amarchand.	Marwadi.	Merchant, Bhamburda, Poona... ..	„
2138	„	Ramnikrai N. Mehta, Esq... ..	Indian.	Agent, The Bombay Central Co-operative Bank, Ltd., Baramati (District Poona.)	„
2139	„	Raghunath Vithal Khedhar, Esq., M.D., F.R.C.S., D.P.H., L.R.C.P., &c.	Hindu Marhatta Yadav.	Surgeon, Vishram Hospital, 141, Main Street, Poona.	„
2140	„	Shankar Ramchandra Khaladhar, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Saswad (Poona District.) ..	„
2141	„	Shankar Gopal Deshmukh, Esq... ..	Prabhu Hindu.	Pleader, Saswad (Poona District.) ...	„
2142	The Deccan Sabha (Poona.)	Basalingappa Mallappa Anna Ghatuatti, Esq.	Lingayat.	Merchant, Rabkavi, S. M. Country ...	„
2143	„	Basappa Chaubasappa Hanagaudi, Esq.	„	Merchant, Rabkavi, S. M. Country ...	„
2144	„	Balwant Babaji Nirgoode, Esq... ..	Namdeo Shimpi Hindu.	Poona.	„
2145	„	Rao Bahadur B. B. Onkar. ..	Hindu.	Landlord, Mamdar, Poona	„
2146	„	Bapuji Martand Ambekar, Esq... ..	Brahmin.	Sub-Editor, "Dnyana Prakash" Office, Poona City.	„
2147	„	C. V. Narayan Raw, Esq... ..	Hindu.	Retired Tahsildar, Chamarajput, Bangalore.	„
2148	„	Chintaman Gungadhar Bhanu, Esq., B.A.	Brahmin Hindu.	Pensioner, 782, Sadashiv Peth, Poona.	„
2149	„	D. Hanumantarao, Esq., B.A.,	„	Member, Servants of India Society, Poona.	„

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
2150	The Deccan Sabha (Poona).	Dhondo Keshav Karve, Esq., B.A.	Konkanastha Brahmin.	Retired Professor of Mathematics, Ferguson College, Poona, Teacher, Mahitashrâm, Hingne Budruk, Poona City.	At a Meeting of the Congress Committee held on 20th December 1915.
2151	"	G. G. Thakar, Esq.	"	Pleader, Poona	At a Meeting of the Deccan Sabha held on 20th December 1915.
2152	"	Ganesh Abaji Bhat, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Landlord, Poona	"
2153	"	Govind Vasudev Kanitkar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin Hindu.	Retired Sub-Judge, 584, Sadashiv Peth, Poona City.	"
2154	"	Gopalrao Vakil, Esq.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Hyderabad (Deccan)	"
2155	"	Giri Rao Sheshgiri Rao Gajendragadkar, Esq.	"	Pleader, Hyderabad (Deccan)	"
2156	"	Dr. Gungadhar K. Kirloskar, L. M. & S.	"	Medical Practitioner, Hyderabad (Deccan)	"
2157	"	Ganesh Raghunath Abhyankar, Esq.	"	Pleader, Sangli, S. M. C. (Bombay Presidency).	"
2158	"	Gangadhar Anant Joglekar, Esq.	"	Pleader, Dharwar	"
2159	"	Hari Vaman Bhate, Esq., M.A. ...	"	Landlord, Poona	"
2160	"	Rao Bahadur Ichharam Bhagvandas, B.A.	Hindu Lad Vania.	Retired Deputy Collector, Narayen Peth, Poona.	"
2161	"	Shanker Bhasker Jathen, Esq., B.A.	Brahmin.	Landlord, Sardar Griha, Bombay (2) ...	"
2162	"	Krishnaji Raghunath Limaye, Esq.	Brahmin Aryan.	Pleader, Jamkhandi	"
2163	"	Keshav Ramchandra Chhapkhave, Esq., M.A., LL.B.	Brahmin Hindu.	Pleader, Sangli (S. M. C.)	"

2164	"	Krishnaji Mahadev Khadye, Esq., M.A.	Vaishya Hindu.	Professor, Fergusson College, 472, Shanwar, Poona City.	"
2165	"	The Hon'ble Mr. Keshev Rao Santuk Rao.	Hindu.	Pleader, High Court, Hyderabad (Deccan).	"
2166	"	M. K. Gadgil, Esq.	"	Landlord, Hingne Budruk (Poona).	"
2167	"	Murigeya Slddharamaya Bagoji, Esq.	Lingayat (Hindu).	Dyer and Merchant, Rabkavi, (S.M.Cy.).	"
2168	"	Malleshappa Annappa Anna Umadi, Esq.	"	Merchant, Rabkavi, (S.M.Cy.) ...	"
2169	"	Qazi M. Asghar, B.A.	Musalman.	Bar.-at-Law, Poona	"
2170	"	Nilkant Rakhmaji Subandrao, Esq.	Namdev Shimpi Hindu.	Poona	"
2171	"	Nago Rao Bhujang Rao Desh- mukh, Esq.	Hindu.	Deshmukh, Kavan, District Nadiad ...	"
2172	"	P. Krishna Rao Vakeel, Esq. ...	"	Pleader, Raichur	"
2173	"	Pandurang Damodar Genie, Esq., M.A., (Bombay) PH. D.	Brahmin	Professor of Sanskrit, Fergusson College, Poona.	"
2174	"	Rachappa Murigeppa Nasi, Esq... ..	Lingayat.	Merchant, Rabkavi, (S.M.Cy.) ..	"
2175	"	Rai Hemchender, B.A., B.L. ...	Hindu.	High Court Vakil, Hyderabad (Deccan).	"
2176	"	Raghunath P. Bilgi, Esq.... ..	Brahmin.	Agent to Native State, Sardar Griha, Bombay (2).	"
2177	"	R. S. Naik, Esq., M. A.	Hindu.	Bar.-at-Law, Station Road, Hyderabad (Deccan.)	"
2178	"	Rudrappa Sivarudrappa Saboji, Esq	Lingayat.	Merchant, Rabkavi (S. M. Cy.) ...	"
2179	"	Raghavender Raw, Esq.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Hyderabad (Deccan.)	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
2180	The Deccan Sabha (Poona).	S. M. Michael, Esq.	Indian Christian.	Servants of India Society, Poona ..	Elected at a Meeting of the Deccan Sabha on 20th December 1915.
2181	"	Sakharam Mahadeo Lingade, Esq.	Jain.	Photographer, Gujari—Kolhapoor ...	"
2182	"	Shankarrao Sitaram Gaikwad, Esq.	Maratha.	Inamdar, Ink Manufacturer, 189, Rusta's Peth, Poona City.	"
2183	"	Virayya Mahalinga Nagarat, Esq.	Lingayat.	Commerce, Rabkavi, (S. M. Cy.) ...	"
2184	"	Dr. Vishvanath Chintaman Gokhale, L. M. & S.	Brahmin Aryan.	Private Medical Practitioner, 717, Sadashiv Peth, Poona City.	"
2185	"	V. R. Naik, Esq.	Hindu.	Jaghirdar, Hyderabad (Deccan) ...	"
2186	"	Vasudeo Rajaram Gupte, Esq. B.A., LL. B.	Prabhu.	Pleader, 260, Sadashiv Peth, Poona City.	"
2187	"	Vinayak Krishna Mainkar, Esq. B.A., LL. B.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Sangli, (S. M. C.)	"
2188	"	Rao Saheb Vishnu Anant Patwardhan, B.A.	"	District Pleader, 416, Narayen Peth, Poona City.	"
2189	Panchmahals District Congress Committee.	Adityarain S. Trivedi, Esq. ...	...	Girgaon, Bombay (4)	Elected on 25th December 1915 by the Panchmahals Congress Committee.
2190	"	Champaklal Handatta Shastri, Esq., B.A.	Hindu and Hinduism.	Teacher, New High School, Godhra ...	Elected on 24th December 1915 by the Panchmahals Congress Committee.
2191	"	Chunilal Gaebaddas Gupta, Esq. .	Hindu and Arya-samajist.	Trader, Sansoli, Kalol, Panchmahals....	"

2192	"	Dalsukhbhai Lallubhai Shah, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Jain and Jainism.	Pleader, Godhra... ..	Elected on 22nd December 1915, by the Panchmahals Congress Com- mittee.
2193	"	Ghansheyarai Natvarrai Metha, Esq.	Hindu and Hinduism.	Inamdar, Kalol, Panchmahals ...	"
2194	"	Jani Girjashankar Prabhashankar, Esq.	"	Trade, Godhra, Panchmahals ...	Elected on 24th December 1915, by the Panchmahals Congress Com- mittee.
2195	"	Harjivan Jadavji Varia, Esq. ...	"	Bhuleshwar, Bombay (2) ...	"
2196	"	Keshavlal Harilal Shah, Esq. ...	"	District Pleader, Godhra, Panchmahals.	Elected on 22nd December 1915, by the Panchmahals Congress Com- mittee.
2197	"	Kishorbhai Narotamdas Patel, Esq.	"	District Pleader, Godhra, Panchmahals.	"
2198	"	Dr. Maneklal Narsidas Shah, U. B. B. S.	Jain and Jainism.	Medical Practitioner, Godhra, Panch- mahals.	"
2199	"	Manilal Harilal Metha, Esq., B.A., LL. B.	Hindu and Hinduism.	High Court Vakil, Karamsy Damji House, Girgaon, Bombay (4).	"
2200	"	Manantrai Jadurai Desai, Esq. ...	Hindu and Hinduism.	Inamdar, Kalol, Panchmahals... ..	Elected by the Panchmahals District Congress Committee on 22nd December 1915.
2201	"	Purshotamdas Vaganlal Shah, Esq. B. A., LL. B.	"	Pleader, Godhra, Panchmahals. ...	"
2202	"	Vithaldas Karsandas Shah, Esq. ...	"	Seeds Merchant and Commission Agent, Ardesar Dady Street, Girgaon, Bom- bay (4).	"
2203	"	Wamanrao Sitaram Mukadam, Esq.	"	Business and Service, Godhra, Panch- mahals.	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
2204	Ratnagiri District Congress Committee.	Govind Balkrishna Chitale, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Ratnagiri.	Elected on 18th December 1915, by the Ratnagiri District Congress Committee.
2205	"	Kashinath Lakaman Parulekar, Esq.	Aryan Hindu.	Merchant, Ratnagiri.	"
2206	"	Shriram Vashmath Padhye, Esq.,	Brahmin Aryan Hindu.	Pleader, Ratnagiri, Upper Lane. ...	"
2207	Satara District Congress Committee.	Revd. Anandrao S. Hiwale, B. A. (Bodan College, Main, U. S. A.)	Indian Christian.	American Maratha Mission, Near General Post Office, Satara.	By the District Congress Committee, Satara, on 15th December 1915.
2208	"	Govind Hari Keshar, Esq. ...	Brahmin.	Astrologer, Guruwar Peth, Panditrao's Wada, Satara City.	"
2209	"	Lakshman Krishna Joshi, Esq. ..	"	Chief Agent, Western India Life Insurance Company, Satara.	"
2210	"	Laxman Mero Kanhere, Esq. ...	"	Inamdar, Satara... ..	"
2211	"	Dr. Ramchandra Vaman Phansalkar, L. M. & S. ..	"	206, Yado, Gopal Peith, Satara City....	"
2212	"	Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar, Esq.	"	High Court Pleader, (Bombay) Satara.	"
2213	"	Sitaram Ganesh Devadhar, Esq., B. A.	"	Superintendent, New English School, Satara.	"
2214	"	Wasudeo Ganesh Chirumle, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Managing Director, Western India Life Insurance Company, Hon. Organizer, Co-operative Credit Societies. Satara.	"

2215	"	Waman Ganesh Ghanekar, Esq.	"	Pleader, Shanvar Peth, Satara.	"
2216	Sholapur District Congress Committee.	Ardeshir Pestanji Chinoy, Esq. ...	Parsi.	Spinning Master, Old Mills, Sholapur...	By the Sholapur District Congress Committee on 4th December 1915.
2217	"	C. S. Madki, Esq. ...	Hindu.	Merchant, Sholapur ...	"
2218	"	G. M. Shah, Esq. ...	"	President, Sholapur Municipality, Pleader, Sholapur.	"
2219	"	Girirao Madhav Jahagirdar, Esq.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Yavale, Taluka Barsi, Gulburga.	"
2220	"	Hirachand Sukharam, Esq. ...	Jain.	Banker and Merchant, Sholapur ...	"
2221	"	K. D. Tambekar, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Bachelor-of-Laws.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Sholapur ...	"
2222	"	Ladale Sahib ...	Mahomedan.	Merchant, Sholapur ...	"
2223	"	Natorlal G. Majumdar, Esq., M. A.	Hindu.	Manager, Sholapur Mills, Sholapur ...	By the Sholapur District Congress Committee on 16th December 1915.
2224	"	N. R. Godbole, Esq., B.A., LL.B. ...	Brahmin.	Pleader, Sholapur ...	By the Sholapur District Congress Committee on 4th December 1915.
2225	"	Raoji Nanchand, Esq. ...	Jain.	Banker and Merchant, Sholapur ...	"
2226	"	R. L. Deshmukh, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Pleader, Sholapur ...	"
2227	"	Rao Sahib T. I. Pitre, L. C. E. ...	"	Chief Officer, Sholapur Municipality, Sholapur.	"
2228	"	Dr. V. V. Mulay, L. M. & S. ...	"	Medical Practitioner, Sholapur ...	"
2229	"	V. R. Lele, Esq. ...	"	Pleader, Sholapur ...	"

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
2230	Surat District Congress Committee.	Dr. Amichand Chhaganlal Shah, Sub-Assistant Surgeon.	...	Medical Practitioner, Mahidkarpura Tekra, Surat.	At a Meeting of the Surat District Congress Committee held on 12th December 1915.
2231	"	Burjorji S. Katrak, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Parsi.	Pleader, Baga Talao, Surat	"
2232	"	Chandulal Becharlal Patel, Esq., B.A.	Patidar.	Hon. President, Patidar Yuvak, Mandal Office, Surat.	"
2233	"	Chimanlal Dahyabhai Clerk, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Bania Hindu.	Practising Pleader, Shahpore, Surat ...	"
2234	"	Chandulal Durlabhdas Sheth, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Bania.	Pleader, Sayadpura, Surat	"
2235	"	Fakeerbhai Ismail Maniar, Esq. ...	Mohamedan	Merchant, Portuguese Africa, Bulsar-Taivad.	"
2236	"	Dr. Itcharam K. Megha, L. M. & s.	...	Surat	"
2237	"	Kalianji Vithalbhai Mehta, Esq. ...	Patidar.	Hon. Superintendent, Patidar, Vidyarthi Ashram, Patidar Junak Mandal Office, Surat.	"
2238	"	Kunverji Vithalbhai Metha, Esq.	Patidar.	Hon. Editor, "Patel Bandhu," Patidar Junak Mandal Office, or Patel Bandhu Office, Surat.	"
2239	"	Kanaiyalal Hardevram Vakil, Esq., B. A.	Hindu.	Articled Clerk, Villa Vasant, Santa Cruz (B. B. & C. I. Ry.)	"
2240	"	Kanailal Jamnadas Majumdar, Esq.	Kayastha Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Surat.	"
2241	"	Dr. Karsukhram Virsukhram Hora, L. M. & s.	Hindu Theosophist.	Medical Practitioner, Havadra Chakla, Surat.	"

2242	„	Maneklal Chunilal Shroff, Esq., B.A.	Hindu Bania.	Nanant, Surat.	„
2243	„	Mukundrao Balvantrao, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	Nagar Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, Khapatva Chakla, Surat.	„
2244	„	M. S. Rangneker, Esq. ... ..	...	District Court Pleader, Thana. ...	„
2245	„	Nandmukhram Hariratnaram Me- tha, Esq.	Nagar Brahmin Hindu.	School Master, 22, Dady Seth Agiary Lane, Kalbadevi, Bombay (2).	„
2246	„	Narayanrao R. Vakil, Esq., B.A., LL.B	Bania.	Pleader, Ranini Bhit, Surat.	„
2247	„	Natvarlal M. Jhaveri, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	„	Pleader, Ambaji Road, Surat	„
2248	„	Ratnavadanram Karpurram Metha, Esq.	Nagar Brahmin Hindu.	Municipal Service, Bachu Villa, Santa Cruz, (B. B. & C. I. Ry.)	„
2249	„	Rangildas Ghelabhai Ghandi, Esq.	Bania	Pleader, Jada Khadi, Mahidharpur, Surat.	„
2250	„	Dr. V. A. Vijayker, Esq.... ..	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner, Surat.	„
2251	„	Veebal Harisukhram Metha, Esq., S. T. C., E. T. S.	Hindu Nagar Grahasth.	Teacher, Joint Manager, Shree Sayjee High School, Near City Post Office, Baroda.	„
2252	Thana District Congress Committee.	Bhagwant Hari Shringarpure, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	Prabhu Hinduism.	Pleader, Thana.	Elected by the Thana District Con- gress Committee.
2253	„	Bhagwant Appaji Padhye, Esq. ...	Brahmin Hinduism.	District Court Pleader, Thana. ...	„

Serial No.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address in full.	How and when Elected.
2254	Thana District Congress Committee.	Dattatraya M. Gupte, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	Prabhu Hinduism.	Pleader, Thana.... ..	Elected by the Thana District Congress Committee.
2255	„	Keshav Appaji Padhye, Esq, B. A., LL.B.	Brahmin Hinduism.	Pleader, High Court, Thana. ...	„
2256	„	Parasharam Abaji Bhat, Esq., B. A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Pleader, Thana.... ..	„
2257	„	Rangrao Balvant Chitre, Esq. ...	Prabhu Hinduism.	District Court Pleader, Thana. ...	„
2258	„	Vithaldas Nashidas Sanjanvala, Esq.	Hinduism Bania.	Timber Broker, Umagaon, Thana. ...	„
2259	„	Vinayak Abajee Davare, Esq. ...	Kayasth Prabhu Hinduism.	Pleader, Practising at Dahanu, District Thana.	„

APPENDIX H.

MEMBERS OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE,
30th INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1915, BOMBAY.*(Such of the following as attended the Congress as DELEGATES are entered in Appendix G.)*

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Abbas S Tyabji, Esq. | 40. Bezonji M. Jambusaria, Esq., B.A., LL.B. |
| 2. Ahmed Abdeenbhoy Peerbhoy, Esq., B.A. | 41. Behramji Cowasji Batliwalla, Esq. |
| 3. A. C. Chatterjee, Esq. | 42. Barzor F. Dastur, Esq. |
| 4. Abdul Shukur H. Saleh Mohamed, Esq. | 43. Byramjee Hormusjee, Esq. |
| 5. Ameeroodin Tyabji, Esq. | 44. Dr. Balvantrai N. Kanuga. |
| 6. Rao Saheb Ambashankar Uttamram Malji. | 45. Bhaskarrao V. Mehta, Esq., M.A., LL.B. |
| 7. Anant Vasudev Lele, Esq., B.A., LL. B. | 46. Bhalchandra S. Sukthankar, Esq. |
| 8. Ambalal Sarabhai, Esq. | 47. Sheth Balabhai Damodardas. |
| 9. Amritlal Raichand, Esq. | 48. B. P. Narielwala, Esq. |
| 10. A. V. Patvardhan, Esq. | 49. Bhawanidas Narandas Motiwalla, Esq. |
| 11. Dr. Abdulsattar A. Gaya, L. M. & S. | 50. Bakubhai Mansukhbhai, Esq. |
| 12. Amritlal B. Hinglokewala, Esq., B.A., LL.B. | 51. Bhugwandas Chaturbhuj Khimji, Esq. |
| 13. A. P. Sabawala, Esq. | 52. Dr. B. S. Shroff, L. M. & S. |
| 14. Ali Asghar H. Fyzee, Esq. | 53. Bapuji D. Lam, Esq. |
| 15. Ahmed R. Sayani, Esq. | 54. Balvantrao Tripurashanker, Esq. |
| 16. Amarchand Ghelabhai, Esq. | 55. Bhaskarrao Motilal Mehd, Esq., B.A., LL.B. |
| 17. A. M. Jewanjee, Esq. | 56. Balabhai Jamnadas Nanavati, Esq. |
| 18. Ambalal Motiram Modi, Esq., LL. B. | 57. Dr. B. S. Patkar. |
| 19. Amerchand Pannalal, Esq. | 58. Dr. B. A. Lukmani, M. R. C. S. (Eng.) |
| 20. Abdool Karim I. A. Lalljee, Esq. | 59. Bhaishanker Nanabhai, Esq. |
| 21. A. L. Khokhani, Esq. | 60. Behramji N. Karanjia, Esq. |
| 22. Ajam Haji Goolam M. Ajam, Esq. | 61. Bhagwandas Nugindas J. Shroff, Esq. |
| 23. Ashgarali S. I., Esq. | 62. B. N. Bhajekar, Esq., LL. B. |
| 24. Abdul Aziz Haji Tayab, Esq. | 63. Chandrashankar N. Pandya, Esq., B.A., LL.B. |
| 25. A. M. Javerbhai, Esq. | 64. Chhaganlal Dayabhai, Esq. |
| 26. The Hon'ble Mr. B. S. Kamat, B.A. | 65. Chhotubhai A. Vakil, Esq. |
| 27. B. Durgadatt, Esq. | 66. Chhaganlal Jamnadas, Esq. |
| 28. Battashri Baltadra Sharma, Esq. | 67. Cassinath Dewji Dhuru, Esq., J.P. |
| 29. Bhagwandas Maganbhai, Esq. | 68. C. M. Cursetjee, Esq., B.A. (Oxon.) |
| 30. Bhulabhai J. Desai, Esq. | 69. Chimanlal Maneklal Munshaw, Esq. |
| 31. Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt., L.M., J.P. | 70. C. N. Gajjar, Esq. |
| 32. Badrudin Abdulla Koor, Esq. | 71. Chaturbhuj Motilal Gandhi, Esq. |
| 33. Baban Gokhale, Esq. | 72. Chaturbhuj Tulsidas, Esq. |
| 34. Bholabhai Nanabhai Javeri, Esq. | 73. Chandulal Karsandas, Esq. |
| 35. Barjorji Nowrosji Apyakhtyar, Esq. | 74. Chimanlal Girdharlal Desai, Esq. |
| 36. B. B. Joshi, Esq., B.A., LL.B. | 75. Chhotalal Kilachand, Esq. |
| 37. Bhogilal Virchand Deepchand, Esq. | 76. Chaturbhuj Gangaram, Esq. |
| 38. Bhagwandas Madhavdas, Esq. | 77. Chimanlal Motilal Samal Becharvala, Esq. |
| 39. B. R. Madgaokar, Esq. | 78. Charandas Chaturbhuj Morarjee, Esq. |

79. Chimanlal Lallubhai, Esq.
 80. Chimanlal P. Broker, Esq.
 81. The Hon'ble Mr. C. H. Setalvad, B.A., LL.B.
 82. Chunilal V. Mehta, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
 83. Currimbhoy Lalljee Sajun, Esq.
 84. Sir Dorab J. Tata, Kt.
 85. Dinanath B. Dalvi, Esq.
 86. Duleria V. Desai, Esq.
 87. Dewji Sunderdas, Esq.
 88. D. M. Madan, Esq.
 89. D. F. Cama, Esq.
 90. The Hon'ble Mr. D. E. Wacha.
 91. D. L. Vaidya, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
 92. Dharamsey J. Thacker, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
 93. Devidas Madhowji Thackersey, Esq.
 94. Dattaram Ganpat Dalvi, Esq., M.A., LL.B.
 95. Devji Raisey Javeri, Esq.
 96. D. S. Dongre, Esq.
 97. Dhirajlal K. Thakore, Esq., B.A.
 98. Damodar Chintaman Virkar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
 99. Durlabhji R. Desai, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
 100. Damodar Savalaram Yande, Esq.
 101. Dattaram Vasudeo, Rege, Esq.
 102. Dwarkadas Gordhandas, Esq.
 103. Dalsukhbhai Vadilal Veerchand, Esq.
 104. Dhondiba Pandheji Banker, Esq.
 105. Dharamsey Thakordas, Esq.
 106. D. G. Padhye, Esq., M.A.
 107. Devidas J. Desai, Esq.
 108. Dhirajlal Motilal Vakil, Esq.
 109. Dharamdas Nagardas, Esq.
 110. Dulichand Dalima, Esq.
 111. Damodhar Govindji Madhawji, Esq.
 112. D. J. Juveker, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
 113. Dwarkadas Vasanji, Esq.
 114. Dhirajlal P. Shroff, Esq.
 115. Dost Mahomed Ismail Jan Mahomad, Esq.
 116. Dwarkadas Jekisondas Shroff, Esq.
 117. Dost Mahommad Peermahomad, Esq.
 118. Sir Dinshaw M. Petit, BART.
 119. D. N. Bahadurji, Esq.
 120. Daji Abaji Khare, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
 121. E. K. Palia, Esq., M. A., F. I. S. A., &c.
 122. Edalji Ukaji, Esq.
 123. Faredun K. Dadachanji, Esq., B.A., LL. B.
 124. Fulsanker Sunderlal Desai, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
 125. The Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Kt.
 126. Fazulbhoy Juma Lalji, Esq.
 127. Faiz B. Tyabji, Esq.
 128. Fidahusen Abdul Hoosen, Esq.
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