

REPORT
OF
THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
TWENTY-NINTH
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
HELD AT
MADRAS
ON THE
28th, 29th and 30th December 1914

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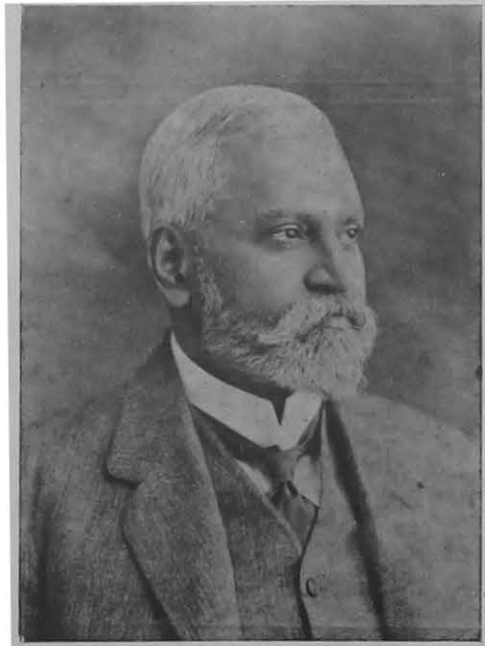


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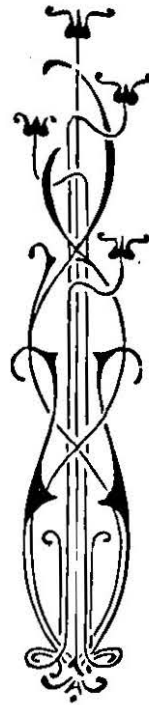
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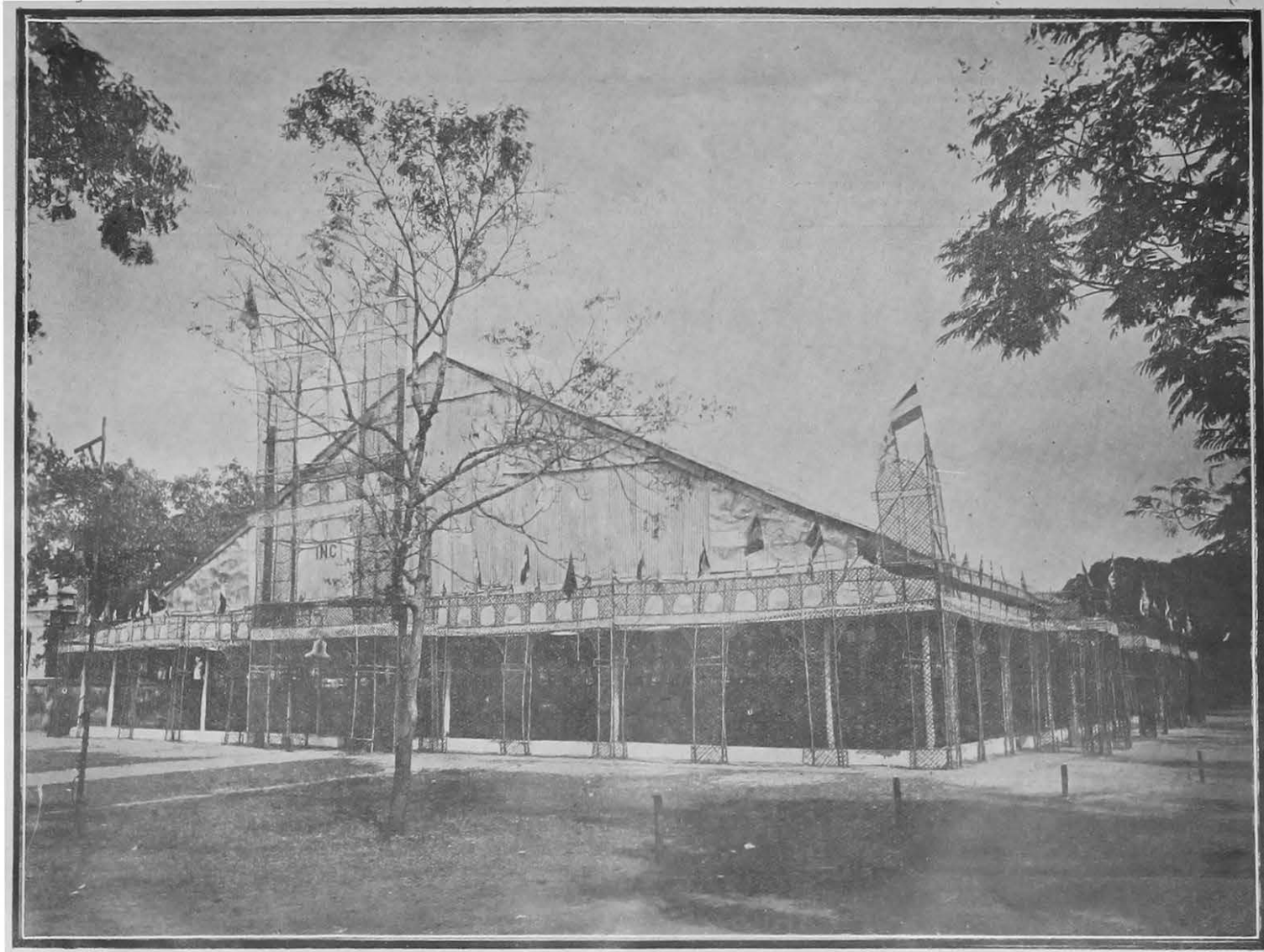
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BABU BHUPENDRA NATH BASU,
President, Madras Congress, 1914.

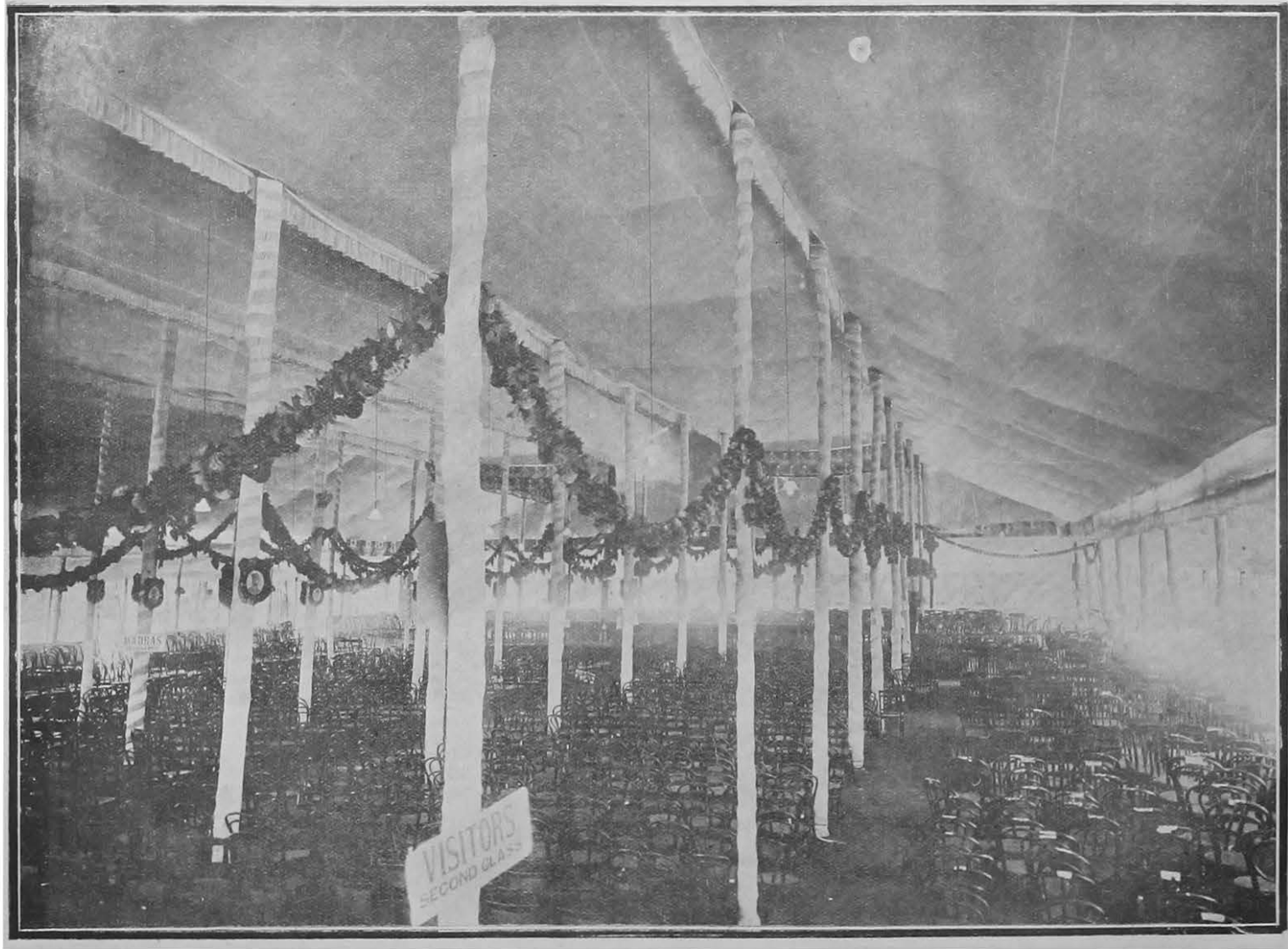


DR. SIR S. SUBRAMANIA IYER,
Chairman, Reception Committee, Congress



Congress Pavilion : Front View.

Photo by Ratna & Co., Madras.



Congress Pavilion: Interior View.

Photo by Ratna & Co., Madras.



The President the General Secretaries of the Congress, the Chairman and he Secretaries of th Reception Committee
and some members and visitors. Social Gathering on the Evening of the 30th December, 1914.

CONTENTS

38650

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	iii
RESOLUTIONS	1—8
First Day	
ADDRESS OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE RECEPTION	
COMMITTEE	2
ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT	
The Hon'ble Babu Surendranath Banerjea	16
The Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahomed	18
Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar	19
Mr. N. M. Samarath	20
MESSAGES TO THE CONGRESS	
THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS	22
Second Day	
CONDOLENCE TO THE VICEROY.	45
THE LATE BABU GANGA PRASAD VARMA	45
THE LATE A. S. DESAI & BABU B. P. CHATTERJI	46
THE ROYAL MESSAGE OF SYMPATHY	47
The Hon'ble Babu Surendranath Banerjea	47
Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govinda Ragava Iyer	49
Mr. R. D. Mehta C. I. E.	53
The Hon'ble Mr. S. B. Upasani	54
Pandit Gokarna Nath Misra	55
Mr. Babu Hari Kishan Sinha... ..	56
Mr. N. A. David... ..	57
Mr. Gopaldas Chamatmal	57
Mr. M. D. Devadoss	58
THANKS TO H. E. LORD PENTLAND	58
(Moved from the Chair).	
THE INDIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE	
Mr. A. P. Patro	59
Mr. Babu Jogendra Nath Bose	60
Mr. G. K. Gadgil	61
Pandit Iqbal Narain Masaldan	62
Mr. D. V. Prakasa Rao	63
MILITARY TRAINING AND VOLUNTEERS	
Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar	68
Mr. J. Chowdhry	69
Mr. E. W. Senathi Raja	72
Mr. K. Venkata Reddi Garu	74
Mr. R. V. Gupta	75
A. C. Parthasarathy Naidu	77
THE ARMS ACT	
Mr. A. P. Sen	78
Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer	79
Mr. Babu Krishnadas Rai	81
Mr. S. Somasundaram Pillai	83
RECIPROCITY	
Mrs. Annie Besant	83
The Hon'ble Mr. P. Kesava Pillai	86
Mr. Hridayanath Kunzru	87

Third Day		PAGE
PROTECTION OF INDUSTRIES	...	90
The Hon'ble Mr. K. R. V. Krishna Rao	...	90
Professor V. G. Kale	...	98
Mr. Babu J. C. Chakara Barthy	...	95
Mr. G. K. Devadar	...	96
Mr. S. K. Nair	...	97
SELF-GOVERNMENT	...	98
The Hon'ble Mr. Babu Serendranath Banerjea	...	98
Mr. Sadhu Ganapathi Pantulu Garu	...	105
Mrs. Annie Besant	...	105
Mr. Babu Suweshchandra Bose	...	409
THE INDIA COUNCIL REFORM	...	111
The Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao	...	111
Mr. Babu K. M. Chowdri	...	114
Mr. Babu P. C. Mitra	...	116
THE INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA	...	117
Mr. G. A. Natesan	...	117
Mr. Babu S. Prasad Basu	...	119
Mr. C. Lakshminarasimha	...	122
Mr. Ramakanta Malavyya	...	122
ABOLITION OF INDENTURED LABOUR.		
Mr. F. G. Natesan	...	124
Mr. T. Senadhya	...	127
JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS		127
THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT	...	127
THE PRESS ACT	...	127
LAND SETTLEMENT	...	127
SEPARATE ELECTORATES	...	128
THE INDIAN TROOPS	...	128
EXTENTION OF LORD HARDINGE'S TERM OF OFFICE	...	128
AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION		129
THE BRITISH CONGRESS COMMITTEE		130
APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL SECRETARIES.		130
THANKS TO THE DEPUTATION	...	130
Mr. K. R. Guruswami Iyer	...	130
The Hon'ble Mr. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar	...	132
Mr. N. Subba Rau Pantulu	...	132
THE NEXT CONGRESS	...	133
Sir Vitaldass Damodar Thackersey	...	133
Mr. N. M. Gokuldoss	...	133
THANKS TO THE CHAIR	...	133
Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar	...	133
THE PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING SPEECH	...	134
APPENDICES.		
A. Constitution of the Indian National Congress Organization	...	143
B. Members of the all India Congress Committee for the year 1915.	...	157
C. List of Members of the Reception Committee of the 29th Indian National Congress	...	161
D. List of Members of the Subjects Committee	...	169

Register of Delegates.

The 29th session of the Indian National Congress held at Madras on the 28th, 29th and 30th December 1914 was in many ways a striking success and indeed may be regarded as having given fresh life and impetus to the Congress movement. The high level of patriotism throughout the country and the steadily increasing love for public work which are more and more felt every year were responsible for the informed enthusiasm that was such a distinguishing note of the last Congress Session. Alike the friendly and unfriendly critics of the Congress can no longer retain the conviction that its career of usefulness is over and that the reformed Legislative Councils have taken its place.

The arrangements for holding the Congress last year had to be made under circumstances of exceptional difficulty and gravity. A numerous and representative Reception Committee was formed in April 1914 with Sir S. Subramania Iyer, the most distinguished leader of two generations as Chairman. But after the great war in Europe broke out in August last, considerable misgivings were entertained as to the wisdom of holding a Congress. It was feared that owing to the many distractions and financial difficulties the session might not be a marked success. The rising tide of enthusiastic patriotism however swept all obstacles away and the 29th session of the congress was distinguished alike for the large attendance of delegates and visitors, for the ready flow of generous contributions to the Congress Fund and above all for the firm patriotic spirit that swayed the proceedings of the three days. While the bulk of the delegates were naturally drawn from all parts of the Madras Presidency, Bengal and Bombay were also adequately represented. It is a matter for regret however that the Punjab was not, and the United Provinces were but meagrely, represented. The fear that owing to the necessity to avoid controversial subjects during the war, the session would be a tame one proved to be groundless.

The address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sir S. Subramania Iyer contained a spirited appeal regarding the methods and the spirit of Congress work and a vigorous attack on the bureaucratic spirit of the administration. The President of the Congress, Babu Bupendranath Basu delivered a most stirring and eloquent address dealing with some of the most important questions and particularly with India's fitness for and her demand of, self-government within the Empire.

The 29th Session of the Congress passed considered resolutions on the military training and on the volunteers, on reciprocity and the protection of Indian Industries. By far the most important

resolution passed was that relating to self-Government. A resolution was also passed praying that Lord Hardinge's tenure of office as Viceroy might be extended "for such time as, after the cessation of the war may be necessary for a proper settlement of the great and far-reaching issues affecting the future position of India as a component and equal part of the Empire." A controversy that excited some interest regarding the amendment of the constitution of the Congress resulted in the proposal of two amendments to Article 20 of the constitution and they were referred to a committee "consisting of three members to be nominated by each Provincial Congress Committee, with the General Secretaries as ex-officio members the said Committee to meet at such time and place as may be fixed by them in consultation with the Secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committees and to report to the All-India Congress Committee in regard to the said amendments, for such action, if any, as the All-India Congress Committee may deem fit to suggest to the next Congress "

Two incidents in connection with the 29th Session of the Congress require special mention. His Excellency, Lord Pentland, the Governor of Madras, attended the second day's proceedings when the resolution conveying the unswerving allegiance of the congress to the British connection and its gratitude for the Royal message addressed to the Princes and Peoples of India at the beginning of the war was discussed and passed. For the first time in the history of the Congress movement, the Governor of a Presidency attended the proceedings of the Congress in his official capacity and the incident served to illustrate the view which was put forward in the Presidential address that one of the functions of the Congress is "to discharge the duties of *His Majesty's Opposition* with this important difference that we have at all times been ready to recognize and appreciate the good work done by our Government and to act whenever possible in co-operation with it which His Majesty's Opposition in England is not always willing to do."

The other feature was a social gathering that was held on the evening of the third day. It appropriately rounded off the Congress session and enabled the delegates from all parts of the country to become better acquainted with one another.

RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

Twenty-Ninth

Indian National Congress

Held at MADRAS,

On the 28th, 29th and 30th December 1914.

CONDOLENCE TO H. E. THE VICEROY.

THIS Congress desires to express its heart-felt and respectful sympathy with H. E. Lord Hardinge in the bereavements he has sustained by the death of his wife and of his eldest son. All India mourns with His Excellency in his great sorrow.

II.—CONDOLENCE ON THE DEATH OF GANGA PRASAD VARMA.

This Congress desires to place on record its sense of the profound sorrow and irreparable loss the country has sustained by the untimely death of Babu Ganga Prasad Varma who was a devoted worker in the cause of the Congress from its earliest days, and whose memory will be cherished with grateful affection by his friends and colleagues and by his countrymen at large for his many distinguished services.

III.—CONDOLENCES ON THE DEATH OF MR. A. S. DESAI AND OF MR. B. B. P. CHATTERJEE.

This Congress desires to express its deep sorrow for the death of Mr. Ambalal Sakerlal Desai, and of Babu Bishnu Pada Chatterjee of Bengal, who were devoted and distinguished workers in the Congress cause, and who rendered to it valuable service.

IV.—ROYAL MESSAGE OF SYMPATHY.

This Congress desires to convey to His Majesty the King-Emperor and the people of England its profound devotion to the Throne, its unswerving allegiance to the British connection, and its firm resolve to stand by the Empire, at all hazards and at all costs.

This Congress places on record the deep sense of gratitude and the enthusiasm which, the Royal Message, addressed to the Princes and the People of India at the beginning of the war has

evoked throughout the length and breadth of the country, and which strikingly illustrates His Majesty's solicitude and sympathy for them, and strengthens the bond which unites the Princes and People of India to His Royal House and the person of His Gracious Majesty.

Proposed by Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, (Bengal).

Seconded by Dewan Bahadur M. R. Ry. L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer Avergal (Madras).

Supported by R. D. Mehta, Esq., C.I.E., (Bengal).

” the Hon'ble Mr. S. B. Upasani, (Bombay).

” Pandit Gokarna Nath Misra, (U.P.)

” Babu Arikshan Sinha, (Behar).

” Mr. N. A. Dravid, (C. P. & Berars).

” Mr. Gopauldas Chamatmal, (Sindh).

” M. D. Devadoss, Esq., Bar-at-Law, (Madras).

V.—THE INDIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE.

This Congress notes with gratitude and satisfaction the despatch of the Indian Expeditionary Force to the theatre of war, and begs to offer to His Excellency the Viceroy its most heartfelt thanks, for affording to the people of India an opportunity of showing that, as equal subjects of His Majesty, they are prepared to fight shoulder to shoulder, with the people of other parts of the Empire in defence of right and justice, and the cause of the Empire.

Proposed by Mr. A. P. Patro, (Ganjam).

Seconded by Babu Jogendranath Bose, (Bengal).

Supported by Mr. G. K. Gadgil, (Bombay).

” Pandit Iqbal Narain Masaldan, (U. P.).

” Mr. D. V. Prakasa Rao, (Cocanada).

VI.—MILITARY TRAINING AND VOLUNTEERS.

This Congress urges on the Government the necessity, wisdom, and justice of throwing open the higher offices in the Army, to Indians, and of establishing in the country Military Schools and Colleges, where they may be trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army. In recognition of the equal rights of citizenship of the people of India with the rest of the Empire, and in view of their proved loyalty so unmistakably and spontaneously manifested, and the strongly expressed desire of all classes and grades, to bear arms in the service of the Crown and of the Empire, this Congress urges upon the Government the necessity of re-organising the present system of volunteering, so as to enable the people of this country, without distinction of race or class, to enlist themselves as citizen-soldiers of the Empire.

Proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Rao. Bahadur R. N. Madholkar (Berars).

Seconded by J. Chowdhry, Esq., Bar-at-Law, (Bengal).

Supported by Mr. E. W. Senathi Raja, Bar-at-Law,
(Madras).

„ Mr. K. Venkata Reddi Garu, (Madras).

„ Mr. R. V. Gupta, (Bombay).

„ A. C. Parthasarathi Naidu, (Madras).

VII.—THE ARMS ACT.

In view of the hardship entailed by the Arms Act (XI of 1878) as at present administered, 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 all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India; that all licenses issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate within the provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, shall be revocable only on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.

Proposed by Mr. A. P. Sen, (U. P.)

Seconded by Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, (Madras).

Supported by Babu Krishnadas Rai, (Bengal).

„ Mr. S. Somasundaram Pillai, (Madras).
in Tamil.

VIII.—RECIPROCITY.

This Congress begs to convey to His Excellency the Viceroy the profound gratitude of the people of India, for the sympathetic manner in which he has handled the questions connected with the emigration of Indians abroad, and while welcoming His Excellency's suggestion of reciprocity, as the underlying basis of negotiations with the Colonies, this Congress desires to record its conviction that any policy of reciprocity, to be effective and acceptable to the people of India, must proceed on the basis that the Government of India should possess and exercise the same power of dealing with the Colonies as they possess and exercise in regard to India.

Proposed by Mrs. Besant (Madras).

Seconded by The Hon'ble Mr. P. Kesava Pillay (Madras).

Supported by Hridayanath Kunzru, (Allahabad).

IX.—PROTECTION OF INDUSTRIES.

In view of the present exceptional circumstances and in order to promote the material prosperity of the country this Congress urges that immediate measures be taken by Government to organise and develop Indian Industries.

Proposed by The Hon'ble Mr. K. R. V. Krishna Rao,
(Madras)

Seconded by Prof. V. G. Kale, (Poona).
Supported by Babu Jogendra Chandra Chakrabarthy,
 (Bengal).
 „ Mr. G. K. Devadhar, (Bombay.)
 „ Mr. S. K. Nair, (Madras).

X.—SELF-GOVERNMENT.

“That, in view of the profound and avowed loyalty that the people of India have manifested in the present crisis, this Congress appeals to the Government to deepen and perpetuate it, and make it an enduring and valuable asset of the Empire, by removing all invidious distinctions, here and abroad, between His Majesty's Indian and other subjects, by redeeming the pledges of Provincial autonomy contained in the Despatch of 25th August 1911, and by taking such measures as may be necessary for the recognition of India as a component part of a federated Empire, in the full and free enjoyment of the rights belonging to that status.”

Proposed by The Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Bannerjea,
 (Bengal).
Seconded by Mr. S. Ganapati Pantulu (Madras).
Supported by Mrs. Besant, (Madras).
 „ Babu Suweshchandara Bose.

XI.—INDIA COUNCIL REFORM.

This Congress records its opinion that the Council of the Secretary of State for India, should be abolished, and pending its abolition, makes the following suggestions for the amendment of its constitution :—

- (a) That the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed on the English estimates.
- (b) That, with a view to the efficiency and independence of the Council, it is expedient that it should be partly nominated and partly elected.
- (c) That the total number of Members of the Council should be not more than nine.
- (d) That the elected portion of the Council should consist of not less than one-third of the total number of Members, who should be non-official Indians, chosen by a constituency consisting of the elected Members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils.
- (e) That the election of Indians to the Council should be direct and not of a panel of elected Members as proposed in Lord Crewe's Bill.
- (f) That not less than one-half of the nominated Members of the Council should consist of public men, unconnected with the Indian administration.

Supported by Mr. Chilakamarty Laxmi Narasimham
 (Madras), in Telugu.
 „ Mr. Ramakantam Malavayya, (U. P.)

XIII.—ABOLITION OF INDENTURED LABOUR.

Owing to the scarcity of labour in India, and the grave consequences resulting from the system of indentured labour, which reduces the labourers, during the period of their indenture, practically to the position of slaves, this Congress strongly urges the total prohibition of recruitment of labour under indenture, either for work in India or elsewhere.

Proposed by Mr. F. G. Natesan (Madras).
Seconded by Mr. Totaram Senadhya
 (Fiji Islands).

Resolutions moved by the President.

XIV.—SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

This Congress, concurring with the previous Congresses, urges the early separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the best interests of the Empire, 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.

XV.—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.

XVI.—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, specially, in view of the decision of the Calcutta High Court, which declares that the safeguards provided by the Act are illusory and incapable of being enforced.

XVII.—LAND-SETTLEMENT.

This Congress is strongly of opinion that a reasonable and definite limitation to the demand of the State on land and the introduction of a Permanent Settlement directly between Government and land-holders in ryotwari areas, or a Settlement for a period of not less than 60 years, in those provinces where shorter periodical settlements on revision prevail, will substantially help in ameliorating the present unsatisfactory condition of the Agricultural population.

XVIII.—SEPARATE ELECTORATES.

This Congress, while deprecating the creation of separate electorates in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils urges on the Government that the said system should not in any case be extended to the local bodies, as it will prove injurious to the development of national unity and the fostering of the national ideal.

XIX.—INDIAN TROOPS.

This Congress rejoices to place on record its deep sense of gratification and pride at the heroic conduct of the Indian troops whose deeds of valour and conspicuous humanity and chivalry in the Great War, are winning the respect of civilised mankind for the mother country, and resolves to send a message of hearty and affectionate greetings to them and their comrades in arms, with fervent prayers for their well-being and success.

The President be requested to cable the above resolution to the Indian troops through the proper channels.

XX.—EXTENSION OF H. E. LORD HARDINGE'S TERM OF OFFICE.

This Congress begs to place on record its high appreciation of the services rendered to India by His Excellency the Viceroy, and expresses the hope that his tenure of the office may be extended for such time as, after the cessation of the war, may be necessary for a proper settlement of the great and far-reaching issues, affecting the future position of India as a component and equal part of the Empire.

XXI.—AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION.

That the following two amendments suggested for the consideration of the Subjects Committee of this Congress, be referred by the General Secretaries of the Congress to a Committee consisting of three members, to be nominated by each Provincial Congress Committee; with the General Secretaries as ex-officio members, the said Committee to meet at such time and place as may be fixed by them, in consultation with the Secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committees, and to report to the All-India Congress Committee in regard to the said amendments for such action, if any, as the All-India Congress Committee may deem fit to suggest to the next Congress.

The said two amendments are :—

At the end of Article XX of the Constitution of the Indian National Congress Organisation now in force, add the following words :—

“ If such a meeting be not called, it shall be called, for the election of delegates, within one month of the Congress, in any

town or district, on the requisition of not less than 20 householders over 21 years of age to the Provincial or District Congress-Committee, in which the town of the requisitionists is situate."

2. In Article XX of the Constitution of the Indian National Congress Organisation now in force make the following alterations :—

- (i) at the end of clause (4) delete the word 'and' ;
- (ii) at the end of clause (5) for the stop, substitute a comma ;
- (iii) and add the following words :—
 " and public meetings convened under the auspices of any association which has as one of its objects the attainment of Self-Government by India on Colonial lines within the British Empire by constitutional means,"

XXII.—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 organisation of the British Committee and *The India* should be maintained.

XXIII.—SECRETARIES.

The Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahommed Bahadur and Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu be appointed General Secretaries for the next year.

XXIV.—THANKS TO THE DEPUTATION.

This Congress acknowledges with deep gratitude the services rendered at great personal sacrifice by the Deputation which went to England last summer on behalf of the Congress to place before the Secretary of State for India the views of the Congress on the India Council Bill of 1914 and other important questions.

Proposed by K. R. Guruswami Iyer, (Madras).

Seconded by The Hon. Mr. K. Chidambaranatha
Mudaliar, (Madras.)

The Indian National Congress.

THE 29th SESSION.

Monday the 28th December 1914.

OPENING DAY.

The 29th Session of the Indian National Congress, assembled at noon on Monday the 28th December 1914 in a magnificent pavilion specially erected for the occasion in the compound of "Doveton House," Nungambakkam. The spacious structure which was tastefully decorated was in every way admirably adapted for its purpose and was fitted up with all necessary requirements to secure the comfort of so large a gathering as a Congress Session. The pavilion was well ventilated, the flanking trellis-work entrance on all sides giving free access to light and air. The ceiling was chastely draped right through in spotless white, while the venetian posts, were hung with floral festoons and the portraits of Their Imperial Majesties. Shields bearing the British coat of arms were displayed at regular intervals. The platform, situated at the northern end, ran from east to west and accommodated the members of the Reception Committee, distinguished visitors, Congressmen and a large number of ladies. The main body of the hall was reserved for delegates and was roped off into different blocks, one for each province. The rest of the pavilion was thrown open to visitors, of whom there were over a thousand five hundred.

Opening
of the
Session.

Among those present on the platform were Sir S. Subramania Aiyer, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Hon'ble Justice Sir C. Sankaran Nair, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. V. Kumaraswami Sastri, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice T. Sadasiva Aiyer, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice T. V. Seshagiri Aiyer, Mr. K. L. Datta, the Hon'ble Mr. R. C. C. Carr, I. C. S., Mr. N. M. Samarth, the Hon. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, the Hon. Mr. C. Vijayaragavachariar, Mr. Sachidananda Sinha, the Hon. Rao Bahadur V. K. Ramanujachariar, the Hon. Mr. Narasimhraj, the Hon. Mr. B. V. Narasimah Iyer, Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaragava Iyer, the Hon. Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma, the Hon. Mr. K. Rama Iyengar, Mr. Jogiah Pantulu, the Hon'ble Mr. L. Davidson, I. C. S., the Maharajah of Bobbili, the Rajah of Ramnad, Mr. J. Chaudari, Khan Bahadur Gulam Muhomed Mahajir, Mr. Prithvis Chandar Ray, Khan Bahadur M. A. Kuddus Batcha Sahib, the Hon'ble Zamindar of Polavaram, Mr. J. C. Rollo, the Rev. Dr. Skinner, Dewan Bahadur P. Rajaratna Mudaliar, Rao Bahadur C. S. Subramania Aiyer,

Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon, the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao Pantulu, Mr. S. Kasturiranga Aiyengar, Mrs. Annie Besant, Mulana Abdus Subhan Sahib, Rao Bahadur T. Sundara Rao, the Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao, Dewan Bahadur M. Audinarayaniah, the Hon'ble Mr. P. Ramarayananingar, the Hon'ble Zamindar of Doddappanayakkanur, the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Muhomed, the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerji, Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, the Hon'ble Mr. Radha Charan Pal, Mr. N. Pattabhirama Rao, Mr. K. N. Iyah Iyer, Dewan Bahadur T. Desikachariar, Dr. Nilratan Sircar, Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Mr. C. Ramanujam Chetti, Nawab Gulam Muhomed Kalami, Mr. Yakub Hassan Sait, Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya, Dewan Bahadur A. Govinda Pillai, Mr. G. A. Natesan, Mr. T. Rangachariar, and Mr. V. Masilamani Pillai.

The President-Elect.

Reception
of the
President.

The President-elect, Babu Bhupendranath Basu, was conducted from the main building of the Congress quarters to the pavilion in procession with an Indian band playing and the Congress Volunteers leading the route. He was accompanied by the principal Congress leaders including past Presidents, (among whom were the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Muhomed, and Mr. R. N. Mudholkar) the Hon'ble Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar, and also the Secretaries of Congress Committee, Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar, Mr. V. Masilamani Pillai, Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyengar, Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Mr. G. A. Natesan and Mr. T. Rangachariar. On entering the pavilion he received a most enthusiastic ovation.

The proceedings commenced with the singing of "Vande Mataram" by the ladies of the family of Doctor Nilratan Sircar of Calcutta to the accompaniment of harmonium, the whole audience standing the while. At its conclusion the ladies were loudly applauded.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Address
of Sir S.
Subrama-
nia Iyer,
Chairman
of the
Reception
Committee.

Sir S. Subramania Aiyer, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, rising to welcome the delegates was received with an outburst of applause and made the following prefatory remarks, before calling upon Mr. K. N. Iyah Iyer to read the address on his behalf. He said :—

"I rise to discharge my duty as Chairman of the Reception Committee, a duty than which none more pleasant or honourable has devolved on me in the course of a fairly long life, the duty of welcoming you to this, the 29th Session of our National Congress. According to the custom which has come into vogue, that duty is taken as not confined to greeting you with a few well chosen words. It is taken as involving the expression of the Chairman's opinion upon some at least of the questions of the

day in which Congressmen are interested. Furthermore, that opinion is taken as meant not only for the ears of the audience he is actually addressing, but also for those of a wider public, some sections of which are not always disposed to be friendly critics. The opinion has thus to be the result of careful thought and expressed in terms which would stand a fair amount of criticism. Naturally, therefore, Chairmen of the Reception Committees have had to resort to what has been spoken of sarcastically as "written eloquence" and in obedience to custom I have also written out my address to you. In doing so, however, I do not fail to remember that the time at your disposal is extremely limited and that during that limited time you have to get through a heavy programme. I have consequently endeavoured to make that address comparatively short, and even if the whole of it is read it will not take more than 30 or 40 minutes of your valuable time. In order, however, to reduce it further I shall with your permission omit the reading of at least those remarks which relate to one of the subjects dealt with—the question of the continuance of Congress work. As you are aware, this question has been discussed within the last two or three months from every conceivable point of view in the columns of the "New India" which has been doing yeoman service to our cause under the editorship of that noble soul whose marvellous power, ability and knowledge are being consecrated for the good of our motherland. On a subject thus discussed I can scarcely have anything to say which has not been better said a dozen times. Nevertheless I have devoted a little space to the subject in order that my opinion on it may be on the record of the Congress, speaking as I do on this occasion in an official capacity, but that is no reason for taking up your time by reading my remarks about it. The best apology that I can find for the use of written arguments on occasions like this is that they are the special weapons of the bureaucracy which sits heavily upon this country; and Congressmen, who are endeavouring to lift some of that dead weight, must use the same weapons to a limited extent, remembering at the same time that it is not the natural method most suited for our purpose. The best use of that method was perhaps in the very first Congress meeting; and on that memorable occasion even the President was in a position to speak straight to his audience and spoke admirably too. Some of the speeches still ring in my ears, as for instance those made about the resolution which I had the privilege of seconding. The mover was that brilliant man, Kasinath Trimbak Telang (Hear, hear and applause) than whom none was better able to keep his audience in rapt attention. The supporter was that most venerable of Indian patriots, Dadabhai Naoroji who, I am sure, is now here present in spirit showering his blessings upon us. (Hear, hear). Their words were clear cut, to the point, full of thought and relieved by touches of humour which put everybody in the best of spirits. I note that it is not everybody that can be a Telang

Address
of Sir S.
Subrama-
nia Iyer,
Chairman
of the
Reception
Committee.

Address of Sir S. Subramania Iyer, Chairman of the Reception Committee.

or a Naoroji, but it is open to all to cultivate the art of speaking fairly well. Let us remember that we have to deal not only with a bureaucracy but with a democracy also. It is among our primary duties to spread among the people a sound knowledge of their rights and responsibilities and there can be no more potent instrument than the art of clear and effective speech. The air is thick with suggestions as to the improvement of Congress methods and it is strongly argued that Congress speakers generally should bring expert knowledge to bear upon the subject of their speeches, but it will be an evil day if they also should take to written eloquence. I trust that the many able young men of the rising generation who are thirsting to serve the country as Congressmen will diligently cultivate the art of effective speech, not of vapid eloquence. Trusting you will pardon this little digression, a digression intended to indicate to you my objection to subjecting you to the necessity of listening to the reading of my whole speech, and with your permission, being myself unable to read it, I ask you to permit the first and last portion of it to be read on my behalf by one of your delegates and my friend and relation Mr. K. N. Iyah Iyer who from his boyhood has been of help to me." (Loud Applause.)

The full text of the address from which extracts only were read by Mr. Iyah Iyer is reproduced below :—

"On behalf of the Reception Committee I most cordially welcome all, and every one of you, friends and delegates, from the different parts of India to this 29th Session of the Indian National Congress. It is scarcely necessary to say we are meeting on the present occasion under the most exceptional circumstances, having regard to the continuance of the war which involves the very existence of the Empire. Whether at such a time it was not right that this Session of the Congress should be held, formed as you are aware the subject of consideration in certain of our circles. The suggestion that the Session should not be held of course proceeded from the anxiety felt everywhere in India, that, during the continuance of the hostilities, nothing calculated in the least to embarrass the administration here or elsewhere should be undertaken and carried out. It is gratifying, however, that the suggestion, in question, though it proceeded from the best of motives, failed to find acceptance. Had it found acceptance, we should have, in my judgment, unwittingly made a serious blunder. For, we would have lost a golden opportunity of giving expression in our united capacity as Congressmen to our unswerving devotion and attachment to His Imperial Majesty, His Throne and His house at this hour of extreme trial and peril. We should have also failed to avail ourselves of such an opportunity to make known to the world that we regard with the deepest admiration and reverence the heroic effort now being made in the cause of right and justice, of civilization and human progress, by the great nation to which we owe all the peace and safety

we enjoy. Nay, we should have laid ourselves open to the charge of ingratitude to our protectors in not coming forward to manifest our sympathy with them, whilst they are thus engaged in this holy struggle. Furthermore, our omission thus openly to avow our support to the Imperial cause was likely to be twisted by such fanatical calumniators of the educated Indian as Sir Valentine Chirol, and others of his temperament, as pregnant evidence of our undisguised disaffection to our rulers and even sympathy with the enemy. There cannot be a doubt therefore that it was rightly decided to hold the Session, and I am sure that what we say and do during this sitting will amply demonstrate that, among His Majesty's Indian subjects, none are more loyal to Him than we, the representatives of educated India; that none have done more to dispel misconceptions in the minds of the masses due to the war; that none feel more confident that eventually complete success will attend the British arms and those of the Allies; and none more fervently wish and pray to the Almighty for such success.

Address
of Sir S.
Subrama-
nia Iyer,
Chairman
of the
Reception
Committee.

In my addressing you as Chairman of the Reception Committee, I trust I may be excused if, contrary to the precedents set up sometimes by my predecessors, I do not enter into an elaborate discussion of the matters likely to come up for your consideration. A general review of the leading events of the year since the last Congress, as well as a preliminary reference to the actual work at the impending Session, will, of course, come best from the President of the Congress. It strikes me that one, discharging my present duties, may occasionally abstain from entering into a criticism of those matters to be debated by the delegates themselves. For my part, I shall content myself with drawing your attention to certain matters, which must be borne in mind by all interested in the work of the Congress and in the future progress of the country.

The first matter, I refer to, is the greater co-operation of the members of the landed aristocracy in the work of the Congress. Though they may be unwilling to play the role of platform speakers, yet they may well lend their great weight in support of the Congress movement in various ways. It seems to me that, for more reasons than one, we should strive to secure for our work the full co-operation of men of this rank in Society. First, such co-operation will, at all events, tend to disarm the criticism that the Congress movement is not representative of that prominent section of the community, which has a real stake in the country. Next, this section owes to itself and to the country at large, that the members thereof, as a body, should no longer hold themselves aloof from the national work, which has hitherto been done without their full help and support, and from which work they have not failed to derive substantial advantage. But for that work, the right of electing representatives to the Local and Imperial legislature would not

Address of Sir S. Subramania Iyer, Chairman of the Reception Committee. have come to them. Again, they were the first to profit in this Presidency and elsewhere by the important concession secured by our persistent agitation in regard to the appointment of Indians to the Executive Councils. Is it then anything but just and fair to ask, that they should freely come forward and participate to a greater extent in what we have been so long doing for the commonweal with no small difficulties to overcome? And therefore, should not some of the junior members in their families, who have an aptitude for political study, systematically apply themselves to it, so as to take their due share in the efficient performance of the national work so incumbent on all, even more specially on this section of the community. For, no one can doubt the arduous character of the task which devolves nowadays on a delegate here, or on a representative of the people in the Legislative Councils. Speaking from personal experience as a Congressman and a member of the Madras Legislature in the eighties, I unhesitatingly say my work in those capacities was as child's play, in comparison with what persons in similar positions have now to do. The variety, importance and complexity of the subjects to be mastered by them require so much study, thought and intellectual capacity, as to make it possible only for a few to adopt such a public career, if its duties are to be ably and conscientiously performed. Inasmuch as the Members of the aristocracy possess the leisure and competence so helpful, if not indispensable, to the career of a politician, has not the country a pre-eminent claim on them for the valuable services they could render to it?

The next matter is as to the importance of the improvement of the village life as the organic unit in all matters bearing on the beneficial administration of the country. One now hears much about the renovation of village life. But, in truth, is there any such life to renovate? I think not. The village, as a corporate entity, is not only, as some think, moribund but long since dead. The chief agency in the perpetration of this tragedy, in so far as the Madras Presidency is concerned, has been the Ryotwari system. I say this with all the respect due to the great administrators who have managed to make that system the perfect thing they wished it to be from their own point of view. Whatever the virtues and merits thereof from such a point of view, it is certain that it has operated to root out the very faculty of spontaneous conjoint action for communal purposes on the part of the rural population. This population now only consists of individuals, each of whom, though busy looking after himself, is altogether useless for any common beneficial purposes, except when moved by the official hierarchy within whose grip, as it were, he lives and moves and has his being. Real political progress in the country is well-nigh hopeless, unless and until a radical change is brought about in the existing state of things in the rural tracts. Such change can only be effected by a sustain-

ed effort on the part of both the people and the authorities. That a net work of village committees, consisting of elected members, existed under the Chola dynasty in its wide dominions and managed most things concerning the well-being of the local public are facts established by the unquestionable testimony of Epigraphy. That the talent for rendering similar service is still not quite extinct in the people is shown by what the co-operative movement is daily revealing. And if only that talent is again afforded an opportunity and scope for its exercise and is fostered with the care and patience needed for its revival, the good which will follow will be incalculable. Any apparent lack of public spirit in one or other of the sections of the community is, of course, no excuse whatever for not making a vigorous effort to create it. For, let us remember in this connection that the capacity and qualifications of the next generation will be far superior to those of this generation, having regard to the rate at which we are moving on. As regards this question of village organization in this Presidency, though it is 5 years since the Decentralization Commission submitted its proposals regarding Village Panchayats, nothing tangible has been done. A beginning should be made at once, and the best way of doing it will be to put an officer of good standing on special duty, to start these institutions in selected tracts and develop them. Considering the paramount importance of the work, it would not be a bad idea to have a Director of such Panchayats for the Presidency, who would discharge in respect of this branch of public business, functions more or less analogous to those of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies with reference to his own department. Such a Director should be able to move among the people freely, speaking their language and arousing their enthusiasm by personal contact and influence. If he be a man truly in sympathy with them, and acquainted with their habits, customs and prejudices, he will have no difficulty in developing the institution, the utility of which is conceded on all hands. In short, he will be a veritable protector of the rural inhabitants in the province, and one such is greatly needed. Unless exceptional efforts of the above description are made, things will continue as they are to the great detriment of public interests. The pressure of the daily duties of the Government is such as to leave little disposition on their part to turn to this new departure in the administrative work of the country. It behoves us therefore constantly to keep the subject before their minds that it may not lapse into oblivion.

Nor must it be forgotten, in dealing with the revival of village life, that if we form a village administration, there must be something to administer. The ryot must be delivered from the burden of past debts by the establishment of such Loan Societies as are working so well in Bombay; and he must be saved from the necessity of incurring new debts by a wisely arranged system of advances, the making of Storage Societies for grain, and—

Address
of Sir S.
Subrama-
nia Iyer,
Chairman
of the
Reception
Committee.

Address
of Sir S.
Subrama-
nia Iyer,
Chairman
of the
Reception
Committee.

most important of all—by such fixity of tenure as may secure to him the results of his labour, while reserving to the State a lieu on such part of the increase in the value of his land, which may be due to communal progress.

I now proceed to say a few words in regard to the suggestion that the work of the Congress came to an end when the Legislative Councils were established on their present footing. This suggestion has, of course, been already rightly and strongly commented on again and again. I advert to it here only to add my emphatic protest against it. Our Congress does not partake of the nature of any of the species of Indian vegetation in which the parent disappears with the appearance of a progeny. The intention of the wise originators of this institution was that, like the Banyan, it should continue to live and nourish the off-shoots taking root and growing round the parent stem. That intention it is our solemn duty to carry out to the last. Each Congress session should be the centre whence the impulse of the spirit of Indian Nationality goes forth at the end of one year to vivify the people during the next. Leaders of thought in the various provinces should meet, as they have done, on a common platform of service to the Motherland, and, by rubbing shoulders there with each other, shake off the narrowing instincts arising from their local environments. In other words, these leaders should thus keep their feeling of unity free from the smothering influences of the heresy of separateness, which is as pernicious and deadly in the domain of specialised politics such as ours, as it is in the higher and wider domain of ethics and religion. Nor is this all. No doubt, our Councils have done well during the short period of their existence. The elected representatives are so using their opportunities as to create a high hope that the interests of their constituents will continue to be watchfully attended to and advanced. But, at the same time, it should be remembered that the scope of their usefulness as elected representatives is, as yet, very limited. Furthermore, there are many questions of so general and fundamental a character, in relation to the whole country, as to render the meeting and personal conference and consideration on the part of the leaders from time to time absolutely necessary. We cannot therefore but repudiate the view that the assembly of the Congress is nowadays superfluous and mere waste of energy. No thought of its dissolution can be entertained until we are far nearer to our goal—that of India becoming a self-governing dominion under the Crown. While, therefore, the institution must continue to live and flourish in spite of those who would end it prematurely, it is time that its machinery is remoulded and improved so as to make it really effective for the expression of thoughtful Indian opinion on matters bearing upon the well-being of the whole community and as an instrument for the dissemination of sound knowledge, respecting those matters among the masses. Consequently it is neces-

sary to arrange for the carrying on of our work throughout the year systematically and as a first step towards it for raising the money needed for the purpose. One suggestion as to this is that a body, under the designation of Congress Supporters or the like, be brought into existence, each member thereof paying a subscription, say of Rs. 25 per annum. I presume it will not be difficult to find in each province a few hundred of such subscribers. The amount collected thus should be used towards the continuous work as just stated, the expenditure connected with the annual meeting being met by special subscriptions raised in the particular province concerned. The said general fund should be held and administered by 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, it is to be hoped will not be long in coming. If we are unable to do even the little indicated above, that would be a confession of absolute unpreparedness to make any sacrifices whatsoever with reference to our political advance. How then can we look upon ourselves with any self-respect, particularly while we are at this moment actual witnesses to the wonderful spectacle of property and the most cherished possessions, nay, life itself, being literally flung away as if they were the veriest trifle for the sake of national honour and national existence by all classes and grades among the British people, with whom we hesitate not to claim equality in the Empire? Surely, until we come to learn to emulate to some extent at least such magnificent qualities of those truly gifted people, with whom Providence has so fortunately linked us, all hope of political progress on our part must indeed be vain. And it is this which we should lay to our heart deeply, and I trust we shall not fail to do so.

Now, before passing from this subject, a few words may not be out of place as to the fact that, for some little time past, a certain waning of enthusiasm is observable among the Congress workers. I see nothing very abnormal in this. No doubt, the genesis of the Congress was traceable to what may be spoken of as the first flutter of the spirit of Modern Nationality in this ancient land. Manifestly, the growth of that spirit has to proceed under extraordinary test conditions. To begin with, it involves co-operation on the part of the communities widely separated for centuries by race and language, religion, habits and ideals; and while the aim of these communities had for ages been a state of changeless ease, incessant activity forms, as we know, the dominant note of the new civilization now overtaking them as it were against their will. Added to this, there is the fact that the surroundings are quite discouraging. For example, some of the influential sections of those whose models we are trying to adapt for our own purposes, instead of helping us with the advice which their experience should enable them to give, take pleasure

Address of Sir S. Subramania Iyer, Chairman of the Reception Committee.

in throwing ridicule upon our genuine efforts, and are constantly trying to misrepresent us and discredit us. It is also to be remembered that this is the very first transition stage in the Congress movement. The thirty years which have elapsed since it began is, as you know, the period usually allowed for a generation. Just think how many of that older class of ardent patriots and able men, who rendered yeoman service in connection with the movement, have passed away one after another, causing vacancies which have not as yet been filled up by a sufficient number of fit successors from the ranks of the incoming generation. And of the few veterans still left, it is scarcely reasonable to expect the same hard work which they were able to do when much younger. A slight lull at such a transition period and the supineness attributed to us, which is perhaps due mostly to the elation and distraction resulting from the success that has attended our movement, particularly with reference to the Councils, seem not to be very dangerous symptoms. But we must wake up, and like the potentate who, with a view to his being stirred up to the diligent performance of his daily duties, arranged to be warned every morning that man was mortal, we should constantly remind ourselves of the uncomfortable truth stated by Lord Curzon, with much lively satisfaction to himself, *viz.*, that as yet no Indian nation had come into actual existence. Not even one-hundredth part of this Nation-building work has yet been attempted. How then can we relax our energies instead of redoubling them? Renewing our vigour we must go forward, with the unalterable conviction that our future labours are bound to be far more fruitful than the little we have done in the past. For, the cause is great and worthy of every sacrifice, and if our watchwords are, as they ought to be, indomitable industry, perseverance and patience, all we desire and deserve will follow as the day follows the night.

I now proceed to the remaining point on which, most likely for the last time in this life, it is given to me to address such an assembly. I trust the way in which I am going to unburden myself about it will not bring on me reproach from any quarter. That point is our attitude to our rulers. This is doubtless an old theme not much liked in certain circles to be discussed. But my justification for presuming to talk to you about it, is the aspect in which it presents itself to my mind in the light of recent occurrences in South Africa. I mean those in which our great compatriot Mr. Gandhi and his devoted band displayed qualities which have secured everlasting credit to them. When their oppressors were themselves in trouble, our countrymen returned not hate for hate but good-will, and thus won immeasurably from the moral point of view, however small their success may have otherwise turned out to have been. This event has lessons for all concerned. The chief among them for us is what

bears upon the question of the attitude that I just spoke of. Now, the precise lesson which the said Colonial episode conveys in the present connection is that our attitude to the rulers should be one of perfect inward friendliness even under the most trying circumstances. In thus asking our people, in their ordinary political life and relations, virtually to give effect to that supreme teaching, given 25 centuries back, that "hatred ceaseth not by hatred, it ceaseth by love," it may seem to many even in this land, where it was so taught, that I am making an extravagant if not an impossible demand; especially so when one thinks of how what we believe to be our common rights as loyal subjects of His Majesty and citizens of the Empire, have been denied to us with impunity. But that the demand is no other than that which our peculiar circumstances warrant will be seen if the part India has yet to play in the Empire is properly understood. That part I venture to submit is quite special. In a word, it is no less than that of a teacher. Startling as this statement may seem to some, I feel there is a truth in it which makes it right for me to place it before you. I do so the more willingly, since to us, as earnest and humble workers wishing to take part in the great task of Nation-building here, nothing is more important than that we should have before us with reference to that work, a characteristic ideal which our environments and inherent tendencies point out as one fairly capable of realisation. Now, there is surely no *a priori* improbability in the supposition that this cradle of the eldest branch of the Aryan race will reach the front again, and its children once more become the chosen instrument for the spread of some great fragments of Ancient Wisdom among the children of the younger branches, who, while great in their own way and custodians of much other knowledge of the utmost value to all, have yet to learn those fragments from the right quarter and in due time. Though, as I have had occasion to say, no Indian Nation is actually in existence, and though only the first throb of its life has as yet been felt, there are cogent reasons for thinking that its evolution will be on a line *sui generis*. Now let it be remembered that we, the teeming millions of this continent-like country, are by the iron hand of the all-engrossing white races effectually barred from attempting to found colonies—as our forefathers did and of which traces are to be found even now in such distant islands as the Philippines and Java—in any of the boundless unoccupied regions of the earth, and are thereby rendered incapable of developing the many qualities such new foundations would call into play. That, whilst so shut out from growth outside our own birth-place, we possess in a remarkable degree an aptitude for quick and orderly progress, that we are keen in intellect, and inoffensive and deeply religious in our nature,—these facts cannot admit of doubt. Nor can there be a question that these high natural endowments are being diligently cultivated under the rule which is steadily welding us

Address
of Sir S.
Subrama-
nia Iyer,
Chairman
of the
Reception
Committee.

Address of Sir S. Subramania Iyer, Chairman of the Reception Committee.

into a great and unique unit, socially, economically and politically. In such circumstances, does it not stand to reason that in our collective capacity we must have some higher work to do than money-making and such other ordinary pursuits, absolutely necessary though these latter are? What then that higher work of ours is, is a question which will occur to any reflecting mind. And what better answer to it is discoverable in our surroundings, than the one I have made bold to suggest? Such being the case, the next question will be: Of what nature is our way to this higher work of ours, to our higher destiny? The obvious reply is that in the course of things it will be narrow and not smooth. In treading so special a path anywhere, we should have to guard against all stimulation of that brute nature inherent in man which, sad to say, makes persecution almost a pastime for mankind. Humanity claims to be in the van-guard of progress, yet hunts out helpless fellow-subjects, seeking but a bare livelihood by the sweat of the brow, as if they were animals fit only for chase, as if the very sight of them were unbearable, and their presence a pestilence. We are, however, treading the path on a soil hallowed by the glorious teaching of the Master of Compassion, Gautama the Buddha. We have therefore much more to do than only keep our animal and selfish propensities in check. We have to assimilate among other things that vital teaching of the Master, as to the power of love over hate, meant alike for ordinary men and women, for nations and communities, and for humanity at large. We have to grasp that the divine quality of the former imperatively demands the full recognition of the essential unity of all life—human life in particular—while hate, as the denial of that unity, is injustice pure and simple, the un-failing source of misery and pain. Lastly, we have to live up to this noble teaching and, by the example of our life, inculcate it among that erring section of our brethren who, giddy with their new prosperity, mistake the colour of the skin for the hall-mark of the soul, trample on older people as if they were an inferior creation, and unmindful of the duty owing to those gentler folk, scruple not to turn the advantages of race and country towards the gratification of their own selfish ends. Such in my humble judgment is the special work that lies before us in the not very distant future. Nor is it difficult to see why this should happen to us, just now. For, at this hour of the world's travail, no other Eastern people are quite as available as we are for the task of carrying the Light whichever has to travel from the east to the west. As for the bright and sprightly children of the land of the Rising Sun, they have but just put their hands to the great and interesting game for which Fate has long been silently nurturing them. That game of Orient *versus* Occident will take some time before it is played to a destined point. And until then these versatile children cannot be spared for any other work. As for the at-present unwieldy and immobile followers of Confucius, they have apparently much untoward Karma to work out, before

they can be thought fit for fresh good work. But we who come next geographically have manifestly done with the evil side of our Karma. We have done that by severe penances in the shape of much blood-letting for centuries and by the deepest meditations on the vanities of mere appearance and on the profundities of Reality. And so there was no choice left to the Spirit of history but to select us as the instrument in more senses than one for repeating itself. But in doing so and sounding out once more the message of good-will amongst men that Spirit happily for us is going to introduce a decided improvement in its procedure and unlike the chosen race on the last occasion in Palestine we shall have the privilege of standing compacted into a mighty whole and taking our rightful place among the nations of the earth within the Empire, which is the regenerator of ancient peoples, the champion and defender of the weak and the oppressed and the firm upholder of loftiest ideals in the great art of Sovereignty and Government. It is then we who shall make our beloved Aryavarta the brightest jewel in the Imperial Crown in reality, as it is only now in name, shall make it such not so much by the splendour of its material wealth as first by the absence in us of that devouring greed for the exploitation of all the sunny spots on earth to which must be traced the origin of the 20th century Huns, that latest variety in the western human species, and next by the presence of unbounded compassion, brotherliness and peacefulness born of that clear vision of man's spiritual nature which is never allowed to be totally lost in the east, and in general by the superiority and excellence of culture of the head and heart, in every way so as to make these traits the ear mark of our contribution to the civilization of the world at this epoch of its history, Let us then with all earnestness strive towards our goal seeking all the perfections that would befit it including the one desired by every lover of the Motherland, I mean the martial development which is as indispensable to a nation as physical culture is to an individual. For surely without the one and the other, neither the nation nor the individual can respectively exist in the condition of health and vigour, efficiency and virility which is the birth-right of both; towards which end the formation of regiments of Indian Volunteers and greater liberty as to the possession of arms are among the necessary steps. It must be obvious to all that the possession of military capacity by His Majesty's Indian subjects on an adequate scale cannot but prove a real source of strength to the Empire itself. But at the same time it must be remembered that in seeking however the above *sine qua non* for the fulness of national life, it will not come until we inspire the implicit confidence that what is so capable of misuse in unwise hands will ever be absolutely safe in our own. And it is as to this specially that the South African incident, more than once alluded to, will be found to possess a very real significance. For what can conduce more materially towards the arousing of the confi-

Address
of Sir S.
Subrama-
nia Iyer,
Chairman
of the
Reception
Committee.

Address of Sir S. Subramania Iyer, Chairman of the Reception Committee.

dence just mentioned than the attitude of our countrymen, the sterling value of which was so strikingly illustrated by that incident—an attitude of perfect amity and friendliness buoyed up by an invincible faith in the ultimate triumph of justice. It was their attitude which, to be sure, made it possible for our gracious Viceroy to raise his sympathetic voice at the hour of the greatest peril to our cause. And it was this same conduct that made it impossible even for the obdurate Colonial autocracy to allow the situation to remain the scandal to the boasted civilization of the west that it had been for months and months. Another phase of the moral to be drawn from the incident, I have been commenting on, refers to the quantitative power of the will, if I may so express it. Amplified a little, it is this: if the will of a handful of resolute men, exerted without overt acts of violence or injury, has enabled them successfully to resist gigantic tyranny and wrong, by compelling an unwilling public opinion, as it were throughout the civilized world, to cast its vote in favour of the oppressed passive resisters, what cannot the will of hundreds of millions of our people accomplish by its own sheer force, without the least resort to any militancy, if organized and turned towards the attainment of our legitimate national aims and aspirations? It is only, when that is a fact and an actuality, that our adolescence will be reached and the ills to which infancy exposes us cease. Try then to hasten the advent of this worthy adolescence. Try it by forgetting differences, and dropping every trait which will tend to divide. In a word, unite and unify. But now pause for a moment to consider whether this is anything more than the old old tale of a quantity of faggots having to be bound together in order to become unbreakable. Simple as this thought is and old as the hills, how difficult is it to act upon! Is it not because, at the bottom of it all, lies concealed hate in its subtlest form? What else but hate makes for the conflict between the Moslem and the Hindu, the Brahman and the Panchama, the Andhra and Tamil, the white-man and the coloured? How are we otherwise to account for this sort of religious hate, caste or social hate, language hate and colour hate which last bids fare to beat the first in its ferocity and frenzy at their very height in the past? Surely this was why the sublime teaching 'hate ceaseth not by hate but by love' was vouchsafed through supreme wisdom. Pray reject not that teaching as Utopian, unpractical, and unrealisable. For it was realised, as already stated, to perfection in the midst of famine and unspeakable suffering by our own countrymen. Let us then profit by that unique object lesson; unite and reap the manifold blessings which will follow in its train. Friends, these are a few of the thoughts suggested by the memorable episode which has tempted me to inflict upon you so wearisome a talk.

I would here most gladly conclude but that in justice to the difficult subject, which I have taken upon myself to drag into discussion, I feel I ought lightly to touch upon a couple of objections which may occur to certain matter of fact minds. One

of them may be that if my advice under this last head is to be followed, it could not be only for the ethical considerations urged. The first answer is that such considerations cannot be left by us quite in the cold in judging of the question; for if it were right for us to do so, it will be equally right for the other party; and yet many of the important claims we make on that party more or less involve these very considerations. The next answer is that apart from all such considerations the attitude advocated will possess the very special merit of a high expediency which cannot but weigh with all. For it will not only day by day tend to bridge the gulf that would otherwise continue to widen but will also appeal as nothing else could, to the conscience of the great bulk of the nation which holds in its hands our entire future; and it will readily evoke from those powerful hands that response which alone can complete the stupendous good work already done by England for us. The other objection to be noticed will proceed from those who argue that I have vainly raised this controversy without anything in the existing conditions which calls for it. I would say to these friends that they would be quite right but for the grave situation which has been created by the thorny subject of colour prejudice so much in evidence for some time past. Though this trouble began and was at first confined to a part of one of the Colonies, yet it has managed to spread all round, and has even found its way to some extent into the very heart of the Empire. Its effect naturally on the temper of our people has been such as to make one apprehend that unless the prejudice is kept in check by rightful means, it will, as time goes on, result in much racial disharmony here and elsewhere. We must however not be wanting in discrimination as regards the responsibility of the Central Government in the matter. However clear and unquestionable from the point of mere theory and abstract justice our right of emigration into the colonies and equal treatment there may be, yet it is idle to expect the mother-nation to attempt to enforce such right of ours except by persuasion. That this method will be most willingly made use of whenever necessary in future, may be taken for granted having regard to the settlement arrived at in South Africa at last. The recent utterances of His Excellency the Viceroy as to the advisability of the introduction of 'Reciprocity' in the matter of emigration constitute a further ground of hope of a reasonably favourable settlement of this subject. And in responding to the kind call for opinion which His Excellency has been pleased to make, it is our imperative duty to strengthen his hands to the utmost of our power so as to enable him to secure a solution honourable to us in the matter. Turning to the difficulties arising in this country itself in manifold ways from the prejudice in question, it must be admitted that the outlook has hitherto been gloomy owing to the want of adequate knowledge on the part of the British public about the subject and to the obstacles in the way of our removing such

Address
of Sir S.
Subrama-
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Chairman
of the
Reception
Committee

Address of Sir S. Subramania Iyer, Chairman of the Reception Committee. ignorance. Luckily, however, the invincible proofs of India's whole-hearted and instinctive devotion, suddenly brought to light by the outbreak of the war, have wrought a most remarkable change not only in the minds of the whole of the people in the United Kingdom, but throughout the world. That change has been most conspicuous in the case of the "Thunderer" which dropping its customary forebodings about the consequences of unrest has even condescended to discuss the question of what India's reward is to be for its unexpected fidelity. It is to be hoped that this spirit of generous appreciation now will continue to be a permanent factor after the cessation of the war, and conduce to the meting out of full justice to this part of the Empire, in spite of and notwithstanding the complexion, with which nature in its infinite wisdom has thought fit to endow us. Our great responsibility in this connection is of course to take the most scrupulous care that this prejudice against us does not make us swerve even for a moment from the straight path of duty to our august Sovereign and His benign rule. We know His Love is deep, His sympathy intense, and His concern for our welfare abiding. May we so conduct ourselves as to deserve and ensure that that Love, Sympathy, and Concern shall continue unabated and full. May the mighty Empire, which of Her own free-will took us within Her embrace, fail not in Her duty to us. And may Her noble motto "Righteousness exalteth a Nation" never change!

In concluding and offering you once more a most hearty welcome, I say, in the name of those Unseen Powers who watch over and guide the Destinies of our Motherland, may your labours prove fruitful!"

At the conclusion of the address, Sir S. Subramania Aiyer was garlanded amidst loud and prolonged cheers.

The Hon'ble Babu Surendranath Banerjea.

Election of the President. The Hon'ble Babu Surendranath Banerjea (Bengal) was then called upon by the Chairman of the Reception Committee to move the first resolution for formal adoption. He was accorded an enthusiastic ovation and spoke as follows:—

" Sir S. Subramania Aiyer, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: I rise to perform a duty which I am sure will meet with your unanimous and enthusiastic concurrence and support. Brother Delegates: I have great pleasure in inviting you to assent to the election of Mr. Bhupendranath Basu as President of this Congress. My gratification is of a two-fold order. It is personal and it is based upon the highest public considerations (Applause). Bhupendranath Basu,—I dismiss the prefix Mr. or Babu— (applause and laughter), Bhupendranath Basu and myself have been life long friends, comrades, co-workers, companions in arms. Together we have participated in many a hard-fought battle (Applause). Together we have shared the bitterness of defeat and the joy of triumph (Applause). Ten years ago when I had the

honour of proposing him as President of the Bengal Provincial Election Conference held at Mymensingh, I ventured in my Brahminical capacity upon a prophecy (Laughter). I said that the day would come when my friend would be elected President of the Indian National Congress (Applause). Brother Delegates : prophecy is a dangerous role (Laughter) and it is only a Brahmin who can safely indulge in it. For it is his hereditary legacy, the enduring fire which he has inherited from his ancestors of old. Whether you call this, prophecy or " an intelligent anticipation of coming events ", by what name you choose to call it, it has been fulfilled and he and I stand to-day on the same platform ; he as our President, I as one of the sponsors to his election. Brother Delegates : you are right in voting him to the Chair. He is one of our foremost leaders, always in the forefront of the fight. He took an active, a very considerable part in the anti-partition agitation and in the Swedeshi movement so dear to the hearts of all our patriots. (Hear, hear and applause). He was present at the memorable Barisal Conference of 1906 (Hear, hear and applause) and he narrowly missed the distinction of being arrested by the Police (Hear, hear and laughter) ! A century hence, when perhaps the archives of the Bengal Secretariat will yield up their buried treasures, I think it will be found that my friend was within a measurable distance of being honoured with a still higher honour, that of deportation. But the memory of those days is passed and gone. We are prepared to forget it all, but not to forget those who fought by our side, our public benefactors who led us to a victorious and triumphant issue and Bhupendranath Basu is one of them. I congratulate you on your choice.

We are living in a most critical period in the history of our country. We are on the eve of a great birth, of a new birth. War is the greatest of calamities but under the ordering of Providence the darkest cloud is not without its silver lining and this war has afforded us an opportunity of demonstrating our loyalty in a manner which has silenced the venom tongue of calumny and has extorted the admiration of mankind (Hear, hear and applause). The whole outlook of the British public in relation to Indian affairs has been transformed. The Secretary of State, the Under Secretary of State, let me make that correction, speaking from his place in the House of Commons has publicly declared that the angle of vision of British politicians must be modified ; a re-adjustment is inevitable. At such a time we need the serene wisdom, the fervent patriotism, the self-sacrificing devotion of men like Bhupendranath Basu (hear, hear and applause). If the hopes of the past are to be realised, if the endeavours of the present are to fructify in useful and beneficent results, if the grand march to the promised land which many of us are anticipating with the eye of faith is to be accomplished, then we should be very careful in the selection of our leaders as well as in the choice of our methods ; and this I will say with an absolute measure of assurance that Bhupendranath Basu will not be the least distinguish-

Election of the President. ed among the most distinguished of his predecessors, that he will justify your choice and that he will maintain, worthily maintain, the honour, the credit, the dignity of that great office to which he has been summoned and with the universal applause of the millions of his countrymen. With these words I desire to place this motion before you." (Loud and prolonged applause).

The Hon'ble Nawab Syed Muhomed.

The Hon'ble Nawab Syed Muhomed (Madras) in seconding the motion said :—

"Mr. Chairman, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen : I have very great pleasure in seconding the proposition that has been placed before you by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Surendranath Banerjea in very eloquent terms. Our distinguished countryman Mr. Bhupendranath Basu has been elected President of this Congress by the votes of the different Provincial Congress Committees sometime ago, and according to the terms of our constitution that election is final. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu has all along been in the forefront of the Congress movement and has rendered valuable services to the cause of the country. He is well known throughout the country as a genuine patriot and has grown grey in the service of the country. Gentlemen: the Congress, at its last session held at Karachi resolved to send a deputation to England consisting of the leading Congressmen from various provinces to represent the Indian views on important questions on which the Congress had expressed its opinion. In accordance with this resolution a strong deputation was sent to England by those who were responsible for the conduct of Congress work and Mr. Bhupendranath Basu was one of the members of the deputation representing Bengal. Gentlemen: I am glad to say that in spite of the fears entertained in certain quarters the deputation has been a success. (Hear, hear). We are deeply indebted to Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India, for the great consideration with which he received the deputation and its representations: and as has been pointed out by the Chairman of the British Congress Committee in London, I mean Sir William Wedderburn (Applause), we have reason to rejoice that Lord Crewe in receiving the delegates with such distinguished courtesy has completed the recognition of the Congress as representing loyal and enlightened public opinion in India. Gentlemen: on arrival in England Mr. Bhupendranath Basu was chosen by his colleagues to lead them and the deputation headed by Mr. Basu has done very useful work in England, (Hear, hear and Applause) and I have the authority of no less a person than Sir William Wedderburn himself when I say that his services were of a very useful character during his stay in England in representing our views to the authorities and other politicians in that country. Gentlemen: it is but meet and proper that his services should be recognised in a fitting manner by his countrymen and I am glad to see that on

his return from England on the completion of his labours there, he has been called upon to fill the highest place in the gift of his countrymen (Hear, hear) and it is a matter of sincere pleasure to me that I have been asked by my friends to second this proposition that has been placed before you and I request you to accept this proposition with acclamation and call upon Mr. Basu to take the chair and to preside over the deliberations of this Congress." (Applause).

Election
of the
President.

Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar.

Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar (Berars) in supporting the motion said:—"Sir Subramania Aiyer, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a matter of the deepest gratification to me that I am asked by the Reception Committee to take part in placing before you this motion for granting your assent to the election of my dear friend Bhupendranath Basu as President of this session of the Indian National Congress. I say it is a matter of deep personal gratification to me, because, though I cannot claim like my friend Mr. Surendranath Banerjea to be a life-long worker with him, I can claim what is next best, of having worked in co-operation with him for over a quarter of a century. (Applause). I have known him as I have said for over a quarter of a century and we have been associated together in this holy work of service to the motherland on the Congress platform and outside the Congress Pandal (Hear, hear). Gentlemen: Mr. Bhupendranath Basu's qualities of the head and the heart, his sterling work and his noble merits have been put before you in words of stirring eloquence by our greatest orator and what I say may fall flat after his fiery speech; but it is a duty which I owe to my countrymen and to the part of the country which I represent, that I should, in my humble capacity, give expression to the great admiration that I feel for him. Gentlemen: you have few men in this country who, like him, are content to work modestly and in an unassuming manner for the benefit and for the glory of our motherland. He never cared for reward, he never cared for recognition even; he was always content to work and the mere task of performing the work was a sufficient satisfaction and a reward for him. Gentlemen: there have been times when he had been judged and judged wrongly both by the authorities and by his own countrymen. At times he has been considered as a person whose loyalty was not above question. At other times he has been considered as a man whose loyalty to his country was open to doubt. All the same he has been pursuing his way of performing the services to his country, to his countrymen and to his Government steadfastly and without the least swerving from the right path. Gentlemen: his patriotism is beyond all question, and his devotion to the country and to the Government is beyond all doubt. Such is the man whom we have called to preside upon our deliberations. He is one of the most cultured men whom that land of culture, Bengal, has produced and he is also

Election
of the
President.

one of the greatest patriots, one of the great lovers of the country, whom India has produced. In calling him to this Chair it is not him we honour but we honour ourselves (Hear, hear). Gentlemen: with these few words in my capacity as the representative of the Central Provinces and Berars, I place this motion before you." (Applause).

Mr. N. M. Samarth.

Mr. N. M. Samarth (Bombay) in further supporting the motion said:—"Brother delegates: In response to the invitation of the venerable Chairman of the Reception Committee I, as coming from the Province of Bombay, have very great pleasure in asking you to adopt the formal resolution requesting the President-elect Mr. Bhupendranath Basu to take the chair. I need not stand between you and his presidential address long, after the speeches you have already heard. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea has in his eloquent and inimitable language given expression to the views entertained by every worker in the cause of the Congress regarding Mr. Bhupendranath Basu's good, honest, zealous and silent work hitherto. I have known him for several years past as a quiet, and an earnest worker in the cause of the country; but recently when as a member of a deputation on your behalf I had the honour to go to England, as you know some of us preceded him; he came later on and several members of the House of Commons with whom I had the privilege of personal contact and several publicists who carry great weight and influence in the public life of England asked me when Mr. Bhupendranath Basu was going to come. I found that the impression which Mr. Bhupendranath Basu had made in England on the occasion when he had gone there to plead on behalf of Bengal, was so great in influential quarters, not only among men in authority but public men of England and editors of English newspapers that they always had great regard and esteem not only for his patriotism, mind you, but for his political sagacity, his suavity of manner and the way in which he tried by his persuasive eloquence to bring over men of the opposite side to his view of the situation. (Hear, hear) Subsequently when Mr. Bhupendranath Basu joined us and we elected him as our President, I came to know by personal contact with him and by personal association with him as a co-worker the great esteem in which he is held by all public men on either side of the party in England. Next to Mr. Ghokale if there is any public man whose utterance is likely to be appreciated and favourably considered and sympathetically considered not only by men in authority from the Prime-Minister downwards with whom he came into personal contact but by the great editors of the great English organs of public opinion I think that man is Mr. Bhupendranath Basu. I speak that from personal knowledge and I congratulate the Congress upon its choice having fallen upon Mr. Bhupendranath Basu." (Applause).

Sir S. Subramania Aiyer.

Sir S. Subramania Aiyer then said :—I now put to you the resolution which has been so eloquently proposed, seconded and supported and I hope you will carry it with acclamation. (Applause).

Babu Bhupendranath Basu was then garlanded amidst shouts of Vande Mataram, by Sir S. Subramania Aiyer, and took the presidential chair amidst great enthusiasm.

Messages to the Congress.

Having taken the presidential chair Babu Bhupendranath Basu said :—Before I begin my address I would call upon Mr. G. A. Natesan, one of our Secretaries to place before you the many important telegrams that he has received in his capacity as Secretary to the Congress.

Mr. G. A. Natesan.

Mr. G. A. Natesan said :—Numerous telegrams and three cables addressed to the President of the Congress, some others to the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the rest addressed to the Secretaries of the Reception Committee, have been received. The first is a cable from Sir William Wedderburn (Applause): “British Committee send hearty greetings to United India.” The second is from the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale (Loud and prolonged cheers): “I deeply regret inability to attend the Congress. Wish the session every success” (Applause). Telegrams have also been received from the Hon'ble Sir Balchandra Krishna, Mr. B. N. Sen, Mr. Harechandrai Vishandas, Mr. A. C. Muzumdar, Mr. Vandyar of Poondi, Tanjore District, Mr. Govindass Chathurboojadoss, the Indian Community in South Africa, (Voices, “Read it,” “read it”).

Mr. G. A. Natesan proceeding, read: “Indian grievances not yet settled, namely, marriage, gold law, township act, owning land and many others. Please submit representations to Viceroy” (Applause).

Telegrams have also been received from Mr. Mahadeo Singh, Mr. Nag, Mr. J. P. Kotelingam, Mr. C. A. C. Kasinathan Chettiar, Hamdia Islamic Society, South Africa, Chairman, Natal Indian Congress, Mr. Hafiz Mahomed Abdurrahim, the Hon. Pandit Madhan Mohan Malavya, and Mr. Bhurgri, Karayachi.

The Presidential Address.

Presiden-
tial
Address.

The President then rose amidst loud, prolonged and deafening applause to deliver his presidential address. He said:

Brother delegates : You will forgive me if I am unable to make a suitable response to the call that you have made upon me. It is not possible for me to do so. I feel the heavy responsibility of my position in being called upon to take your chair at what I consider one of the most important crises in the history of our lives. I feel, I say so honestly and frankly, my utter inability to fulfil the expectations which have been raised in your minds by the far too flattering reference to myself by my friend and leader Mr. Surendranath Banerjea (Applause), and I feel also to some extent hampered by precedents of the past in which the presidential address has always been delivered in writing and, having regard to the seriousness of the occasion, I think I may fairly claim the privilege that the past Presidents of the Congress exercised in delivering to you a manuscript address on this occasion. I must frankly tell you that I have tried to make that address as sober and as moderate as possible under the circumstances of the present year, and there may be some disappointments that it has not gone as far as many would wish, and that it has stopped short of the expectations which several of my friends may have formed of an address from me; but in justification I would plead the peculiar circumstances of the year and the responsibility of the position to which you have been pleased to call me. With these prefatory words I would place my address before you. I know the difficulty under which an audience is placed when it has got to listen to a long address. I know it and, I am afraid having suffered from it myself in the past, I have taken care to make that address as brief as possible. I have omitted the consideration of many important subjects, a consideration which I am sure will be given to them on the Subjects Committee and, later on probably, if it commends itself to your judgment in this Congress itself. For the present I have confined myself to certain grave and important issues in the evolution of our national life, issues which I wish our countrymen would always bear in mind. (Loud and prolonged applause).

Mr. Chairman, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I frankly confess my utter inability to express to you how deeply grateful I feel for the great honour you have done me in electing me to preside over the deliberations of this Congress. To me it is not a matter of custom or convention, for the Congress and the ideals it represents hold me by the roots which have penetrated into the innermost recesses of my soul. To us, Indians, no higher reward is conceivable than to be called upon by the free choice of our countrymen to preside over what may be justly regarded as the assembly of the Nation ; but I am not vain enough to take it as a personal tribute. Your choice has fallen on one whose faithful adherence to the Congress extends over a

quarter of a century, for I had the privilege so far back as 1886 of Presidential receiving my initiation as a humble volunteer from one whose name will always remain indissolubly associated with India's progress in political life. True it is that age prevents him from lending us the support of his presence, but the words of wisdom which Dadabhai Naoroji (Applause) from time to time still addresses us from his retirement, carry their inspiration, to wherever men's thoughts dwell upon the future of India.

Brother delegates, if you have chosen the acolyte of 1886 as your high priest of to-day, I am still, as I hope to be always, your devoted servant; you will forgive me, however, if I feel overweighted by a sense of my difficulties. We meet in your great and historic City, the intellectual centre of a presidency which in the past gave to the world some of its profoundest thinkers and, to us in the present, has given some of our most distinguished jurists, administrators, scholars and statesmen. Nor can I forget that some of our greatest men have in this city held the seat which I have the honour to occupy to-day. Budruddin Tyabji (Applause), Ananda Mohan Bose (Applause) and Lal Mohan Ghose were men who would throw lustre on any country and of whom we are justly proud. Your last President, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, (Applause) a gentleman of equal eminence, enjoys a European reputation for his brilliant scholarship and profound legal knowledge. Difficult as my position is, I feel however the uplifting influence which comes to the humble devotee on an arduous pilgrimage following the footprints of the great ones of the Earth, and, Sir, may I refer to the sense of protection that I feel under your distinguished chairmanship, for I deem it an honour and privilege to be associated with one who is held in respect and veneration throughout the length and breadth of India, (Applause) and who, we are all glad to see, is still willing and able to take an active part in the affairs of our country. (Hear, hear.)

THE PRESENT SITUATION.

Brother delegates, the difficulties that are personal to me are nothing compared to the difficulties under which we meet on this occasion. We are in the midst of a great and devastating war, comparable only to the fearful cataclysms of nature; we are involved in a struggle for life and death, and what is more between the elemental passions and the higher ideals of humanity. The mind is absorbed in the great issues now hanging in the battle-fields of Europe, where our brethren, British and Indian, are mingling their blood in the cause of honour, liberty and justice. (Hear, hear.) This is not the time to deal with matters upon which we may differ: all controversies must be laid to rest in the presence of the great and awe-inspiring drama of human history now being enacted before our eyes, and we must present to the world the spectacle of a united Empire, animated by the

Presidential Address. sole desire to bravely combat the dangers with which we are threatened, and to see that not only civilization, but the very soul of humanity, may not lapse into chaos and be utterly lost. We hesitated, therefore, for a long time over the holding of this session of the Congress, and though I accept the ultimate decision not to have a break in the continuity of the Congress, I confess I find my course very difficult.

CONGRESS : HIS MAJESTY'S OPPOSITION.

For, one of the principal functions of the Congress is to discharge the duties of His Majesty's Opposition with this important difference, that we have at all times been ready to recognise and appreciate the good work done by our Government, and to act whenever possible, in co-operation with it which His Majesty's Opposition in England is not always willing to do. It is this function, though exercised with great restraint, that has sometimes caused irritation to Anglo-Indian administrators impatient of criticism and accustomed to look upon their system of Government as the best that human forethought could devise. Things, however, have vastly improved since the Congress began in 1885 : a growing sense of responsibility on our side and a growing deference to popular opinion on the other, have characterised our mutual relations for sometime past ; and we, upon whose devoted heads the late Lord Dufferin opened the vials of his wrath, have had the high honour of being received by the representative of the Crown in this country and by His Majesty's Secretary of State in England. At the present moment, and in the present crisis, this function of the Congress must necessarily remain in abeyance. We have our quarrels, our differences, our grievances, but these domestic matters, however grave they may be, must wait ; and we may for the present turn to the other aspect of the Congress, namely, as the voice of United India, which recognises no distinction of creed, caste or colour, as the embodied expression of national sentiment, national hopes and national aspirations and as the great instrument of national education.

OUR FIRST DUTY.

But our first duty to-day must be to express what is uppermost in the minds of us all—to convey, through our Viceroy, to our Gracious Sovereign the whole-hearted loyalty and devotion of His Majesty's Indian subjects to the Throne and the Empire. In this respect, as it is rapidly becoming in many other respects Musalman and Hindu in India are one (Hear, hear), and the reason is obvious.

BRITISH RULE NO CHALLENGE TO THE PEOPLE.

British rule in India has not come as a challenge to the Indian people. The first and greatest step in the acquisition of sovereignty was taken at the invitation of the people themselves.

harassed under the enfeebled grasp of a decadent administration. Presidential Address. There have been wars since, but between brave men who have fought courageously, and have accepted the issue as between honourable combatants, our princes becoming the friends and allies of His Britannic Majesty under solemn treaties, and our people equal subjects of His Majesty under Charters and Statutes equally solemn : and this mutual relationship and understanding, worthy of those who had the boldness to conceive and found the Empire, though sometimes apt to be forgotten under the passion of dominion or the prejudice of colour to the infinite detriment of both sides, has been on the whole the guiding principle of British rule in India, well recognised by British Statesmen and well understood by the princes and people of India. It is this which has reconciled the Government of England to the martial spirit of India, to her ancient civilization and her pride of race. (Hear, hear.)

INDIA'S NEW HOROSCOPE.

India has recognised that, at this supreme crisis in the life of the Empire, she should take a part worthy of herself and of the Empire in which she has no mean place. She is now unrolling her new horoscope, written in the blood of her sons, in the presence of the assembled nations of the Empire and claiming the fulfilment of her Destiny (Hear, hear).

OUR VICEROY AND SECRETARY OF STATE :

TRUE SERVANTS OF INDIA.

And brother delegates, if India has been doing her part and her duty, the great statesmen who are now serving in her cause have also stood by her, faithful and loyal. I was in England when the first message of our Viceroy, tense with emotion and solemn as befitting the occasion, reached our King and the British people, conveying to them the whole-hearted devotion and enthusiastic loyalty and support of the Indian princes and the Indian people. I can hardly express to you the impression that that message created: its dignity and simplicity went straight into every heart. All in a moment, England realised the unity and solidarity of the Empire, and the great part India had played and was determined to play. Those great principles of equality and justice, on which rest the foundations of British rule in India, became invested with the lineaments of life and reasserted their sway over people's minds and hearts. Our Viceroy is truly a worthy servant of India and of England (Hear, hear): would God had spared him the sorrow and anxiety of the last few months. His mind must be sore, whether in the midst of crowding work or free, if ever it is free, in the stillness of solitary rest, with an aching void which nothing can fill, for who will bring to him again that gentle companionship and sweet grace, that steadfast devotion and unselfish love, which must have won for Lady Hardinge the

Presidential Address. supreme place in the heart of her husband, and which secured her the affection and esteem of all who were ever admitted to her charming and dignified presence. And alas ! the void will be all the deeper, all the keener, by the loss of his eldest son, for who will now lighten the burden of a heart overladen ?

And gentlemen, if Lord Hardinge has stood by India, responsive and loyal, the Marquis of Crewe has been a noble interpreter of the sentiments of the people of India to the people of England. Amidst the solemnity of the British House of Lords and the splendour of its surroundings, in the presence of some of the great pro-consuls who had devoted years of unsparing work to India and of a distinguished assembly, he announced in tones of suppressed emotion and pleasure the magnificent message of India's loyalty, of India's devotion and India's support; and an audience, more distinguished for its dignified bearing than even the senate of ancient Rome, threw to the winds all reserve and broke forth into tumultuous applause. Truly the noble Marquis performed his duty on this historic occasion as the spokesman of India, her accredited representative in England : and no less faithfully and zealously did his gifted Under-Secretary bear his part in the House of Commons. We tender our sincere and grateful thanks to these servants of India, who, though not of our race or our faith, have justly acquitted themselves as the true representatives of India at this momentous crisis of our national life. (Hear, hear.)

THE CONGRESS DEPUTATION : ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

Brother delegates, I fear the limits that I have set myself in this address will not permit me to deal with a subject about which naturally you would expect some information from me. I shall refer to it briefly, leaving it to my colleagues—among whom I see my friend Mr. Samarth—to deal with it at greater length. The Deputation, consisting of representatives from all parts of India, which the Congress appointed at Karachi in connection with the proposed reforms of the India Council, proceeded to England last summer, and had the privilege of an interview with the Secretary of State. People here are apt to make light of this privilege of getting access to the fountain head of all authority over India. To my mind, it is highly useful to be able to have such direct access, without negotiating through circuitous official channels in the tow of red tape. A frank interchange of views, if conducted with dignity and moderation, helps to remove much misapprehension and is always conducive to better mutual understanding. The very fact that men go all this distance, and cheerfully bear the expense and inconvenience of a long and arduous journey, is accepted as a token of the earnestness of the mission and lends to it additional weight. We owe this recognition of the Congress to the influence and indefatigable labours of that veteran friend of India, Sir William Wedderburn, (Hear, hear.)

who, by his single-minded devotion to our cause which he has made his own, has laid us under an obligation which we can never hope to repay and the full extent of which will never be known. To him also the Deputation owes its favourable reception by men of light and leading in England, who welcomed us with cordiality and listened to us with attention.

Presiden-
tial
Address.

THE INDIA COUNCIL BILL.

The Bill which the noble Marquis of Crewe introduced in the House of Lords last summer fell short of Indian expectations though it made some notable concessions. But not all the efforts of the Secretary of State, backed though he was by Lord Morley and the whole weight of the liberal party, nor the unceasing labours of the Deputation were of any avail in saving the Bill from rejection by the House of Lords. Two factors contributed to this result—the united resistance of the conservative peers misled, I am sorry to say, by some of those, who from their official position in the past are supposed to have knowledge of Indian affairs, and the opposition in India, which was put to dexterous use by the opponents of the measure. The Council of India Bill, 1914, had two principal features—it made statutory provision for the inclusion in the Council of two Indian members, now depending on the mere pleasure of the Secretary of State, and it enabled the Secretary of State in certain matters, where he has now to act with the advice of the majority of his Council, to dispense with such advice. The two Indian members were to be selected from a panel to be chosen by the non-official members of the various Legislative Councils in India. This method of selection naturally excited hostile criticism both in England as well as in India, though directed from different stand-points. This is what Lord Curzon, the spokesman of the Opposition, said: “I venture to say that it is an utterly indefensible proposal. . . . The men who would be put upon the panel would be public men, platform-speakers, men who would be identified with popular movements in India.” His view was that the selection even from a panel would bring in public men in India into the Council: that was also unhappily the Anglo-Indian view. The Indian view was that the method of selection did not give any guarantee that men who would be a weak echo of Government would not be selected, for it was justly urged that there would be no difficulty in putting on the panel, through the composite constituencies of the Indian Councils, containing, as they do, a large proportion of Anglo-Indians and Government nominees, any two persons whom the Government wanted. We overlooked the other aspect, so prominently brought forward by Lord Curzon, that though it would be quite easy for Government to have on the panel men whom it favoured, it would not be so easy for it to disregard time after time the men at the top who naturally would be men whom the country wanted. I do not

Presidential Address. say it is, by any means, a method of selection which we would recommend, but it would certainly be better than what obtains at present, which is nomination, pure and simple: and if the experiment worked well for a certain time, a revision of the law towards greater freedom of election would come, just as Lord Morley's experiment of having two Indian members in the Council by its success drew from the opposition the admission that they were prepared to give it a statutory recognition. It would no doubt mean delay, but if the current were set in the right direction, progress, even if slow, no one could stay or stop. The second clause, which was vehemently opposed by Lord Curzon, was the provision which would enable the Secretary of State to act independently, where he has now to act with the advice of the majority of his Council. So far as I can make out, the concurrence of the majority of the Council is necessary, firstly, in the division and distribution of patronage and power of nomination and, secondly, in the grant or appropriation of the revenues of India. I do not think, we in India need concern ourselves with patronage, for we are practically out of it. And as regards expenditure, the Council was not much of a safeguard when India was burdened with the cost of military undertakings with which she had no concern, and its use in this direction has become considerably restricted since the findings of the Welby Commission. Lord Curzon would maintain and enhance the powers of the Council, though he admitted that a masterful Secretary of State like Lord Morley could easily impose his views on the Council even under its present constitution. We in India have never been highly impressed by the usefulness of this Council: it must give to the Secretary of State a lesser sense of responsibility, when he shares it with a large body under the provisions of a Parliamentary Statute; it must to some extent reduce the effective strength of criticism in Parliament since the Secretary of State would be able to take shelter behind a board of experts. The high position that some of the members, appointed under its own authority, have held in India is in itself a serious disadvantage: they look upon the India of the present with eyes turned to the India of the past in which they had played an honourable and distinguished part. True, they have had great experience of Indian affairs: but it is an experience naturally one-sided: it is no disparagement to them to say that they have hardly been in touch with the main currents of Indian life which have flowed unnoticed past their feet. I do not entirely blame them. Ability and efficiency may be the heritage of the Civil Service, developed by training and tradition, and may go a long way, but they are not of much help when one has to penetrate the screen which differences in religion, language, customs and modes of thought have set between us, a screen rendered denser by a false sense of prestige on the one side, and not unnatural reserve and sensitiveness on the other. Where is the invisible ray that will pierce through this tangled mass and bring to light

what otherwise is hidden and obscure? Sympathy does not grow in the stifling atmosphere of power and privilege, royal words notwithstanding, (Hear, hear) for it is a gift of which the gods are jealous. This inevitable ignorance of the inside life of India necessarily grows deeper with age and distance. The members of the Council of the Secretary of State, whose sympathies would naturally incline them to uphold the views of those who are carrying on their tradition and policy in India, soon find themselves quite unable to differ from them, and are constrained to follow what appears to be the only safe course, namely, to lend their support to their successors in India. Thus they become a second check on the Viceroy and the Secretary of State instead of being a guiding and motive force.

Presidential
Address.

THE REFORM THAT INDIA WANTS.

A Council from which the glory had departed would gradually pave the way for the reform which India has long pressed, namely, the abolition of the Council altogether, which would bring the Secretary of State for India more into line with the other Secretaries of State and place him under greater Parliamentary control. These points of view were probably overlooked in India, and the position of Sir William Wedderburn, as President of the British Committee of the Congress and of your delegates, became extremely embarrassing. If the Bill had passed through the House of Lords, it would have come to the lower House, where the Indian view could be strongly urged and where the debate might give rise to declarations of policy from responsible statesmen which would be of great use to us in the future. But all this was not to be: the opponents of the measure, strengthened by the support in India, had their day and the Bill was lost. I would not have trespassed upon your patience with this long account of the Deputation, if I had not felt that at no distant date the Bill may be revived, let us hope, largely liberalized. When the time comes, we must press for the reforms which we have been advocating from the Congress. The salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed on the English estimates. In his Council, consisting of not more than nine members, one-third should be Indians chosen by the non-official members of the various Legislative Councils in India (Hear, hear), and of the remaining members at least half should be public men of proved ability and merit (Hear, hear) unconnected with the Government of India: the functions of the members should be advisory and not executive. A Council so constituted would maintain a fair balance between the different interests involved in Indian administration, and would secure for its decisions that appreciation and willing acceptance which are essential to all Governments, specially to Governments conducted by a non-indigenous bureaucracy. (Hear, hear.)

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES.

Presiden-
tial
Address.

Before I pass from this subject, there is one other matter closely allied to which I would call your earnest attention. Royal Commissions may be of great use or may, as some or all commissions do, serve to defer reforms: but there is no question that they collect a vast amount of useful information at very great expense. All this material sleeps on dusty racks. Very few of the men who form the commissions are members of Parliament, and after the submission of the reports, they are unable to turn to any good and effective purpose the instruction which they have received at such great cost to India. If, instead of Royal Commissions, we had Parliamentary Committees of enquiry, like those that sat in the days of the East India Company on the renewal of its successive Charters, drawn from all parties, we would have a body of men in Parliament who would acquire an interest in India by means of intimate knowledge of her affairs and would be able by reason of independent information to approach the consideration of Indian questions with confidence, and create in the House an atmosphere of enlightenment about India which would continue as a tradition. A system of control and supervision like this would supply the necessary corrective to the Government of India and impart a forward impetus which the British democracy have so far failed to give and which the people of India justly claim. It is a reform to which I have ventured to call your attention, as I believe its usefulness must be recognized by all parties and as it may be treated almost as a non-controversial question. Before I pass on from the subject referring to what Mr. Samarth has alluded to, I had the privilege of seeing the responsible statesmen on both sides of the House as well as leaders of public opinion in England. I asked them, where were the men like Burke, who had the knowledge which he possessed of Indian affairs and where was the control of the British House of Commons to whose direct control we were transferred in 1858? And, I told them that the only method by which that knowledge could be re-introduced into the House of Commons on Indian affairs, the only method by which that House could be instructed on matters relating to Indian politics was by the constitution of a Parliamentary Committee, consisting of men of all shades of opinion and drawn from all parties, who would be instructed about India by means which at present were inaccessible to members of Parliament, and who were the great leading and guiding forces in the old administration of India. I am glad to tell you that that view received the unqualified assent of most men of leading in England, whose advice and support may be of the greatest value to us on a future occasion.

THE WORK BEFORE US.

I now come to the second part of my address—the constructive programme of the Congress, its objects and ideals, our duty

to ourselves and our work in the future. For a consideration of these matters, the present occasion is not altogether inopportune; we are removed by force of circumstances from the atmosphere of controversy and if we are deeply stirred, I trust there is room for introspection.

WHERE WE STAND TO-DAY.

But before I go on to the future, the present must claim our attention for a few moments. The Charter Act of 1833 provides that, "no native of India, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty, resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent or colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company." In the memorable despatch to the Government of India accompanying the Act, the Board of Directors emphasise this provision and say: "It is fitting that this important provision should be understood in order that its full spirit and intention may be transfused through our whole system of administration. From certain offices the natives are debarred, professedly on the ground that the average amount of native qualifications can be presumed only to rise to a certain limit. It is this line of demarcation which the present enactment obliterates. Fitness is henceforth to be the criterion of eligibility." Then we come to the solemn declaration of the Great Queen:—"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian Territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fill."

These form the solid foundations on which the Government of India rests: one removes the disqualification of the Subject, the other defines the obligation of the Sovereign. I shall on this occasion refrain from considering how far the injunction of the Boards of Directors, that the spirit and intention of the enactment should be transfused through the whole system of administration, or the solemn declaration of the Sovereign, has been loyally carried out and how wide is the gulf which divides our actual position from our legal status. The Government of the country is still vested to all intents and purposes in a foreign Civil Service which is so recruited that the difficulties attending the path of the Indian, who seeks admission into it, are just as great to-day as they were fifty years ago, as is evident from the fact that out of a cadre of nearly 1,400 members there are now not more than 70 Indian officers. The Service is composed of men whose sole aim is, no doubt, to do their duty and sole ambition is to govern well; like the knights-errant of old they would take all the load off our shoulders, forgetting that in the economy of nature each man has to carry his own burden, to stiffen his back in self-preservation.

Presiden-
tial
Address.

We cannot escape the influences of our tradition or environment. In declining to accede to the grant of further powers to the English in India, Sir Charles Wood in 1851 quoted with approval the words of a well-known philosopher and statesman : "Armed with the prestige of the ruling nation they have the feelings inspired by absolute power without the sense of responsibility." What Mill said then still holds good to-day, for the system of Government is the same, though happier influences have come into play. But the fact remains that the only responsibility which could act and has acted as a check on the Civil Service of India was its self-imposed sense of duty : it is a great check no doubt, but not sufficient when a struggle comes between pre-conceived ideas and rigid traditions of power and efficiency on the one hand, and the nascent growth of popular aspirations on the other. Viceroys and Governors may come and go, but the Great Service remains, dominating the life of the people and practically free from all responsibility except what it owes to itself. They form the Executive Council of the Viceroy, with the exception of one solitary, dumb Indian member of recent origin. They also form the Council of the Secretary of State with the addition of two Indian members. They thus constitute a Court of appeal over themselves. They furnish rulers to six provincial Governments out of nine. The great departments of State including education are under their control and the inspiration and the motive power of Government comes from them. Influence, patronage, authority, power, dominion, the government itself, are all in their hands ; and they would be more than human if they did not desire to maintain their position, if from no other motive than at least from a laudable ambition of handing on their heritage unimpaired to their successors, and an honest belief that the Service as constituted was essential for the good of India.

WHAT INDIA WANTS.

Against this state of things we have a people rapidly awakening to self-consciousness ; thousands of our boys are receiving education on Western lines in Indian Universities based on Western models ; hundreds of them are daily flocking to the Universities of Europe, America and Japan and on their return home spreading the knowledge that they have acquired. You may chain Prometheus, but the fire is lighted and cannot be extinguished. (Hear, hear). India wants a higher life, a wider sphere of activity and usefulness. India wants that her Government should be consistent with her growing self-respect and intellectuality. India wants that the presumption which has all along existed, and which the Board of Directors in 1833 made a vain attempt to dispel, namely, that the Indians can only rise to a certain limit, should be removed from the precincts of her Court, as it has been from the Statute Book, and the door to her services should not be closed by artificial barriers against her own.

sons. India wants that her children should have the same rights of equal citizenship as other members of the Empire. (Hear, hear and applause). India wants the removal of vexatious hindrances on the liberty of speech and freedom of the Press, (Hear, hear and applause) fruitless and dangerous alike to the Government and the people. And, above all, India wants that her Government should be an autonomous Government under the British Empire. (Applause). Then only the great benefits, which have emanated from British rule and which carry with them the memory of doles, will be sweetened with the sweat of her brow.

Presiden-
tial
Address.

I know of our aspirations, I have given brief expression to them ; are they extravagant and unjustified in the present circumstances of the country ? I do not wish to ride for a fall, but I am of opinion that they are not incapable of progressive fulfilment. Do they deserve fostering care and sympathetic attention or stern repression ? The answer has been already given by the Government itself.

THE REFORM OF THE COUNCILS.

The Reform Scheme of Lord Morley has been referred to in the past in many presidential addresses from the point of view of adverse criticism. I will refer to that scheme from a different standpoint. The Reform Scheme is the beginning of a far-reaching change. There is some scepticism in certain quarters : it has become a habit with some of us to talk of the Reforms as mere make-believes. I deprecate this habit : it is a wrong angle of vision, it lacks the sense of historical perspective. From a Council of three which the Regulating Act of 1773 gave to Warren Hastings, excluding the Commander-in-Chief, we come to a Council of four in 1833, when a law member, without a portfolio and without the right to vote or sit at meetings except when laws were enacted, was added. The next step forward was a Legislative Council of ten in 1853, consisting of 4 ordinary and 6 additional members who were all nominated ; and in 1861, the number of additional members was raised to a maximum of twelve, also all nominated. Then, through the continuous agitation of the Congress, backed by the powerful influence and energy of Charles Bradlaugh, came Lord Crosse's Act of 1892 which would have been entirely different if Bradlaugh had then been alive, and which gave to our various provincial councils the right of recommendation and for the first time allowed interpellations and discussion of the financial statement. From this stage we travelled far indeed in 1909, when the number of additional members in the Legislative Council of the Governor-General was raised to 60, of whom 27 were elected, the remaining 33 being nominated, and amongst those nominated not more than 28 could be officials. There was not only to be a discussion on the financial statement, but the budget was to be presented in all its stages, power was given to the Council to move resolutions which might affect the administration of the country, and the

Presidential Address. right of interpellation was greatly extended. And these Councils have not been without their use. They have supplied the motive force where it was lacking, they have infused energy where it was needed, they have attempted to act, though not always with success, as a brake when the wheels of the State were running over slippery rails and they have corrected errors: what is more, they have made their influence felt on the administrative machinery of Government. Apart from the official majority in the Imperial Council, which, having regard to its present constitution, could be safely dispensed with, the greatest draw-back of all the Councils is the defective and unequal representation of the educated classes in India. But even such as they are, with the composite, restricted and unequal character of their representation, the Indian non-official members gave a solid and united vote on some of the great questions affecting the position of India or its internal administration. On the question affecting the prestige and position of India regarding emigration, the Sikh and the Bengalee, the Mahratta and the Madrassee, the prince and the commoner, as well as the Hindu and the Moslem, all voted on the same side; so also on the question of the separation of judicial and executive functions. In Bengal and Madras, they have actually defeated the Government on important issues.

I have dwelt at some length on the Councils that we have got under the Reform Scheme of Lord Morley to show that they are not altogether so useless as is sometimes inconsiderately asserted. They are, no doubt, very far from being the ideals of to-day, but they mark a notable advance, and it is undesirable and unwise to treat them as make-believes. Let us treat them as mere steps which we must take to reach our goal and let us consider what that goal may be: and in putting this goal before us, let us be frank and honest and let us understand each other and be understood. It is well that there should be no *arrière pensée*, no reservation in the consideration of this great question.

PERPETUAL TUTELAGE ON THE ONE HAND.

The Indian bureaucracy do not offer us any constructive programme for the future of India, no land of promise to her children. They are content to work for the day and take no thought for the morrow. An autocratic Viceroy or Secretary of State may put extra steam into the machinery of the Indian Government or try to shut the safety-valve, but the great fly-wheel is not easily disturbed. And the bureaucracy have given us honest and conscientious workmen, not troubled, it may be, with the visions of the future, but they have reason to be well pleased with their work: they have given us internal peace and guarded us from external aggression; the blessings of an ordered administration are apparent on every side. Why should India resent? Her Government has always been that of one man's sway whether she was an Empire or broken into small states of varying dimensions. Why should she object to the Government of

an outside bureaucracy? My answer is: the days of the lotus-eater are gone, (Hear, hear) the world is swinging onward on the uplifting ropes of time, and in Europe, the war of nations, now in progress, will knock off the last weights of mediæval domination of one man over many, of one race over another (Applause); it is not possible to roll back the tide of wider life which is flowing like the warm gulf stream through the gateways of the West into the still waters of the East. You may abolish the study of English history and draw a sponge over all its enthralling story of freedom; you may bar Milton and Burke, Mill and Spenser; you may bend the Indian Universities to your will if you like, fetter their feet with obstructive statutes, but you cannot bar the imponderable influences of an expanding world (Applause). If English rule in India meant the canonization of a bureaucracy, if it meant perpetual domination and perpetual tutelage, an increasing dead-weight on the soul of India, it would be a curse to civilization and a blot on humanity (Hear, hear). But I am doing injustice to a large body of Civil Servants who have loyally accepted the recent reforms and who seek to remain true to the traditions of Munro and Elphinstone. (Applause).

Presiden-
tial
Address.

AND INDEPENDENCE ON THE OTHER.

And let us take the other extreme—of separation from England and absolute independence. It may, no doubt, commend itself to the ardent patriotism of youth, for it is the privilege of youth to be fancy free. Let us leave law alone and deal with the question as one of practical politics. I would not hesitate—my friend said that I was near the doors of deportation—whatever might be the terrors of the law, from boldly accepting the ideal if I felt, convinced that it was possible of attainment, and I go further, that it was desirable in the present stage of our evolution. I would not flee from my own convictions. I do not like the attitude of being willing to wound but afraid to strike. Let us be frank. Bold issues must be boldly faced. National regeneration requires manliness and is not advanced by the methods of the Camarilla (Hear, hear.) At the present moment, who would desire or support separation from England? The Indian princes secure in their dignity and status, the Indian aristocracy safe in their possessions and influence, the Indian middle classes free in their vocations, the toiling masses sure of the fruits of their labour, are all moving onwards to one common goal with the impetus which a central Government, a common vehicle of thought, common ideals and a growing sense of unity and nationality have given them. Will they support this separation and lose sight of their goal altogether? India, high and low, has published her answer to the world. It is but a dream and may come, as dreams do come, when the senses are held in the bonds of sleep, or as they come in the impetuous days of youth when the senses lack the control of wisdom which comes with age. But when you take the idea firmly into your grasp, it breaks

Presidential Address. away into the dust of the past bringing no solace but disappointment and sorrow.

SELF-GOVERNMENT WITHIN THE EMPIRE.

The two extremes—the one of separation, the other of subordination—are both equally impossible and must be put out of our mind. The ideal that we must pursue, and which the Congress has set before itself, is that of co-ordination and comradeship, of a joint partnership on equal terms (Hear, hear). I do not say that it must materialize to-day, but I do say that every step that we take, or ask the Government to take, must point in that direction. India no doubt is a continent and not a country divided into small administrative areas: it is divided into communities, castes and sects: it is divided by religion, language and race, by different types and stages of civilization and progress, and by different methods of administration. It has within its limits princes of ancient lineage and traditions, and people great numbers of whom are still in a state of mental darkness: the educated middle classes are still a small, if no longer a microscopic, minority: there are peoples within its borders who know of nothing else but personal rule, and large classes which are ready to accept a representative government. Can any system of self-government be evolved in a country like this which will bring into coherence its heterogeneous elements, or must India from the very nature of its constitution be for ever subject to outside dominion? I hope I have stated the case for the other side fairly. Let us see how we can apply our ideal to a state of things like this: let us clearly realise what that ideal may be. From the very extent of India and the diversity of her population, we must have a system of Government modelled on the lines of the Commonwealth of Australia, or the United States of America, modified according to Indian conditions and presided over by a representative of our Sovereign. In this constitution all will find a place, the Englishman as well as the Indian, the prince as well as the peasant, and all communities, by a judicious combination of the methods of election and selection in the case of the less advanced. I am only suggesting tentative lines of development and not a scheme, and I am aware that it may be laughed at as chimerical: but I shall not complain, as criticism is the touch-stone of truth. And I do not despair, for the position is not hopeless.

INDIA OF TO-DAY AND ENGLAND OF THE PAST.

Let us consider our advantages. I might easily turn for analogies to the continent of Europe, but, for the present, I shall direct attention to England of the past, and not a remote past, to England in the forties in the 19th century after the accession of Queen Victoria and the great Reform Act of 1832. In many parts, half of its male population and nearly three-fourths of the female population were unable to sign their names even on their

marriage register. The test of literacy in India to-day is certainly as high among the higher classes, and taking the entire male population, children, hill-tribes and aborigines all thrown in, more than 1 in 10 are able to read and write. Religious differences carried then in England a more galling sense of social and political disadvantage than they have ever done in India. Even in Ireland, Roman Catholics were not allowed to hold commissions in the Army until 1793, when an Act was passed enabling them to hold commissions in the Army up to the rank of a colonel, and this restricted concession was not granted to the Roman Catholics in England until 1813. It was not till 1829 that Parliament was opened to them. The protestant Dissenters likewise laboured under cruel restrictions; they could not legally baptize their children in their own places of worship or bury their dead in consecrated grounds, except under the ritual of the Established Church, and they had no admission to the Universities. Many of us will remember that in 1880 an influential deputation waited on Gladstone to protest against the appointment of Lord Ripon as our Viceroy, because he was a Roman Catholic. Even to-day the whole question of Irish Home Rule is a question of religion, of the Protestant against the Roman Catholic; each of the great communities had organised themselves into armed forces under the leadership of eminent politicians and were ready for a civil war before the outbreak of the great war. Is the condition of things worse in India at the present time? Hindus and Moslems had long lived in amity until it was found that their differences might be turned to their mutual disadvantage. I am not drawing upon imagination. It attracted the attention of a historian and statesman like Lord Bryce, who, in one of his illuminating essays, observed as follows:—"It has been suggested that when the differences of caste and religion which now separate the peoples of India from one another have begun to disappear . . . new dangers may arise to threaten the permanence of British Power." British administrators, happily, and Mussalmans and Hindus themselves, are beginning to realise that these differences mean danger to the State and injury to the whole community.

The cry is raised that not only is there difference in religion, but that in a country like India, so wide and diversified, proper representation cannot be secured. Take again the case of England before the Reform Act. Prior to 1832, to the British House of Commons 70 members were returned by 35 places practically without any electors: 90 members were returned by 46 places with less than 50 electors and 37 members by 19 places having not more than 100 electors, while Leeds, Birmingham and Manchester were unrepresented: seats were secured by bribery and when they rested with proprietors and corporations, were openly sold: in fact corruption was so rampant that buying a seat was considered perfectly fair. Sir Samuel Romilly, than whom a purer and more virtuous public man was not to be found in his

Presiden-
tial
Address.

day, actually bought his seat in the House of Commons so that he might be independent of any patron. The difficulty of language need not be considered. In England of the early 19th century there was a diversity of tongues greater than what exists in a similar area in India. The greatest gift of England to India is a common vehicle of thought between the different parts of India and the members of its different communities.

It may also be urged against us that the higher castes in India, the educated communities, will dominate the lower and the more ignorant. The House of Commons was practically in the hands of the English aristocracy and the upper middle classes till 1832, and to this day it is, to all intents and purposes, a house composed of members belonging to those classes. In politics, Anglo-Indian administrators are known to be inclined to the conservative view, which fought so strenuously against the curtailment of the rights of the peers. After all, the spectacle of the more enlightened ruling the less enlightened in the same community is as old as the world. The caste system in India, which is thoroughly democratic within itself, is losing its rigidity as between different castes.

ITALY AND JAPAN.

I may go further afield and nearer home. Italy in 1860 was more divided in tradition, sentiment and feeling than India is to-day or was at any time in its past history. Conflict between temporal and spiritual powers, rivalry of cities and states, of republics and kingdoms, mutual jealousies and mutual hatred, the domination and intrigue of a powerful neighbour, these were the difficulties which stood in the way of Italy, since united under one Government. And take Japan of 1860: "The Emperor was the nominal King but the Shogun the actual ruler; a third of the whole Empire was under the direct rule of the Shogun and the revenues were paid into his treasury; the remainder was shared among 260 feudal lords, all of whom enjoyed complete legislative and executive autonomy including the right of coinage. The Daimio and the Samurai who combined to form the governing and aristocratic classes numbered two million souls. Beneath them lay the masses divided by an unfathomable social gulf, across which none could pass, divided into three orders, farmers artisans and traders, in number about 30 millions, whose sole lot in life was to minister to the well-being and luxury of their superiors. Slavery, abject slavery, was the natural state of the great body of the people. They counted for nothing: their liberty, their property and even their lives were held at the absolute disposal of their immediate rulers: they spoke in subdued tones with bent backs and eyes on the ground. As subjection made the lower classes abjectly servile, so did despotic power and immunity from all the burthens of life render the aristocratic class tyrannical and cruel." I have not indulged in a fanciful portrayal of the condition of the people of Japan in the closing years

of the Takagwa regime. I have quoted verbatim from a well-known English work on Japan. India does not suffer very much in comparison with England of the 18th or early 19th century, and stands on a much better footing than Italy or Japan in 1860. I have stated the objections and have tried to meet them. Do not for a moment think, therefore, that I underrate their importance. I have not shrunk from pointing out the difficulties. To show that the obstacles in our way are not insuperable, I have referred to other countries, not dissimilarly situated; what we in India want is their patriotism, their devotion, their spirit of sacrifice. In Japan, the Shogun surrendered his absolute authority, the feudal lords gave up their estates and power, the Daimio and Samurai laid aside the pride of birth and caste, the upper classes from the Emperor downwards helped to bring the masses across the wide gulf which for untold centuries had run between them, taking them by the hand as fellow-creatures with equal rights, and thus laid the foundation of a nation which has compelled the attention and respect of the world.

Presidential
Address.

What others have done we may do: the basis of our life, political and social, must be self-respect and mutual good-will. It has been said that treated as we are by our own Government, lacking in sympathy and trust, it is no wonder if we slide down the pegs of national self-esteem. I have already referred to the growing consciousness of the people, to their vivid perception of the anomalies of our present position—equal subjects of our Sovereign, but unequal citizens of the State (Applause). The waves of a new life, bright with the hopes of the future, fall back into empty foam, repelled by the cold wall of ancient prejudice. Signs, however, are not wanting to show that the guardians of the wall are beginning to realize that the waves are friendly, and will bring to the land waters which will fertilize into abounding life and they are opening the sluiceways. Not so slowly, not so cautiously, is the cry from the land.

LORD HARDINGE'S POLICY OF TRUST.

Lord Hardinge has set the example of courage and trust: he has tried to show that the Government of India is a Government for the people: he has spoken in vindication of our rights of equal citizenship, he has endorsed the action of our countrymen in South Africa in offering and organizing passive resistance; he has upheld the claims of India against the bigotry of race and prejudice of colour and he has stood by India ready to guard her honour. All honour to him for his courageous advocacy of the cause of India (Applause) under circumstances of exceptional difficulty in South Africa. I do not know if His Excellency realizes what he has done for us and for England; he has revived our waning faith in the declaration of our Sovereign, in the policy of British Rule in India and, what is more, he has made the Indian people recognize that the self-respect of the nation is safe in his keeping. (Hear, hear.) In his support of our rights in South

Presiden-
tial
Address.

Africa he has been ably seconded by Sir Benjamin Robertson who has won a victory for us where defeat would have been disastrous ; to him also our thanks are due. But more is wanted, for much is wanting in those elements which constitute the self-respect of a people.

THE RIGHT TO CARRY ARMS.

The right to carry arms, the right to bear commissions in the Army and lead our men in the cause of the Empire, the right to form volunteer corps in the defence of hearth and home, how long will these be denied to the Indian people ? How long will India toddle on her feet, tied to the apron strings of England ? Time it is that she stood on her legs for herself as well as for England (applause). What could be more humiliating to India and to England alike, if England were obliged in the hour of some great danger, as Imperial Rome was in her day, to leave India unarmed and untrained to the use of arms, and as her civil population is, a prey to internal anarchy and external aggression ? (Hear, hear.) What commentary would it be on 150 years of British rule in India, that England found the people strong though disunited and left them helpless and emasculated ? (Applause). And, on the other hand, what could be more glorious both for India and England than that India, strong in her men, strong in her faith, should stand side by side with England, share her troubles and her dangers and be joint defenders of their common heritage (Applause).

INDIA A WALL AGAINST GERMANY.

Brother delegates, there is no use in vain regrets, but one cannot help thinking that under different circumstances, England could have put to-day on the battle-fields of Europe not seventy thousand Indian soldiers, but a wall of men against which German militarism would have hurled itself in vain. (Applause). And has not India justified the faith in her ? In this hour of danger the cry has come from every part of India—from all communities and classes—for a rush to the front : it is oblivious of the past and impregnate with the future. And may I, as your spokesman, and as the President of this Congress, addressing myself to Lord Hardinge, tell him that this future is in his hands, that it will be a glory all his own, unparalleled in history, if India realises this future before he lays down his office : my appeal to him is not in the name of personal glory, it will be glory to the Most High, for future generations in India and England will bless his name, for he will have done incalculable good to both. And this is not an appeal *ad misericordiam*. We stand at the bar of humanity and claim the fulfilment of obligations, of declarations and solemn pledges. It is the appeal of Belgium for the enforcement of her guaranteed rights. (Here, here and applause). England is pouring forth her wealth, and what is more, what no wealth can buy, the precious blood of her

men for the fulfilment of her plighted word: her name will live as long as human history lives. Will India say that England has failed in her duty to India? It is not a prayer, but a call in the name of the people of India, enforced by the moral sense of mankind, which, if religions are not mere myths and their teachings empty shibboleths, will survive the clash of arms and the fate of nations (Applause). But, brother delegates, I shall be failing in my duty if I failed to indicate, however briefly, what lies in us to do for the realisation of our destined future.

Presiden-
tial
Address.

EDUCATION.

Our ground-work must be the education of our people, the elevation of the masses. To our infinite regret, the State has not responded to our call for even a tentative measure of compulsory, primary education. Much as I grieve, I am not hopeless, for it is bound to come. It was not till 1880 that England recognised that no children should be shut out from the benefits of education by the ignorance, neglect or apathy of their parents. Our policy has been to follow the lead of England at a respectful distance. The education of our girls is still in an elementary stage. The Congress may well take a leaf out of the programme of the Moslem League in matters connected with education, for education is the bed-rock on which we must lay the foundations of our national life. To it alone, I took for the removal of those galling distinctions resulting from the institution of caste, of those petty misunderstandings which mar the beauty and serenity of our religious life. What does it matter if I spring from the head of the Creator or His feet? Is not the whole universe His footstool? And what does formula matter in religion? God reveals himself to all who seek him. Whether we hearken to the voice of the Muezzin, or to the pealing of the bells, whether the minaret or the trident attracts our gaze, whether we assemble in our temples or our mosques, whether we are high or lowly born, it makes no difference: outside these, beyond these, is the sanctuary of the mother, where the voice of humanity is calling us to worship. (Applause) There we stand united before her sacred altar with our feet on the past and our gaze on the future. If only we bear in mind that we are Indians first and Indians always, what does it matter whether one community advances more rapidly than another, whether one receives more favours than another? (Hear, hear). Let us bear in mind that the advancement of a part of the body-politic means the progress of the whole, that favours to our brethren mean favours to us all: it is the pettiest of petty things that come between us, though these small things, like the grain of sand in the eye, oftentimes cause great irritation. Let us brush them aside. Enlightened opinion, Hindu and Moslem, is recognizing the essential unity of our lives and striving to put down differences where they exist: these differences are capable of easy adjustment if only we bear and forbear. (Hear, hear.)

STATE AID TO INDIAN INDUSTRIES.

Presiden-
tial
Address.

We are face to face with our great constructive work, the education and elevation of our people and the obliteration of the lines of caste and creed in the social and political life of the country. And our efforts should not be confined to these regions alone ; we have much to do in the domain of Arts and Industries : we must devote our best attention and energy to our industrial education and progress. We have had difficulties to contend with in the past : our Government, following the traditions of England, the richest and most highly developed industrial country in the world, omitted to profit by the examples of the Governments of some of the countries on the continent of Europe and of Japan, which have succeeded in planting great industries among nations hitherto as much devoted to agricultural pursuits as ourselves. The war has forced on our attention new problems and new methods, and the example lately set by England in coming to the support of the newly started dyeing-industry fills us with hope as to the future of the industries that may with advantage be started in India with the aid of the State. (Hear, hear.)

WORK IN ENGLAND.

And if, brother delegates, I naturally lay the greatest stress on the work among ourselves, I do not forget the work we have to do outside, work of no ordinary magnitude or importance—the enlightenment of the British People about Indian affairs. In them we have got our best allies, for they have not come under the influence of the Poustā which grows on the soil of the East. They are under no illusion, they realise the great truth underlying the dictum of that great statesman who gave peace to South Africa : “ Good government could never be a substitute for government by the people themselves.” (Applause). I have always found them, and I speak from personal experience, willing to listen and ready to help. Being on the spot, your Deputation was able to correct errors and influence public opinion. Though addresses from the platform are useful, much work may be done quietly in England through the leaders of thought and through the Press.

THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

The British Committee of the Congress is doing invaluable work in instructing the press and the public. What is wanted is that representative men from India should systematically visit England to bring to the Committee fresh and first-hand knowledge : what is urgently wanted is more funds so that the Committee may extend its sphere of usefulness : and money spent for this purpose will not be ill spent : it is an investment which will bring rich profit. It may not be generally known, but it was through the influence exerted on John Bright by a retired Anglo-Indian gentleman of liberal views—all honour to

him—that India secured in 1858 the Magna Charta of her rights, It is essential that members of Parliament, the Assembly which alone can decide great questions, should be properly instructed, for, knowledge means interest, and all we want is a true knowledge of India. If the future to which we look forward is to be a process of peaceful evolution, it must be by co-operation. Hostility will retard and indifference clog the wheels of progress.

Presiden-
tial
Address.

OUR PLACE IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

The war has come to us as a trumpet call—it has roused enthusiasm in England for India, it has moved the heart of Anglo-India and has even drawn the British Colonies out of their exclusiveness. Our Viceroy has been telling us of the formation of a new policy of reciprocity between India and the Colonies. No reciprocity except on terms of equality would be acceptable to India. (Hear, hear) Would the Colonies give it? Not in the past, but now there is hope of a settlement consistent with our position in the Empire, for this is what a leading organ of public opinion in South Australia says :—

“It was only ignorance that thought of the Indians as an inferior race. They are the equals, fully the equals, of the proudest European Nation, and they claim, in their own land, to be free citizens governing themselves, and shaping their own National destiny, within the many-nationed ‘ Empire of the Free.’ Who shall say them nay?”

CONCLUSION.

Now is our time : we must throw away our lethargy : let us bind our waist-cloth on and head forward to our goal : and that goal is not unworthy of our highest aspirations : it has satisfied the dignity and the self-esteem of the French in Canada, and of the Boer in South Africa, who to-day are the staunchest supporters of England : and when it comes to us, as I am sure it soon will, it will strengthen and not weaken the bonds that unite England and India. To the spiritual framework of the East has come the inspiration of the West. Let us combine the patience of the East with the energy of the West and we shall not fail. We are better situated to-day than Italy or Japan was in 1860 : we are beginning to feel the strength and growing solidarity of the people of India : India has realised that she must be a vital and equal part of the Empire and she has worthily seized her great opportunity. In the melting pot of destiny, race, creed, and colour are disappearing. If India has realised this, so has England. Through the mouth of the Prime Minister, the English people have said to us : “ We welcome with appreciation and affection your proffered aid, and in an Empire which knows no distinction of race or class, where all alike are subjects of the King-Emperor and are joint and equal custodians of our common interest and futures, we here hail with profound and heartfelt gratitude your association side by side and shoulder to shoulder with the Home and Dominion troops,

Presiden- under a flag which has a symbol to all of a unity that a world in-
 tial arms cannot dissever or dissolve." (Prolonged applause.)
 Address.

Brother delegates, it is no use looking backward ; no use in-
 vain regrets. Let us be ready for the future, and I visualize it.
 I see my country occupying an honoured and proud place in
 the comity of nations. I see her sons sitting in the Councils of
 our great Empire, conscious of their strength and bearing its
 burden on their shoulders as valued and trusted comrades and
 friends, and I see India rejuvenated and re-incarnate in the glories
 of the future broadened by the halo of the past. What does it
 matter if a solitary raven croak, from the sand banks of the Jumna
 and the Ganges? I hear it not, my ears are filled with the music
 of the mighty rivers, flowing into the sea scattering the message
 of the future. Brother delegates, let us live as the ancients
 lived in the purity of heart so that the message may be fulfilled ;
 let us forget the narrow barriers of man's creation ; let us be
 humble and forget the pride of self ; let us step across the
 barriers of prejudice ; let us always be with our hand on the
 plough, preparing the soil for the harvest of the future ; let our
 heart-strings be attuned to God and Country and then no power
 on earth can resist the realisation of that message, the fulfilment
 of the Destiny that is ours. And assembled in this tabernacle of
 the people, let us pray to Him, Who knoweth all hearts, to grant
 us grace and strength that we may deserve and bear this future
 and this destiny. (Loud and continued applause.)

At the conclusion of the presidential address, which occupied
 over an hour and a half in delivery, the President retired to his
 seat amidst thundering vociferations of approval.

AN ANNOUNCEMENT.

Congress The President :—Brother delegates, I am requested to an-
 Adjourns, nounce that delegates elected from the Madras Presidency will
 stay in this hall to elect members of the Subjects' Committee.
 The names are to be submitted before 4 o'clock when we shall
 meet in the Subjects' Committee in the pavilion itself.

The Congress then adjourned for the day to reassemble at
 11 A. M., the next day.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Tuesday the 29th December, 1914.

The Congress re-assembled at 11.40 A. M., the attendance again being as large as on the opening day, the leading and representative Congress men from various parts of the country mustering strong. The President was again conducted into the pavilion in procession, escorted by Volunteers and the Executive Members of the Reception Committee. The President then took his seat amidst the vociferous cheering of the gathering.

CONDOLENCE TO THE VICEROY.

The President : Brother delegates, we now begin the proceedings of to-day. The first resolution that will be placed before you—I have been charged with moving it myself from the Chair—is the resolution of condolence to His Excellency the Viceroy whose recent bereavements must have moved every heart in India. I will place that resolution before you and I shall ask you, when I place it, to carry it standing in solemn silence :

“ This Congress desires to express its heart-felt and respectful sympathy with H. E. Lord Hardinge in the bereavements he has sustained by the death of his wife and of his eldest son. All India mourns with His Excellency in his great sorrow.”

I ask you, Gentlemen, to stand up while I put the resolution.

The audience standing, the President said :—I declare the resolution carried. And I may tell you friends I have also been charged with the duty of communicating the resolution to His Excellency by wire.

THE LATE GANGAPRASAD VARMA.

I have a similar duty to perform in connection with the death of one of our most esteemed and valuable colleagues in the Congress, the late Babu Gangaprasad Varma of Lucknow. That resolution runs as follows :—

“ This Congress desires to place on record its sense of the profound sorrow and irreparable loss the country has sustained by the untimely death of Babu Gangaprasad Varma, who was a devoted worker in the cause of the Congress from its earliest days, and whose memory will be cherished with grateful affection by his friends and colleagues and by his countrymen at large, for his many distinguished services.”

Gentlemen, I would also ask you to stand while I put the resolution.

The audience standing, the President declared the resolution carried.

The President continuing :—And with your leave I shall transmit this resolution to the family of Babu Gangaprasad Varma.

THE LATE AMBALAL SAKERLAL DESAI AND BABU BISHNU PADA CHATTERJI.

The late A. S. Desai and Babu B. P. Chatterji. Well, death has been busy in our ranks and the third resolution I have got to put before you also records the death of two valuable workers in our cause. The third resolution is :

“ This Congress desires to express its deep sorrow for the death of Mr. Ambalal Sakerlal Desai and of Babu Bishnu Pada Chatterji of Bengal who were devoted and distinguished workers in the Congress cause and who rendered to it valuable service.”

I ask you, Gentlemen, to rise and carry this resolution also.

The audience standing, the President said :—I declare the resolution carried.

The President :—Gentlemen, as the President for the time being, I have taken upon myself the responsibility of slightly changing the order of the resolutions. I shall ask Mr. A. P. Patro of Ganjam to move the fifth resolution before the Congress.

MR. A. P. PATRO.

The Indian Expeditionary Force. Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen : I have the honour to lay before you the fifth resolution which you will find in the printed paper. The resolution is :

“ This Congress notes with gratitude and satisfaction the despatch of the Indian Expeditionary Force to the theatre of war and begs to offer to His Excellency the Viceroy its most heartfelt thanks for affording the people of India an opportunity of showing that, as equal subjects of His Majesty, they are prepared to fight shoulder to shoulder with the people of the other parts of the Empire in defence of right and justice and the cause of the Empire.”

Brother delegates : this resolution needs no support from me. It speaks for itself. It is the unanimous voice of the princes and peoples of India. It utters the deep spiritual conviction and the abiding faith of the Indian people in the justice and integrity of British rule in India. We owe it to the large-hearted statesmanship of Lord Hardinge, his deep insight into Indian matters and his understanding of the people of this country.

H. E. LORD PENTLAND'S VISIT.

At this stage H. E. the Governor arrived at the Pandal, accompanied by Captain Allanson, Military Secretary, an A. D. C. and Mr. F. Armitage, Commissioner of Police, and was met at the entrance to the pavilion by the Secretaries of the Congress and conducted to the platform amidst the prolonged cheering of the audience which rose to its feet to welcome him. His Excellency was here received by Sir S. Subramania Aiyer, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, and the President of the Congress was introduced to him. After all had taken their seats the President addressed the Congress as follows :—

The Royal
Message
of Sym-
pathy.

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen : You will forgive me if circumstances oblige me to change the programme that I have just placed before you, for I feel that you would all like that our distinguished countryman Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, should be heard on this platform when graced by the presence here of the Representative of our Sovereign. (Hear, hear and applause.) And, therefore, in the exercise of my right, I call upon Mr. Surendranath Banerjea to place before you the first resolution.

MR. SURENDRANATH BANERJEA.

Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, who was accorded an enthusiastic ovation on rising, addressed the Congress as follows :—

Your Excellency, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen : I have the honour to place before you, by the mandate of the President whom we must all obey, whether he is right or wrong, (Laughter) the following resolution :

“This Congress desires to convey to His Majesty the King-Emperor and the people of England its profound devotion to the Throne, its unswerving allegiance to the British connection, and its firm resolve to stand by the Empire at all hazards and at all costs.”

“This Congress places on record the deep sense of gratitude and the enthusiasm which the Royal Message, addressed to the Princes and the people of India at the beginning of the war, has evoked throughout the length and breadth of the country and which strikingly illustrates His Majesty's solicitude and sympathy for them and strengthens the bond which unites the princes and people of India to His Royal House and the person of His Gracious Majesty.”

Brother delegates: this resolution incarnates the feeling of the country which has been expressed upon a thousand platforms by a thousand speakers and which have been recorded in the columns of our newspapers. We, here in Congress assembled, focus the national sentiment and impart to it the weight, the power and the solidarity of the national voice. (Hear, hear and applause). We are loyal, intensely loyal, loyal by instinct, by tradition, by im-

The Royal
Message
of Sym-
pathy.

memorial usage. It is a part of the Indian nature, a part and parcel of those beliefs and traditions which we have inherited with our blood. In the palmy days of Mohammedan greatness, when Akbar ruled at Agra, when the Mohammedan Empire extended from one part of India to the other, the Hindus sang "Delhiswarova Jagadhiswarova," the Lord of Delhi is the Lord of the Universe. So too we, to-day, the descendents of our revered ancestors, re-echo in this national gathering the deep seated sentiment of loyalty which vibrates through our hearts and forms part and parcel of our very being. And we are loyal because we are patriotic; we are loyal because we feel that with the stability and permanence of British rule are bound up the best prospects of Indian advancement. (Hear, hear.) Your Excellency: We are loyal because we feel that under the aegis of British protection we are bound, in the ordering of Providence and in the evolution of our destinies, to enter that confederacy of free states rejoicing in their indissoluble connection with England and glorying in the possession of her free institutions. That is the feeling, that is the inspiration, which lies at the bottom of that great movement which has marched throughout the length and breadth of India. Your Excellency: There are times and occasions when it is necessary that we should avow our feelings of loyalty. Nobody has ever questioned it. The Germans might have had their own ideas about it, but they had not the slightest idea of the deep under currents that move through the inner strata of our social system. I say, there are times and occasions when it is necessary that we should make an avowal of our loyalty and such a time has now arrived. In the name of this Congress, standing upon this platform, speaking on behalf of United India, of Hindus and Mohomedans, of all sects, races and creeds, we desire to proclaim to the world, to tell the enemies of England and all else whom it may concern, that behind the serried ranks of the finest armies of the world there are the multitudinous races and peoples of India banded as one man, resolved to die in the defence of that great Empire, (Hear, hear) to which we are all so proud to belong, which is the symbol of human freedom, justice and civilisation wherever flies the flag of England (Hear, hear). Your Excellency: Our loyalty—the expression of it is no mere flattery. We say in that resolution that we are resolved to stand by this Empire at all hazards and all costs in this time of crisis. Is it mere ephemeral sentiment, is it a mere expression which has not its counterpart in actual deeds? Go and observe what is taking place at the seat of war in France, amid the arid wastes of Arabia, on the eastern coast of Africa. The manhood of India is shedding its best blood in the defence of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) Our professions of loyalty are incarnated and consecrated with the blood of our own countrymen, and let me say this, that if this unfortunate war should be prolonged and if England should demand our aid in men and money, the last pice that we

have, the last drop of blood that runs through our veins, will be consecrated to the service of the Empire to the glory of that great civilisation which that Empire represents. We are fighting against vandalism, we are fighting against barbarian practices worthy of the Huns. We are fighting in the cause of justice in defence of international obligations and the rights of minor Nationalities. Justice consecrates the efforts that we are putting forth and India, Aryan India, possessed of the noblest ethical and moral traditions, will always draw her sword in the defence of the cause of right and justice. (Hear, hear) And, therefore, because the cause is so just, because England has drawn her sword in the defence of that cause, because we are so loyal and because with our loyalty is bound up the best hopes and prospects of India, I desire to place with all confidence this resolution before you and I am sure you will accept it with acclamation. (Loud and prolonged cheers).

The Royal
Message
of Sym-
pathy.

DEWAN BAHADUR L. A. GOVINDARAGHA Aiyar.

Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyer, in seconding the motion, said :—

Your Excellency, Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen : It is with considerable trepidation of heart that one could follow the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, and a poor Madrasedee like me has very much reason indeed to feel that trepidation. But if I have allowed myself to appear before you on this occasion, it is because the subject is even greater than the man : that when I have the subject of loyalty to speak upon, I can well afford to succeed the hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea. He has told us how deep and how ingrained the feeling of loyalty is in the Hindu mind, how it has become a part of our very religion and how, on this occasion, there has been a wave of loyalty from one end of the country to the other, proceeding with unabated intensity, a wave of loyalty expressing our abiding and unfaltering faith in the essential justice, goodness and permanence of the British aegis. Gentlemen, which of us who has any experience of this country, which of us who has seen the toiling millions of our land, which of us who has seen them in their daily life, can be mistaken as regards the manifest expressions, expressions by which we can well ascertain their feeling, that they are all anxious, deeply and earnestly anxious, that while the war should come to a close, it should knit together the various parts of the Empire and that success should attend the British arms. The ignorant villager knows very little indeed of the geography of what are called the "theatres of war", but all the same his anxiety to learn what is going on, the sympathy that he feels with the success of our arms, the pain that he feels when he is told that there is a short setback ; all these are indications as to how deep and how ingrained this feeling of loyalty is in the Hindu mind. Gentleman, while the war has its horrors it has also its uses. Perhaps, if ever the

The Royal
Message
of Sym-
pathy.

Indian people—if you please you may call them the Indian peoples—have displayed considerable political sagacity, it was when, over a century and a half ago, they, by their free and willing allegiance, declared that if there was one power on earth under which they were prepared to live, it was the British power. Subsequent events have only confirmed the wisdom of their choice and we find that after the Empire had come under British sovereignty, when the British throne assumed the sovereignty of India, we find that pledges and declarations and messages have been given to us repeatedly, showing the utmost solicitude for the interest and welfare of the Indian people on the part of our late Queens and His Majesty King Edward and the present Emperor. And although it may be that the rate of progress has not been quite so good as those who are impatient amongst us might wish, there can be no doubt that the policy has been one of advance, and of expansion, of popular and individual liberties under the British Government. It is the recognition of this fact on the part of our people, it is that which makes the feeling of loyalty which has become so much a part of our being, not merely an emotionally good thing but one, which is intellectually acceptable. Gentlemen: as I said, this war has its uses. In addition to the honor that it has brought to us it has, I think, served to unfold to the West the virtues of the East and to the East the virtues of the West. We were accustomed to believe that there was a certain amount of indifference to our concerns and to our interests, on the part of the British people. But when we find instead the hearty welcome that has been given to our Indian soldiers, the great solicitude that has been displayed on the part of the British that India should be well and happy, when we find this accession of good understanding between the English and the Indians after the war has broken out, what doubt can there be, that never before have our feelings been so cordial as they have now turned out to be. The fault of not knowing one another has not been either with the Britisher or with the Indian, but in the lack of opportunities that each has had of knowing the other (Hear, hear). In the dispensation of Providence there is nothing that is good which has not also something in it of evil, and there is nothing evil in which there is not a grain of good. Gentlemen: this war has served to show that we, to whatever parts of the world we may belong, we, who owe our allegiance to the British Empire, are all animated by one common purpose, by a unity of interest, and that is, to each one of us become an integral, component, conserving part of the Empire; each one is ready to take upon his own shoulders the burden for which it is best fitted, always having but one purpose in view, that of advancing the interests of the British Empire as a whole, for in that lies the advancement of our own respective interests. It would be idle to affect, gentlemen, that self-government does not give us a glamour, but when we recognise that there is no other Government on earth in which the ideal that

we are cherishing and striving after, the ideal of self-government within the empire, when we recognise that there is no other Government on earth within which the ideal capable of being reached may be found, can there by any doubt, gentlemen, as to what our feeling is towards the British Government ?

The Royal
Message
of Sym-
pathy.

Gentlemen : I am glad to say in this connection that my educated fellow-countrymen have played their part fittingly. I am proud of them. Time was when it was considered that every movement which was considered to be antagonistic to the interests of the Government, must have been engineered by the educated classes, but fortunately for us the war has shown how far that opinion can be considered to be justified. (Hear, hear.) I am glad, gentlemen, that the occasion has arisen—it is no doubt a melancholy satisfaction—when the educated Indian can be tested truly and I am glad that he has come out of the ordeal with flying colours. (Hear, hear.) For he would be a bold man who can say now that the educated Indian is at heart a seditionist and a disloyal man. The knowledge that has been spread throughout the country of the beneficent effects of British rule, the great preponderance of opinion that you have in the country with respect to the permanence and the wisdom of British rule, not a little of it is due to the part that the educated Indian has played. But, at last, that opportunity has come, the time has arrived when we can honestly say to ourselves that there can be no longer any barrier between ourselves and the Government, when the rulers and the ruled can all work, not in suspicion of each other, not in distrust of each other, but each trying to inform the other so that the net result of their common action might be that it will tend to the glory of Mother India and of the British Empire of which it is an integral part. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen : it is often said that India is the brightest jewel in the British Crown. That, I take it, is acknowledged to be correct, but we on our part have to recognise that if India is the brightest jewel in the British Crown, much of the lustre and the brilliance and the attractiveness of that jewel is dependent upon the setting in which it is found. (Hear, hear.) Unless the connection that we have with Britain is kept up, unless we begin to realise that our destinies are indissolubly bound up with the destinies of Britain in the wisdom of an all dispensing Providence, it is impossible for us to reach that destiny which, I have not the slightest doubt, God in his infinite wisdom has intended for us, and which the past greatness of India may enable us to realize. It might be a dream to the present generation but certainly it will become a reality to generations yet to come and will prove the final fulfilment of the ideal of nations. Gentlemen : I am glad that in this manifestation of loyalty there has been absolutely no thought of selfishness on our part, and it was with considerable amazement that I learnt from the papers that we, in the various demonstrations of loyalty we have taken part in, have been actuated by a feeling

The Royal Message of Syn. pathy.

of getting a reward for the loyalty that we have displayed. (Cries of "no", "no.") Gentlemen: it is I think untrue to the innate courtesy of the Indian, untrue to the general feeling that dominates us, to say that in all these spontaneous manifestations everywhere in India, we have been actuated by a thought of personal or even of national gain. Gentlemen: the fault with us has been, if I may say so respectfully, that we often ask as matters of favour that which we are entitled to as of right. It is not altogether a defect in us. It is inborn in the Oriental. It is due to the courtesy of his nature and if in such cases as that we are not prepared to press as a right what we are entitled to as a right, and are content to ask for as favours, now, in this supreme moment of the Empire's destiny, can it be for one moment said that we, in demonstrating beyond all possibility of mistake that we consider ourselves indissolubly bound up with the British, that their fortune is ours, that their joys are ours, and that their sorrows are ours—can it be said that, in this, there has been anything like selfishness? Absolutely none. But, gentlemen, there is one other aspect of the matter. No doubt it might be that often when we calmly think over the situation, we may feel that when once the British people are aware of the exact condition of the Indians, of what exactly their relations are to Britain, how much they value the British connection, it might be that then they will realize what exactly is our place among the various States which compose the British Empire; and if a mere recognition of that fact can be considered the expectation of a further reward, possibly we might plead guilty to that charge. But can it be said that this is an expectation of a reward? I am afraid that those who are representing us in this light have themselves a very imperfect acquaintance of the national character of the Indian (Hear, hear). On this occasion, I think, as Mr. Surendranth Banerjea has pointed out in his own inimitable and forcible language, we may well claim that when we voice forth the feelings and the sentiments of the teeming millions of India, when we say in unmistakable terms that our attitude towards the British Empire is one of unalterable and unfaltering loyalty, that we on our part would give all that lies in our power, although we regret that our share has not been greater, that we, on our part, are prepared to do everything that is expected of us, whether it is the work of menials or commanders, or whether it is the work of councillors or humble servants. Whatever might be the place that may be given to us, we, on our part, are prepared to take our place in defending the honour and the liberty of the Empire, that Empire which by the stand that it has taken, by the pledges that the Sovereign has given us and by the fight that she is now making, not for her own interests but in the interests of oppressed Nationalities, in the interests of those who were at one time promised the help and support of the British people, in the interests of "scraps of paper," that Empire which, by the solicitude that it has displayed for redeeming

its pledges and for seeing that justice and equality of treatment are given to the various peoples of the world, that Empire which by the treatment of its own peoples has implanted in us an abiding love in the continuance of that Empire. Gentlemen: I have very great pleasure in seconding this resolution. (Applause).

The Royal
Message
of Sym-
pathy.

MR. R. D. MEHTA C. I. E., (BENGAL).

Mr. R. D. Mehta, in supporting the motion, said:—Your Excellency, Mr. President, Brother and Sister delegates:—First of all, I must tender my acknowledgment to our good friend the President for calling upon me, a humble member of the Parsi community who has resided in Bengal for more than half a century, to second this resolution of loyalty. I ask one question plainly and solemnly. Was ever India disloyal? (Voices of “no”, “no”). Why is this assurance of loyalty then given? Is it not merely to place it on the records, in the archives of Congress papers? Is any assurance at all needed when His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor stated in so many words that he was perfectly sure of the loyalty of India and of its people? I think brother delegates: that we have not the least reason to fear for our loyalty to the British Crown. We are loyal to the backbone. In the first part of our resolution we say that, at all hazards and at all costs, we have made a firm resolve to stand by the Empire. Now what do all hazards and all costs mean? We mean all hazards and all costs in men, money and those who are near and dear to us. We have sent up the very best of the sons of India to fight the battles in Europe. What have we done more? We have parted with our money. We are still willing to part with more when necessary. We have sent our nearest and dearest. I for one can tell you I have sent my son to the front (Applause). Your Excellency, more we cannot do, but we can assure you to send a message from this Congress to His Majesty the King Emperor, if such message is at all needed, that the heart of India is loyal to the core.

The second part of the resolution says—I have already referred to the Royal message addressed to the princes and peoples India which was sent by His Majesty the King-Emperor—“This Congress places on record the deep sense of gratitude and the enthusiasm which the royal message, addressed to the princes and the people of India in the beginning of the war, has evoked throughout the length and breadth of the country, and which strikingly illustrates His Majesty’s solicitude and sympathy for them, and strengthens the bond which unites the princes and people of India to his Royal House and the person of his gracious Majesty.” What I have now to say, Sir, is that out of evil cometh good. This most sanguinary war has brought out the loyalty of the people of India to its fullest extent. The people of India have shown to other nationalities what they are capable of and how they can be relied upon to stand by their King-Emperor in the hour of crisis. Sir, the great man—I would not call him great

The Royal Message of Sympathy. but because everyone else calls him great I call him so— who has been the cause of this war has made a terrible mistake in thinking, even for a moment, that the people of India were not faithful to the British Government. A more scandalous libel has never been uttered of us by the Sovereign of any other nation. The greatest mistake the Kaiser ever made was in thinking that, as soon as the war broke out, it would be the chance of the people of India to liberate themselves from the yoke of the British Government. But what has happened? Just the reverse. Now brother delegates tell me what about your loyalty. Has not that taken deep root in you? Can any Englishman lay his hand on his heart and say that an Indian of the present day is not loyal to the British Government? He would be a bold man to face the Indian community who did so. The Indian community would not have any man to stand in its midst and declare that it is not loyal to the British Throne and the British Government. With these words, brother delegates, I beg of you to stand and carry this resolution with acclamation.

Noticing that there were more speakers on the resolution he said:—I beg your pardon, I see there are other speakers.

THE HON'BLE MR. S. B. UPASANI (BOMBAY).

Mr. Upasani in supporting the motion said: Your Excellency, Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: After what the previous speakers have already spoken I do not think this resolution requires any long support from me. This resolution has always been put in the forefront of our resolutions in the Congress ever since its very inception. We have been proclaiming to the Government and every other body concerned that our nation and our people are loyal to the core. The necessity for such an assurance was to remove all doubt on that point. Well, this time we are particularly glad that this assurance is supported not only by the voice of those who are assembled here, but by the voice of the whole nation, not by mere words but by overt acts. The world was under a delusion as to the feeling in India, but this crisis which has come upon the Empire has been our opportunity and we have proved true to ourselves. I am quite sure we do not yet realise how our own conduct on this occasion will be valuable to us in the future. By the benign wish of Providence we have been placed under the rule of a people who are known to possess all the best instincts of the human race. That being the case, I think it is due by us that we ought also to show those feelings of love and good-will that will draw similar feelings from them. This love and good-will we have shown in the most unmistakable manner to the world. Gentlemen: It is very difficult to keep together even a small family and to manage it. Here we have a family of three hundred millions of people and I tell you that great credit is due to the British people who have been able to put into order the affairs of so

many millions of people, and evoke from them the best feelings that a foreign people can evoke from a subject people. I tell you that, in future, it will never be a one-sided obligation against us, but obligations and rights will go together. We have turned over a new leaf in the life of our nation. Believe me that, by God's Grace, all the love we have shown will be returned many-fold. Already there are signs of it and these signs I have no doubt will, in the fullness of time, develop and then we shall have the credit of having shown to the world that East and West can meet, and meet on cordial terms, that underneath difference of colour lies a unity of hearts which will allow us to join hands with each other. All will then be one, no East and no West: rulers and ruled will be united together. With these few words I beg most heartily to support this resolution.

The Royal
Message
of Sym-
pathy.

PANDIT GOKARNA NATH MISRA, (UNITED PROVINCES).

Pandit G. N. Misra, in further supporting the resolution, said :—

Your Excellency, Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: After the speeches that you have heard on this resolution it is unnecessary for me to address many words to you, so that this resolution may command your acceptance. I would only like to associate myself with this resolution as one of the representatives of the United Provinces that have attended this Congress. Let me, Gentlemen, assure our Government that in this war our whole-hearted loyalty goes forth to the British throne and to the person of His Majesty the King-Emperor. (Hear, hear.) Till now it was said that our loyalty was mere lip loyalty, but now we have shown that our loyalty was not lip loyalty and that we are willing to shed our blood where the blood of the English soldiers is being shed. (Hear, hear) I am a Brahmin of the United Provinces, a Kanya Kubja Brahmin. Most of my relations and the members of my brotherhood have the fortune of serving the Government in the 3rd Brahmin and in the several companies of the 7th Brahmin Regiments.

One of my cousins is serving in the 3rd Brahmins and is already at the front. (Hear, hear) Another of my cousins is a Captain in the Gwalior Infantry and he has been ordered to the front and he is going there. (Hear, hear) Two more of my cousins also joined the 3rd Brahmins just after the break of the present war. There is an idea in the mind of the people that only those persons are going to the front, who are at present serving the British Army, but this is not correct. We are supplying the British Army with men and are determined to supply them until this battle is fought to its bitter end. (Hear, hear) Gentlemen: we want to show to the people of the whole world and all the nations that if the people of India are fighting for their privileges, that if they are demanding self-government within the British Empire, they are not fighting

The Royal Message of Sympathy. merely for privileges, but they are also going to undertake the responsibility upon themselves. (Hear, hear) To be a self-governing nation within the Empire is not an easy thing. We are fully alive to these responsibilities and we are perfectly sure that after this war is over our rulers will see that we are not men who merely talk but who are ready to translate their words to deeds. (Hear, hear) Our rulers have already realised it. You know what our beloved Prime-Minister has said. He said that Indians and Englishmen were both, the custodians of the future of the present Empire. (Hear, hear) Our Under-Secretary Mr. Roberts has also said that "the angle of vision from which we will look at Indian questions will now be quite different from the angle of vision from which we used previously to look at them." (Hear, hear) I wish and I pray that our actions at this juncture will be such that this feeling, which has been aroused among the British people and among our rulers, will remain firm, and that our conduct will show that the British Empire has got at its back the vast multitudes and the strength of the Indian Empire. (Hear, hear) And that with it, it is bound to come out successful in the end, and that the flag of the British Empire will wave with all its strength, huge multitudinous strength, over the various countries which constitute the British Empire. (Hear, hear) With these few words, Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in supporting this resolution. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT.

His Excellency has been kindly pleased to intimate to me that he will wait until this resolution is put to the vote. I therefore, appeal to the speakers to be as brief as possible because the main features of the resolution have all been put before the audience. Now we want only formal support from the different Provinces and I, therefore, appeal to the speakers who are following to be as brief as they can.

BABU HARIKSHAN SINHA (BEHAR).

Babu Harikshan Sinha in further supporting the resolution said :—Your Excellency, Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen : As a representative in this assembly of the 35 millions of the sturdy, loyal people of Behar, I have very much pleasure in associating myself in the name of my province with the resolution which has been so very ably moved, seconded and supported. The expression "sturdy, loyal people" is not my own expression, but an expression used by His Excellency the Viceroy and Lord Crew in their famous despatches creating and constituting Behar and Orissa into a separate province with a Lieut.-Governor in Council, in which one of the members of the Council must be an Indian non-official. If other provinces are supplying the sinews of war, with their best men and money in fighting the battles against the Germans in France and Belgium, the Beharees are not lagging behind.

The Hon'ble Maharaj Kumar of Tikari, who belongs to my community, has gone to the front as a Lieutenant. Several members of my community are now fighting in France and Belgium, and many have died a noble death in defending the British Empire and their relatives are performing their *Sradh* ceremonies with pride and glory, that they have shed their best blood in the cause of their Sovereign. Behar is prepared to give its last man to the battle-field if his services be required, and thus to defend the honour, glory and the prestige of the British Empire of which India is an integral part. It will be a proud day for India if her sons victoriously wipe out the German militarism from the world, and trample the Germans under their feet, and hoist the British flag in Berlin, so that the prophecy of Lord Curzon might prove true that the Gurkhas would take their ease in the gardens of Potsdam. With these few words, I support the resolution.

MR. N. A. DRAVID, (C. P. AND BERARS).

Your Excellency, Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: On behalf of the Central Provinces I beg to support this resolution. Others have supported this resolution with their speeches. I am going to support this resolution with my silence. (Laughter and applause).

MR. GOPALDAS CHAMATMAL, (SINDH).

Mr. G. Jhamatmal in further supporting said:—Your Excellency, Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:—It is with feelings of the liveliest satisfaction that I associate myself with a proposition which has been so ably moved by my revered leader Babu Surendranath Banerjea. Brother delegates, I feel it is a proud privilege to associate myself with this proposition as it has the enthusiastic concurrence of the whole of India, (Hear, hear) and it is but meet that this Indian National Congress, the voice of United India, should convey its sense of enthusiastic devotion to the person and throne of His Majesty the King Emperor and the British flag and to the British Empire. Gentlemen: we are aware that this great National Assembly is often considered a collection of babies—though some of them are styled grey haired babies—I for one personally do not resent this description. A baby is the symbol of the purest innocence. It represents all that is noble, and who is there in this vast and distinguished assembly who would not like to be a baby again. (Laughter and hear, hear) Brother delegates: our loyalty is not a transient emotion. It is based on the solid rock of gratitude and reason (Hear, hear). We owe gratitude to the British Nation for the blessings of peace and well ordered administration for a period of over 120 years. We are grateful to our Gracious Sovereign that he did not hesitate to undertake a long and arduous journey, simply to convey in person the message of good will and sympathy to his Indian subjects (Hear, hear).

The Royal
Message
of Sym-
pathy.

Brother delegates: these new links have bound these two countries, England and India, in new bounds of mutual sympathy and mutual sacrifice. They are certainly stronger than the strongest chain of administrative steel and even armed battalions. Gratitude and sympathy have been the watchwords and are our mottoes and with these few words, Sir, I appeal to you all to accord your enthusiastic support to this resolution (Hear, hear).

MR. M. D. DEVADOSS, (MADRAS).

Mr. M. D. Devadoss, in further supporting, said :—Your Excellency, Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:— It gives me very much pleasure to support this resolution as representing a community of three millions of people in this land. I support this resolution for these reasons. We are proud to be the citizens of an Empire the largest and the greatest that the world has ever seen. We are proud to belong to an Empire which has no parallel in history, and we see what that means when we go out of this land into foreign lands. Then, we realise what it is to be the citizens of the British Empire. I feel that this Empire will last as long as history will last. The British Empire is bound to continue as long as it is actuated by the principles and policy underlying its Government and we shall have always the pleasure and the pride of being under the sway of the British sovereign and, in my mind's eye, I see the time when this Empire will bring about matters in such a way that there will be no Greek or Scythian, neither bond nor free, neither Eastern nor Western, neither colour nor caste. When such a state of things comes to pass the Empire is bound to last, and with these few words I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution.

THE PRESIDENT.

I now put this resolution to the vote and I ask you to stand up and carry it with acclamation.

The audience standing, the President declared the resolution carried.

Thanks to
H. E. Lord
Pentland.

At this stage His Excellency rose to take his departure and three cheers were called for His Excellency which were enthusiastically accorded. The President, in bidding farewell to His Excellency, said :—

Brother delegates: I think I owe it to ourselves and to the people whom we represent in this great assembly, that I should, on your behalf and in your name, tender to His Excellency our profound feeling of gratitude for his presence here on this occasion. (Hear, hear) This is the first time in the history of the Congress (Hear, hear) that a ruler of a great province, the representative of our Sovereign has been personally pleased to attend our deliberations and to see for himself how those deliberations are conducted. (Hear, hear) We, in the Congress,

'have been preaching for the last 30 years our great motto of co-operation and trust. There have been times, indeed, in the history of our organisation when we have been looked upon with some amount of distrust, by those whose good will we have always sought to obtain, and co-operation with whom has been the guiding principle of our conduct. The presence here of His Excellency to-day puts the coping stone on that arch which we have been laboriously trying to build in the course of the last 30 years, and if in future the Congress pursues the policy of the past, forgetting as it cannot forget, that with co-operation and trust must proceed hand in hand its great function of criticism, I am sure that, with the encouragement which we have received to-day, the work that we will be able to achieve in future will be much greater, much higher, much bigger for the Nation to come than it has been in the past; and gentlemen, for this consummation we are truly grateful to His Excellency Lord Pentland for his presence here to-day. (Hear, hear) Words fail me to convey to him what I and you feel on this occasion, but this much I can assure His Excellency that, so long as human memory lasts, and so long as organisations undertaken in the name of the Nation last, his association to-day with us will be always remembered with pleasure and gratitude. (Hear, hear) With these few words I convey to Your Excellency our sense of gratefulness for your presence and encouragement on this occasion. (Loud and prolonged cheers).

Thanks to
H. E. Lord
Pentland.

His Excellency then thanked the President and departed, amidst the thundering cheers of the great assembly, being escorted by the Secretaries to the Congress.

THE PRESIDENT.

Brother delegates: You will allow me to offer our apologies to Mr. Patro whom I felt it my duty to interrupt when he was moving the resolution about the Indian Expeditionary Force. I am quite sure, as I have known him for many years, that he himself has not minded the interruption and you will also allow me, in your name, to convey to my friend Mr. Surendranath Banerjea whose name was not put down on the list of speakers, my thanks for his having responded so readily to my call. (Hear, hear) I will now ask Mr. Patro to go on with the fifth resolution.

The Indian
Expedi-
tionary
Force.

MR. A. P. PATRO, (GANJAM).

Brother delegates: I am not going to continue from where I left off. I have already read to you the resolution that I had the honour to place before you. As I was submitting to you, the glory of British rule in India is the glory of British statesmanship. For, do we not remember that, it is to the illustrious Viceroy whose statue was unveiled by His Excellency Lord Pentland this morning we owe our charter of local self-government. His resolutions on self-government and education mark the first epoch in the political development

The Indian Expeditionary Force.

of our country. Now we owe it to another illustrious Viceroy to mark the second period of our political development, viz., the recognition of our status as members of the British Empire, everywhere, even in Canada and in South Africa. The fact that our Indian soldiers are fighting shoulder to shoulder at the front, and that we are shedding the best blood of the country in the defence of the Empire, affords another proof that we are members of the Empire and we are equally bearing the responsibilities for the defence of the Empire. Do we not know that it is to the political sagacity, to the breadth of vision of our illustrious Viceroy, that we owe this act of statesmanship? Undimmed by any suspicion, or undaunted by any doubts expressed by those around him, he has placed infinite trust in Indian soldiers and in the Indian Nation, and he has allowed us to go to the front and fight with the best soldiers in Europe, not only in Belgium and in France, but in Egypt and West Africa. Wherever our soldiers have been fighting they have been exhibiting the traditional and the national qualities of heroism. They have been second to none in the matter of that tact and skill and dash that is required of soldiers on the battle-field. Are these not sufficient to bring home to our mind that we are now raised to our political manhood? Say whatever Sir Valentine Chirol might, the confidence that is reposed in us by our illustrious Viceroy is sufficient to raise our political manhood for many years. This epoch making event, the war, dark and dreadful as it is, has still a silver lining to the cloud. To us the message is carried, in the words of His Majesty, that "our Indian subjects are equal in rank and in status and in all privileges with British citizens in all parts of the world." The doubts, that have been recently thrown on our status as Indians and British subjects in other parts of the world, have now been swept away and we Indians stand to-day in the full blaze of our civic rights in the British Empire, and we stand to-day in full consonance and full association with all the rights of British citizen-ship within the Empire. Therefore, we owe our acknowledgements to our Viceroy for this act of statesmanship and it is, therefore, natural that we should convey the expression of our gratitude to him and this resolution embodies the feelings of the country from one end to the other. Therefore, I have great pleasure in moving this resolution for your acceptance. (Applause.)

BABU JOGENDRANATH BOSE (BENGAL).

Babu Jogendranath Bose, in seconding the resolution, said:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:— It is hardly necessary for me to expatiate on the resolution which has just been moved by Mr. Patro; for it would be as futile an attempt as to gild refined gold. Loyalty with us Indians is innate and ingrained. It is a part of our nature, the very marrow of our bones and it is a matter of deep regret and surprise that the fanatical acts of a handful of misguided, and crack-brained,

youths should have been made the pivot on which to brand the whole nation with the stigma of disloyalty. The days of suspicion have now happily passed away, and our rulers have now been convinced of the sterling loyalty of every class of Indians by the manifestations made since this cruel and inhuman war was started by a militant power. Thousands of our young men have offered to serve in any capacity in the cause of the Empire. Our landed aristocracy and gentry have unhesitatingly opened their purse strings. The employees in Government and mercantile offices have voluntarily contributed, and are still contributing, their quota towards the war funds. Our ladies are busy day and night providing additional comforts for our toops fighting at the front. People are raising funds in every possible way. We, in Calcutta, had lately two theatrical performances in aid of the war fund and for the first time in the history of Bengal, highly respectable Bangalee ladies appeared on the stage to act. The enthusiasm was so intense that tickets were sold at four or five times their normal prices. Many had to go away disappointed, and as the result of two days performances we paid Rs. 8,000 to the war fund. (Hear, hear and applause) Speaking as a landholder or a Zamindar, one who spends most of his time in the villages and fields, I have heard complaints, from thousands of illiterate villagers who imbibe the news of the war from the vernacular weeklies, why it was that, while Rajaputs, Sikhs, Gurkhas and Pathans are immortalising themselves by fighting at the front, why they alone should be thus severely left out? It is the educated community led by our worthy President, and the revered Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, and other distinguished representatives from other parts of India, who are keeping the whole nation informed of the heroic achievements of our men at the front. The days of suspicion are now gone by. We should be trusted more; we should be trained in arms and, when the time comes, we should be allowed to fight shoulder to shoulder with the British for the defence of the Empire (Hear, hear) and "how can a man die better than by facing fearful odds for the ashes of his fathers and the temples of his gods"? (Hear, hear) With these few words I commend the resolution for your acceptance.

MR. G. K. GADGIL (BOMBAY).

Mr. G. K. Gadgil, in supporting the motion, said:—Mr. President and Brother delegates: I have very great pleasure in supporting this resolution which I am sure must have already attracted your serious attention. I am very glad, as perhaps all of you will be glad, that this resolution has received the honour of a separate and independent entity among the resolutions of this session. This resolution is one of the most important resolutions, because it is in connection with the war, which, as has been observed by some of the speakers that have gone before me, is not quite an unmixed evil, amongst the evils that the war had brought on. Along with the roll of honour that you read:

The Indian Expeditionary Force. every morning in your morning daily papers, we see not only the names of the noblest sons of England but, since the despatch of the Indian Expeditionary Force to the battle fields in France, the names of our own countrymen receiving a glorious death, death which is known to the Indian as the Dara Tirth. Gentlemen, it is a matter for the greatest satisfaction that this resolution calls your attention to three points. Firstly, that we express our gratitude and our satisfaction at the despatch of the Indian troops to the front, secondly, we thank His Excellency the Viceroy for his foresight, for his wise statesmanship in choosing Indians to fight the battles of the Empire, (Hear, hear) and thirdly, we also assure His Majesty that we are prepared to shed the best blood that our country can put forward in the cause of the Empire (Hear, hear). These are the three things which this resolution attempts to achieve. These are the three things to which your cordial acceptance is invited. And, Gentlemen, as the war is on the brains of us all, it is unnecessary really to dilate on the various aspects in which the war has brought some benefits to this country, but if there is one thing more than another which must arrest the attention of every one present here, it is this. It has proved the touchstone of Indian loyalty. The charge against the Congress has been that it is a minority of educated people and, that it does not include the great masses overspreading the country and, that its loyalty is merely lip-loyalty. But what do you see now? When the occasion arose, when Indian loyalty required a test, India has come forward with her sons for the sake of the Empire. That is a thing which will go straight to the heart of the British people because it is not tall talk; it is practical action. It is the sacrifice that the people of this country are prepared to make for the sake of the honour of the Empire. Why should we not, Gentlemen, feel proud that we have got this opportunity of proving to the world the solidarity of the Empire and that, as Mr. Roberts, Under Secretary of State for India, who the other day from his place in the House of Commons said "henceforth we shall look upon India not as a mere Dependency but as an integral part and parcel of the British Empire"? (Hear, hear). Those words, Gentlemen, are pregnant with consequences and bear a significance that is of the greatest importance to us in our national life. They open up a vista of the achievements of the objects of the Congress. They place before us the highest ideal, the ideal which is set forth in the first article of the Congress constitution. I submit that the wind has been taken out of my sails by the previous speakers, and by our venerable countryman, the great nestor, Babu Surendranath Banerjea and as every one has spoken about the war, I would now merely ask your cordial approval to this proposition.

PANDIT IQBAL NARAIN MASALDAN (U. P.)

Pandit Iqbal Narain Masaldan, in further supporting the resolution, said :—

Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen :— **The Indian Expeditionary Force.**
 Before saying anything upon the resolution, I must inform you that I am not used to public speaking. However, finding myself thrown by the President into a very deep sea, I am trying to struggle to come to the shore. And I can only say this, that in this resolution we want to express our thanks to the Viceroy for the step which he has taken. Now I will tell you only one thing in connection with that, and it is this. You know that it is human nature that we should like the deeds of those who are near to us. If our sons do anything we like it more than if any work or deed is done by our brother. In the same way, if you go on thinking, you will find that when only the British soldiers were sent to the front, amongst some of us there was a feeling of indifference so far as the war was concerned, but the moment we heard that the Gurkhas and Sikhs had also been sent to the front that indifference vanished, and we began to think that now the time had come when our people would really win the day. With these few remarks, Gentlemen, I support the resolution. (Applause).

MR. D. V. PRAKASA RAO (COCANADA).

Mr. D. V. Prakasa Rao next addressed the Congress in Telugu.

The President then put the resolution to the vote and declared it carried.

THE PRESIDENT.

I now call upon Mr. R. N. Mudholkar to place before you the next resolution. **Military Training and Volunteers.**

RAO BAHADUR R. N. MUDHOLKAR, (BERARS).

Mr. President, Brother and Sister delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:—The proposition which I have the honour to lay before you reads thus :—

“ This Congress urges on the Government the necessity, wisdom and justice of throwing open the higher offices in the Army to Indians and of establishing in the country Military Schools and Colleges where they may be trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army. In recognition of the equal rights of citizenship of the people of India with the rest of the Empire, and in view of their proved loyalty so unmistakably and spontaneously manifested, and the strongly expressed desire of all classes and creeds to bear arms in the service of the Crown and of the Empire, this Congress urges upon the Government the necessity of re-organising and extending the present system of volunteering so as to enable people of this country, without distinction of race or class, to enlist themselves as citizen-soldiers of the Empire.”

**Military
Training
and
Volunteers.**

Gentlemen :—In the two resolutions which we have just passed we have given expression, to your sentiments of loyalty to the British Empire and the British Throne, to your gratitude for the gracious message of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, and to your sentiments of gratitude to His Excellency the Viceroy, for giving Indians an opportunity of proving their merit and ability, of proving their valour and their faithfulness. In the present resolution, I am placing before you matters closely connected with the previous resolutions, and matters which have been before the Congress, aye, before the country, for more than a quarter of a century. Ever since its organisation, one of the things which the Congress has been urging upon the Government was the necessity, and the political expediency, of throwing open the higher ranks of the Army to Indians and, secondly, of utilising the many millions who exist in this country, the vast martial resources of this country, for the defence, not only of the Indian Empire, but of the British Empire. These resolutions give expression, not merely to any political aspiration but, to the recognition of foresighted statesmanship and a due perception of what the needs of the Empire may necessitate at any moment.

Gentlemen, what our people have been feeling for years past is that highly trained as the British Army in India is, and even more highly trained as the British Army throughout the British Empire is, there may arise occasions when it would be found that the martial resources of the Empire may not prove adequate to the demands upon it. It was felt that if there was one recruiting ground, more than another, upon which the Government could count with certainty and with confidence it was India. Behind the British Government stood the people of India and they were people who were ready to make any sacrifice on behalf of that Government, and what the Congress pointed out, what the associations which existed in the pre-Congress days pointed out, was the great expediency of being prepared for an emergency like the present. It was in regard to the employment of Indians in the higher ranks of the army. It was pointed out that it was not sufficient only to have your soldiers, infantry and cavalry ready for war, fighting for you. It was also necessary to enlist persons belonging to the middle and higher classes, men who by their education, by their traditions, were fitted to lead these people on to battle. And it was also pointed out that, with a view to securing greater attachment to British rule, it was necessary to secure on the side of the Government those people belonging to the old families, whose traditions were all military. Unfortunately, no sufficient attention has been paid by the Government to this. I am speaking of the word 'Government' in its collective capacity, but there have been administrators, there have been commanders of presidential armies, there has been a commander-in-chief of India, who have recognised the necessity of this, but their proposals have not yet borne fruit. In the early years of the Congress we had in Bombay His Royal Highness the Duke

of Connaught, commanding the army of the Bombay Presidency, and one of the things which he pressed most earnestly upon the attention of the Government of India was the necessity of admitting to the higher commissioned posts, Indians of proved merit, of proved loyalty and of proved martial training. He also proposed that there should be a Sandhurst, a military training school and a military college established in India, for the purpose of training the people belonging to the higher middle classes and the Indian aristocracy. The proposal was regarded with favour by the Government of India, but in England it was made to rest in one of the pigeon holes of the India Office, and of the War Office, and there it rests till now. Not long ago, during the time that Lord Kitchener was here amongst us, it was a well known secret and it was believed to be a confidential paper, but the proposals made therein have somehow, or other, become almost public. He very strongly proposed that Indians should be admitted to the higher commissioned ranks and they should be made not only lieutenants and captains, but majors. Beyond that he was, as then advised, not prepared to go, but he strongly pressed for the rights of the people being recognised to this extent at least. That proposal, coming from an authority of such high eminence, really should have been carried out, and in 1911 when His Imperial Majesty came here, to this country, to deliver to his people in India his message of sympathy and good will for them, it was hoped, that, amongst the other announcements which were made, there would be an announcement in regard to the granting of higher commissions to Indian officers. That occasion also has passed away. Now, at a time when the Empire is amidst the throes of a terrible war, when not only hundreds of thousands but millions are required by England for being placed on the battle front in Europe and in Africa and elsewhere, the question has assumed far greater importance than on any other previous occasion. It is recognised now that the enemy, whom the Allies have to meet, has resources which, though they were considered of the greatest magnitude, transcend even the calculation of the most expert and the most knowing, and that England will have to keep not two millions, but three or four millions even, on the field and whence can England supply such an army unless it be from India? Here has, therefore, an occasion arisen which demands the re-consideration of the whole matter, a re-consideration in the light of what is necessary, of what is wise and what is just. The resolution which you have before you, mark, Gentlemen, mentions three grounds, the necessity, the wisdom and the justice of throwing open the higher offices in the Army to Indians. We, first of all, lay emphasis on the necessity, the necessity of the Empire, the necessity of both England and India. That is the thing on which we lay the greatest emphasis. The British Empire and its Allies must come out successful in this great ordeal which lies before them, and for achieving this result it is incumbent upon the British Government to place on the battle

Military
Training
and
Volunteers

Military Training and Volunteers. field many more hundreds of thousands than they are now in a position to do ; and for doing this what they have to do is, first of all, to raise a larger number of men belonging to the file and rank but also more officers for that rank and file. That is one thing. Secondly, the wisdom of it ; the wisdom, again, not from the political point of view. In speaking on this resolution I am keeping in the forefront and speaking directly from the military point of view, the wisdom of raising Indians to higher offices than what are open to them now. At present, as you know, they can only rise to subadar majorships or risaldar majorships. Beyond that they cannot go and in the eighties it was hoped that a new leaf would be turned. Some gentlemen of education were appointed as jemadars to start with, and it was hoped that they would be appointed before long as lieutenants and captains. That dream has passed away. In the regime of lord Curzon, a Cadet Corps was created and, in the resolution which accompanied the establishment of this Cadet Corps, we were told to expect that Indians would be appointed to higher places than what they had been holding. That resolution has remained unfulfilled, uncarried out and, beyond their being mere cadets, they have not risen to any higher posts. Things, as I say, have remained in that position, and if the manhood of India is to be utilised, and the Government requires vast forces, they will have to utilise the vast resources lying at their back. It is incumbent upon them to appoint from amongst the people men who have got the training and have shown the courage which is necessary for leading men to the battle field. Then a new opening should be afforded also to those who have shown heroic deeds. It was a proud thing to us, Indians, that an Indian, has received the Victoria Cross. (Applause). Gentlemen, our men, our countrymen, are shedding their blood. Many more are willing. Many hundreds of thousands are willing to do so for the Empire and for their Sovereign. The necessity lies there and along with the necessity, as I said, is the wisdom of creating and bringing about a reform, the necessity of which even men like Lord Kitchener, Lord Roberts and His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught have admitted. Then we come to the justice of it. As I said, I have purposely kept that behind for this reason, that it has been said by some people that we are utilising this war for our own purposes. Well, that is a charge, Gentlemen, that does not at all make me uncomfortable. Supposing, it is told me that my brother's house is on fire and I ran to his assistance, I am doing so with the intention that his love for me might become greater. I would never care to confute that charge. I say, " Yes, my brother is in difficulties; I am bound to run to his assistance and if thereby I secure his love the more, there is nothing to be ashamed of in that. So those gentlemen who say that we are utilising the war for our own political purposes, are not saying anything of which we need be ashamed, but that, above all, which I have to tell you is this. For over 80 years the words of hope held out to us by that great charter

of our liberty, the Statute of 1833, the Government of India Act of 1833, remain unfulfilled. In that charter, for the first time, were laid down those words that no native of India, or any person born therein, shall on account of his birth, descent, race, creed, or colour be unfitted to hold any office for the performance of which he might be otherwise properly be fit. Gentlemen, the Directors of the East India Company, in forwarding that statute of the Government of India, pointed out in the most emphatic manner that effect was to be given to the wishes of Parliament. Twenty-five years passed and it was seen that that despatch, that that Statute, remained unrealized and the pledges remained unfulfilled. A great cataclysm arose. There was the Mutiny and the rebellion in the country, and then came the great proclamation, the Magna Charta of India the proclamation of Queen Victoria. And in that, again, we were told and an assurance was given to the people of India, that they would be appointed to any post for the performance of the duty of which they might be qualified by their merit, abilities and integrity. Gentlemen, in other respects, we have made an advance, but in regard to the one thing on which the stability of the Empire in India and the stability of the Empire elsewhere depends, no advance has been made. And we say that "here is a pledge which you have given to the people of India, which has to be carried out." The British Government is in India on account of the confidence which it has aroused, on account of the faith which the people place in its righteousness and in its inherent justice. This, however, is one of those things in regard to which action has to be taken, and on the ground, therefore, of justice also, we point out to Government the necessity of giving effect to all these measures.

Then I come to the second part of this resolution, which takes me, gentlemen, to a time when as a boy of 19, I witnessed a most thrilling scene in Bombay. It was in 1877 that a Volunteer corps was organised in Bombay. I was at that time in Bombay, studying for my B. A. examination and all of us felt that it was an occasion when the Government should have, in their volunteer forces, not only persons who come here for a day and go out the next day, men whom, without meaning any offence, we can call 'birds of passage'; that it was an occasion when the Government ought to enrol for the defence of the administration, should an emergency arise for helping the Government forces if there was any commotion, the people of the country, the men, whose ancestors have lived and died here, men who live and die here, whose progeny will live and die here. On that occasion, there was a stirring appeal made by our friend the late Mr. Kasinath Triumbak Telang, and in that he was supported by Mr. (now, Sir) Pherosha Mehta, and what they said was this : They said that in restricting your volunteer corps to Europeans and persons of European descent you

Military Training and Volunteers are casting a most unmerited, a most underserving, and a most unwise slur upon the people of the country. (Hear, hear). Gentlemen, who more than ourselves are interested in the volunteer system? By some it was pointed out that the volunteer system owed its origin to the recollections of the dark days of the Mutiny. I do not think that is a fair way of putting it. To some extent it might be due to it, but the volunteer system in India arises from the same feelings and sentiments which have brought it into existence in England and that is, to have from among the civil population, a sufficient force to aid the established military forces should any emergency arise. Now, who are the men who are likely to suffer in case an emergency should arise? The European might take his passage and go away. Where are you and I to go away? (Hear, hear). If the unruly forces which exist in this country combine, and they go on organising depredations whose houses would be burnt, whose families would be ill-treated, and whose wherewithal would be taken away more than ours? Gentlemen, if there is anybody vitally interested in this volunteer system, it is the people of India; and it is the people of India who, before all others, ought to be enrolled as volunteers. (Applause). Then again, for the reasons which I have just put before you, thirdly, I say to Government that "here is an occasion when you do require immense masses of people behind you." Here are an immense mass of men who are willing to shed their blood for you. Is it a wise thing, is it at all a safe thing to ignore all this and to content yourself with dragging on the war and taking the great risks which you are doing? Gentlemen, therefore, again on the ground of necessity, on the ground of wisdom and again on the ground of justice, I insist upon the proposition being put before the Government for their consideration.

With regard to this, one word more. Let me tell you there are no legal difficulties. The bar against us is not due to any law. The law can, if the Government be so inclined, permit the whole lot of you to be enrolled. Some of my friends in the Berars have already been enrolled. A gentleman who is known to myself and to many on this platform, Mr. M. V. Joshi, was, for many years, a volunteer. My own friend Khan Sahib Abdul Kader was for many years a volunteer. In the year 1898, somehow or other, their names were taken away from the list of volunteers without any reason. Even now, Rao Bahadur R. Srinivasalu Naidu, a Deputy Conservator of Forests, is still a volunteer. So Hindus and Mahomedans can under existing law become volunteers. They have only got some rules by which they seek to lay impediments in the way. I say to Government that, "the doubts which existed in your minds have now been all removed by the spectacle of the spontaneous manifestation of loyalty coming from every quarter of India. Indians have offered their blood to you and money to you. What more proof of loyalty do you want? In view of that it is incumbent upon you, for the defence of India, for the defence of the Empire, for the good of both Indians and

Englishmen, it is necessary for you to utilise the manhood of the country for the benefit of the Empire." With these words, Gentlemen, I commend this proposition for your acceptance. (Applause).
 Military Training and Volunteer

MR. J. CHOWDHRY (BENGAL).

Mr. J. Chowdhry, in seconding the resolution, said :—Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:—In seconding this resolution, I wish to put it first on the ground of policy and expediency. I say that, on both these grounds, it is urgent and absolutely necessary that a militia should be organised in India, (Hear, hear) both for our existence as a nation and the maintenance of the integrity of the British Empire. (Hear, hear and applause). You know that warfare nowadays is not carried on as it used to be in the past by mercenaries. It is Germany that has led the way of fighting other peoples in the world with the whole manhood of her race. They have removed the Napoleonic theory of war from the region of practical politics. Now you see the sight of Russia, France, Germany and even England engaged in a contest in which the whole manhood, the flower of the manhood of each of these Empires, is engaged in defending their honour, homes and hearths. We have no sympathy with Germany for forcing this war against the liberty-loving peoples of the world like France and England, and it gives us great pride that Indian soldiers have gone to fight in the theatre of war, on the sacred soil of France, which is the birth-place of individual liberty, (Hear, hear and applause) for vindicating the liberty of mankind. We share the honour equally with the British and the French and we are proud of the fact. But, leaving that alone, let us come nearer home. We are surrounded by powerful nations, powerful Eastern nations, and they have also taken to European methods of self-defence and warfare. Of course they are all friends now, but who can say they will be friends for ever? (Hear, hear). So I say, for reasons of policy and expediency, a militia should be organised in India and that forthwith. Not a moment should be allowed to pass. Both in the East and in the West there are avalanches which, if they come down, there will be nothing in India which will protect our homes and hearths against these calamities. So I repeat again, that, for reasons of policy and expediency, a militia should be organised in India and that without any delay.

The next question that I shall place before you is, is there any risk or danger in organising a militia in this country? I say, and I am sure all of you will join me in saying, that there is, absolutely no risk, no danger to the British Empire. (Hear, hear). I say this not from a point of view of abstract loyalty but. I say it, from the point of view of pure and simple self-interest. We, the educated community, will be the greatest losers if the British power in this country were weakened, (Hear, hear) and if they meet with any calamity in the theatre of war in Europe, Africa or Asia, we, the educated community of people, will be

Military Training and Volunteers. the greatest sufferers from any reverse of fate which the British Armies may meet with in any part of the Empire. If that is so, who will stand by British rule, steadfast and loyal? The only people on whose reasoned loyalty you can rely *viz.*, the educated community of this Empire. (Applause). Even to those who dream about independence and things of that kind, we say that our goal is self-government, and that is the highest goal we need ask for, because for our existence we must have some alliance with an European power, and what better power and stronger power, what more cultured and liberty-loving power, can we have as our ally and our supporter than the British? None but the British. (Hear, hear) and from that point of view, also, there is absolutely no risk, so far as British rule is concerned, and the British Sovereign is concerned.

Now, leaving that question apart, I shall next ask you whether we are fit to be enlisted in the militia and my honoured friend the President said to you yesterday, and never said a truer word, that in the last century, when India was handed over to the British Empire, there was never a stronger empire in the world than India. Sir Grand Duff has written a history of the Maharattas. You know what the Maharatta power was in the beginning of the last century and the close of the century before. We have English historians who will also tell you about the Lion of the Punjab, what the Sikhs are and what glorious military traditions they have kept up, but with regard to our humble selves, and the Madras Presidency, I may mention that the British Empire was won with the Madras recruits and with Bengal recruits. (Hear, hear). You have heard the great myth, which is being repeated through the pages of cheap European history, that the Bengalees have never been a military race, but never has such a lie been circulated and kept up ever before in the world. Have you not read in Sanskrit Literature of the golden Empire of Gowdeswar? We belonged to the Gowda Empire of India at one time, and not many centuries ago. It was between the fifth and tenth centuries. All India used to look up to the Gowda Empire, not only for culture but also for what the Gowdeswar thought about general policy. Then you have heard also that, at the time of Bhijayasena, the Gowda King, the empire extended up to Mithila and Maghada and the Gowdas extended their empire up to Tibet, and you have also heard of Bhijayasena who extended his empire up to Ceylon. Now, I do not wish to take you through the history of Bengal but come to the battle of Plassey. Who was Suraj-ud-Doulha's most famous general? He was Mohan Lal, a Bengalee, and we are not ashamed of the fact and it is no sedition and disloyalty to say that it was Mohan Lal, the Bengalee general of Nawab Suraj-ud-Doulha, who refused to follow the command of Mir Jafar to leave the field. He fought to the last, and I say that is a fact in our favour. If we are enlisted in the Army, enlisted in the British Army, we shall fight to the last and never play the traitor. (Hear, hear). So do not for a mo-

ment believe in that calumny. Now, to come to very recent Military times and see what has happened. We have been asking for some out-let for our young men, some of whom are very ^{Training and} Volunteers. misguided. Unless you let them have some sort of out-let, what are you going to do with them? When the war broke out we offered to volunteer. We are not used to using fire arms but still the young men of Bengal said, "Let us go to the battle-field and die like rabbits for the sake of the fight. For the sake of the national honour we shall go to the battle field". (Hear, hear.) The next thing that was offered was not considered within the range of practical politics. What was offered? It was said that if we could organise an Ambulance corps our services would be acceptable. I would not disclose names, but the highest officials sent word to several of our leaders, and one high official sent word to me also, that now that this offer had been made two thousand men were wanted. If we could enlist five thousand within two days, the gate of the army would be opened to us. We said we could not say anything without consulting the people and our leader, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, who will bear me out when I say that I had the honour of addressing the first meeting. It was a meeting of students, and at that meeting only 500 students were present as it was a hastily got up meeting. We went recruiting for the Ambulance corps with no allurements, but we said: "If you offer your services it must be unconditional service. You must not ask us 'Where are we to go?' You must offer your service unconditionally. Wherever you are bid to go you must be prepared to go and you must be prepared to put your hand to any sort of work, however low or degrading, ungrudgingly. You must go out from your country with a sense of your national honour, with the military motto 'Do or die, never question why.'" (Applause) And with the utmost possible dissuasion we said "We do not want to take you from your studies and from your parents. You must not give us those names. Those who are without responsibility let them offer their names." But they begged of us to have their names and out of five hundred two hundred and fifty unconditionally offered themselves on that very day. (Hear, hear and applause.) And later on, we wanted more in a few days and there were more than 5,000 who were willing to go, to go abroad, and in a single day in one place a lakh of rupees was subscribed by professional men for organising the corps. But when everything was matured we got a rebuff. A second time, a proposal was made. We were again ready. Again a rebuff. A third time—again a rebuff. Of course at that time we did not bear any grudge against the Government nor do we at the present moment. We only say that the Government is mistaken in its policy and should amend its policy. I may mention to you, however, that there are many Bengalees who have volunteered and who have been offered commissions. For instance, you know that though you are believed to be unfit to be a volunteer, the hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea's brother who is known for his physical strength,

Military
Training
and
Volunteers

as Mr. Surendranath Banerjea is known throughout Bengal for his intellect, has been a volunteer from the time he came out from England, and it is unjust to us that, though he is a member of the volunteer corps up to now, Government have not given him a commission in the volunteer corps. I am also a volunteer, but I have made up my mind that unless a National Corps is formed, I will not take up national service; and I may mention the fact that two of my own brothers have gone to the front. (Hear, hear.) One left a lucrative practice as a medical man and offered to go to the front unconditionally, and he has been given a lieutenant's rank and he has left for wherever he has been ordered. He has gone. Now you see Mr. R.D. Mehta. You may call him a Parsee but we call him a naturalised Bengalee. His family has been settled in Bengal for three generations. His son has got a commission in the Royal Fusiliers as a lieutenant. Then you all know Mr. W. C. Banerjea. His great grandson has got a commission in one of the crack corps. That is the Royal Engineers and he is at the front in France, besides which he won the prize in rifle shooting at Bisley. Then another one, Lieut. Dey, who belonged to the Territorials in England, he is a Bengalee. He not only went to the front but died in the trenches. So there are numbers more. Mr. B. L. Gupta's son-in-law and eleven doctors have left for the front and accepted commissions. Now, if this were given to you, let me ask you all, if the gates of the army were thrown open to you, and if you were called upon to-day to enlist yourselves and fight for the cause of England and the cause of liberty, is there any one in this hall who would be so cowardly as not to enlist himself? (Voices of "no", "no") For the sake of the honour? (Voices of "None"). No; that is precisely the sentiment, not only of Bengal, but I say precisely the sentiment, of all India. We shall die for liberty, for the sake of justice, for the upholding of the prestige and honour of British rule and the British Sovereign with whose lot our lot is entwined, and we shall be ready to sacrifice our blood, our lives, for the sake of the honour of India, the honour of our beloved mother country. (Applause).

THE PRESIDENT.

Brother delegates: I have not up to this time exercised my prerogative of stopping a speaker, for I felt that the programme before us this time was not big enough to justify me in exercising that prerogative. But I see that if we go on, at the rate at which we are going on, we may not be able to finish our programme of work in time and, therefore, I am obliged to revive the rule which has always been in vogue in the Congress, that each proposer of a resolution shall have ten minutes time to move it and each subsequent speaker only five minutes. I, now, call upon Mr. Senathi Raja to support this resolution.

MR. E. W. SENATHI RAJA (MADRAS).

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Volunteering is a subject in which I have always taken a deep interest, and my

friends of the Subjects' Committee knowing the interest that I take ^{Military Training and} in the matter have, without my knowledge, put me down as a ^{Volunteers.} speaker this day. I am very grateful to them and if my remarks are wanting in any respect, I hope you will pardon me. Ladies and gentlemen, it is a trite saying that some good always results from every evil. Now if there is one bright spot which stands out prominently to our view in the gloom of the present war, if there is a silver lining to the black clouds which overhang the western sky, it is the plain, the clear, the unmistakable proof, which the present war has furnished to the world of the unswerving loyalty of India to British rule. Well, gentlemen, no sceptic, no mischief maker, no calumniator can now throw any doubt on the strength, the depth, the intensity of feeling which pervades all the classes and masses of all races and communities in India. That is a consummation, gentlemen, which we have all devoutly wished for. It is a consummation for which this Congress has been working for years, and it is one of which we all feel justly proud. Now, ladies and gentlemen, the question which will naturally suggest itself to you is this: should we not take advantage of this flood-tide of loyalty to the Throne, of this boundless enthusiasm for the defence of the Empire, to lay the foundation for a permanent and substantial method of serving the Empire? (Hear, hear). Could we not render a more effective and lasting service to the Empire by organising volunteer forces in all parts of the country? Gentlemen, you will recollect that, at the time of the outbreak of the war, offers to organise volunteer forces flowed in from all parts of the country, and you are aware that that is the most popular method of serving the Empire, and it has the further advantage of being open to all, to the rich and the poor, the high and the low, the prince and the peasant alike. And, gentlemen, it is a matter for congratulation that, since the commencement of the war, the rich and well-to-do have contributed and are still contributing their quota to the various war funds in all parts of the country; but I know that there are many, who are high spirited, youths who feel deeply aggrieved, who feel thoroughly disappointed, at their inability to serve the Empire, at least by rendering bodily service at this crisis. Gentlemen, I feel sure that it will rejoice the hearts of all such people, of each one of them, to be able to say "silver and gold have I none, but such service as lies in my power, I have done by bearing arms in the service of my King, my Country and the Empire." (Hear, hear). Gentlemen, in addition to the paramount consideration of the Empire, there is a further point of view from which the subject is worth considering. I mean the national point of view. Gentlemen, we are not anxious in India to imitate German militarism. The Prussians who have directed the policy of Germany for half a century have had an object, a motive, in encouraging and fostering militarism. "Deutschland, Deutschland ueber Alles" "Germany above all the world": Germany must be the supreme power and all others must be subordinate. Such is the policy and such is the ideal of the

Military Training and Volunteers. Prussians. (There was considerable impatience shown amongst the audience that the speaker should not be allowed to proceed much longer and some confusion ensued.) The speaker continuing said:—Gentlemen, I am sorry I am trespassing on your time. I am afraid that your tiffin time is coming and you are anxious to get away. I do not want to keep you from your tiffin. (More excitement was shown amongst the audience at the strain in which the speaker spoke and he accordingly concluded thus):—I have much pleasure, gentlemen, I am sure you will agree with me that the time has come, the moment is propitious for urging upon the Government the desirability of granting us the privilege of enrolling ourselves as volunteers in the service of the Empire. With these few words I close my remarks.

MR. K. VENKATA REDDI GARU, (MADRAS).

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: The demands which we make in the two portions of this resolution are not based upon a sense merely of equality or of rights of equal subjects, but upon a sense of the responsibility in the defence of our Empire, in the defence of the Empire not merely of India but of England also. As Mr. Chowdhry has told you there is no knowing when the avalanche of a war might come and hurl itself upon us. Civilised Europe, cultured Europe seems to have given up all that it stands for in the name of progress and civilisation. Actuated, perhaps, by the philosophy of Neitschze, self-aggrandising Germany has to-day come forward to be-little small nations, to ruin cities, and to pull down churches. There is no knowing what other nations may do to-morrow, following in the wake of Germany. If four, five or six nations had not combined together against Germany, it would have been impossible for any one to predict what would have been the result of this war, or if some nations were on the German side. It looks as if Europe were going back to the old doctrine that 'might is right' and when this is the principle of civilised European nations, what can other nations in the rest of the world do to try to defend themselves? I have said, gentlemen, that this resolution is intended both for the protection of England and India. True it is, that England has forces, though the German Kaiser egregiously blundered when he thought that the English Army was "contemptible", yet it looks to me that there is some grain of truth when he said that the English army was "little." A lakh and a half of military men, two lakhs of Territorials, Sirs, appears to me a very small number when we take into account the German Army of 5 millions and, as I have said, if England is to desert the old principle of the two power standard, and it must do that if it comes to a war with more than two or three nations, the old principle will have to be changed. It will not do for England to present an army of three lakhs, but of 20 millions and more and who else can give 20 millions to the Empire than India? (Hear, hear); an army that can confront the whole of Europe.

if Europe takes it into its head to go against England. It is for that purpose, gentlemen, that we here in India stand to-day and offer ourselves to serve, not merely India but to serve the whole Empire. It will be seen, Gentlemen, that when once the need for a militia in this country is recognised, there cannot be any doubt as to its being granted to us. Time was, as has been pointed out to you, when suspicions might have been entertained by men of the type of Sir Valentine Chirol, but those days have gone. New days have dawned upon us and while the cannonading is going on in the borders of France, Belgium and Germany, yet another bond is forged, stronger and finer than ever blending the two nations together, blending them indissolubly and for ever. Even if the British people are not willing, there is Tommy Atkins who is supporting us, fighting shoulder to shoulder with our men. He knows our valour and there he will stand by us in forcing the British people to grant us this privilege. Gentlemen, there is no doubt or fear that this will be accepted by our rulers and with these words I support the resolution. (Applause).

Military
Training
and
Volunteers

MR. R. V. GUPTA (BOMBAY).

Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen : In support of this proposition which has been so ably proposed and seconded and also supported, all I have got to say is that the question has been moved from time to time, from this platform and outside, and that it has not yet found favour sufficiently with all sections of the ruling race. Gentlemen : this question was taken up, you know, in our own parts by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. Then, when I was a little school boy I thought we were going to have a military school in Poona, but unfortunately that scheme was dropped. Then the question was taken up by several Viceroys and Commanders-in-Chief, but without much result. Gentlemen, you were just now told that the scheme was taken up by Lord Curzon and that that scheme, was only a partial scheme ; and I must tell you that after his departure that scheme also failed ; and it failed in this way—that certain cadets who were selected as lieutenants, and who joined the army as lieutenants and have even been created captains, have not been given any command. They are not allowed to command even the subaltern who joins the army, and so they have been forced to be A. D. C.'s. or men on the staff of some of the generals. That is how, Gentlemen, this scheme of Lord Curzon also proved a failure. Gentlemen, you know, that the question of a military college and military training was not considered but the question of volunteering has been preached on, times out of number, and that has also not achieved any success. You know that those persons have got the best right to protect their houses, who own the houses, they that care for everything that the houses contain and those that are dear and near to them, they must be able to protect them and not outsiders. Gentlemen, you must have heard of several crimes being perpetrated on the citizens when the police or the military had not arrived in time.

**Military
Training
and
Volunteers.**

If this right of volunteering had been given to the people of the country I am sure those riots would have been averted and we would have seen a more peaceful Bengal (Hear, hear). Gentlemen, you must have heard in past history there have been opinions expressed, that several Maharatta generals could lead their armies better in their own times than any European general on the spot. Do you think that all of that race have gone away? Do you think that the present Indians cannot take up the ranks of their ancestors and fight for the cause of the Empire? You have just now been told that the only ranks to which the Indians can expect to rise is the rank of a jamadar, or subadar, or subadar major, which means a hundred rupees, with some allowance, if he is appointed a bahadur, but a lieutenant starts with Rs. 350 and he has a vast field before him. Is this not national starvation? Is this not the starvation of the military force and do you think that if in this way the military force of the Empire is once destroyed it will be replaced? We have got to consider this from the political point of view. You know that there have been favourable combinations in this present war and it is, therefore, that the British army has been able to withstand, so well as it has done, their opponents, but suppose the combinations had not been as they are now. Suppose that greater powers had arrayed themselves against our forces. Do you think that the little army of 200 thousand men would have been able to defend the whole of the Empire? We have been proud of the vastness of the British Empire and do you know what that vastness implies? It implies the possession of a vast army. You cannot have a small army and a great Empire. Gentlemen: there was a theory which was believed some years ago that war would come to an end. I think that has been proved to be a chimera, as all the nations have been making military preparations. I think that the British Empire ought to prepare itself for a day which no one wishes to see. If we want to do things not in a haste, the best way is to prepare ourselves now. Looking at this question from that point of view I think, that we must have a large army and that that large army must be officered by Indians. (Hear, hear). You must have heard that they do not get a sufficient number of officers in England, Ireland and Scotland. There is always a paucity of officers and that is a grievance, and the pay of the officers has in consequence to be increased. Gentlemen, there is a greater mortality always among the officers than even sometimes in the ranks because the enemy picks out the officers and kills them. If the small Islands of Ireland, England and Scotland cannot supply all the officers of the army what other part of the Empire can? I think India is the only place which will supply that strength to the Empire, (Hear, hear) which so much wants men nowadays: We hear so much that Germany has sent five million or seven million men into the field, but if the suggestion of the Congress and all the organisations of the army, had been carried out, do you think we would have been afraid of

these five or seven millions? I think we could have sent fifty millions, or even seventy millions, to the front, (Hear, hear) and we would have seen different results of the war from what we have seen during the last five months. (Hear, hear). With these remarks, I support the resolution. (Hear, hear and applause).

Military
Training
and
Volunteers

MR. A. C. PARTHASARATHI NAIDU, (MADRAS.)

Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen : I have been called upon at the last moment to give my support to the proposition that has been placed before you. I think it was the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea this morning who, in the course of his speech, alluded to the fact that India came forward to help, not for a reward of any kind but for the sake of helping the cause of the Empire, but there was a recent communication in the "Pioneer" from Mr. Trevelyan, an ex-Judge of Calcutta, to which I must refer here. The name of Trevelyan is a name sacredly enshrined in our hearts, for a Trevelyan was at one time the Governor of Madras by whom the present People's Park in Madras came into existence. That a gentleman bearing that name should have expressed opinions in the columns of the "Pioneer", quite unworthy of that illustrious name, only makes me believe that he ought not to be called a Civilian but a traducer. Mr. President, we did not come forward because Mr. Trevelyan, or any other man, should praise us or traduce us, but because we want to help, merely to help and for no reward of any kind. We have all read the Bhagavat Gita, which tells us that we should help for the sake of help, not caring for the fruits thereof. Every one of us here admits the superiority, the solemnity and the sacredness of the great Gita to the Hindu people born in the land of Aryavarta, who, from the cradle, have imbibed a deep loyalty towards the King. That anybody should come now, at this late hour of the day, and say that you Indians are coming forward to show your exuberance of loyalty for the sake of achieving something in the near future, is a down-right, deliberate lie which every one should repel. The proposition that is placed before you is by no means a new proposition, Sir, but in that memorable Madras Congress of 1887, presided over by the late revered Budrudeen Tyabji, when the question of the Arms Act was discussed, our friend, Mr. (now Sir) Narayan Chandavarkar then called it "a school-boy's proposal." Then, Sir, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, came like a lion from the den on to the platform and exploded fully the theory that it was "a school-boy's proposal." What was considered 30 years ago to be a school-boy's proposition has now become an absolutely serious and indispensable proposition. That position has been realised. So it is not a new proposal that we are putting forward in this resolution that our men should be given commissions in the army. They must be given commissions to bear arms, to fight side by side with the British.

Military
Training
and
Volunteers.

The speaker next addressed the Congress in Tamil, Telugu and Hindustani.

The resolution was then put to the vote and the President declared it carried and then called upon Mr. A. P. Sen to move resolution No. VII.

MR. A. P. SEN (UNITED PROVINCES).

The Arms
Act.

Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen :—The resolution which I have the privilege to present before you for your acceptance is this :

“ In view of the hardship entailed by the Arms Act (XI of 1878) as at present administered, 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, all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India ; that all licenses issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate within the provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, shall be revocable only on proof of misuse and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.”

Gentlemen :—As a faithful member of the profession to which I have the honour to belong, I appreciate brevity and, therefore, I shall be brief. You will have observed in the wording of the resolution that reference has been made to the hardship, and the humiliating restrictions, which are imposed upon Indians in the matter of the possession of arms. I will only illustrate from my own humble experience how these regulations and rules, made under the Arms Act, operate as a great hardship upon the people of India. Once, in a village in Oudh, there was a raid of robbers upon a household consisting of seven members. Two of them were killed. One of the brothers of the killed came to me to engage me in that case. I asked him how many the robbers were, and he said “ about ten of them.” I asked him, “ Why did you not fight and defend yourself ? ” What was the reply ? “ The robbers had arms, we had no arms, otherwise we would have seen that nothing happened to our brother.” (Hear, hear). That is an illustration of the hardship which operates against the Indian people. Now as regards the humiliation, I will give you another typical instance which came within the purview of my own experience. A small Talukdar of Oudh came to me one morning and told me, “ Sir, please do something for me, I have got a case.” I asked “ Is it a civil case or criminal case ? ” He said “ It is neither. I refused to give evidence in a case under 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code, a budmash case. I refused to give evidence on behalf of the prosecution in that case, and the result has been that the Sub-Inspector reported against me and my license has been cancelled.” (Cries of

“shame”). This, I think, is a great humiliation for one of those who, when occasion arises, are called the ‘Barons of Oudh.’ Now I say these are illustrations, typical illustrations of the humiliation which one has to suffer at the hands of the merest Sub-Inspector, who happens to be a person on whose recommendation the license has to be obtained. Now, gentlemen, what is it at the back of this Arms Act and the regulations framed thereunder? At the back of all this there is the distrust of the people of India. Now in these days we have heard a great deal about the loyalty of India. Our loyalty has been admitted on all hands. We have heard from the lips of His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor of India that he is fully assured of the loyalty of Indians. We have heard the same sentiment uttered by the statesmen of Europe, statesmen of England, France and Russia. Why, even the editor of an Anglo-Indian paper has been constrained to admit the loyalty of India. If that be so, where is the necessity for all these restrictions upon Indians in the matter of the possession of arms? Either we are loyal or we are not, if we are loyal there is no occasion for these restrictions under the Arms Act. (Hear, hear). If we are not—I am sure you will admit that we are—but supposing we are not, I make bold to say that it is unworthy of the British rule to possess the, unarmed and emasculated loyalty of the teeming millions of this country. (Hear, hear). There is again the argument that “if we give arms to the people of India there will be trouble in India.” We have heard a great deal about that. Sir, we have had troubles in other parts of the Empire. We know that in South Africa, a section of the Boers have been creating trouble. Surely we have not seen the spectacle of the Boers being unarmed after the war. We have the spectacle of one section of the Irish community fighting against the other both arming themselves. Surely we have not seen Irishmen being emasculated and disarmed for that cause. Why should the whole population of India be disarmed on the chance of some trouble, and placed under the ban and humiliation of being disarmed at the point of the regulation. There is no justification, therefore, I say, on any ground whatsoever, for the humiliating restrictions placed upon Indians as a class, and we plead in this resolution for the removal of those restrictions and I am certain that you, gentlemen, will, with one voice, demand the abolition of these restrictions.

Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYER, (MADRAS).

Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen :—
Sitting in the sanctuary of his study in 1644, Milton in that great book on ‘Liberty,’ the ‘Areopagetica,’ stated that no nation can be a free nation unless its citizens are trained in the use of arms. Speaking 350 years later Earl Roberts, in the course of one of his speeches wherein he exhorted—alas, then unheard by the great populace whom he was exhorting—the people of England to be up and doing, in which he exhorted the people of England to

The Arms Act. awake from their inaction and realise the sense of their danger, said this :—“A man cannot be regarded, as fully a citizen, as possessing the complete rights of manhood, unless he is able to defend himself and his home and his liberties.” It is that right for which Milton pleaded, it is that right, which has been asserted by Earl Roberts, that we crave, at the hands of the Government, should be extended to us by this proposition that I have the honour to second before you. The idea underlying this proposition is this : That this nation cannot advance to manhood, that this nation cannot be self-respecting, that this nation cannot arise and awake to a realisation of its responsibilities and its greatness, unless it is given the privilege of using arms, unless those restrictions, galling restrictions of race and creed, which, though not directly contemplated by the Act, are yet permitted by the rules framed under the Act, that those restrictions should be abolished. We ask that the rules framed under the Arms Act, which have been extended to some communities and not extended to some others, should operate so as to give the franchise of bearing arms to all. England can no longer doubt the essential loyalty and unity of India. If England cannot doubt that, England ought in duty to us, in exercise of the right which she is demanding from us, in participation with her in the responsibilities and rights, the dangers, as well as the glories of Empire, England ought at once to see that nothing stands between us and its full realisation. (Hear, hear). I think all of us will be agreed that this right is an essential right in the broadening of liberal principles and the growth of citizenship. We feel that, until we are given the rights of manhood, we shall be treated as infant States. We demand that, in the progress which we have achieved, in the ideals which we are working out for ourselves, we ask that, in recognition of these ideals and that progress, England ought to extend their right hand of fellow-ship and make us a brother nation able to help her and to advance her interests. Gentlemen, you are aware that the Arms Act itself is apparently innocuous in its provisions. The Arms Act merely says that licenses may be issued for the possession of arms and for the carrying about of arms, but, under the powers vested under the Arms Act in the Governor-General in Council, rules have been framed giving rights to bear arms to certain communities and not to others. Surely the time has come when communities ought not to be differentiated like this in this great land. No community has proved itself more loyal or less deserving, than another. We, therefore, ask in the first portion of this resolution that the rules should be so modified, that the law should be so adjusted, that restrictions, as to possession and the bearing of arms, shall apply equally to all persons resident in India. If one community can be given the right of self-assertion in this manner, if one community can be trusted to use this power rightly and in order to advance the glory of the country, another community can equally be so trusted. We deprecate all these distinctions. We have outgrown all distinctions.

In the second portion of this resolution we ask that licenses ^{The Arms-Act.} should not be given except permanently. It should not be open to the smaller ranks of the official hierarchy to exercise their official patronage by the issue, and the cancellation, of licenses just as it suits their fancy or ideas as to who is the best man to do this or that. We ask that a license to bear arms should be given to one and should not be revoked except on manifest proof of ill-usage, or of some misbehaviour, which entails the revocation of the license. We also ask that these periodical renewals which have been demanded under the Arms Act, and the rules made thereunder and which operate as galling reminders of the servitude of the people, should be removed for ever. In fine, we ask that we should be treated as self-respecting citizens of the Empire and be given opportunities of developing to the best advantage the manhood in us. (Hear, hear and applause).

BABU KRISHNADAS RAI (BENGAL).

Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen :—
At the earlier stages of the Congress the question of the Arms Act was generally regarded as a sentimental grievance. It was felt as a slur upon the Indian communities that while Negroes and Zanzibaris, swaggering in the streets of Bombay, could carry arms the loyal subjects of the Indian Empire could not do so in their own country. But the question has now ceased so be a mere sentimental one. It has now become a serious practical grievance. The ravages committed by wild animals are well-known throughout the country. In many places, at least in lower Bengal, the cultivation of sugarcane and other sweet crops is fast dying out, while the cultivation of potatoes has become almost an impossibility on account of the depredations of armies of wild boars. Extensive tracts of land are running into waste simply for want of protection against the frightful ravages of wild animals. Then, these devastations are not confined to properties only but they extend to human lives also. The casualties by wild animals are considerable and the official report from year to year hardly shows any decrease.

But, gentlemen, there is yet another species of still wilder animals which have come into existence seriously threatening human life and property and disturbing public peace and tranquillity. What about the dacoits who are increasing by leaps and bounds every year? The dacoits know that entire villages are without even a fowling piece, or a revolver, and they are thus emboldened to carry on their raids even within the precincts of municipal towns and civil stations, while instances are not wanting where the possession of a gun or a revolver by a villager has successfully turned a whole gang of dacoits away from their attack upon a village or a bazaar. In a well-known dacoity case the dacoits had to leave behind, the bulk of the booty which they had opened out, as soon as two men from the village opened fire from two fowling-pieces. Quite recently there was another case in my

The Arms Act. district, not more than 12 or 13 miles from the Faridpur town and quite close to the railway station at Khankhanapur. There when a strong gang of professional dacoits attacked a merchant's house, a young gentleman of the village who happened to possess a revolver turned up with four other young men and boldly opened fire from cover. The robbers made a stand for some time, but when two of them were hit by bullets they had to fall back pursued by the five brave young men whose bravery no doubt owed its inspiration to the revolver. Large properties were thus saved by a single fire arm, whose deadly effects have also led to the arrest of several members of the gang in the case. There is also another aspect of the question which calls for an immediate modification of the stringent provisions of the Act or rather its application. The dacoits themselves are not in most cases in want of guns which they are able to smuggle. Thus the Arms Act itself practically stands a dead letter so far as lawless people are concerned, while it operates against peaceful and law-abiding citizens. It is argued that if people were liberally provided with guns, the dacoits would have ampler opportunities for seizing them. This is a most captious argument. Would not the dacoits care more for their own safety than for the guns? Besides, if such an argument were to prevail most of the necessities of life would have to be prohibited. Fire is sued for incendiarism but no one in his senses will urge that a light, candles and matches should not be kept in a house because others may use them for the purpose of setting fire to it.

There were certain ordinances with regard to the fire arms under the East India Company. The first Arms Act was Act XIII of 1841. But it was not a penal statute as it provided only for the forfeiture of the fire arms kept without license, and fire arms did not include any weapon besides, guns, ammunition and military stores. It was Lord Lytton's Government that passed Act XI of 1878 which completely disarmed the people and extended its operations to swords, daggers, spear-heads and even bows and arrows; and under the Act certain rules have been framed under which heavy penalties have been provided for the possession of arms without a license. It now only remains to include in this term the two arms of bone and flesh for the complete emasculation of a helpless, docile people. It ought to be frankly admitted that, with the bomb-thrower and the dacoit amidst us, the security of life and property has been reduced to a minimum, while the police can afford no protection to either.

Previously, in Bengal, the Commissioner of Police in Calcutta used to grant licenses which had provincial jurisdiction. This practice has now been stopped and under the new rules licenses have to be obtained from the District Magistrates, which have application only to a particular district. Men having business outside the district find it difficult to go from one place to another.

Then, gentlemen, while the English papers are full of appre-

ciation for the outburst of Indian loyalty evoked by the present war, the Magistrates and other officers of Government in this country are none the less busy in seizing and confiscating the few licensed guns possessed by the people on the most technical grounds. **The Arms Act.**

Gentlemen, in these circumstances, if the Government is sincere in its appreciation of our loyalty, and if the Government really cares for the security of life and property of the people, and for its own reputation, I say the time has arrived for a substantial modification of the Indian Arms Act and a more rational application of the rules framed thereunder.

MR. S. SOMASUNDARAM PILLAI, (MADRAS).

Mr. S. Somasundaram Pillai next addressed the audience in Tamil.

The President then put the resolution to the vote and declared it carried.

THE PRESIDENT.

Ladies and Gentlemen :—Before I proceed to the next resolution I have to make certain important announcements. **President's Announcements.** The Reception Committee of Madras has kindly organised a social function for the delegates to be held to-morrow at 5 o' clock in this pavilion, and my friend the Chairman of the Reception Committee has asked me on his behalf to invite all the delegates, as well as the ladies who have lent us their dignity and grace on this occasion, to be present at that function. There is another thing also of very great importance which I have been asked by the Reception Committee to mention to you, *viz.*, that a War Fund which has been started in Madras may be supplemented to some extent by contributions from the delegates and the visitors who are present at this Congress. It need not be a large contribution necessarily, but I hope every delegate and visitor to this Congress will kindly contribute his mite, whatever it may be, to this fund. Boxes have been placed outside and they will also be placed to-morrow for the collection of this fund. I have also been asked to announce that the Temperance Conference takes place to-morrow at the Victoria Hall at 7-30 in the morning, and gentlemen desirous of attending that Conference are invited to be present there. I now call upon Mrs. Besant to move the ninth resolution.

MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

Mr. Chairman and Brother delegates : The time before us is so brief that I will ask you turn to your papers and read the ninth resolution on 'Reciprocity', for it is that resolution which I now have the honour of moving and it is one of deep importance to the Indian nation. Some of you who are students of literature may chance to remember that when once a man went to Confucius, the Chinese sage, and asked him what word is there which is the **Reciprocity.**

Reciprocity.

rule of a whole life his answer was 'Is not reciprocity such a word?' and he went on then to explain further in the question of how a man should deal with another, recompence good with good and evil with justice. Now justice is the word which really lies behind reciprocity and the reason we have for moving a resolution of this kind to-day, although it be of a contentious nature, is because the Viceroy Lord Hardinge invited the expression of opinions on the subject, and it is the duty of the Congress, therefore, to express here the opinion of educated India. I had intended in moving this to bring some evidence before you of the changed opinions in the Colonies which have grown out of the expression of Indian loyalty. We have heard something of the change in India's claims being due to her as a reward for loyalty. I venture to say that the reward for loyalty is the changed feeling, the changed atmosphere, which now is seen in the Colonies with regard to India and that there is no reward save that which India cares for. India does not chaffer with the blood of her sons and the proud tears of her daughters in exchange for so much liberty, for so much right. India claims the right, as a nation, to justice among the peoples of the Empire. (Hear, hear and applause). India asked for this before the war, India asks for it during the war, India will ask for it after the war (Hear, hear and applause), but not as a reward but as a right does she ask for it. On that there must be no mistake. Now with regard to the details I would ask you to bear in mind there is one point of importance that sometimes is overlooked. It is, that we must guard the future of India as an autonomous part of the Empire, as a self-governing nation. (Hear, hear). Be careful then in your attacks on Colonial lack of generosity, not to challenge the right, of any autonomous part of the Empire, to be master in its own household (Hear, hear). I know that you very often say that a citizen of the Empire should be permitted to go all over the Empire as he will, but remember that when we are self-governing in India you will demand to be masters in your own house and that, for the sake India's future, you must not challenge the question of self-government in each colony along its own lines. Look forward; do not only think for the moment and live from hand to mouth. Remember that you are crying for self-government, and that precious right must not be limited in the future by any unwisdom of the claims you made to-day. What then should you ask? Lord Hardinge spoke of reciprocity. I do not venture to put into His Excellency's mind my own translation of it, but I think I may dare to say what India means when she wishes for reciprocity. She means absolute equality of right (Hear, hear) between herself and any one of the self-governing Colonies. (Hear, hear). She demands that whatever imposition they put on the entry of the citizen of India, India shall have a right to put on the entry of any other citizen. (Hear, hear). She demands that, as in Canada, if an equal law is laid down for every emigrant, white and coloured, then she has no quarrel, but if a special law be made against Indians, if a law be made that they

may only come direct from India to Canada, where there is no line Reciprocity of steamers that can bring them direct from the one country to the other, then India shall say that no Canadian shall come to India unless he comes along a line on which there is no steamer to come. (Hear, hear and applause). India demands that if a Rhodes scholar from Oxford comes into the Civil Service of India, then an Indian Civil Servant shall have the right to go into the Civil Service of the Colony and be treated in that Colony to the same office as the Rhodes scholar can claim in the Civil Service of India. That is why we ask absolute equality at both ends of the line. (Hear, hear).

Then there is another point to consider with regard to a Colony like Australia. Australia has a special test, not the test of colour. They are too clever for that. (Laughter). They are turning yellow themselves and the colour question might become very awkward a little time afterward. But what they do is, they say that people coming in, Asiatics, must be able to translate some living language put before them, and when an Indian comes they give him modern Greek which he is absolutely certain not to know, and if a white emigrant comes they give him French or German that all educated people must know. They must be given the same equality. If that be the rule of coming from India to Australia, then the Australians must be ready to translate Bengalee, or Tamil, or Telugu, or Malayalam. (Hear, hear). In all and every point of equality, but there is here again another matter that arises. I spoke of a change of feeling. It is proposed now—in Australia they say that they cannot keep the whole of that vast continent for five millions of whites—that Indians shall be invited to colonise Queensland which is a sub-tropical country and cannot be well cultivated by the white man. If that invitation came freely and fully, and if the Indian settler had the same privileges as the white settler, if they offered them all the attractions for colonising that is offered whenever the white man is called over there, then it might be possible to accept the offer and let India build a Colony beyond the seas, under conditions favourable to her people and without any derogation of her rights as citizens in the Empire. But you must remember one thing where you talk of equality. You might give six for six and that will be equality, but you may also give six for half a dozen and that also would be equality—a difference of words. Now my reason for pointing that out to you is this; no Australians want to come as labourers to India. Some Indians might want to go as labourers to Australia. If you find that unfair conditions are levied then how should you gain reciprocity? By levying a heavy duty on Australian imports of which a very large number come into this country year by year. The imports that come here into Madras only, year after year, rise as high as Rs. 13,40,000 made up of imports of horses, of cattle, of fruits and other kinds of provision and it seems to me it would be a fair thing to say “We will exclude your imports if you exclude our people. We will not allow you to gain wealth by sending imports to India if you.

Reciprocity.

say that your coasts are closed against the Indian emigrants and so, in that way, you would make them feel. You would create a moral effect that nothing else can do, and you may remember that Mr. Ghokale, when he was speaking about South Africa, declared and declared wisely I am sure, that some form—he called it retaliation but reciprocity sounds, I think, rather nicer than retaliation—that some sort of prohibitory duty should be inflicted as a moral protest against the wrongs which were being inflicted upon Indians in the Colonies. The last point that I put to you is this. There is an abominable system of indenture, practical slavery with one or two syllables added on to it. The indentured labourer is a slave to all intents and purposes. (Hear, hear). I know that the Government here have checked the export of indentured labour to some of the South African Federations, but it is going on in Fiji. You ought to say that if an Indian is to come to a white country, or any other country under indenture, then, only under indenture will you admit those white people into your own land. (Hear hear). If this were passed they would feel the shame of it, the disgrace of indenture, and as long as England ventures to say that every one who comes under her flag is free, so long she should bar the system of indenture which only enslaves the man, his wife and his child, and ignores the whole of their rights as human beings. You have, in passing this resolution, to remember that at present you have not the autonomy which puts into the hands, of a Council of the Nation, the rights it ought to possess, and so we ask in this resolution that these powers shall be exercised by the Government of India; that until you have autonomy, until you are a self-governing nation, and it is not so far off as some people imagine, (Hear, hear and applause), until the happy day shall come when you shall be ruled by your own freely elected representatives (Hear, hear), until then, the Viceroy and the Government of India must, in your name, exercise the powers for which we ask. Whatever a Colony does towards India let the Government of India do that towards that Colony. That is the rule, and nothing less than that will satisfy the sentiment of the people of India, for it has to be remembered that India is growing in the sense of her own dignity. She is not content any longer to be a child in the nursery of the Empire. (Hear, hear). She demands that she shall be a man going out into the world, with a man's rights and a man's responsibilities. She is showing the responsibilities of the man in Europe. Give her the freedom of the man in India. (Loud and prolonged applause).

THE HON'BLE MR. P. KESAVA PILLAI (MADRAS).

Gentlemen: I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution moved by the venerable Mrs. Besant. SHE has given very eloquent expression to your deep sentiments in this matter. But I fear, sir, that you will have no power of retaliation and our Governments will not do it on our behalf till we are able to secure equal citizenship in our own country. We are considered,

and we feel it so often, in so many ways, that we are treated as an inferior race. So long as we are treated as an inferior race in our own country, I do not think you can expect the people in the Colonies will treat us as equals. It is rather utopian—excuse me I am always a little bit frank—it is rather utopian to expect the European Governors, and the Governor-General, to retaliate on our behalf till we secure a potent voice in the councils of the Empire. But the sentiments of the peoples in the Colonies and in this country are changing and my hopes are that they will yet see the justice of granting us autonomy, or a potential voice, in the management of our affairs. Then, we may hope to bring these Colonies, and others who are ill-treating our people in so many ways, to a proper understanding of the questions that affect our people. Gentlemen, I do not want to mar the effect of the eloquent speech of Mrs. Besant and, at the same time, I do not want to stand between you and the garden party. (Applause).

MR. HRIDAYANATH KUNZRU (ALLAHABAD).

Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen : The resolution, that I have the honour to support, refers to the position of Indians in all the three self-governing Colonies of Australia, South Africa and Canada ; but the problem with which it deals exists in a far acuter form in Canada than in any other Colony and it was with special reference to the Indians in Canada that His Excellency the Viceroy spoke in the Imperial Council on the 8th September last. There are about 4,500 Indians in Canada to day, owning property worth about Rs. 2½ crores. These people began emigrating into Canada about 1905. They lived in peace till 1907 when restrictions began to be imposed upon them and, to-day, they are suffering from two kinds of disability. In the first place it is said that no Indian emigrant shall be allowed to enter Canada unless he has come direct from the land of his birth, and, secondly, that, on landing he must show that he is actually in personal possession of 200 dollars. As there is no direct steamer service, between Canada and India, it is physically impossible for any Indian to comply with this condition. In the second place the Indians there are not allowed to send for their families from India. These 4,500 Indians are all males with the exception of 3 females who have been allowed to enter the Colony as an act of grace. Contrast with this the treatment meted out to the Japanese, under treaties entered into with the Government of Japan. 400 Japanese can enter Canada every year on showing that they possess 50 dollars in specie or negotiable security. They are not asked to show that they possess 50 dollars in cash. As regards the Chinese they can enter into Canada in unlimited numbers on payment of a head tax of 500 dollars. They also have the right to keep their families with them wherever they go. One special point has to be borne in mind in this connection and that is, that while the Indian is a monogamist by tradition, the Chinese are polygamist in practice and actually live in polygamous relations,

Reciprocity.

with several women at the same time, in Canada. Well, it has been said that the right, possessed by the Colonies to exclude undesirable Indians, has also been exercised in the case of people coming from the United Kingdom. It is true. During the years 1902-12, while only 368 Indians have been excluded, 1,080 men coming from the United Kingdom have been rejected, from various ports of entry ; but it must be remembered that during the same period about a million coming from the United Kingdom have settled in Canada, while, since restrictions began to be imposed on Indians, not a single Indian has been allowed to enter Canada. Well, what is the remedy then? In the case of Indians, the most immediate relief needed is that they should be allowed to call over their families from India. But it has to be borne in mind that this question is only part of a wider question of the status of the Indians in the Empire. We must, therefore, turn our attention to the proper solution of this question. I have no doubt that it would have given great pleasure to this Congress to propose that Indians should have the same rights and privileges throughout the Empire as white men have, but seeing that it is not possible it is compelled to ask for equality on a negative basis, *viz.*, that Colonists, coming into India, shall be subject to the same restrictions and disabilities as the children of India are subject to in the Colonies, and that it is not on merely sentimental grounds that we ask for this retaliation, or for this reciprocity, which, as Mrs. Besant has said, is a milder and more attractive word. As I said, it is not merely for sentimental reasons that we ask for this. There are other countries that are following the example of the British Colonies, for example, Portuguese West Africa and America, in imposing restrictions on Indians. If once the Indian Government notify that aliens in India will be treated in the same way as Indians are treated elsewhere, I have no doubt that it will exercise a great restraining influence on them. Besides such a solution will have the element of equality about it. It will be in harmony with the expanding consciousness of India. It will raise the ideal of imperial citizenship and it will impart, at the same time, a large element of truth to the boast of British statesmen that, under the British flag, distinctions of race and religion are unknown and that British rule is synonymous with the rule of freedom and humanity. (Applause).

THE PRESIDENT.

Gentlemen :—There are two speakers more on this resolution but there is an important function this after-noon to which some of us must go and, therefore, I have taken the leave of the other speakers to omit their names for the present and to put them on to some other resolutions of a similar character to-morrow. I now beg to put the following resolution the wording of which has been very slightly altered for your acceptance.

“ This Congress begs to convey to His Excellency the Viceroy the profound gratitude of the people of India for the :

sympathetic manner in which he has handled the ques- Recipro-
 tions connected with the emigration of Indians abroad. city.
 And while welcoming His Excellency's suggestion of
 reciprocity as the underlying basis of negotiations with
 the Colonies, this Congress desires to record its convic-
 tion that any policy of reciprocity, to be effective and
 acceptable to the people of India, must proceed on the
 basis that the Government of India should possess and
 exercise the same power of dealing with the Colonies as
 they possess and exercise in regard to India."

I do not believe the resolution has been read to you. I
 think Mrs. Besant forgot to put the resolution before you.

The President then put the resolution to the vote and
 declared it carried.

THE PRESIDENT.

Gentlemen :—We adjourn to-day. The Subjects' Committee The
 meets at this Pavilion at 6 o'clock this evening and the Congress Congress
 to-morrow at 11-30 in the morning. adjourned.

The Congress then adjourned for the day.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Wednesday, the 30th December, 1914.

The Congress re-assembled at 11-30 A. M.

The Con-
gress re-
assembles.

There was a larger number of visitors present than on the previous day besides the delegates. Among the visitors, there were the hon'ble Sir Harold Stuart, the Hon'ble Mr. P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, the Lord Bishop of Madras, Mrs. Whitehead, Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Madeley, and the Rajah of Ramnad.

The proceedings commenced with the singing of a Bengalee song.

The President :—Before I proceed with our business to-day, I have to place before you a message, which I have received from my friend Pandit Maden Mohan Malaviya, expressing his whole-hearted sympathy for, and support of, the Congress, and his inability, owing to illness, to attend the present session. I must apologise to you for the fact that copies of the resolution have not yet been printed in sufficient numbers to be placed before the Congress just now. I sat till 2 o'clock this morning to consider and draft the resolutions, and they went to press only at 9-30, and therefore it is no fault of the Reception Committee that the copies are not yet ready. However, I have got in my hand a copy of the resolutions which, I hope, will enable us to carry on our business for the present. I expect that, in half an hour's time, you will get a sufficient number of copies in your hands. In order that there may be no ground for complaint, I shall proceed first with the resolutions that were held over yesterday, and I will take up the resolution about the protection of Indian Industries, and call upon my friend, Mr. Krishna Rao to move it.

THE HON. MR. K. R. V. KRISHNA RAO.

Protection
of Indian
Industries.

The hon'ble Mr. K. R. V. Krishna Rao (Madras):—Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution which I have the privilege to place before you for acceptance runs as follows:—

“ In view of the present exceptional circumstances and in order to promote the material prosperity of the country, this Congress urges that immediate measures be taken by Government to organise and develop Indian Industries.”

Gentlemen, this is a resolution asking the Government to aid and foster the industries in our country. We have been, from this platform, as also from that of the Industrial Conference, pressing upon the attention of Government the desirability and the necessity of State aid for industries in this country, in order that the industrial development of India may be carried out to an effective extent. Gentlemen, England herself has, of late, given up her

cherished ideas and principles of free trade, and has taken to aid-
 ing her indigenous industries. In the year, 1909 an Act was passed
 in Parliament for the purpose of affording State aid to industries.
 By that Act, Commissioners for the development of Industries,
 called Development Commissioners, were appointed, and a very
 large amount of three million pounds was placed at their disposal
 to help, and give as grants to, not as loans mind you, industries in
 England. That Commission of experts who formed the Develop-
 ment Commission were given six years time to spend that amount
 of three million pounds. Grants were given from the year 1911,
 and up to now, a large amount of £1,493,000 have been dis-
 tributed in the form of grants. Among other objects of helping
 agricultural and cottage industries, experimental and demonstra-
 tion farms, they have also actually given grants—and not loans
 mind you,—to organise systematic associations and companies, and
 also syndicates engaged in large industries. In the matter of the
 sugar industry, the beet-root sugar industry, they have given a
 large grant of £11,000. That was after the war broke out. Again,
 also for the purpose of starting a new industry in tobacco, and also
 for making experiments in tobacco, they have granted a large sum
 of £7,000. You will see from these large grants made by the State
 in England, how far England herself was prepared to give help
 to the industries in that country. When a fully developed in-
 dustrial country like England herself has been receiving State
 help to that large extent, and when England herself found it
 necessary that state help and aid should be given for the purpose
 of developing industries, and also for starting new and useful
 industries in that country, you will be able very easily to realise
 how far more important and indispensable it is that State help
 should be given for the industrial development of this country.

Gentlemen, this subject has been pressed upon the attention
 of Government for a very long time. In this Province, in 1904, a
 Department of Industries was organised, and it came into being.
 In 1908 a conference was held in Ootacamund and in that con-
 ference certain suggestions were made, and among those sugges-
 tions, one was that the State should pioneer certain industries, and
 start them on a sufficiently large basis—commercial basis—to
 afford object lessons to people. That was objected to by a certain
 class of people who said that the State ought not to interfere in
 private enterprises, and that the interference of the State, might
 affect the growth of industrial enterprises of private individuals.
 But the Government of Madras passed an order to the effect that,
 in the present condition of things, and looking at the low ebb of
 the industrial development of the province, the Government
 might pioneer, and start new industries, on a sufficiently large
 basis. You will also see how the Aluminium and Chrome Tanning
 industries in this Province were first taken up by Government, and
 how, owing to that reason, they have become successful and have
 found a permanent footing in this province. Again, Gentlemen,
 in 1910, the Secretary of State for India prohibited the Govern-

Protection of Indian Industries. ment from taking an active interest in this matter, and themselves starting these industries. From that time they had to give it up. Again, in 1911, it was pressed upon the attention of the Government that an industrial survey should be inaugurated and carried out in this province. The Government were favourable and they wanted to carry out this suggestion—that a systematic and thorough industrial survey be made in this Province so that they may come once for all to determine, what improvements can be made to the existing industries that have been struggling for existence, how new industries can be developed, and new indigenous enterprises can be started. But since the Secretary of State would not allow that course to be taken by Government, the Government had to stop it.

In this matter, from time to time, the Government, however much they may wish to develop the industries in this and other provinces, are not able to carry out their intentions on account of the mandates received from the Secretary of State for India. Now, unless all the India Governments are given free scope and free power and autonomy in imposing and arranging and re-adjusting the tariff according to their own exigencies and necessities, nothing can be done. That means, however much the Local Governments and the Government of India may wish for the development of industries in this, and the other provinces of India, and may be prepared to help and aid them substantially, unless power is given to them to readjust and re-organise their own tariff, nothing effective can be done. In this matter, therefore, State aid is necessary.

You will also observe, gentlemen, that no country in the world has thrived industrially, and industries in no country have developed, unless the State came to their rescue, and State aid was given. It is, therefore, highly necessary that, in the present circumstances, the State must be asked to help industrial development in our country, and pioneer large industrial enterprises on a sufficiently large scale. These industries, if started and pioneered by Government, will not only serve as object lessons to the people who may be hereafter willing to start similar industries, but will also afford facilities as technological institutions, for persons to learn in the factory, in the workshop and in the offices, and become themselves businessmen, and manufacturers. It is necessary, therefore, that the State should not only help industries by large grants and subsidies, but also support one or two large industries, and make them serve as technological institutions employing in them experts in those particular industries from England and other European countries.

Gentlemen, at present, some scholars are being sent to England and other countries for being trained in industries. But these people are not being freely admitted (At this stage the President sounded the bell) to the manufactories in England, and are being greatly handicapped, and are not able to learn the tricks of

the trade. If, instead of these people being sent on scholarships there, the Government should start industries on a commercial scale in this country, they would be affording facilities for a large number of students who may be willing to train themselves in those particular industries, and these students will have, also, better opportunities of learning as many industries as are possible to be developed in this country. Gentlemen, I therefore place before you the necessity of the State coming to the rescue, and helping industries on a sufficiently large scale. I have now explained briefly the whole situation, and I hope that this resolution will meet with your approval.

PROFESSOR V. G. KALE (POONA).

Professor V. G. Kale, in supporting the resolution, said :—
Mr. President, and friends :—To my mind, the Congress would have failed in its duty, if it had not utilised this opportunity to express its deliberate views on the most important question of the industrial and economic situation in this country created by the war. The relation between the two is increasing every day, so that, to speak of the one without the other has now become well-nigh an impossibility. In these circumstances, it is our duty, in this Congress assembled, to give expression to our views as to the duty of the Government, and also of the people in the present crisis. Now, no doubt, the problems connected with the economic and industrial development of this country are now within the province of another national organisation—I mean the Industrial Conference; but we have decided, and decided rightly, to lend the support, the powerful support of our voice, to the appeal which the Industrial Conference have made to the Government soliciting the active sympathy, and direct assistance of the State to the dying and struggling industries of the country.

Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji has repeatedly emphasised that a contented and prosperous India is the greatest asset of the Empire. At this time of war, India has consecrated, to the protection of that Empire, the flower of her manhood, and as we have said in so many resolutions, India is capable of contributing millions of men more (applause,) provided an opportunity is given to her. Similarly, we desire to say that India will be stronger, and more capable of assisting the Empire, if the Government gave direct encouragement and stimulus to the industries of India, and in this way promoted the material prosperity of this country.

Gentlemen, the chronic and ever present poverty of this country has always been the weakest joint in India's armoury, and has prevented this country from taking its proper place among the component parts of the Empire, as well as among the nations of the world. This state of things can be remedied only by industrial advancement; and this industrial advancement can be achieved only by the direct assistance of the State. But, it

Protection of Industries. may be asked, as it has often been asked, "Why should this appeal be made to the Government, by the Congress and the people? Why should they not take that duty and responsibility upon themselves? Why this appeal to Hercules? Why not put your shoulders to the wheel?" That is the question oftentimes asked. The principle underlying the view embodied in this question is that of non-interference of the State in individual commercial enterprises; but the bottom of that theory has been knocked out already by the action that has been taken by the several European States as well as America and Japan. If, we are told, however, that it is the people themselves who are to do all these things, and they need not look to Government for industrial development, we can point to the examples of so many nations which have thrived only on account of the direct assistance of the State.

Then, again, the charge that has often been brought against the people, that they have done nothing, or that they have not done enough for the economic advancement of their country is false. During the last many years, the people have undergone many sacrifices; so many industries have been started, but they have failed, or only a few of them are thriving perhaps. The people may be at fault, but all the same efforts have been made; and their earnestness, sincerity and honesty is beyond doubt.

Then again, the State in England, as has already been pointed out by the previous speaker, has come to the assistance of industries there. England has been a worshipper at the shrine of free trade, because it has been to the interest of England to be a free trade country. Whether protection, or free trade, should be adopted is a matter which has to be considered on its own merits by each country and community concerned. What we want, therefore, to urge upon the Government, is that in these times of international competition and keen struggle for existence, it is the duty of the State to train the people, to prepare the people, and to promote their prosperity. These are times of specialisation, and these are times of training. Whatever field you may take up,—it may be the field of trade and commerce, or of administration or even of sports—that person, or that community, which has had a training in the particular matter is bound to succeed. Almost all the States on the face of the earth are trying their best at this moment to train their people, physically, morally and intellectually, for the struggle, the international struggle, which is becoming keener and keener; and unless we are similarly prepared by the State, it is impossible for our people to make any advance in the material prosperity of the country. The Congress, therefore, appeals to them in the first place to help the industries of the country in the peculiar circumstances of the Empire, and secondly to do everything in their power to promote the indigenous industries in various ways. I have no time to enter into the large aspects of the question—the question of pro-

gress will have to consider these questions in two or three years' time. With these few words, I beg your permission to support this resolution.

Protection
of Indus-
tries.

BABU J. C. CHAKRABARTHY.

Babu Jogendra Chandra Chakrabarty : (Bengal) :—Mr. President, Brother and Sister delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which I have the honour to support has already been very ably placed before you. There is, however, one aspect of the subject which I will only briefly touch—the question of the re-organisation and the development of our industries. The question, as you all know, has engaged the earnest attention and the very anxious thought of all workers in this country both inside this Congress and outside it. Gentlemen, you will perhaps remember that during the early years of the Swadeshi movement, very earnest efforts were made in Bengal, as in other provinces, for the reorganisation and the regeneration of our national industries. Unfortunately, however, at that time our efforts did not meet with that amount of success which we had hoped to achieve ; and one of the reasons for it, I should say, was perhaps the unkindly,—I will not say hostile,—attitude of our rulers towards all the efforts that we made for the purpose of regenerating our industries (Applause). Well, you may remember that we made earnest efforts to establish Swadeshi banks and joint-stock companies. Gentlemen, it is a matter of extreme regret that I have to mention that all these movements did not meet with that amount of sympathy from our rulers which we expected and you will not be surprised to hear that persons holding official positions, and other persons who cared to carry favours from the Government, did not care to purchase shares in these Swadeshi banks, and joint stock companies (Cries of “shame, shame”), and many of them purchased *benami*. Well gentlemen, fortunately however, gradually a change came over the mind of our administrators, and you may have heard that a distinction was gradually made between one who was an “honest Swadeshi” and another who was not an honest Swadeshi. Then the war came. Before the war broke out, there was one matter which you must have noticed—that the police authorities issued circulars that a person who purchased swadeshi goods was not necessarily a person to be hunted after by the police. Then the war came. The war, with all its disastrous results to the country, which has come upon the heads of mankind, I might say, is a curse of God for the follies of his sons. (Applause). But there is no such thing in the world as unmixed evil. Inscrutable indeed are the ways of Providence. Sir, you told us the other day that the war gave us a new birth ; I will indeed say that it has given a new birth not only to us, but to our rulers also. It has opened our eyes, and it has opened their eyes also. We now find that the war, with all its diastrous results, has very clearly demonstrated to us the utter helplessness

Protection of Industries. of our countrymen in the industrial world ; and it has also proved very clearly to the Government, that they had committed a mistake, committed, no doubt, a very serious mistake, in not helping the growth of the Swadeshi industries as they should have. You might have noticed that only recently, the other day in Calcutta, Lord Carmichael (Applause) did really open a Swadeshi exhibition with the object of proving the superiority of Swadeshi goods to foreign goods. Gentlemen, as you know, we ourselves in Bengal, during the early years of the Swadeshi movement, imposed upon ourselves a special protective tariff by taking a vow to use Swadeshi goods in preference to foreign goods, which meant this, that we took a vow to use Swadeshi goods only. Lord Carmichael has been playing the same part which the much maligned agitator did some years ago. (Applause). Gentlemen, inscrutable are the ways of Providence. Times have now changed; and to my mind, therefore, this question of the regeneration of the Swadeshi industries comes before us this year, with redoubled significance all its own. We cannot miss this opportunity, we must take advantage of the situation, we must strike the iron while it is hot, we must ask the Government, we must urge upon the Government, to take all possible measures, adopt all possible means that may be at their disposal, for the purpose of fostering the industries, and regenerating those industries which are dying for want of support. I will not take up your time, gentlemen. With these few remarks I beg to accord my whole-hearted support to this resolution, which, I have no doubt, you will unanimously carry.

MR. G. K. DEVADAR (BOMBAY).

Mr. G. K. Devadar : (Bombay) :—Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: I shall adduce a few arguments in support of the resolution, not necessarily basing our claim for Government assistance upon the special circumstances that are created by the war, but on grounds which I consider are more permanent and more substantial (Applause). This devastating war, which has been carried on for over twenty weeks, has not only dislocated our international trade, but has caused some considerable disturbance to our internal trade, and those of you who are acquainted with industrial centres like Bombay and Calcutta will easily bear me testimony when I say that many a poor industries, and many rich industries like the Mill industry, are nearly paralysed. This condition of industrial prostration is more or less the result, as it has now been revealed to us, of what we might consider a foreign industrial domination. We are all discussing our claims for autonomous rule within the British Empire. Shall we not therefore urge similar claims for industrial autonomy within the Indian Empire (Applause) and so organise, so develop, and so improve our industries that, even if unfortunately similar circumstances were to arise again, we shall not have to depend upon other countries outside for the necessary sup-

plies of goods and materials? We, by ourselves, are not able to do anything, and that is why we have to look to the Government for taking the initiative in this matter. We all know that industries are the soul of material prosperity, and matters relating to the soul ought not to be considered from trivial considerations or grounds. They ought to be considered from permanent standpoints ; and if we want to secure the material prosperity of our country, and to place that on stable ground, we ought to look at this question, not only from the present circumstances but, also, from circumstances that have been with us for a long time. The only course therefore that we can adopt is to ask the Government to make a vigorous effort to give the necessary facilities to the industries of this land, and to supply the capitalists, as well as the poor people who are working in the industrial line, and the rich men too who are working in this line, the necessary knowledge and skill, and legislative and administrative facilities. Unless these measures are adopted, I do not think that sufficient regeneration in the direction of industrial improvement is likely to come. It is the duty, therefore, of all of us here to urge our claims upon the attention of Government with such emphasis as is at our command.

There is one more argument why I would ask you to lend your support to this proposition. Those of you who are acquainted with the industrial growth of countries in the West will easily see that in order to secure sound material progress a country ought not to be made to depend upon agriculture alone ; though agriculture in a country like India has, as it has in lands like Germany and Russia, been the main and chief industry of the country. A large portion of our population has been made to depend upon agriculture, and agriculture, even if it be carried on, on sound and up-to-date scientific lines, has its limits of capacity for maintaining the people. Therefore, what was resorted to by the people in other countries who were similarly situated was that they began the process of industrialisation, and made industrialism its real hand-maid. If we, therefore, can reduce, by promoting other industries, the population that at present depends upon the industry of agriculture, and thereby secure the double growth of the condition of the people industrially as well as economically, I believe we shall be working in the right direction. These are the two grounds on which we should base our claims for the assistance that we require from the Government ; and I believe you will carry this proposition with acclamation.

The President.—I call upon Mr. S. K. Nair (Madras), to support this resolution.

MR. S. K. NAIR.

Mr. S. K. Nair : (Madras) :—Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen : The resolution that has just now been moved by more than one speaker perhaps requires, in the

Protection of Indian Industries. nature of things, not one supporter, but more than one, in consideration of the great importance of the question. It is a most momentous question of the hour, because it affects our material well-being, and the aspect of the question has assumed a new form after the outbreak of the war. Sir, in reading the statistics of India's trade, I find that we in India have imported articles from Germany to the tune of Rs. 9 crores per annum. With these Rs. 9 crores, they have been building their dreadnoughts, they have been equipping their armies to be directed against us. Brother delegates, I am perfectly sure that, in case you try to have these articles made within the confines of India with the raw materials which India could produce—I am perfectly confident of the fact that all these articles can be made here—it can be done only with the support, the encouragement, and the patronage of the Government, of India. So it is, that we have to appeal to the Government of India at once with all the emphasis, with all the power, with all the constitutional strength at our command, to have this resolution attended to, and carried out immediately.

The President :—I now put the resolution to the vote. Those in favour of it will kindly raise their hands. (Cries of all, all.) Any one against ? (Cries of " none ") I declare the resolution carried. I now call upon Babu Surendranath Bannerjea to move the next resolution ?

BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJEA.

Self-Government.

The hon'ble Babu Surendranath Banerjea who, on rising, was received with an enthusiastic ovation and cries of *Vande Mataram*, said :—

Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen :—I labour under an initial difficulty. The resolution is not here, and I have to repeat it from memory, so far as I may. The words of the resolution are these :

“ That, in view of the profound and avowed loyalty that the people of India have manifested in the present crisis, this Congress appeals to the Government to deepen and perpetuate it and make it an enduring and valuable asset of the Empire by removing all invidious distinctions here and abroad, between His Majesty's Indian and other subjects, by redeeming the pledges of Provincial autonomy contained in the despatch of 25th August, 1911, and by taking such measures as may be necessary for the recognition of India as a component part of a Federated Empire in the full and free enjoyment of the rights belonging to that status.” These are the terms of the resolution.

Ladies and Gentlemen :—Before I proceed to address myself to the subject-matter of this resolution, you will perhaps permit me to clear my ground so as to guard against any misapprehension which the situation may suggest. It has been said by a responsible organ of Anglo-Indian opinion that the formulation of a proposition such as I have the honour to present for your acceptance is likely

to prove a source of embarrassment to the Government. I am sure, brother delegates, that neither you, nor I, would say anything, or do anything in this crisis, which is likely to hamper the Government, (Cries of no, no), and could I be persuaded of the substantial truth of the statement, I would give up the resolution altogether. But I cannot accept it, and when you have heard me, you will not accept it, I am quite sure. To ask the Government to recognise a new situation, perhaps an unforeseen development, and to adapt their policy and measures to that situation, is really not to embarrass, but to help them. It is not to create a position of difficulty for the Government, but rather to prevent it by friendly warning and advice. It is unquestionable, and the fact cannot be gainsaid, for we have it on high official authority, that we are on the eve of a new administrative and political re-adjustment. Is it not important, is it not our clear and obvious duty to indicate the lines of that re-adjustment? Should we permit judgment to go against us by default, and if we did, how should we stand before the bar of history and the judgment of of contemporary public opinion?

Another objection has been raised. I understand it was taken at a representative meeting of Indian and Anglo-Indian gentlemen, which was held at a particular club which shall be nameless for the present. It was said that to move, or suggest, a resolution of this kind would be open to the interpretation that we were trading with our loyalty. Ladies and gentlemen, here there is no question of trade or commerce; no question of gain or profit. We have a right, we had that right before the war, and we have it now, and if the claim is not fulfilled, that right will continue after the war; and that right, let me say, is based upon the highest considerations of justice, upon the solemn and memorable documents issued upon historic occasions.

The basal and underlying principle of the resolution is the assertion of our status as equal subjects of the Crown here and abroad. We take our stand not upon the doctrine of the natural rights of men; nor even upon the indefeasible constitutional privileges of the British subject. All discussion of this kind may lead to differences and controversies. We are treading upon firmer ground. We take our stand upon the gracious Proclamation of the 1st November, 1858, (Applause), associated with the honoured name of a Sovereign whose memory is enshrined in our grateful recollections (Cheers), Queen Victoria of blessed memory. In that historic document, issued after the suppression of the Mutiny, and the establishment of the Crown Government in this country, she says: "We hold ourselves bound to our Indian subjects by the same obligations of duty which hold us to our subjects in other parts of the Empire." Here is the royal message of deliverance from political inferiority or subordination. (Applause). Here is a solemn proclamation made before the eyes of the civilised world that we are the equal subjects of the Crown, and that proclamation made on that memorable occasion

Self-
Govern-
ment.

has been repeated again and again by a succession of illustrious Viceroy's, including even the most brilliant of them, *i.e.*, Lord Curzon. The latest pronouncement was made by Lord Hardinge on a great occasion in September, 1913, when, as President of the Imperial Legislative Council, speaking on the question of Indian emigration to Canada, he said—the words are graven deep on our hearts and our consciences—he said: "It is the earnest aim and the strenuous endeavour of the Government of India to maintain the equal status of His Majesty's Indian subjects."

These are the pledges, and the assurances that we have received upon this point, and I and the members of this Congress take their firm stand on these assurances and pledges. Have they been redeemed? Have they been fulfilled? I regret to have to say 'no.' Indeed the annals of Anglo-Indian administration, for the last 50 years and more, are strewn with scattered the fragments, *disjecta membra*, of broken pledges. I charge no one, I blame none Recrimination is not our function. We take our stand upon the solid bed-rock of temperate and sober discussion based upon truth, righteousness and justice. (Applause). Here then we have a grievance—pledges, promises made but not redeemed, pledges, promises made by the Sovereign, not fulfilled. Call it a sentimental grievance if you please; but sentiment is not to be ignored in the Government of nations, and especially of Oriental nations. (Hear, hear). Sentiment is a mighty factor. Sentiment convulsed Europe during the French Revolution. The tidal wave of brotherly sentiment rushed from one end of the country to the other, desolating the country from one part to the other and yet conveying the blessed message of equality, liberty and fraternity. But, brother delegates, behind that sentiment, value it or not as you please, there are practical considerations of the highest moment, and these considerations you referred to yesterday. The Arms Act perpetuates invidious distinctions between race and race. We are now prevented as a class with the exception of Parsis and Christians, from enlistment as volunteers. The pick of our manhood are shedding their blood over three continents in the defence of the Empire. but they are barred from the commissioned ranks in the army. The question of Indian emigration has been only partially solved.

We want these disabilities to be removed not merely on the ground of sentiment; we want them to be removed because, brother delegates, we want to rise to the full height of our manhood. We want to have the amplest opportunities for self-development, self-fulfilment. We want to be free within the Empire, and we want, above all, to be a nation. Lastly, we want that the plighted word of our Sovereign, the gracious message of the Proclamation, should be redeemed, that our "Magna Charta" should remain inviolate.

Yet there is another charter, a greater charter, and that is the Despatch of the 25th August, 1911. Provincial autonomy is promised to us in that despatch. That promise has been repudiated by a high authority—I will enter into no personal re-
 crimination—repudiated by a high authority on the ground that it does not mean an expansion of self-government, that it does not mean the grant of provincial autonomy, but only the devolution of power from the higher to the subordinate authorities. Ladies and gentlemen, there are English ladies and gentlemen here, and the Despatch is in the English language and I am a foreigner, not born to that language. I will read the words of that Despatch to them as a tribunal, as a court of reference, as a judiciary, and ask them what their verdict is upon the terms of that Despatch. I will read the particular text that I refer to in that Despatch. The third paragraph of the Despatch of the 25th August, 1911, says : “ Nevertheless it is certain that in the course of time,” these are the words of the Despatch I am reading, “ the just demand of Indians for a higher share in the Government of the country will have to be satisfied.” The just demand of Indians for a higher share in the Government of the country will have to be satisfied, and the question—“ This is the problem before the Government, and the question will be how the devolution of power can be conceded.” Conceded to whom? (Laughter). Conceded to the very people who aspire to have a higher share in the Government of the country—that is the meaning as I understand it. “ Conceded without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor-General.” That is then the problem, the problem of problems. Here are the people of India clamouring for a larger share in the Government of the country. It is a legitimate claim. It is a just demand, says the Despatch in the Government of India, and the question is, how is this larger share of power to be given to them? How is the concession to be made to them? The power of self-government is demanded, and Government wants to make provision to meet that demand. Here is the provision : “ The only possible solution”—that is the answer of the Government—“ the only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the provinces a larger measure of self-government.” (Applause). Not a larger measure of bureaucratic Government (laughter), but self-government. Self-government does not mean Government vested in the officials, however admirable and entitled to respect they may be. Self-government, if it means anything, means government given to the people. Therefore, the Despatch says that this solution of the difficulty would appear to be, gradually to give to the provinces a larger measure of self-government, “ until at last India would consist of a number of administrations autonomous in all provincial affairs ”—not bureaucratic in all provincial affairs. (Laughter). The word used is “ autonomous in all provincial affairs with the Government of India above them, and possessing powers to interfere in case of mis-government.” The

Self-
Govern-
ment.

Government of India has to do nothing but hold its hands, interfering only in cases of mis-government ; but ordinarily it would restrict its functions to matters of imperial concern. Now I put it to those whose language is English, who understand English, what can be the meaning of this Despatch ? The problem is the satisfaction of the demands of the people of India for a larger share of Government ; the solution is the creation of autonomous provincial Governments. Is not that provincial autonomy ? I thought it was. Therefore that plea, that it is merely a scheme of devolution of power from superior to subordinate authorities, merely a project of decentralisation, will not hold. I have a high authority on my side. Mr. Montague, the late Under-Secretary of State for India—many of you have even come into contact with him—speaking at the Cambridge Club, said that the vessel of State was drifting aimlessly without rudder and compass, and that the Despatch lays down the direction in which the course of the ship of State should be steered for the fruition of the higher aims of British rule. Gentlemen, here is the Despatch which has been burnt into our souls. No quibbling, no specious sophistication, will minimise the significance of this solemn declaration.

We take our stand upon this Despatch and we call upon the Government to give effect to it, and we say in that resolution, the terms of which I repeated from my memory, we say that provincial autonomy is but a step to self-government. It is a half-way house, a halting stage to the goal. Self-government is the goal. I have been told that our demand for self-government represents a dream. Be it so. Let us dream a little. It does you no harm : it is pleasurable to me. Let us dream a little. (Hear, hear.) The greatest men of the world have been dreamers. (Laughter and applause.) Mohammed, the divinely inspired Prophet of Islam, dreamt great dreams in the caves of Mount Heera. Garibaldi and Mazzini and all nation-builders of the world have dreamt dreams. Let us dream a little, only let it be a dream of the right sort. We have dreamt many dreams and they have been realised in the fulfilment of the programme of the Congress ; and, Brahmin as I am, vested with the gift of prophecy, (laughter) I say this, that as sure as night follows the day this dream of ours will be realised. (Loud and continued applause.) Self-government is the cement of the Empire. We appeal to the Government to give it to us, because it will lay broad and deep the foundations of British rule upon the contentment, happiness and gratitude of the people. We have had recently an object lesson, very cogent and very convincing. There was a rebellion in South Africa led by some of the malcontents. I put it to you. Would General Botha have been in a position to stem the surging tide of that revolutionary movement if he had not behind him the great body of people won over to the British connection by the inestimable boon of self-government ?

Self-government incarnates the hopes and aspirations of some

of the greatest Anglo-Indian administrators. "It may be," said Macaulay, in one of his great speeches on the eve of the enactment of the Charter Act in 1833, "it may be," said he, "that the public mind of India may so grow under our rule that it may outgrow that system, that being trained in Western education, it may crave for Western institutions. I know not whether such a day will come, but if it does it will be the proudest in the annals of England." (Hear, hear.) That day has now arrived, and I am happy to be able to say that England is prepared for it. (Cheers).

There has been a profound change, a transformation in the outlook of the British public, in relation to Indian affairs. Am I taking up your time? (Cries of "no, no"). The Under-Secretary of State, speaking from his place in Parliament, said that our angle of vision must be modified, that a final readjustment of the administrative machinery in India is yet to come, and then he finished with the memorable words that India must have a Government suited to her wants and the dignity of her ancient civilisation. Let me quote another authority, a somewhat hostile authority, but now friendly in its attitude; we salute its friendliness, and welcome it. The *Times* says, in an article, that after the war has been concluded and the terms of peace have been settled, we must see to it that we give India an ample voice in the Councils of the Empire" (Applause), "that we admit her as a component part of the Empire, a constituent element of it"—mark the words—I am quoting the exact words—"in the full, free enjoyment of the rights that belong to that status." Such an expression coming from the *Times* is very significant. I have yet another authority. There is, as you are perhaps aware, an organisation in England for the introduction of the federal system of Government. Now let us see what the Chairman of that organisation says in one of his letters. (The following letter was read by the President for Mr. Bannerjea) "We advocate"—(Mr. Bannerjea) "We" means this organisation, it does not mean the Bengalis—"an Imperial constitution which would mean an imperial Parliament for imperial affairs, such as defence, and foreign policy and a local parliament for local legislation. If India was not quite ready for the latter she will be ready for the former, and her voice would mean untold strength. The movement would be a very popular one, as India has a strong backing in this country, and her loyalty has brought forth admiration on every side. We should like India to organise her strength for this movement and educate her public both in India and all parts of the world. The day has gone by when India may be left in a subordinate position. It is time for her to be taken into the Councils of the State." (Applause).

Here we have a pronouncement made by a responsible authority: an organisation started in England for the establishment of Federal Government. "India can no longer be kept in a position of subordination. She must be taken into the Councils

Self-
Govern-
ment.

of the Empire." Is not that glad tidings of great joy? And have we not a duty here, *viz.*, to prepare ourselves for the advent of that great day? There is the sun rising on the eastern horizon. May we not salute that sun of liberty which is destined to shed its meridian lustre on this great and ancient land? Brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the signs and the portents of the times are in our favour; civilised humanity is with us, the blessings of mankind follow us; the world forces are arrayed in our favour. The whole air is surcharged with the spirit of liberty. Ireland has got her Home rule, Poland, persecuted Poland, the Poland of Kosciusko,—“Freedom shrieked as Kosciusko fell”—so wrote the poet Campbell in his *Pleasures of Hope*—the Poland of Kosciusko, Poland after centuries of agony and travail has obtained her birthright of Freedom. Mark the words of the notable rescript of the Czar. In that memorable document the Czar, through Grand Duke Nicholas, says “Poland is born anew.” May we not with confidence look forward to our political resurrection at the hands of Britain, the august mother of free nations? (Applause).

England has instilled into us a new spirit; the dry bones in the open valley are instinct with life. England has drawn her sword in the vindication of the sanctity of treaty obligations. Will she then repudiate and cast to the winds the pledges and promises made to us out of the abundance of her generosity, and the promptings of her own spirit of liberty? Will she treat these solemn documents as mere ‘scraps of paper,’ to use the words of the Germans? (Cries of no, no). I hear a cry of “no” from the body of this hall. I share that opinion. England, will do nothing of that sort. I know Englishmen, England, and I have an abundant faith in the justice, generosity and liberty-loving instincts of the English people. (Hear, hear). But, brother delegates, we must not sleep over the situation. For we too have to do our duty—for “nations by themselves are made.” (Applause). The future is in our hands, and we can make or unmake it. Oh, let us so make the future that it may be worthy of the past. Let all of us so make the future that it may throw into the shade the resplendent glories of the Aryavarta of the past.

Brother delegates, I appeal to you with all the warmth and emphasis that I can command, to muster all your courage, all the fervour of your patriotic devotion, all your spirit of self-sacrifice and dedicate them to the service of the Motherland, to the service of that mother in whose cradle you were born, who has fed you, nursed you and brought you up in her arms, who lies down now desolate, disconsolate, prostrate at your feet. Do you lift her up, wipe her tears, rejuvenate her by pouring into her ears the recollection of her former greatness and the prospect of the higher glories that await her. Ladies and gentlemen, I know not how long it will be given to me to stand upon this platform; the shades of evening are deepening upon me; this may be the last:

time (Cries of no, no.) or, at any rate, the last time cannot be long deferred, but let me communicate to you this as a supreme message from one who has devoted the best years of his life to the service of the country, to do all that you can, to take advantage of the splendid opportunity that has offered itself, and to make it an opportunity of doing everlasting good to this great country. I greatly approve of the suggestion that was made yesterday that we should, on the conclusion of the war, send a deputation to England. Organise that deputation, formulate your scheme, press it upon the attention of the British public; and I am confident that your appeal will not fall upon heedless ears. Democratic England, true to its traditions of constitutional freedom, which it has reared in its midst, will grant you that inestimable boon of local self-government. Thus equipped, you will take your place in the comity of nations, fulfil your high mission, reconcile the East and the West, preach to humanity not the sordid lessons of a gross materialism, but the sweet, beneficent, soul saving gospel of peace and good-will to all men. With these words I propose the resolution.

The President :—I call upon Mr. Sadhu Ganapathi to second the resolution.

MR. S. GANAPATHI PANTULU (MADRAS).

Mr. Sadhu Ganapathi Pantulu (Madras) said : I second the proposition.

The President :—Mrs. Besant has kindly consented to support this resolution, and I now call upon her to do so.

MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

Mrs. Annie Besant, in supporting the resolution, said :—

Mr. Chairman and brother delegates. In the few thoughts that I want to put before you this morning there are two divisions—first that training for self-government by which only can self-government become a blessing to the country, and secondly, that which is the creed of our Congress, 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 the participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. I read these words, on which our eloquent Bengali leader has been practically commenting, in his resolution, because I would ask you to remember that this claim of self-government on equal terms in the Empire is no new growth born of the war. The war has not made the claim from India's lips; it has only revealed her worthiness to those who did not understand. (Hear hear). There is no change in the Indian hope; but we trust there is a change in the reception which the expression of that hope will meet with. First then, the practical side, and then our aim, our goal, what Mr. Surendranath Banerjea has called a dream, but a morning dream that is a prophecy of fulfilment. The training for self-government, brother-

Self-
Govern-
ment.

delegates, is of vital import to our 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 ; for the work of governing is the most highly skilled profession upon earth. It is not a work for mere passion, but for deep and careful study ; and the younger amongst you who will be part of the self-governing nation and give statesmen to the India of the future—you must study, you must practise now, in order to be worthy of the great calling to which you shall soon be called ; for, you need in study a knowledge of history, a knowledge of economics and you need in practice that highest of all knowledge, the knowledge of human nature, for without the knowledge of human nature, and the springs of human action and the motives that arouse and the checks that restrain, you will never be able to take your share in the government of a mighty country like the motherland of India. Where you have a committee you talk over things and reason rules. Where you have crowds of human beings to influence, the elemental passions of men very often break their leashes, and unless you can control as well as guide, the task of self-government would be too great. What then should you do ? You should take part in local Government wherever it is possible. I know that your local Government is only partial, that the members appointed by Government, called non-official members are really officials because appointed and not elected. I know that that cripples your work, and often brings discredit also on the work of the elect of the people. But as it is, take it and practise 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 vaster areas. 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 (laughter) 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. Then if, from local self-government in a small town, you can pass on to the Government of a district, then from a district to the Legislative Council of a province, you will then learn the methods that you want to know, and the material with which you have to deal. It is no use complaining of human nature. It is troublesome. Human beings taken one by one are rational ; but human beings in the mass are, I fear, still irrational, and you need to know to meet unreason with skill and how to control ignorance by discretion and by tact. You ask then for this provincial autonomy as the way to a higher goal and in asking it, remember that this is only a step ; it is not your goal but only one of the steps there. Realise that you are asking now with a note of hope in your

voice that, before, you could hardly venture to have so made, Self-Government. that the time has come when India shall come to her birthright. Long enough has she been a martyr nation, and now that it is finished, the dawn of her resurrection is beginning to lighten the eastern sky of India. She has suffered, and through suffering she has learnt ; she has endured, and through endurance she has grown strong ; and in the patience of her waiting, comes her right to demand her freedom, and to be granted that self-government which alone can satisfy the longings of the Indian nation. So after the practice, after the study, after the drudgery, you look to the days when, from one end of India to the other, there should be one great national Parliament in which India's representatives shall shoulder the burden of India's Government. It may be nay it certainly will be, that in those days you, like all other nations, may make mistakes, but none the less only by such mistakes will you gradually grow into the stature of free men ruling a democratic state. Some of us have objected to Home rule for Ireland, because it should not come alone, and because the only Empire possible for democracy is a Federal Empire made up of the free federations of self-governing units, autonomous within themselves. If you realise that, if you understand that your place in the Empire hereafter, is that of a self-governing people, then who shall dare to say you are unworthy of it ; you with your ancient civilisation, you with your knowledge, your philosophy, your drama, and your literature, with the splendid heroism of the warriors of the past as well as the deep thought of philosophical insight ? I say there is no civilisation in the world so many-sided as the ancient civilisation of India, so fitting the nation for self-government. On one side sublime in spirituality, and on the other mighty in the intellectual achievement of philosophy, and on the third trained in emotion as no other nation has been trained, by the practice of endurance, of suffering, as well as by the warmth of love that flows out from the Indian heart. Where will you find a civilisation worthy of freedom, if India be not worthy to be free ? (Applause). It is not as though it were a new nation, a young nation, a mushroom nation like the Boers in South Africa. If they, having fought against England, were worthy of self-government, shall not you, who are fighting beside her, claim self-government ? (Applause !) It is this: You must think, you must plan and work for it. Let your Congress work out a scheme of self-government ; for England is a practical nation. If you go and say to her "we want self-government", England might ask you "How do you want it." What is the outline of the prayer that you would make ?" Work it out, argue it out, reason it out. Take a year or two that probably lies before you, if the war lasts so long, that you may go to England, and say "This is the self-government that we require." Build up your self-government from your own panchayats, and village councils that are being revived again by the co-operative movement. Build on the village unit which is the most suitable unit in India—on that build up your taluq, or larger

Self-
Govern-
ment,

administrative area, on that your district, and above that your province and to crown the whole of it, the national parliament of India. Along some such line, to be worked out step by step, by your men of knowledge and of wisdom, along some such line you may ask for self-government within the Empire. That is our goal, and is there any one, as an Australian paper said the other day, who will say 'nay' to India when she asks for what is her right? It is not a prayer for political largess as one of our papers said yesterday or the day before, it is not a gift of charity; it is a human right that India is asking, that India claims. Truly a dream! All ideals are dreams. But Mazzini dreamt a United Italy, and a United Italy was born. A German poet sang a United Germany and German Unity came forth into the world. Indian hearts are the places where dreams are gradually materialising, and asking you to come out into the world. They must come, for there is no power on earth that can step a nation determined to win its birthright of freedom, and win it, as we say, by constitutional means. Revolutions can be broken, armed forces can be crushed; but to grow into liberty by law and order—that is the triumph of the English ideal of liberty, and that is the ideal that has been planted by the study of English history in the minds of the Indian people. In this country we know Milton, we know Milton's appeal to liberty, we have read many other poets, and we have read such a philosopher as Mill, and we know that human nature cannot blossom into the fulness of manhood so long as it is tied and cramped by enactments which forbid its free expression. We ask for liberty for India, not for India's sake only, but for the world's at large, for India has an ideal quite different from that of the West, and the East must have its own ideal realised in order that the circle of human perfection may be made complete. I venture to say to you, as Mr. Surendranath Banerjea did, dream on, but dream with a determination to make real the dream that you dream. Oh people! Oh perfect nation! Oh people that shall be! How long till thou shalt take station, how long till you are made free? We are dreamers, we are derided, we are made blinding fools. Shall we bear you witness? There ye come, ye shall be; for the India of the future is on the threshold. There are two ways of crowning Kings in Europe—one way in which some officer puts the crown on the monarch's head, but another way is that the monarch, who has the right to rule, puts the crown on his own head, and so becomes a crowned King. Our queen-mother of India, crowned motherland of our hopes, of our dreams, she has crowned herself with the crown of self-government, and she only awaits recognition; her royalty is hers, for royalty is her inborn right. Royalty is a birthright, and that birthright belongs to our Queen-India. Let her then come down from the regions of the ideal where we dream of her, to the regions of the real where we shall greet her, and let the cry of *Vande Mataram* ring through the land until the mother is triumphant and India free. (Applause).

BABU SUWESHCHANDRA BOSE.

Babu Suweshchandra Bose, in supporting, said :—Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen :—I am sure that after the moving and eloquent speeches of Mr. Surendranath Bannerjea and Mrs. Besant, there is naturally a feeling that no further speeches are necessary to commend this resolution to the acceptance of this Congress. If it were any other resolution I would have certainly refrained from emerging on this platform after Mrs. Besant and after Mr. Surendranath Bannerjea. But in the case of this resolution my appearance before you has a meaning and a justification which I will at once explain to you. I am here before you to emphasise the fact that the youth of the country, that the younger generation of India, (Applause) are anxious that this Congress should treat the question involved in this resolution as the most urgent and pressing issue before the country. The resolution, if I may say so, has been very happily worded. At the outset, it emphasises the undoubted loyalty of India. That loyalty, whatever our detractors and our enemies may say, has never been open to doubt or question. Of course, at all times, there has been some amount of dissatisfaction, or discontent ; but it is grossly untrue to say that at any time there has been a considerable, or widespread, desire for severance from the British connection. Gentlemen, if you come to think of our position, you cannot help coming to the conclusion that, situated as we are, we really sink or swim with England. If England goes down, we go down with her. If she survives, we survive also. (Hear, hear). This position has always been well understood by our countrymen, and our conduct, so far during the present war, has given unmistakable proofs of the fact that our loyalty to England is based on a true and sane realization of the situation in which we are. Gentlemen, I have often wondered why it is at all necessary for us to indulge in expressions of cringing servility in order to show our loyalty. It is degrading and unmanly to indulge in such expressions. It is equally degrading and unmanly of those who expect such expressions of loyalty from us. (Applause). Sir, our loyalty is based upon the highest considerations of our self-esteem, self-interest, and—where self-interest is concerned—our motives ought to be above suspicion. Gentlemen, I will address my appeal to England from the point of view of her own self-interest. I hope that, at the conclusion of the war, England will realise that it is a matter of the utmost importance to her that India is in the position of becoming a grand pillar of strength to her. She will, I trust, appreciate the idea that, with a strong and contented India, it will be possible for her to face the most formidable climacteric which may possibly arise. Gentlemen, it was Bentham, who so well put it that, if you want to win mankind, the best way is to make them think that you love them ; and the best way to make them think that you love them is to love them in reality. If England cares for the love of India,

Self-Government.

Self-
Govern-
ment.

she will get it the moment that she makes up her mind to love India, and to love India implies the redemption of her rights for getting self-government.

Gentlemen, one thing is certain, I hope. I hope that, at the conclusion of the war, we shall not fail to press our claims upon the attention of England. We will take our stand as Mr. Surendranath Banerjea has said, upon the three great documents in Indian history, *viz.*, the Despatch of the Court of Directors to the Government of India accompanying the Government of India Act of 1813, the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, and the Despatch of the Government of India to the Secretary of State, dated 25th August 1911, urging the urgent fulfilment of our guaranteed rights. Sir, in your magnificent presidential address, there is one sentence which excels every other in terseness and telling effect, and that is where you compare the cry of India for self-government with the cry of Belgium for the enforcement of her guaranteed rights. Yes, sir, that is really and truly a splendid description of India's cry for self-government. Gentlemen, after all, England must realise that the present method of government cannot go on for ever. No people on earth can be enamoured of the bureaucracy,—a bureaucracy which has not been called into action by those over whom it is set. Bureaucracy has not to persuade, to compromise, to give and take, to win and prove its case in the course of a free personal debate, in the face of rival ideas, and antagonistic interests. Relieved from these wholesome exigencies it may carry and enforce measures sufficiently, but with too little security that time will prove them right. Such is the description of bureaucracy that has been given by Morley in his latest work "Notes on Politics and History." Gentlemen, I ask, how long are we to remain under the domination of a powerful bureaucracy such as the Indian Civil Service? No, we cannot, and we must not be content to remain under this administration. We must go on pressing our claims, must address our appeal to the great democracy of England, and urge them not to treat our great Charters as a mere handful of burnt historic ashes, but as great living documents enunciating our rights and liberties, and requiring full and honourable fulfilment. Sir, I have no doubt that England will respond to our appeal, and will set a fresh example to the world by showing that it does not treat Parliamentary Statutes and Queen's Proclamations and famous Despatches as mere "scraps of paper." Sir, I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution.

The President :—With your permission, I shall try to reproduce, as far as I may from memory, the language of the resolution when has been moved before you just now. I understand the printed copies are before you now. Those who are in favour of the resolution will raise their hands. ("Cries of all, all"). Anyone against? ("Cries of none").

The President declared the resolution carried.

The following is the wording of the resolution :—

“ This Congress, in view of the profound and assured loyalty of the people of India, appeals to the Government to deepen and perpetuate it and make it an enduring and valuable asset of the Empire, by removing all invidious distinctions here and abroad between His Majesty’s Indian and other subjects, by redeeming the pledge of provincial autonomy given in the Despatch of 25th August 1911, as a step towards self-government, and by taking such measures as may be necessary for the recognition of India as a self-governing, equal and component part of a federated Empire, enjoying in a free and full measure, the rights belonging to that status.”

Self-
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XIV. INDIA COUNCIL REFORM.

The President :—I will now go on with the resolution on India Council Reform which is No. 14 on the Agenda issued this morning. I call upon my friend the Hon’ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao to move it.

India
Council
Reform.

THE HON’BLE MR. A. S. KRISHNA RAO, MADRAS.

The Hon’ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao, in moving the resolution, said :—Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen : I have the honour to move the following, resolution :

This Congress records its opinion that the Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished ; and, pending its abolition, makes the following suggestions for the amendment of its constitution :

- (a) That the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed on the English estimates.
- (b) That, with a view to the efficiency and independence of the Council, it is expedient that it should be partly nominated and partly elected.
- (c) That the total number of Members of the Council should be not more than nine.
- (d) That the elected portion of the Council should consist of not less than one-third of the total number of Members, who should be non-official Indians chosen by a constituency consisting of the elected Members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils.
- (e) That the election of Indians to the Council should be direct and not out of a panel of elected Members as proposed in Lord Crewe’s Bill.
- (f) That not less than one-half of the nominated Members of the Council should consist of public men unconnected with the Indian administration.
- (g) That the remaining portion of the nominated Members of the Council should consist of officials who have served in India for not less than ten years and have not been away from India for more than two years.

- (h) That no distinction whatever with regard to salary or allowances be made between the Indian Members and their colleagues in the Council.
- (i) That the character of the Council should be purely advisory as heretofore and that no change in the methods and procedure should be made which may convert, or tend to convert, it in any manner whatsoever into an administrative body.

This Congress regrets the summary rejection of the Council of India Bill of 1914."

Brother delegates, the reading of this resolution has taken such a substantial portion of the time allotted to me that I can only make a few remarks in its support. The question of the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State has been engaging the attention of the Congress ever since its inception, and we find that in the first session of the Congress held in 1885, a resolution was passed recommending its abolition. The Council of the Secretary of State was formed in pursuance of an Act of 1858. Though it was slightly modified in some small particulars by the Acts of 1869 and 1889, it has not undergone any substantial alterations. The time has come when the Council should be reformed on account of the changed circumstances. The Council, as constituted at present, consists mostly of the members of the Indian Civil Service who, by their long stay in India, have some pre-conceived notions of the views and aspirations of Indians, and cannot therefore be considered to represent Indian interests in a satisfactory manner. The Secretary of State is bound to accept and act according to the views of the majority of the Council in several important matters, for example, appropriation of revenues, appointment of Indians to places reserved for the Civil Service, provisional appointments to the Council of the Governor-General in Council and entering into contracts. There can be no doubt that the check exercised by them over the acts of the Government of India will not help the Government of India, but will be a clog on their proper orders. We also find that Sir William Wedderburn, a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, President of the British Committee of the Congress, one of the truest friends and lovers of India, one who is even to-day spending a substantial portion of his income in the cause of this country, advocated the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State in the first instance. Lord Crewe's India Council Bill, introduced in Parliament last year, provided that two members of the Council should be selected from a panel chosen by the members of the Local Legislative Councils, and the Imperial Legislative Council. In so far as that suggestion did not provide for any direct election of members to the India Council, the provision cannot be considered satisfactory. When once it is provided that all the members of the Councils should choose persons for the India Council, it is clear that they cannot properly represent

Indian interests, as, according to the present constitution, non-official majorities in the Local Legislative Councils are more theoretical than otherwise. That is why it is suggested in this resolution that one-third of the members should be elected by the elected representatives of the Local and Imperial Legislative Councils, who can be only non-officials. This principle of election is not suggested for the first time now, for, when Lord Palmerston introduced his India Council Bill in 1858, it was opposed on the ground that he did not provide for representation of Indians in the India Council. When Lord Disraeli introduced another Bill shortly afterwards, he made a provision for the election of members for the India Council. He suggested the increase of members to eighteen and the election of one-half of its members. But it was not possible to provide proper electorates for sending such representatives to the Council, and that scheme had to be dropped. But can those arguments be advanced at present? There is no one now who can say that the present reformed Legislative Councils, both local and Imperial, cannot form proper electorates for electing representatives to the India Council, especially when those Councils are likely to be improved. When there has been a considerable change for the better, there can be no difficulty in electing proper representatives to the India Council.

This resolution also suggests that the salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the English estimates. If that policy is adopted, I have no doubt that the Secretary of State will be more directly responsible to the Parliament for all his actions, and the Parliament will also be able to exercise better control over his actions. When the salary is paid out of English revenues, the British public will also begin to take a greater interest in the affairs of the Secretary of State in Council, and will begin to check every pie of expenditure incurred by that Council, and if this had been the case in the past, they would, by this time, have taken steps to abolish the Council of the Secretary of State altogether. As matters stand at present, the Secretary of State is not himself directly responsible to the Parliament, as there is a question of divided responsibility between him and the other members of his Council.

It is also necessary, the resolution suggests, that the functions of the Council should be merely advisory and should not be of an administrative character. It must not be possible for the members of the Council to over-ride the decisions of the Secretary of State in important matters, as they would otherwise form a clog on the administration.

It is also desirable that all distinctions should be abolished between the Indian members and their colleagues regarding salaries and allowances.

It will be remembered that at the last session of the Congress

India
Council
Reform.

held at Karachi, a resolution was passed in similar terms embodying similar suggestions. It was not then expected that the few suggestions made for improving the constitution of the India Council would not be accepted. It is unfortunate that the House of Lords considered it fit to summarily reject the India Council Bill introduced by Lord Crewe last year.

I must in this connection acknowledge the services rendered to our country by the members of the deputation which was appointed by the last Congress, and which proceeded to England. I see before me our distinguished friends, the hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma, Mr. M. N. Samarth, and Mr. S. Sinha. With your permission I offer them our hearty thanks for their services in this connection. If there was one Indian question which should be pressed upon the English public more than any other, it was the one relating to the India Council, and their attempts were of no avail. It is disappointing that most of the ex-Governors, and most of the ex-Viceroy, considered it fit to oppose the measure and the Bill was consequently rejected. It is curious that even the suggestion of that noble minded statesman, Lord Morley, that the rejection of the Bill would be a disaster and a great blunder was not heeded and was disregarded. It is curious that the suggestion of Lord Inchcape to refer the Bill to a Select Committee was not accepted by the House of Lords. If the latter suggestion had been accepted, I have no doubt that the Bill would have undergone substantial alterations in the Select Committee, and would have produced satisfactory results. It only shows the ignorance, and even the indifference, of most of the members of the House of Lords, towards Indian questions. I trust that the Lords will take more interest in matters concerning Indian administration, and introduce substantial changes in the constitution of the India Council for the benefit of our country.

BABU K. M. CHOWDRI (BENGAL).

Babu Kishore Mohan Chowdhri, in seconding, said :—Mr. President, Brother and Sister delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen : The proposition which I have the honour to be called upon to support or rather second is not a new one. I felt some difficulty when I heard that the words "as at present constituted" were introduced into the resolution. Of course, that was the resolution at the last session adopted at Karachi. However, that difficulty is over. In fact, the proposition is taken in three parts :—The first part is a wholesale abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State ; the second part is an alternative one. If that is not possible we indicate how it should be constituted until its abolition. The third portion is the expression of regret at the summary rejection of the Bill introduced last year by Lord Crewe.

Gentlemen, the resolution is not a new one. All along we have been advocating it on this Congress platform. I say that what we want really is the abolition of this Council. I say so,

gentlemen, with due deference to some of my friends who entertain an opinion quite contrary, and, though they are men grown grey in the service of the Congress and better qualified than my humble self to express an opinion on the matter, still I say it is not satisfactory. I ask you, gentlemen, to consider what practical purpose is served by this august body,—august advisory body in London. There is the Executive Council of the Viceroy. Veteran Anglo-Indians are on that Council, and every question is discussed thread-bare, and members are permitted to write their dissents in the despatches. The Secretary of State for India with his Under-Secretary of State is quite competent to form an opinion. Where is the necessity, gentlemen, that there should also exist another body of Anglo-Indians? I do not know whether these guardian angels of bureaucratic interest are really for the benefit of India. Why should we bear the cost for nothing? Should there be another body, nominally to assist the Secretary of State in forming opinions on subjects with the expert opinion which they claim, practically defeating the public point of view, and practically stifling honest decision or independent exercise of discretion in forming a sound opinion upon a particular subject? If it is necessary at all, Sir, I think it is only necessary for perpetuating the influence of bureaucracy on the whole administration. Expert opinion is a very dangerous element. We have experience of expert opinion in Bengal. We have an official European gentleman for expressing expert opinion on handwriting, and experience has shown that whenever he expressed an opinion, when tested, it turned out to be the wrong side of the real question. Here also can be advanced similar arguments upon the experience of the expert opinion, and special knowledge. The opinion of the Secretary of State depends upon expert knowledge and Anglo-Indian opinion. The real question is, the representatives of the people have no place to be heard there in forming that opinion (*Sic*). (Here the President sounded the bell). I say that really the Council is not needed; it can be abolished altogether. Of course we hope that in the fullness of time it will be abolished; but until that day comes, let us make some suggestions. Though the first one may appear rather ambitious, there is the modest suggestion that of the nine members—there should not be on any account more than nine members in the Council—we say that out of nine, three should be our representatives, and they should be elected, not out of the panel of nomination as proposed by Lord Crewe, but by our representatives in the Council: and we say, let there be another three, who are able men, public men of proved ability, quite unconnected with the administration of India. The other three may be veteran Anglo-Indians. There also we suggest that they should not be men who have retired from the service for more than two years. This is a modest request. The third one is an expression of regret, and the regret is that it was not possible to accept the Bill introduced by Lord Crewe, because there was the principle of election

India
Council
Reform.

India
Council
Reform.

recognised there. It is for that reason that we express regret that a very small beginning has not been made. These are the main suggestions and we say that they are practically the views of the Congress. Let there be wholesale abolition ; and if that is not feasible or possible, let there be the alteration in the constitution, as I just now said to you.

BABU P. C. MITRA.

Babu Purna Chandra Mitra, in supporting, said :—Ladies and Gentlemen: It is an act of cruelty to me, or I should say an act of cruelty to animals, to call on me to speak at this fag end of the hour, especially when my name is not on the agenda paper ; but I must obey the mandate of the Chair however cruel or kind it may be. The resolution that has been put to you is simply a corollary to the important resolution that was ably moved by Mr. Surendranath Banerjea from this platform, and which was so enthusiastically received by you with loud acclamation. It is a small attempt, but a legitimate attempt I should say, at the consummation of the policy of self-government. I say it is a small attempt, because it does not contain all that you want. You know, gentlemen, that the Indian administration is carried on by mandate from the Secretary of State. It is the Secretary of State in whom the real administration lies. Whatever may be the powers of the Imperial Government, whatever may be the powers of a Provincial Government, the real power lies in the Secretary of State. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that the Secretary of State should, if advice is necessary, be advised by broad-minded, patriotic gentlemen, by well-informed gentlemen, and not simply by the representatives of the bureaucracy. Gentlemen, I will not detain you with the details of this resolution. That has been done by my friends who moved the resolution and seconded it. I will simply ask you just to consider the principle, the sound principle upon which this resolution has been based. We want self-government, and how can there be self-government if the government really lies in the hands of the Secretary of State, advised by the representatives of the bureaucracy, the Indian bureaucracy ? It is therefore essentially necessary to remember that this advice must come from persons who are well informed, who are well intentioned, and who are patriotic to this country, and the proposal says that the advisory committee should be composed of such persons as are public men who have a knowledge of Indian affairs. I will not tire your patience. I will simply ask you just to consider the principle of the question, the sound principle embodied in this resolution.

The resolution was put to the Congress and carried.

Congress
adjourns
and re-
assembles.

The President :—We now adjourn for a short time—for half an hour. We meet here at quarter after three, and I will ask the members of the Subject's Committee to meet here at 2-45 P.M.

The Congress then adjourned for the luncheon interval.

The Congress re-assembled at 3-15 P.M., after the luncheon interval.

Congress
adjourns
and
reassembles

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The President called upon Mr. G. A. Natesan to move the next resolution.

Mr. G. A. Natesan (Madras)—Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution committed to my charge runs as follows :—

Indians in
South
Africa.

“This Congress begs to offer to His Excellency the Viceroy its respectful thanks for the noble and courageous stand made by him in the cause of our people in South Africa. And, while expressing its grateful appreciation of the efforts of the Government of India in obtaining relief in respect of some of the most pressing grievances of our Indian fellow-subjects and of the firm advocacy in the cause of India of Sir Benjamin Robertson, this Congress begs to place on record that no settlement can be wholly satisfactory or be deemed final which does not secure equality of treatment between His Majesty's Indian and other subjects in South Africa and respectfully urges on the Government of India that steps may be taken as early as circumstances will permit to bring about such equality of treatment.

And this Congress places on record its warm appreciation of, and admiration for, the heroic endeavours of Mr. Gandhi and his followers and their unparalleled sacrifice in their struggle for the maintenance of the self-respect of India and the redress of Indian grievances.

And this Congress further expresses its gratitude to Messrs. Polak and Kallenbach for their voluntary sacrifice and suffering in the cause of India and the Rev. Mr. Andrews for his help under circumstances of great difficulty.

And lastly, this Congress records its appreciation of the invaluable services of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale throughout the struggle in bringing about the present settlement.”

Mr. President, the resolution is drawn up in a form that relieves me of a great deal of responsibility. I would only remind you that this resolution recalls to our mind the story of the great, strenuous and splendid struggle in which our countrymen in South Africa were engaged for a long number of years. It also reminds me of an exceedingly unpleasant duty I had to perform on more than one occasion on this platform and elsewhere in denouncing the attitude of the Imperial Government and the cruel and unjust manner in which the South African Government were treating the large number of His Majesty's Indian subjects under their control there. I am glad that upon this occasion, it is given to me to say that we feel thankful that the process of strangulation which went on in South Africa for some years has been brought to a close, and that a

Indians in settlement fairly satisfactory and amicable for the present has
 South been arrived at. But it is important to remember that there can
 Africa. be no graver and more serious blunder than to suppose that, because this amicable settlement has been arrived at, this question of the problem of Indians in South Africa has been solved at all. As rightly pointed out in the resolution, the larger question of the equality of status between Indian subjects there and the other British subjects has yet to be solved ; and the greater question whether the British Indian subject of His Majesty carries all the rights and responsibilities of British citizenship wherever he goes and in every part of the British Empire has yet to be solved. This Congress has met under exceptionally difficult circumstances this year, and in obedience to the command given here by the leaders, I refrain from making observations which will render our position, and the position of those with whom we have to deal, in any way difficult or complicated ; but I cannot help stating that as soon as the war is over, if the pledges, promises, and statements made by British statesmen, and in the newspapers which are not generally friendly to us are to be genuine and true, this question of the problem of the equality of citizenship in all parts of the British Empire is in all conscience to be settled honestly and satisfactorily. I would point out that when we think of the cause we cannot forget for a moment the great and noble stand which Lord Ampthill has made from the beginning. There are some gentlemen who join a cause to earn cheap popularity when the cause itself becomes popular ; but Lord Ampthill joined us at a time when it was *infra dig* on the part of Englishmen to help the cause of South African Indians. I know from authentic sources that he was at one time almost threatened with social ostracism for standing up to plead on behalf of Mr. Gandhi and his great compatriots who were fighting the battle. (Applause). Our thanks are due to him for the help that he gave in the hour of need, and for the unflinching manner in which he has always been advocating our cause. It would be impossible also in this Congress to forget the valuable services rendered by Mr. Polak and by Mr. Kallenbach. I hope the Congress remembers that these were the two Englishmen who joined the struggle and wanted to show how far the South African Government would stoop to trouble others, and both of them subjected themselves to a considerable amount of suffering and humiliation on behalf of our cause. Mr. Polak and Mr. Kallenbach were two of the few Englishmen who came under the influence of the magnetic personality of Mr. Gandhi and realised that in undergoing sacrifice and suffering they were helping, not merely Mr. Gandhi, but the great cause of which Mr. Gandhi was the honoured representative.

The last part of the resolution refers very justly to the services rendered by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. Gentlemen, I am sure that everyone of you will feel with me, and echo the sentiment,

that it would be no exaggeration to say that the absence of Mr. Gokhale from this Congress is deeply and widely regretted, and our regret is all the greater when we know that the present state of his health is such that he cannot go over here and take part in this great gathering. But it will be no exaggeration to say that if Mr. Gokhale is ill at the present day and he has been ill for some time—I fear his ill-health will continue for sometime longer if reports are true,—I may say he is ill because he has been serving the cause of the motherland without caring for his health. It would be correct to say that he is ill in the service of his country. May I, on your behalf and on behalf of the people who will read the proceedings of this Congress, pray to God that Mr. Gokhale who has been serving not only the cause of the South African Indians, but of others as well, will live long to advocate many a cause?

They say that out of evil comes good. I wish to point out that several gentlemen are happy that the present war has brought about one desirable result, *viz.*, that it has enabled the British public to see a thing which they should have seen long ago, that India is loyal. The South African Indian struggle has enabled India to show to the world that, under the leadership of men of selfless individuality and dignity like Mr. Gandhi, and his noble, compatriots who have made sacrifices and heroic efforts which would make the best of us blush, India is capable of really asserting itself. This struggle has shown that there are men in this country, our India, who, under proper guidance and in circumstances of an extraordinarily difficult character, can rise to the occasion, and show that they also can prove true to all that is truest, noblest and best in Indian manhood.

BABU S. PRASAD BASU (BENGAL).

Babu Sachendra Prasad Basu, in supporting, said:— Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, my friend, Mr. Natesan, has just now told you that he did not like to break the harmony of this Congress by referring to the unfortunate incidents in connection with this question of colonization and free settlement within the Empire. I assure you, gentlemen, that I also do not wish to make the position of Government uncomfortable by discussing the position of the Indians either in the Colonies or for the matter of that in the British Empire. We are not here to-day to rake up bitter memories of the past. We know that there are many people within this house, and many more beyond these walls, who have not been able to forget so soon the most unfortunate incidents in connection with this question of colonization and free settlement within the Empire. I know, and you know, also, that we have a great grievance in this respect. But sir, everything has its time and season, and even political rights and privileges have to be fought for and acquired in the proper season. The great Empire is on its trial to-day. We

Indians in
South
Africa.

shall not be serving the best interests of our country if we cannot sink all our minor grievances, all our minor differences, and make up our quarrels in front of a common enemy. Well, the time for demanding political rights and privileges is not when the enemy is at our door, with his vandal gun and barbarous army. Gentlemen, you know that the house that gives shelter to so many millions of men is on fire, the watchman is ringing the bell, and you can almost see the flames shooting in the air and threatening the whole Empire; with absolute ruin. Surely this is not the time to rake up bitter memories of the past. Don't you know already what has happened in South Africa in connection with the colonization question? I am not going to tell you all that. You know, and I do not wish to recall to your memory, the most memorable struggle that the Indians in South Africa carried on for years under the distinguished leadership of that great Indian patriot Mr. M. K. Gandhi. I do not wish to recount here how many homes were ruined, how many homes were rendered desolate, and how many girls were obliged to lead a life of shame on account of that struggle. I withhold from recounting all this to you at this critical juncture in our national life.

We are denied this right of colonization and free settlement in the Empire. We are denied equal privileges, and equal rights with the other subjects of the British Crown. We are not allowed to land on certain soil where the Union Jack floats. We have been denied all these, we are denied all these privileges and rights, while we find that the very same people who place us under these disabilities, and brand us as aliens and undesirables, are freely admitted into our country, and are given equal rights and privileges. These people can come, colonize, and settle, and trade wherever they like, but when we go to their part of the country even as hawkers, and wage-earners, we are shunted out forthwith, and shipped back to India as aliens and undesirables, (Cries of shame). Yes, it is a great shame. We are not going to refer to all this (Laughter). Gentlemen, you know that this right of colonization has been denied, and we find that our country is open from end to end to benefit the European capitalist. We find every month that they come here in shiploads to tap the great sources of wealth in unexplored parts of the country. We find that the bowels of mother India have been ripped open to fill the coffers of European adventurers. Mother India from time immemorial has yielded her treasures to the magic spell of European capital. Well, gentlemen, when we, under great economic pressure, migrate to their parts of the country, we are not allowed all these rights and privileges. This is not what we now demand. We do not grudge the investment of European capital; but what we insist upon now is that we shall also be allowed equal rights and privileges along with the other subjects of the Crown.

The struggle for existence in India is becoming keener and keener, and the Indian universities manufacture every year thou-

sands of graduates who knock about the streets only to be told that there is absolutely no opening for them. The learned professions are all overcrowded, the bar is literally packed, there is no room in the medical profession, the door of military service is practically shut upon us and there are but small and few openings in trade, commerce, and industries. Where shall this ever-increasing population go? England sends her vast population to colonize the different parts of the globe, and they have established beautiful colonies. Smiling gardens and beautiful settlements have sprung up on mountain solitudes and in the midst of howling wildernesses. We are denied all these privileges. When these people tell us frankly—and I should say with brutal frankness—that the Colonies belong to them, and that they will not allow Indians or Asiatics to settle down there, we should be able to return them the compliment if we choose to do so.

Indians in
South
Africa.

The President sounded the bell, but there were cries of 'Go on, go on' from the audience.

If they shut the door against us then, perhaps we can also say "Brethren we can also afford to do without you;" and we can as well tell them, with the same amount of brutal frankness, "You must clear out bag and baggage within twenty-four hours." But this is not possible, because the small-minded politicians forget that if they wish to enjoy the fruits of their Empire, they will have to share its burdens as well. If you wish to enjoy the fruits of the Empire, you will have to put up with all sorts of fair and unfair competition even with your neighbours, and brethren. Those Colonists forget that they belong to an Imperial federation to which not only they, but we Indians, also, belong. We are ready and willing to enter the Imperial federation not as slaves, but as equals and partners, (Applause), not as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Indians are no longer that. Young India is pulsating with new life, and is inspired with new hopes and new aspirations. As our President told us in his presidential address, the days of the lotus-eaters have gone, and the pagoda-tree no longer exists, and even the much despised heathens have become civilised. That political ideal has no fascination for young India where we live as slaves, and where the white-men are slave drivers. We want to live and we must live as their equals and partners in the British Empire. We all belong to a great Imperial federation. We like that, we want that, and we cherish that ideal, where smaller interests merge into bigger interests, where the different administrative units have surrendered individual rights and privileges for a higher, nobler, political ideal which, when realised, will spell the death-knell of despotism and absolute monarchy which the German Emperor, in his fancied frenzy, wants to establish in the world. Ah! it is an ideal for which man can live and die. It is an ideal which the poets have dreamt of in their dreams, and the prophets of old have seen in their visions. Just now our leader, the great trumpet voice of India, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, has

Indians in told you that he likes to dream. Yes, we all like to dream. A digression, Sirs, he feared that the shades of evening were fast falling upon him. No, no ! This Congress prays fervently to the God of all the Universe and to the Father of all nations that that trumpet voice of India may be spared long, and for long to infuse a new spirit, to infuse a new life, into the dead bones of mother India. Yes, in that greater Parliament of mankind, in that greater Imperial Federation (the President here sounded the bell again), there is absolutely no room for jealousy and hatred, there is absolutely no room for sectarian jealousy, and bigotry, there is no geographical demarcation between Asia and Africa : it will be one country, one creed, one caste and one race dominated by one Government and inspired by one common goal. If that is Imperialism, we are ready and willing to join it. And if that ideal is true, you will find not only seventy thousand, but three hundred millions, of true born Indians gathered on the battlefield of Europe, ready to die shoulder to shoulder with their European comrades to fight the common enemy of mankind. (Applause).

ADDRESS BY MR. NARASIMHAM.

The President :—Mr. Narasimham, a great poet, blind as he is, a great poet of Southern India, will now address us on this resolution and I hope he will be listened to with the respect due to his great attainments and great position.

MR. C. LAKSHMINARASIMHA.

Mr. C. Lakshminarasimha, (Rajahmundry), then seconded the resolution and addressed the Congress in Telugu.

The President :—I now call upon Mr. Ramakantam Malavayya to support the resolution.

MR. RAMAKANTAM MALAVAYYA (ALLAHABAD).

Mr. Ramakantam Malavayya in supporting, said :—Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen : The resolution which I have been asked to support does not need very strong support from any weak man like myself. As you have been pleased to notice, from the wording of the resolution, this resolution is divided into as many as four parts, if not more. The first part refers to the thanks which are due from all of us to the Viceroy and to the Government of India for the support which we got from them in coming to a settlement on the South African question. So far as that part is concerned, it is not necessary for me to add much to it. So much has been said by our best men of the country on this as well as on other platforms that one need not say much about it.

The second part to which I wish to draw attention is the grievances under which our contrymen in South Africa still labour. As most of you are doubtless aware, in spite of the settlement that

has now been arrived at, Indians are not allowed to use the same tramways as Europeans, they are not allowed to walk on the same footpaths as Europeans, and they are not allowed to purchase lands in their own names, or hold them in their own names. They have to purchase and hold them in the names of others. Not only that : as regards the question of education, which is after all one of the most important questions for a small nation, they find themselves in this difficulty, namely, that in almost every important town there is hardly one school open to them. All the others are shut to them, and they cannot send their boys to those schools for education. In view of these difficulties under which our countrymen labour, no settlement which does not get for them equal treatment with other British subjects, can be taken as full and final. It is for that reason that, in the second part of the resolution, we urge the Government of India to take such steps as may be necessary to bring about an equal treatment for us in that part of the Empire.

The third and the most pleasing part to which I wish to draw your attention is the one which refers to the memorable acts of Mr. Gandhi. This ancient land of ours has been full from time immemorial, of the most noble acts of self-sacrifice, as our ancient history will bear testimony. As most of you are aware, our Ramayana and Mahabharata are full of such anecdotes. Speaking for myself, I doubt very much whether you can compare the noble sacrifices of Mr. Gandhi with those of any other man recorded in our ancient history. As most of you must be aware, at the time when he took up the question of passive resistance, he was making an average income of Rs. 10,000 a month, and had a lucrative practice. He was one of the leading members of the bar in South Africa and not only that, but whereas as Indians, we were not allowed to enter any hotels, he was taken with open arms, and the proprietors of hotels said " Mr. Gandhi is my guest." That man who had everything to gain, if he restricted himself to his practice as a lawyer, the moment he found his countrymen suffering, he gave up everything which was his own, and suffered for their cause more than anybody else could. He had nothing to gain thereby. His wife and children were happy in the life they were leading. But he found that the greater family to whom he had the honour to belong, *viz.*, mother India and her sons, were suffering, and it was for the cause of his countrymen, and for the cause of his greater mother, that he sacrificed all. He tried his level best to bring about a settlement ; and when it became necessary for him, he was the first man to go to jail, and suffer long hardship. Such is the countryman whom we are asked to honour, and to whom we are asked to render our thanks. As most of you are doubtless aware, he is at the present moment taking his well-deserved rest in England. His health is absolutely shattered, and broken. He was never in bad health; but his health is now so much shattered and ruined that no one knows how long he may live. Let us

Indians in South Africa. hope and pray that he will live long and for many years to come will serve the cause of the motherland.

The last part to which I wish to draw your attention is the one relating to the thanks, that we are going to offer to another patriot of ours, the noble, Mr. Gokhale. As you are doubtless aware—if my other leaders and countrymen will pardon me—of all the leading personalities in India, he was the man who took up this subject with greater sympathy, interest and zeal than perhaps any other living man. My leaders will pardon me—I mean no disrespect to them—Mr. Gokhale took up the cause as if it were his own personal cause, and he worked for it the hardest under the most trying circumstances. My friends, who have known him at Poona, know what anxious days he was admittedly passing. He was willing to sacrifice his health and everything else, merely because he wanted to do some good to his countrymen. At great sacrifice to his health, he went to South Africa to see what he could do to bring about a settlement. If we have been able to get something done, though much less than what we wanted or deserved, even the little that we have been able to get—it is the conviction of some of us—that we owe that to a great extent to the noble efforts of Mr. Gokhale. It is for these reasons that I support this resolution.

The resolution was put and carried.

MR. F. G. NATESAN (TRICHINOPOLY).

Abolition of Indentured Labour. Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen :—
The resolution, I have the honour to move for your acceptance, runs as follows :—

“ Owing to the scarcity of labour in India, and the grave consequences resulting from the system of indentured labour, which reduces the labourers, during the period of their indenture, practically to the position of slaves, this Congress strongly urges the total prohibition of recruitment of labour under indenture, either for work in India or elsewhere.”

This resolution, gentlemen, is only a reiteration of the principles enunciated and approved by the Congress at its previous sessions, and I do not think it requires much persuasive eloquence on my part to induce your full acceptance of it at this sessions, and as for long as this system of indentured labour is not abolished altogether. Brother delegates, if there is one thing more than another that in recent times has outraged our deepest feelings of national honour and pride, roused the just indignation of the teeming millions of India, and stirred to activity, the highest instincts of patriotism in our midst, it has been the humiliating treatment of our fellow countrymen in the Colonies within the British Empire ; and, if there has been one system,

more than another, which has conducted to enslave and work misery and ruin on the countless number of the dumb, down-trodden peasantry of the land, and which to-day makes us impatient spectators of the cruel suffering and degradation of our wretched brothers and sisters of the labouring classes, that system has been, and to this day is, the recruitment of labour, under that dreadful word indenture. But for this 'indenture,' gentlemen, introduced into this land at a most unfortunate period of the working of men's brains, we should have had no South African question, we should have been spared the horrors of the past few years, and the genius, the fire, the enthusiasm and the consuming sacrifices of a *Ghandi*, would have been available for us, nearer home, in our *own country* to expedite the construction and consolidation of the Indian Nation, and lead her on triumphantly in the path of progress and advancement, in a manner which would satisfy the highest aspirations of *United India* and the ardent, impatient throbbings of "*Young India*."

Abolition
of
Indenture
Labour.

Brother Delegates, which of you that has read the bright pages of history recording in golden letters the abolition of the *slave trade*, has not gone into *raptures* over the *generosity*, the *humanity* and the *large heartedness* of those great British statesmen, who were responsible for that glorious and monumental achievement in the history of the world? And, is it possible, that in an Empire, which is in the guiding hands of the sons of those great and noble sires, a relic of that barbarism should still be allowed to exist under a form *legalised slavery* called "Indenture," than which, nothing is more horrid in its aspects, as it is *degrading* and *demoralising* in its effect, on the *whole Nation*?

Brother delegates, you are no doubt aware that, in past years, greater men than myself, have eloquently pleaded for, and insisted on, the prohibition of the system of recruitment of labour under indenture, either for work in India or elsewhere; and I feel sure I have the whole house with me when I say that we *must go on insisting, and insisting in season and out of season, in Congress and out of Congress*, until India can be said to have really shaken off, once and for all, that *disgusting and soul-sickening load of "Indentured Slavery."*

Gentlemen, year after year we have witnessed the gradual depletion of the labour in the land, and the unchecked growth of this depletion has been the concern of the country. The complaint is met with, everywhere, that the *ploughs are idle*, and that *mirasidars* daily find it difficult, if not impossible, to maintain their lands, in a proper standard of productive capacity. Industries are going down, and even in towns we all feel the scarcity of labour, as evidenced by the marked increase in wages demanded by the artizan and the domestic servant. The reason may be said to lie in the direction of the rise in prices all round; but, I believe, the high prices themselves are in the first instance trace-

Abolition
of
Indentured
Labour.

able to what I would call the "*deportation*" of the labouring classes from the country, with this difference that the "*deportation*" in *this case*, is in a way *voluntary*, as the result of the *seduction* of the mind by the offer of enhanced emoluments, and the attraction of a *happier* and *easier* life in the cool and shady corner of a fertile country, held up to the imagination of a toil-worn labourer of an Indian village, in a most exaggerated advertisement, in which he is told he has absolutely nothing more to do than to nip a few leaves, or a few buds from a *peculiarly beautiful plant*, and then *bask* all day long in quiet and contentment! Alas! How many are the victims of this seductive temptation! How many villages, and how many families, have been ruined! How many young, innocent, couples, have been ruthlessly separated from their hearth and home! How many children left orphans!—And *pity of pities*, out of the thousands upon thousands of men and women, who leave their villages on "Indenture," how many do you think return home with the "gold" they went after? What is the condition of the few, that return to their villages? Alas! a mere wreck of their formerself—demoralised, disease-stricken, emaciated—and woe-begone—*death* staring through their faces in all its grim reality! And, what about the large majority that,—alas!—may *never return to their homes*, may never see their dear country, their own kith and kin? There they remain, in a foreign land, groaning under the ruthless weight of the planter, who, like Shylock of old, "*will have his bond.*" There is one exception, however, and that is the fat *Kangani*, who lives on the *blood* money of his poor victims. Would that there was a law to *proscribe* the *Kangani*, that cool, calculating blood-hound, who waits for his prey in the innocent and unsuspecting villages! *How long*, are we, brother delegates, to allow this state of affairs to go on? *No more!* We shall not have this indenture on our men any longer—let us insist upon it. Let us see to it that it disappears along with the other wrongs that oppress our beloved motherland. Gentlemen, one word of appeal, and I have done. I make a most solemn and earnest and direct appeal to the landed aristocracy of the land, to the Mirasidars and Inamdars, and to everyone who has anything whatever to do with the ryots, the cultivators, the artisans, and members of the other labouring classes, *not excluding your own domestic servants, to see to it, that it shall not be said of us*, that, while we pleaded for the liberation of our labourers from the *bonds* of *slavery* outside, in the form of "Indenture," we *did not* ourselves mind inflicting on them a *different* form of slavery in our own country. Pray let there be no *depressed classes amongst us*, any longer, and no differentiation *between man and man, between class and class*, between the Hindu and the Mussulman, the Christian and the Parsi. In his, as in all other cases, let us be guided by that *noble, soul-inspiring and truly nationalistic ideal*: "*The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of Man.*"

MR. T. SENADHYA (FIJI ISLANDS).

Mr. Totaram Senadhya (Fiji Islands) seconded the resolution Abolition
of
Indentured
Labour.
in Hindustani.

The resolution was put and carried.

RESOLUTIONS MOVED BY THE PRESIDENT.

The President :—Now, gentlemen, there are some resolutions which were decided in the Subjects' Committee to be put from the Chair, and I go on to put them one by one. First of all I put the resolution No. 9 relating to Judicial and Executive functions :— Judicial
and Exe-
cutive
Functions.

“This Congress, concurring with the previous Congresses, urges the early separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the best interests of the Empire 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.”

The resolution was put and carried.

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT.

The President :—Then I come to the old Swadeshi resolution, No. 11, on the Agenda :— 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.”

The resolution was put and carried.

THE PRESS ACT.

The President :—I come to the resolution relating to the Press Act. The delegates have got a copy of the resolution and they will save me the labour of reading it. The Press.
Act.

The resolution which runs as follows was put and carried :—

“This Congress reiterates its protest against the continuation of the Indian Press Act on the Statute Book, and urges that the same be repealed, specially in view of the decision of the Calcutta High Court, which declares that the safeguards provided by the Act are illusory and incapable of being enforced.”

LAND SETTLEMENT.

The President :—I put the resolution on the Land Settlement, No. 13. Land
Settlement.

The resolution which ran as follows was carried unanimously :—

“This Congress is strongly of opinion that a reasonable and

Land Settlement. definite limitation to the demand of the State on land, and the introduction of a permanent settlement directly between Government and landholders in ryotwari areas, or a Settlement for a period of not less than 60 years in those Provinces, where shorter periodical settlements on revision prevail, will substantially help in ameliorating the present unsatisfactory condition of the agricultural population."

SEPARATE ELECTORATES.

Separate Electorates. The President :—I put resolution No. 15. I may say that in connection with this resolution a few delegates have sent in to me a statement saying that they do not agree with the resolution, but that they do not wish to divide the house. I put that resolution to vote :—

The resolution runs as follows :—

"This Congress, while deprecating the creation of separate electorates in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, urges on the Government that the said system should not in any case be extended to the local bodies, as it will prove injurious to the development of national unity and the fostering of the national ideal."

The resolution was put and declared carried "without dissent."

INDIAN TROOPS.

Indian Troops. The President :—I come to resolution No. 19. I think this resolution being a new one I ought to read it. The resolution runs as follows :—" This Congress rejoices to place on record its deep sense of gratification and pride at the heroic conduct of the Indian troops, whose deeds of valour and conspicuous humanity and chivalry in the Great War are winning the respect of civilised mankind for the Mother Country, and resolves to send a message of hearty and affectionate greetings to them and their comrades in arms, with fervent prayers for their well-being and success. That the President be requested to cable the above resolution to the Indian troops through the proper channels."

Those in favour of this resolution will kindly raise their hands. (Cries of "all, all").

The resolution was declared carried.

The President :—This resolution I have been commissioned to wire to the proper military authorities for being transmitted to the soldiers at the front. (Hear, hear).

EXTENSION OF H. E. LORD HARDINGE'S TERM OF OFFICE.

The President :—I come to resolution No. 20, which runs as follows :—" This Congress begs to place on record its high appreciation of the services rendered to India by His Excellency

the Viceroy, and expresses the hope that his tenure of the office ^{Indian} may be extended for such time as, after the cessation of the war, ^{Troops} may be necessary for a proper settlement of the great and far-reaching issues affecting the future position of India as a component and equal part of the Empire."

The resolution was carried amidst applause.

AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The President :—I think I should state the history of the ^{Amend-} next resolution No. 21. There were some amendments proposed ^{ment of} in the Subjects' Committee to which other amendments were ^{the Consti-} proposed. This is the final resolution adopted by the Subjects' ^{tution.} Committee. The resolution runs as follows :—

"That the following two amendments suggested for the consideration of the Subjects Committee of this Congress be referred by the General Secretaries of the Congress to a Committee, consisting of three members to be nominated by each Provincial Congress Committee with the General Secretaries as ex-officio members, the said Committee to meet at such time and place as may be fixed by them in consultation with the Secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committees and to report to the All-India Congress Committee in regard to the said amendments for such action, if any, as the All-India Congress Committee may deem fit to suggest to the next Congress.

The said two amendments are :—

At the end of Article XX of the Constitution of the Indian National Congress Organization now in force, add the following words :—

"If such a meeting be not called, it shall be called for the election of delegates, within one month of the Congress, in any town or district, on the requisition of not less than 20 householders over 21 years of age to the Provincial or District Congress Committee in which the town of the requisitionists is situate."

11. In Article XX of the Constitution of the Indian National Congress Organisation now in force, make the following alterations :—

(i) at the end of clause (4) delete the word 'and' ;

(ii) at the end of clauses (5) for the full stop, substitute a comma,

(iii) and add the following words :—"and Public Meetings convened under the auspices of any association which has, as one of its objects, the attainment of Self-Government by India on Colonial lines within the British Empire by constitutional means."

Shortly before lunch notice of an amendment was handed up to me which, as your President, I have ruled out of order

Amend- under the Constitution. I now put this Resolution (No. 21) to the
ment of vote.
the Consti-
tution. The resolution was put and carried.

THE BRITISH CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

British The President :—Brother delegates, I put before you Resolu-
Congress tion No. 23. It runs as follows :—
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 organisation of the British Committee and *India* should be maintained.”

The resolution was put and carried.

SECRETARIES

Appoint- The President:—The next Resolution (24) is, that the Hon'ble
ment of Nawab Syed Mahomed Bahadur and Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu
General be appointed General Secretaries for next year.
Secretaries

The resolution was put and carried.

MR. K. R. GURUSAWMY IYER (MADRAS).

Thanks to Mr. K. R. Gurusawmi Iyer, in proposing the resolution,
the said :—Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen :
Deputation The proposition that I am asked to place before you runs thus :—
to London.

“This Congress acknowledges with deep gratitude the services rendered at great personal sacrifice by the Deputation which went to England last summer, on behalf of the Congress, to place before the Secretary of State for India the views of the Congress on the India Council Bill of 1914, and other important questions.”

Gentlemen, this resolution was to have been moved by the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahomed, and I need hardly tell you how much more appropriate it would have been if this task of thanksgiving had been moved by one of such acknowledged position on the Congress platform, as that which belongs to the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahomed. But, Sir, having been, for some reason or other, with which I am not acquainted, called upon to move it, I rise to do so with great pleasure. Gentleman, no other resolution could have been entrusted to me with so much concurrence on my part as this one in this year's business. The idea of sending a deputation to England to represent the Congress ideas and views is, I need hardly tell you, a most excellent one, and I would only say that it is regrettable that we have not been able to carry out this idea year after year. We are meeting here once in the year. The British Committee, that represents us in England, is a permanent institution which none of us has the least doubt has been working hard for a long series of years in our behalf, to familiarise our ideas and our grievances in England, and to organise steps to be taken on our behalf. But, in order to carry on our work, not only through the press

and from the platform, but also by personal persuasion, it is absolutely necessary that representative men forming our deputation should wait year after year, not only upon the authorities in India, but also upon the more potential authorities we have in England if our work is to bear great fruition. In that sense it was a happy idea of the last Congress to have appointed this deputation; and when I tell you the names of those who constituted the deputation, and when I tell you also the achievements made by them, I have not the least doubt you will all be intensely gratified. Gentlemen, from the report that the All-India Congress Committee has issued, many of you will have known—and to those who have not had access to that report I will give—the names of the members of the deputation. The deputation was headed by no less a gentleman than the Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu, who is presiding over our deliberations. He represented Bengal. Our good friend, the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma represented Madras. Mr. Jinnah represented Bombay as also Mr. M. N. Samarth. Mr. S. Sinha and Mr. Mazrul Haq represented the United Provinces. Gentlemen, these members of the deputation, I understand, were headed by our President—I have inadvertently omitted the name of Lala Lajpat Rai, and I apologise for that very grievous mistake. This deputation was headed as it was bound to be, and as it is proper that it should have been, by Babu Bhupendranath Basu. The way in which he introduced the deputation, the manner in which he represented our ideas to the authorities, and the achievements that he made with the help of his colleagues, were certainly such that nothing could have been more appropriate than that he should occupy the chair, and very naturally and very properly, his achievements have led him to the position which he has now so worthily held in this chair for these three days.

Gentleman, with regard to the Bill which has been already referred to in the resolution, a good deal of support was given to it by the deputation by personal talk with Lord Crewe and several other eminent politicians, and the angles of vision of our deputation and many of the authorities in England so coincided, as a result of these representations, that almost a perfect state of concord was reached between them. It is no doubt very regrettable that the Bill has been lost in the House of Lords. If that Bill has gone, a better Bill will soon come. For such services, as have been rendered by the gentlemen who formed the deputation, I now have the honour to move a very cordial vote of thanks, and with this vote I should not omit to couple the name of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, who, though he was not a member of the deputation, has done yeoman service to our cause. I have only one word more. We have not only to record our thanks to the deputation, but we should also put our hands deep into our pockets, in order that work may be done more effectively and that further deputations may be enabled

Thanks to the Deputation to London. to wait on the authorities in England from time to time. (Applause).

THE HON. MR. CHIDAMBARANADHA MUDALIAR (MADRAS).

The Hon'ble Mr. K. Chindambaranadha Mudaliar, in seconding the propositions, said: Mr. President, Brother and Sister delegates:—I second this motion with sincere pleasure. It is a motion which of all the motions which you have considered during the last two days is not the least in importance. As Sir William Wedderburn once observed to me, the real work that has to be done for the betterment of this country is really with the British people, their eyes have to be opened, their knowledge has to be improved and our real state of things disclosed to them. Then, and then alone, will come the amelioration and betterment of every phase of life in India. I need hardly tell you what valuable services our friend, the worthy President of this Congress, my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma and a number of our worthy countrymen have done for us and have done on behalf our country in England through this deputation. They have addressed meetings, have interviewed high officers of State, and they have spoken to influential members of Parliament, and they have done all this with the one noble purpose of improving the condition of this country, and of giving full the rights of manhood, and the equal liberties of British citizenship, to our revered India and dear motherland. (Applause). Gentlemen, the surest way of doing good to this country is to continue such deputations year after year, and no better assembly, and no nobler congregation can do it than this worthy Congress of ours. I need hardly request you to carry this vote of thanks with sincere gratitude and with wishes for such deputations year after year.

Mr. N. Subba Rau Pantulu :—Our esteemed President was one of the foremost members of the deputation, and as such, he is disabled from putting the proposition to the vote; he is disqualified to do so. Therefore I have much pleasure in putting the proposition to the vote.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously amidst acclamation.

Mr. N. Subba Rao :—I propose three cheers for all the members of the deputation.

This was heartily responded to.

The All India Congress Committee for the next year.

THE PRESIDENT.

All India Congress Committee The President said I have another resolution to put before the Congress, and that is that the All-India Congress Committee for the ensuing year be appointed consisting of the following

members. (See list in appendix). The names are given by the All India different provinces except the Punjab which is unfortunately not Congress represented (for list see appendix). Committee.

The resolution was carried.

SIR VITALDASS DAMODAR THACKERSAY (BOMBAY):—

Sir Vitaldass Damodar Thackersay on rising said:—Mr. The next President, Brother delegates, ladies and Gentlemen:—On behalf Congress of the city of Bombay I have the honour to invite you do the next session of the Congress to be held in Bombay in 1915. Gentlemen, Bombay is the birthplace of this Congress. It was so long as 29 years ago, viz., 1885, that that the first session of the Congress was held in Bombay; and during the last twenty-nine years by continuous work, you will all admit, we have made considerable success. We have made good progress during all these years. I assure you, gentlemen, that during your stay in Bombay when you come, we shall try to make you as comfortable and as happy as possible (Applause). The success of the next session of the Congress will depend upon your work, your enthusiasm, and your presence in as large numbers as possible. (Cries of 'We want a United Congress'). Gentlemen our movement is progressing satisfactorily as I tell you; but the time will soon come when we shall have to make a united and supreme effort to gain our end. Let us hope that the time is coming shortly. Bombay is the pioneer of many things. It has also given birth to this Congress, and I assure you that nothing will give greater pleasure to the people of Bombay than to see this Congress, which it has given birth to, progressing and progressing until it has achieved its end. Gentlemen, I again invite you to meet in Bombay in 1915.

MR. N. M. GOKULDOSS.

Mr. Narotham Maraiji Gokuldoss (Bombay) said:—I beg to second the proposition so ably moved by my friend Sir Vitaldoss Thackersey.

The invitation was accepted.

MR. S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar. (Madras) said:—Mine is the most pleasant duty of proposing a vote of thanks to the chair. The Presidentship of the Indian National Congress is at all times a most responsible position to occupy, if it is at the same time the proudest and most honourable position which it is given to an Indian to occupy (Applause). This year events of unusual gravity, here and elsewhere, have invested the office of the Presidentship of the Congress with peculiar responsibilities. When the invitation of the Madras Reception Committee reached Mr. Bupendranath Basu, it was rather late in the year, very very late indeed, and he had just emerged from the arduous campaign on our be-

Thanks to half in England. It was so good of him to have responded to the Chair. our call and to have accepted readily the Presidentship of this year's Congress. The most courageous patriotism and the rarest statesmanship were required to enable one to discharge the duties of that high office in this year, and they have been reached to the fullest extent that you can wish for by the worthy occupant of the chair to-day. I do not propose to enlarge upon the qualities which you have seen and heard, because the proofs of them have been manifest to you these three days. Therefore, I shall merely content myself by asking you to remember, once again, the admirable and weighty address which he delivered to you on the opening day of the Congress, marked by the highest practical sagacity and whole-hearted devotion to our mother land. I only wish that the ideal of manhood which is reached by such Presidents of our National Congress will become in the course of years as common as possible, so that it may be given to us to see in every town in India such specimens of Indian manhood. Gentlemen and brother delegates, I ask you to accord to our distinguished Chairman your enthusiastic and your unanimous vote of thanks.

The vote of thanks was carried amidst great acclamation.

Three cheers were called for the President and responded to most enthusiastically with the waving of handkerchiefs.

The President was garlanded by Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu.

THE PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING SPEECH.

President's concluding speech. The President who rose amidst loud applause and cries of "Vande Mataram" made the following concluding speech :—

Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen :—I think it would be no exaggeration of my feeling if I were to say that this is indeed the proudest moment in my life; for who thought—I did not even in my wildest dreams think—who thought that, when in 1886 I entered the Congress ranks as a Volunteer, I should live to be elected the President of the Congress? Honestly and truly I may tell you that I have never aspired to that high position, for I had always preferred to work quietly and unostentatiously, and it was not for many years after I had joined the Congress that my friends were able to induce me to stand on the Congress platform and address the Congress audience; for I felt that as a young man years of preparation were necessary for the high task of discharging the duties of a Congress delegate properly, and therefore I chose to wait. You have dragged me out from my humble obscurity, but gentlemen, whether I deserve it or no, I do really feel thankful and grateful to you for the great honour that you have done me.

But leaving my case aside, leaving the difficulties under which I was placed by being called upon at a very late time in the day to preside over this assembly,—leaving all this aside,

as your President on this occasion I must, in the first place on behalf of the assembled delegates in Madras, offer our hearty and sincere thanks to the Reception Committee in Madras (Applause) who have, under circumstances of no ordinary difficulty which probably would have frightened hearts less stout, under circumstances of no ordinary difficulty, so successfully organised this great demonstration and carried it to a successful termination. To Sir Subramania Iyer, the revered Chairman of the Reception Committee, all India is under obligation. (Applause). Of others on that Committee whose work we as delegates have witnessed for the last three or four days, it would be impossible for me to speak individually, for it might be invidious ; but I think that there can be no question of invidiousness if I were to refer to the indefatigable labours of the Secretaries of the Reception Committee for the success of the present Congress. (Applause). Gentlemen, I have been in my own time several times a member of Reception Committees and also the Secretary of a Reception Committee ; and I know from personal experience how hard and arduous the task is, that is vested in the Reception Committee. From my long experience of Congress organisation, in which I have always been a humble worker, I bear willing testimony on behalf of the Congress to the efficient discharge of the duties which the Reception Committee of Madras have undertaken on the present occasion.

Gentlemen, I cannot omit, on this occasion, to refer to that devoted band of young men (Hear, hear) who leaving aside the pride of birth and caste have served us as ordinary menials, and have not hesitated to do the meanest work that a menial would do for his master. Gentlemen, they show what is the stuff of which the youth of India is composed (Applause). They show that, given time and opportunity, if they were allowed to carry arms in the defence of their country, for the honour of their motherland (Applause), they would shed lustre on her name which cannot be surpassed by any of the sons of any other land. I hope and trust that the time will soon come when our young friends will prove their mettle, not only in the eyes of their own people but before the civilised world in defence of the honour and glory of their country. I saw, as I proceeded as one of your deputation through Paris—I saw a great demonstration there in which the entire youth of France, known as the boy scouts, assembled in the gardens of the Tuileries under the presidency of the military secretary. I saw the enthusiasm depicted on those young faces and I saw their martial bearing. I saw their fire and I saw their ardour. I felt that each of them dreamt of rising to be a Napoleon of France. When will the time come when each of these young volunteers in our land will also dream of being able to rise to the position of a Napoleon or a Wellington ? (Applause). How long will the realization of that dream be postponed ? Gentlemen, all honour to these young men for the voluntary services they

President's
concluding
speech.

President's rendered to us in the name and in the cause of our motherland.
concluding (Hear, hear).
speech.

Brother delegates, my thanks are not only due to our friends of the Reception Committee and to the young volunteers, but my thanks also are due to you all, delegates and visitors, for the co-operation and help which you have been pleased to extend to me in bringing the proceedings of this Congress to a successful close. You have cheerfully obeyed the orders of the Chair which have been sometimes given unwillingly (Laughter), for after all our time is limited and if only we carry on that spirit of co-operation which you have all manifested in this hall to-day, I feel quite assured that we need not fear for the future of India ; we need not fear for the realisation even of those dreams which come now and again to trouble the aged head of our revered leader.

Gentlemen, in this connection, it would be wrong of me if I were to fail to refer individually to the distinguished lady who has joined the ranks of the Congress. (Loud and continued applause). The experience, the wisdom, the ardour, the enthusiasm which Mrs. Besant has displayed (Applause) in our cause which she has made her cause also are worthy of praise. She reminds me, as I sit in the Presidential Chair, of the palmy days when ladies like Arundhathi and Maitreyi discoursed in assemblies of men. I see before me young girls of my own race, of my own faith. May I not appeal to them that in their time they also will remind future audiences in the Congress of these great ladies of fame? (Applause).

Gentlemen, I cannot refrain from referring to what is passing through my mind at this present moment as I am standing to address you ; because, we had felt, we had hoped, we had cherished the hope that probably in the serene atmosphere of Madras we should succeed in healing the breach in the Congress which has so unhappily arisen. I feel grateful to those who have, for considerations, for which I do not entertain anything but respect, found it impossible even now to join our ranks. I respect their scruples ; but I hope that we have not been altogether idle in this Congress in trying to bring about a reconciliation between the two wings of our progressive party. I hope that when we next meet it will be under better auspices. I hope, that when we next meet, the two sections of the Congress will realize that strength lies in unity (Applause), and that before we next meet the two sections will realise that country is above self, that they will realise that self-respect may be a great factor in life but respect for the country is greater, (Applause) that they will realise that it is no degradation, no shame, to lay aside self altogether in the cause of the country, no humiliation to come together in the cause of the country under the temple of the mother. (Hear, hear and applause). I hope they will realise, and I appeal to those outside this hall who are not within the sound of my voice. I

appeal to them in the name of that country whose welfare they have all at heart, I appeal to them to lay aside all personal considerations and to close the ranks (Applause); for the times that are coming are such that it is absolutely essential, if we really want to secure those great and eternal rights of mankind, of humanity, for which we have been striving so long, that we should present a united front. I appeal to them to bear in mind that country is above all. I appeal to them, in the language of that great race who are now fighting for the dominion of the world "*India Uber Alles.*" Let that be our motto, outsiders or insiders, conventionists or non-conventionists, seceders or followers of the Congress, let our motto be not self-respect as between ourselves, let our motto be "*India above all.*" If that be our motto, the solution of the questions which have divided us need not and will not be very difficult.

Brother delegates, I am afraid I am abusing your indulgence (Cries of "no, no") in addressing you at this fag end of the session, with what to you must seem a long and tiresome speech. (Cries of "no, no"). But I shall refrain. You have carried with enthusiasm a resolution of thanks to the deputation which, under your behest, and following and obeying your command, proceeded to England in the discharge of the duties entrusted to them. Well, we are grateful for those thanks which you have given us, but were those thanks necessary? We did only our duty, and I may say that we only strove to do our duty. Our efforts have been spoken of in terms of high appreciation, while those efforts are only known to ourselves. If they were equally well known to you, probably the high appreciation that you have bestowed upon us would have been modified by some degree of reserve. But I can tell you this, namely, that every member of the deputation tried to do his best to further the mission which you had entrusted to the deputation; and they could do no more. If they have failed, it is no fault of theirs. Brother delegates, do not be disheartened if the deputation failed, for if they fail, they may fail for a time. We of the Congress have learnt to reach success through failures. If your first deputation failed, if a deputation of six have failed, send a deputation of twice, three times, four times, six times the number, and let England feel that India is in earnest. If she can turn away six men from India, she cannot turn away 600 men from India. If need be, if circumstances should so demand, if the events that are rapidly passing through the stage of the world should so develop, that it may be necessary not only to send a deputation to England, but to have a session of the Congress in London (Applause), I am sure your patriotism will enable you, whatever may be the sacrifice, to proceed to England, to proceed to the heart of the Empire and there show that you are in earnest. (Applause). I do not say that it will be necessary, but if ever it is necessary, I am sure my countrymen will not fail to respond to the call of the country-

President's concluding speech.

Brother delegates, after 30 years of arduous labour, of hard work, we are in sight of our inheritance. The war has removed from our path the mist of doubt and suspicion ; it has opened up to us a vista through which we can see the mansions of our future. Brother delegates, I ask you, I tell you, tarry not, but go forward ; shake the dust off your feet, shake off the dust of time that has pressed on the door-mat of life, and follow the immemorial custom of the east ; purify yourselves, offer your devotions and prayers and sacrifice before you enter upon your inheritance ; throw off the clogging habiliments of doubt and despair and don the dress of hope and faith, and what better sacrifice is there than that ? You should immolate yourselves on the altar of duty and all that it implies ; sacrifice self, sacrifice pride, sacrifice all that drags you down. What higher worship, what higher devotion is there than that of God and country ? So purged and purified, so ennobled and inspired, you will enter upon your inheritance and pray that your mother may occupy the seat for which she is weeping. Pray that strength may be given unto you to suffer and die ; pray that strength may be given unto you to achieve the great destiny of which you are the inheritors, and if you bear in mind, if you will always have it in your thoughts, if you always give God the highest place in your thoughts and in your hearts, if you always listen to the call of country, I have no doubt—no one can have any doubt—that the destiny for the fulfilment of which you are so strenuously struggling will soon be realised.

Brother delegates, I will not detain you longer ; but I ask you and I appeal to you not to forget the sacred cause for whose sake and in whose name you are assembled here to-day. You chose me, as I said in my address, as the high priest of the worship that you have gathered together to offer to our mother. I have conducted the worship with whatever ability God has vouchsafed to me. And now I close the ceremonial. But because you are going away from the temple of the mother, do not forget that that cause must for ever remain with you an abiding inspiration. Waking or asleep, do not for a moment forget that you have on your shoulders the responsibility of redeeming the honour and glory of your mother. Do not for a moment think that, because the worship is over, you may go and rest. For us, sons of India, for us, men of the Congress, for women who are in sympathy with us, there can be no rest, there can be no forgetting that our work is not over, that day and night, in waking moments and in sleep, we must always bear in mind the cause for which we have gathered here to-day ; and if we do so, I am assured, and the world will be assured, that what we want will be granted to us. Ladies and gentlemen, I will only thank you again for the kindness, courtesy and consideration that you have extended to me throughout this session. I will say that so long as life is vouch-

-safed to me, I shall for ever bear in grateful recollection the memory of these three days. (Loud applause). President's
concluding
speech.

Mr. G. A. Natesan requested the President and delegates to be pleased to attend the "At Home" which had been organised by the Reception Committee of the Congress on the grounds of Doveton House adjoining the Congress Pavilion. The proceedings were brought to a close with cries of "Vande Mataram."

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

Indian National Congress Organisation

(As adopted by the Congress of 1908, amended by the Congress of 1911, and further amended by the Congress 1912.)

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 the Christmas holidays at such town 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 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.

Provincial Congress Committees.

ARTICLE VI.

- (a) 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 head-quarters at the chief town of the Province in each of the following nine Provinces :—

I. Madras ; II. Bombay ; III. United Bengal ; IV. United Provinces ; V. Punjab (including N.-W. Frontier Provinces) ; VI. Central Provinces ; VII. Behar and Orissa ; VIII. Berar ; and IX. Burma.

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 jurisdictions 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, or by virtue of the provisions contained in any of the fore-going 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 due 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) (e) 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-Indian Congress Committee.

ARTICLE XIII.

The All-India Congress Committee shall, as far as possible, be constituted as herein below laid down :—

15	representatives of Madras ;
15	„ „ Bombay ;
20	„ „ United Bengal (including Assam) ;
15	„ „ United Provinces.
13	„ „ Punjab (including N. W. Frontier tier Provinces) ;
7	„ „ Central Provinces ;
15	representatives of Behar & Orissa ;
5	„ „ Berar ; and
2	„ „ Burma,

provided, as far as possible, that $\frac{1}{3}$ th 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 XVI.

The representatives of each Province shall be elected by its Provincial Congress Committee at a meeting held, as far as possible, before 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 herein, above laid down, (3) such Political Associations or Public Bodies of more than two year's 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, and (5) Public Meetings convened by Provincial or District Congress Committees or other recognised bodies.

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 to which the Congress is to be held shall take steps in 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 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 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 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 the case of emergency by resignation, death or otherwise of the President elected in such manner, the matter aforesaid shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India Congress Commit-

tee, 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 herein above 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	„	„ United Bengal ;
„	15	„	„ United Provinces ;
„	13	„	„ Punjab (including N. W. F. Provinces) ;
„	7	„	„ Central Provinces ;
„	15	„	„ Behar and Orissa ;
„	5	„	„ Berar ;
Not more than 2 representatives of 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 for 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

Interests 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 Mohammedan 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 Mohammedan 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 4th 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 safe-guarded.

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, half 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 previously sent to all the Provincial Congress Committees.
- (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.*As adopted by the Congress of 1908, 1911 and 1912.*

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) The 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 chose 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 the 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 the 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 nominations, 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 11 (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 Resolutions 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 11 (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." Votes shall ordinarily be taken by a show of hands or 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 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 has 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 fore-going 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 meeting 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 B.

MEMBERS

OF THE
ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

FOR THE YEAR 1915.

BOMBAY.

Ex-officio :—

Dadabhoy Nowroji.
The Hon. Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta, K.C.I.E.
Mr. D. E. Wacha.
The Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E.

Elected :—

Sir Balchandra Kistna.
The Hon. Mr. C. H. Sitalvad.
" G. K. Parekh.
" Harichandra Vishandas.
Mr. Abbas S. Tyabji.
" M. A. Jinnah.
" N. M. Samarath.
" N. V. Gokhale.
" H. A. Wadya.
" D. G. Padhye.
" Govind Appaji Patil.
" Thakuram Kapilram.
" Mathardas Ramachand.
" D. A. Khare.
The Hon. Mr. G. M. Bhurgri.

MADRAS.

Ex-officio :—

The Hon. Nawab Syed Mahomed.

Elected :—

Dewan Bahadur M. Audinarayaniah.
Mr. K. Ekambara Iyer.
Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaragava Iyer.
Mr. K. R. Guruswamy Iyer.
" V. V. Jogiah Pantulu.
The Hon. Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao.
Mr. T. V. Muthukrishna Iyer.
" G. A. Natesan.
The Hon. Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao.
The Hon. Rao Bahadur V. K. Ramanuja Charlar.
Mr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer.
The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.
The Hon. Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma.
Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar.

UNITED PROVINCES.

Ex-officio :—

The Hon. Mr. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.
 „ Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar.

Elected :—

Pandit Motilal Nehru.
 Dr. Satish Chandar Banerjea.
 Mr. Haffiz Mahomed Abdur Rahim.
 Mr. Durga Charan Banerjea.
 „ C. Y. Chintamani.
 „ Pero Nath Banerjea.
 Pandit Gokaram Nath Misra.
 „ Iqbal Narayan Masaldan.
 Mr. A. P. Sen.
 Munshi Iswar Gharan.
 Mr. Thakur Mahaleo Singh.
 „ Rao Krishnaji.

BERAR.

Ex-officio :—

The Hon. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, C.I.E.

Elected :—

Mr. M. V. Joshi.
 Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle.
 Mr. R. V. Mahajani.
 „ G. N. Kane.
 Rao Sahib Ganesh Nagesh.

BEHAR.

Mr. Mazhar-ul Haque.
 The Hon. „ Braj Koshore Prasad.
 „ Deep Narayan Singh.
 „ Sachidananda Sinha.
 „ Parmeshwar Lall.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

The Hon. Sir G. M. Chitnavis, K.T., K.C.I.E.
 Dr. H. S. Gour.
 Rao Bahadur Waman Kolhatkar.
 Mr. Babu Rao Dada.
 Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit.
 Mr. V. R. Dixit.
 „ M. K. Pydhyc.

UNITED BENGAL.

Ex-officio :—

The Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea.
 Dr. Rash Behuri Ghose, C.S.I., C.I.E.
 Mr. Babu Bhupendranath Basu.

Elected :—

Mr. J. Chaudhuri.
 „ Krishnakumar Mitra.
 The Hon. Dr. Nilratan Sircar.
 Mr. Herambala Maitra.
 „ Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri.
 „ Prithivis Chandra Roy.
 „ Lalit Mohan Das.

Mr. Krishto Das Roy.
 „ Satyananda Bose.
 „ Sarat Chandra Gupta.
 „ Gagan Chandra Biswas.
 „ Paramathanath Basu.
 „ S. M. Bose.
 „ Jotindranath Basu.
 „ Chuni Lal Lahiri.
 „ Jagedish Chandra Sen Gupta.
 „ Motilal Mukerjea.
 „ D. C. Gosh.
 „ Surendranath Mullick.
 The Hon. Moulvi Abdul Kasim.

PUNJAB

Lala Lajpat Rai.
 Lala Harkisham Lal.
 Pundit Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhery.
 Lala Duni Chand.
 Lala Dharmdas Suri.
 Mehta Bahadan Chand.
 Lala Sangom Lal.
 Shaikh Umar Buksh.
 Jai Gopal Sethi.
 Raizada Bhagat Ram.
 Fakir Chand.
 L. Bhana Ram.
 Lala Murli Dhar.

BURMA

Mr. V. G. Biajpurkar.
 Samsundaram Mudaliar.

APPENDIX C

List of Members of the Reception Committee of the 29th Indian National Congress.

1. Mrs. Annie Besant.
2. M.R.Ry. K. N. Aiya Iyer Avl., B.A., B.L.
3. Rao Bahadur, S. R. M. M. A. Annamalai Chettiar Avl.
4. M.R.Ry. T. Arumainatham Pillai Avl. B.A., B.L.
5. " D. K. Asher.
6. " C. V. Ananthakrishna Iyer Avl, B.A., B.L.
7. " W. N. Appaswami Iyer Avl.
8. Dewan Bahadur, M. Audinarayanaiah Garu,
9. M.R.Ry. K. Adiya Reddi Avl.
10. " P. Aiyyanan Chettiar Avl.
11. " C. T. Alwar Chetti Avl., B.A.
12. " P. Appavoo Mudaliar Avl.
13. " M. Alagappa Mudaliar Avl.
14. " C. Ambalavana Chettiar Avl.
15. " K. Audinarayana Reddi Avl.
16. " V. Arunagiri Naidu Avl., B.A.
17. The Hon. Mr. Ahamad Thambi Marakayar.
18. M.R.Ry K. Bashyam Iyengar Avl., B.A., B.L.
19. " V. L. Balakrishna Mudaliar Avl.
20. " K. Balasubramania Iyer Avl., B.A., B.L.
21. " Balasubramania Venkata Sitaram Avl.
22. " S. A. Balakrishna Iyer Avl.
23. " R. Balasubramania Iyer Avl. B.A., B.L.
24. " Balasubramania Pillai Avl.
25. " B. Bhima Rao, B.A., B.L.
26. " M. Colundavalu Mudaliar Avl.
27. " N. Chandrasekara Iyer Avl., B.A., B.L.
28. " M. Chengia Pantulu Garu B.A., B.L.
29. " K. Chandra Reddi Garu,
30. " V. Chandrasakara Iyer Avl.
31. " A. K. T. K. M. Cheria Narayana Nambudri Paud.
32. Hon. Mr. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar.
33. M.R.Ry. N. Chellappa Rao Avl.
34. " A. L. A. R. Chockalingam Chettiar Avl.
35. " P. C. Desikachariar Avl., B.A., B.L.
36. " A. Doraswami Iyer Avl., B.A., B.L.
37. " M. D. Devadoss Garu.
38. " T. K. Dasarathy Sahib Avl.
39. " C. Doraswami Iyengar Avl., B.A., B.L.
40. Dewan Bahadur, T. Desikachariar, B.A., B.L.
41. M.R.Ry. V. Desika Chariar Avl.
42. " Devasikamani Chetty Avl.
43. " K. Ekambara Iyer Avl., B.A.
44. " C. Gopal Menon Avl.
45. " C. S. Govindaraja Mudalir Avl., B.A., B.L.
46. " S. Guruswami Chettair Avl., B.A., B.L.
47. " Vaidiyaratna Pandit D. Gopalacharlu.
48. " Khan Bahadur, Gulam Mahomed Mahajir.
49. " Y. Govinda Rao Garu.
50. " T. V. Gopalswamy Mudaliar Avl., B.A., B.L.

51. Dewan Bahadur, Govindoss Chathurbuja Doss.
52. M.R.Ry. Lodd Govindoss.
53. " Mothay Ganga Raju Avl.
54. " G. S. Grimaji Rao.
55. Dewan Bahadur. L. A. Govindaragava Iyer Avl. B.A., B.L.
56. M.R.Ry. M. S. Gopaldaswami Iyer Avl.
57. " A. V. Gopalachariar Avl, B.A., B.L.
58. " K. Govindachariar Avl.
59. " V. Gopaldaswami Ragunatha Rajaliar Avl.
60. " S. Gopaldaswami Iyengar Avl, B.A., B.L.
61. " K. R. Guruswami Iyer Avl.
62. " M. Hyath Bacha Sahib Avl.
63. " S. Hanumantha Rao Avl., B.A., B.L.
64. " R. Harihara Rao Avl.
65. " A. Hanumantha Rao Pantulu.
66. Mr. Haji Abdul Rahiman Sahib.
67. M.R.Ry. A. Jagadisvara Iyer Avl., B.A., B.L.
68. " V. V. Jogiah Pantulu Garu.
69. " A. Kannan Chettiar Avl.
70. " S. V. Krishnaswami Iyer Avl.
71. " T. S. Krishnaswami Rao Avl.
72. " A. C. Krishnaswami Iyengar Avl.
73. " C. V. Krishna Rao, Avl.
74. " K. S. Kalyanasundaram Avl.
75. " J. B. Krishnaswami Iyer Avl.
76. Rao Bahadur, N. Krishnaswamy Iyengar, Avl.
77. Dewan Bahadur, C. Karunakara Menon B.A.
78. M.R.Ry. G. Krishnaswami Iyer Avl. B.A., B.L.
79. Hon. Rao Bahadur K. R. V. Krishna Rao.
80. M.R.Ry. M. Krishnaswami Iyer. Avl. M.D.
81. " K. Kotelingam Garu. B.A., B.L.
82. " A. Krishnaswami Iyer Avl., B.A., B.L.
83. " K. V. Krishnaswamy Iyer Avl., B.A., B.L.
84. " R. Kuppaswamy Iyer Avl.,
85. Khan Bahadur Mahomed Abdul Kuddus Batcha Sahib.
86. M.R.Ry., M. B. Krishnan Chettiar Avl.
87. " T. M. Krishnaswami Iyer Avl., B.A., B.L.
88. Dewan Bahadur, K. Krishnaswami Rao, C.I.E.
89. M.R. Ry., N. Krishnamachariar Avl.
90. " C. Kuppaswami Mudaliar Avl.
91. " C. A. C. Kasinatham Chettiar Avl.
92. Rao Sahib, C. Kannan Chettiar Avl.
93. M.R.Ry., C. R. Kunjithapatham Iyer Avl.
94. Hon. Mr. P. Kesva Pillai.
95. M.R.Ry., P. R. Krishnaswamy Naidu Avl.
96. " T. Kurathalwar Chetty Avl.
97. " L. Kuppaswami Reddiar Avl.
98. The Hon. Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.
99. M.R.Ry., G. Kothandaramiah Avl. M.A.
100. " K. S. Krishnaswami Iyer Avl.
101. " S. Kuppaswami Iyer Avl.
102. " K. Kunji Kuttan Thamban Kalapathi.
103. " K. T. K. Kolaya Nadar Avl.
104. " M. V. Krishna Rao Avl.
105. " M. V. Krishnaswami Iyengar Avl.
106. " J. P. Kotilingam, M.A.
107. " G. C. Loganatham Mudaliar Avl.
108. " K. Lakshmana Chetty Garu, B.A., B.L.
109. " C. R. Lakshymivaraga Iyengar Avl.
110. " K. Lakshminarayana Chetty Avl.,

111. M.R.Ry. T. S. Lakshminarayana Iyer Avl.
 112. " R. Lakshmanarama Reddiar,
 113. " K. Lakshminarana Chetty Avl.
 114. " S. V. M. L. Lakshmanan Chettiar.
 115. " C. Manavala Chetty Garu.
 116. " T. V. Muthukrishna Iyer Avl, B.A., B.L.
 117. " V. Masilamani Pillai Avl., B.A., B.L.
 118. " P. N. Muthuswami Naidu Avl.
 119. " Mangalvedkar.
 120. " C. K. Mahadeva Iyer Avl. B.A., B.L.
 121. " S. Muthiah Mudaliyar Avl., B.A., B.L.
 122. " P. S. Muthu Mudaliar Avl.
 123. " V. S. Murugasa Chetty Garu.
 124. " Mothay Manickam Avl.
 125. " C. M. Muthukumara Chettiar Avl.
 126. " P. M. A. Muthia Chettiar Avl.
 127. Meer Sultan Mohideen Sahib Bahadur.
 128. M.R.Ry. T. S. Muthuswami Iyer Avl., B.A., B.L.
 129. " Malayandi Chettiar Avl.
 130. " V. M. A. Muthukannan Chettiar Avl.
 131. " Muthuswamy Pillai Avl.
 132. " Madhava Rajoo Avl.
 133. " M. Mahadeva Iyer Avl.
 134. M.R.Ry. A. M. Muthia Chetty Avl.
 135. Khan Bahadur Mandapam Marakayar.
 136. M.R.Ry. K. Nummalvar Chetty Garu.
 137. " K. Nagasvara Rao Avl.
 138. " G. A. Natesan Avl., B.A.
 139. Hon. Nawab Syed Mahomed Sahib Bahadur.
 140. Dewan Bahadur K. Narayana Rao Garu, B.A., B.L.
 141. M.R.Ry. B. Narasimah Rao Garu.
 142. " M. S. Natesa Iyer Avl.
 143. " T. S. Natesa Sastri Avl., B.A., B.L.
 144. Hon. Mr. B. V. Narasimah Iyer, B.A., B.L.
 145. M.R.Ry. K. V. L. Narasimham Garu.
 146. " P. Nagabushanam Pantulu Garu, M.A., B.L.
 147. " T. Narasimah Iyengar Avl., B.A., B.L.
 148. " K. Narasimah Iyer Avl.
 149. " A. Nathamuni Chetty Garu.
 150. " V. Nageswara Sastri Avl.
 151. " Natarja Pillai Avl.
 152. " P. Natesa Iyer Avl.
 153. " P. V. Naganatba Iyer Avl.
 154. " P. Narayanamurthi Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.
 155. " P. R. Natesa Iyer, B.A., B.L.
 156. " B. S. Nataraja Sastrigal Avl., B.A., B.L.
 157. " T. S. Narayana Sastri Avl., B.A., B.L.
 158. M.R.Ry. T. Numberumal Chetty Avl.
 159. " R. Narayanaswami Iyer Avl., B.A., B.L.
 160. " M. Narasimahcharlu Avl.
 161. " A. K. N. Nagam Iyer Avl.
 162. " Allur Narasimah Iyer, Rama Iyer Avl.
 163. " Nanabhai Devy.
 164. " P. R. Narayanasawmy Iyer.
 165. " T. Prakasm Avl.
 166. " G. Parathasarathy Chetty Garu.
 167. " R. M. Palat Avl.
 168. " Nallam Padmanaban Avl.
 169. " B. Pattabi Rama Reddi Garu.
 170. " N. Pattabi Rama Rao Avl., B.A.

171. M.R.Ry. Poonuswami Chettiar Avl.
 172. " C. P. Ramaswami Iyer Avl., B.A., B.L.
 173. " Hon. Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao, B.A., B.L.
 174. " S. Ramanujachetty Avl, M.A. B.L.
 175. " T. A. Ramachandra Rao Avl.
 176. " A. Ramasesha Iyer Avl.
 177. " V. Ramasem Pantulu Garu B.A., B.L.
 178. " K. B. Ramanatha Iyer Avl., M.A., B.L.; L.T.
 179. " P. V. Ramanujam Chetty Garu B.A.
 180. " C. Ramanujam Chetti Garu.
 181. " P. Ramanathan Avl.
 182. " T. Rajagopalachariar Avl.
 183. " T. S. Rengaswamy Iyer Avl.
 184. " G. Rengamannar Chetty Garu.
 185. " U. Rama Rao Avl.
 186. " V. Ramadoss Garu B.A., B.L.
 187. " N. Ranganatham Naidu Avl.
 188. " P. V. Ramachendra Iyer Avl.
 189. " A. Rangaswami Iyengar Avl.
 190. " S. Ramaswamy Iyer B.A., B.L.
 191. " T. Rangachariar Avl., B.A. B.L.
 192. " C. Ranganayacalu Chetty Garu
 193. " V. Ragunatha Sastriar Avl., B.A., B.L.
 194. " C. V. Ragava Chetty Avl.
 195. " K. Rajah Iyer Avl., B.A., B.L.
 196. " T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar Avl.
 197. " V. Ramachandra Rao Avl. B.A., B.L.
 198. " G. Ramanathaiah B.A., B.L.
 199. Hon. Rao Bahadur, V. K. Ramanuja Chariar
 200. M.R.Ry. A. S. Rajagopala Sastri Avl.
 201. " J. B. Ramaswamy Iyer Avl.
 202. " K. Ragava Charry.
 203. " A. Rengaswamy Iyer Avl., B.A., B.L.
 204. " T. S. Ramaswamy Iyer Avl., B.A., B.L.
 205. " S. V. Ramaswamy Mudaliar Avl.
 206. " G. Rengiah Naidu Avl.
 207. " P. Rajamannar Chetty
 208. " V. Radakrishna Iyer, Avl., B.A., B.L.
 209. " C. A. Rajah Chetty Avl.
 210. " A. R. Ramakrishna Chettiar Avl.
 211. Rao Bahadur, N. C. Rajagopalchariar, B.A.
 212. M.R.Ry. M. K. Rajagopalachariar Avl.
 213. " K. Ramaswamy Iyer Avl.
 214. " K. R. Regunatha Rao Avl.
 215. " S. M. Rajachidambara Mudaliar Avl.
 216. The Hon. Mr. V. Ramabadra Naidu Avl.
 217. " Mr. K. Rama Iyengar Avl.
 218. M.R.Ry. K. V. Ramaswamy Iyer Avl.
 219. " T. R. Ragunatha Rao Avl., B.A., B.L.
 220. " K. V. Ragavacharlu Avl.
 221. " V. Rajagopala Pantulu Garu.
 222. " T. V. Ramaswamy Iyer Avl. B.A., B.L.
 223. " D. Ranganatha Iyer Avl.
 224. " V. S. V. P. Ratnaswamy Nadar Avl.
 225. " P. R. Rama Iyer Avl.
 226. " K. B. Ranganatha Iyer Avl.
 227. Rao Sahib S. M. Raja Ram Kao.
 228. M.R.Ry. P. T. Rangaswami Iyengar Avl.
 229. " K. V. Ramachariar Avl.
 230. " T. N. Ramachandra Iyer Avl.

231. Rao Sahib Regunatha Nagaswamy Jadow
 232. ' G. Ramaswamy Iyengar Avl.
 233. " M. N. Rayaloo Iyer Avl.
 234. " T. V. Ramasamy Iyer. .
 235. " G. K. Rangiah Doss Avl.
 236. " N. V. Seshachala Naidu Garu.
 237. " Moluna Abdus Subhan Avl.
 238. " S. Soundara Raja Iyengar Avl.
 239. " S. Srinivasa Iyengar Avl. B.A., B.L.
 240. " E. S. W. Senathi Rajah Avl. L.L.D.
 241. " N. Subba Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.
 242. " K. R. Subramania Sastri Avl. B.A., B.L.
 243. " A. Suryanarayanaiah Avl. B.A., B.L.
 244. " C. Srinivasachari Avl.
 245. " A. Srinivasa Iyengar Avl. B.A., B.L.
 246. " T. Sambamurthi Rao Avl.
 247. " S. T. Srinivasagopala Chariar Avl.
 248. " C. Srinivasamurthi Avl.
 249. " M. Subbaraya Iyer Avl. B.A., B.L.
 250. " R. Sadagopachariar Avl., B.A., B.D.
 251. " S. Satyamurthi Avl. B.A., B.L.
 252. Rao Bahadur, C. S. Subramaniam.
 253. M.R.Ry. C. Selvaraja Mudaliar Avl., B.A.
 254. The Hon., Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar, B.A., L.T.
 255. M.R.Ry. V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar Avl. B.A., B.L.
 256. " S. Satyanarayana Avl.
 257. " P. A. Subramania Iyer Avl. B.A.
 258. " T. K. Sivarama Iyer Avl.
 259. " A. Subramania Iyer Avl.
 260. " P. Sambasiva Rao Avl. B.A., B.L.
 261. Rao Bahadur, K. Suryanarayana murthi.
 262. M.R.Ry. T. R. Sitarama Sastri Avl.
 263. " T. N. Sadasivan Avl.
 264. " R. Swaminatha Vijaya Thevar Avl.
 265. M.R.Ry. Sree Hottu Veerabadra Garu.
 266. " S. Sivagurunatha Chettiar Avl.
 267. " P. Suryanarayana Raju Avl.
 268. " S. P. Srinivasa Pillai Avl.
 269. " S. Sambasiva Chettiar Avl.
 270. " R. Swaminatha Iyer Avl.
 271. " M. A. Srinivasa Iyengar Avl.
 272. " G. V. Sambanda Chettiar Avl.
 273. " M. Subramania Iyer.
 274. Rao Sahib C. Srinivasa Rao Avl.
 275. M.R.Ry. A. Santana Rama Iyengar Avl. M.A., L.T.
 276. " Sadhu Ganapathi Pantulu Avl.
 277. " A. K. Sundram Iyer Avl. B.A., B.L.
 278. Khan Sahib Syed Abdul Razak Sahib Bahadur
 279. M.R.Ry. K. S. Sambasiva Iyer Avl.
 280. " P. S. Sivarama Iyer Avl.
 281. " T. S. Subramania Mudaliar Avl.
 282. " S. Sundararaja Iyengar Avl., B.A., B.L.,
 283. " N. Srinivasachariar Avl. B.A., B.L.
 284. " C. Subbaraya Chetty Garu.
 285. " B. Sitaram Rao Avl., B.A., B.L.,
 286. Dr. Sir. S. Subramania Iyer K. C.I.E.
 287. M.R.Ry. S. E. Sankara Iyer Avl.
 288. " M. Singaravelu Chetty Avl., B.A., B.L.
 289. " A. Swaminathan Avl., B.A., B.L.
 290. " V. V. Shunmuga Mudaliar Avl.

291. M.R.Ry. S. Somasundaram Pillai Avl., B.A., B.L.
 292. " K. Srinivasa Iyengar Avl. B.A., B.L.
 293. " P. Sambanda Mudaliar Avl., B.A.
 294. The Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma Garu, B.A.
 295. " V. Subba Rao Avl., B.A.
 296. " G. V. Srinivasa Rao Avl., B.A., B.L.
 297. " G. Somayagi Iyer Avl., B.A., B.L.
 298. " M. S. Sesha Iyengar Avl.
 299. The Hon. Mr. P. Somasundaram Chettiar.
 300. M.R.Ry. N. L. Sivarama Iyengar Avl.
 301. " A. Sethu Rao Avl.
 302. " V. C. Seshachariar Avl., B.A., B.L.
 303. " T. Sitarama Chettiar Avl.
 304. " R. Subbarayadu Garu.
 305. " T. V. Sivaramaiah Garu.
 306. " A. Sadagopachariar Avl., B.A.
 307. " Swaminatha Pillai Avl.
 308. " M. Subramania Iyer.
 309. " P. Siva Rao.
 310. " Y. Seshappa.
 311. " M. A. Tirunarayana Chariar Avl., M.A., B.L.
 312. " O. Thanikachalam Chettiar Avl.
 313. " T. C. Thiruvencatathan Chettiar Avl.
 314. " C. J. Vishnav Avl.
 315. " G. A. Vidyarama Iyer Avl., B.A.
 316. " K. A. Viraragavachariar Avl., B.A.
 317. The Hon. Mr. C. Vijayaragavachariar Avl., B.A., B.L.
 318. " T. S. Visvanatha Iyer Avl., B.A.
 319. " C. S. Venkatachary Avl., B.A., B.L.
 320. " L. S. Viraragava Iyer Avl., B.A., B.L.
 321. " T. V. Venkatarama Iyer Avl., B.A., B.L.
 322. " Vidya Sagar Pandya.
 323. " C. Venkatasubramaniam Avl., B.A., B.L.
 324. " M. Venkatasvara Rao Pantulu Garu.
 325. " P. Venkatachalam Mudaliar Avl., B.A.
 326. " S. Venkatachalam Chetty Garu.
 327. " N. Venkanna Thevar Avl.
 328. " Rao Sahib G. Venkataramiah Garu.
 329. " G. Venkatarenga Rao Avl., M.A.
 330. " V. Viswanatha Sastry Avl., B.A., B.L.
 331. " G. S. Venkatarama Iyer Avl., B.A., B.L.
 332. " A. Venkatasubba Rao Avl., B.A.
 333. " S. Venkatanarasimah Rao Avl. B.A.
 334. " K. Venkattappiah Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.
 335. " B. Venkatachalam Chettiar Avl.
 336. " T. S. Vasudeva Chettiar Avl.
 337. " K. Venkatareddi Naidu Avl., B.A., B.L.
 338. " C. V. Venkatarama Iyer Avl.
 339. " K. R. Venkatarama Iyer Avl., B.A., B.L.
 340. " S. Veraragavachariar Avl.
 341. " M. Venkatasubba Rao Avl., B.A., B.L.
 342. " C. Venkatarangam Naidu Avl.
 343. " S. Venkatappiah Garu.
 344. " C. Venkatarenga Reddiar Avl.
 345. " P. Venkatarama Naidu Garu
 346. " B. Venkatasubba Naidu Garu
 347. " D. Vaithyanatha Dikshathar
 348. " V. Varathiah Chettiar Avl.
 349. " T. A. Venkataswamy Rao Avl.
 350. " C. M. Venkatachalapathi Iyer Avl.

351. The Hon. N. Visvanatha Iyer Avl., B.A., B.L.
352. „ T. R. Venkatarama Sastri Avl., B.A., B.L.
353. „ Khan Bahadur Wajji Lalji Sait.
354. „ B. P. Wadia Avl.
355. „ The Zemindar of Muthialpaud

APPENDIX D.



LIST OF MEMBERS

OF

THE SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

OF THE

Twenty-ninth Indian National Congress, Madras (1914.)

MADRAS.

The following were elected as members of the Subjects Committee, other than the members of the All-India Congress Committee, who are entitled to sit in the Subjects Committee.

Elected :—

Mr. A. P. Patro.
" Venkatapathi Raju.
" Zemindar of Polavaram.
" S. Hanumantha Rao.
" K. Venkatappya.
" Narasimah Rao.
" B. Shiva Rao.
The Hon. Mr. P. Kesava Pillai.
Mr. C. Ramachandra Rao.
" C. Doraswami Iyengar.
" N. Krishnamachariar.
" Venkatachariar.
" R. Srinivasa Iyengar.
" Desikachariar.
The Hon. Mr. K. Rama Iyengar.
Mr. K. R. Venkatarama Iyer.
" Sadu Ganapathi.
The Hon. Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Chariar.
Mr. N. Thampan.
" Ramalingam Chettiar.
" T. V. Venkatarama Iyer.
Rao Bahadur N. Krishnaswamy Iyengar.
Mr. F. G. Natesan.
Mrs. Annie Besant.
Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyenger.
" M. D. Devadass.
" T. Ranghachariar.*
" V. Masilamani Pillai.*

* Ex-officio as the Secretaries of the Reception Committee.

UNITED PROVINCES.

Elected :—

Mr. A. P. Sen.
 Pandit Iqbal Narain Masaldar.
 Mr. Ayodhya Doss.
 Pandit Gokarnath Misra.
 „ Hirdynath Kunzru.
 Mr. A. K. Bose.
 Babu Harikisha Dhan.
 Pandit Ramakanta Malavya.
 „ Jivan Shauker.

UNITED BENGAL.

Elected :—

Mr. R. D. Mehta.
 „ Ramani Mohan Das. ✓
 „ Purnachandra Mitra.
 „ Radhacharan Pal.
 „ Sachandra Prasad Bose.
 „ Monaranjan Banerjee.
 „ Hemanja Mohan Ghose.
 „ Jogendra Chandra Chakrawarthy.
 „ Purna Chandra Chaudhri.
 „ Annukul Chandra Chakrawarthy.
 „ Jogendranath Basu.

BOMBAY.

Elected :—

Mr. G. K. Devahar.
 The Hon. Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mampatram.
 Mr. Kimatrai Bhojraj.
 „ D. G. Dalvi.
 „ V. R. Gupte.
 „ V. G. Kale.
 „ Keshavrao, Vakil.
 „ J. R. Charpure.
 „ Altekar.
 „ Gokaldas J. Advani.
 „ Hiranand Satokaram.
 „ C. K. Gadgil.
 The Hon. Mr. Upasani.
 Mr. G. K. Chitale.
 „ Dyadas B. Advani.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Elected :—

Mr. N. A. Dravid.
 „ S. D. Khare.

BEHAR.

Elected :—

Mr. Sachchidanand Sinha, Bar.-at-Law, Bankipore, Behar.
 S. A. Rajah, Editor, "The Express," Bankipore.
 Mr. Baboo Aeikshan Sinha, Pleader, Muzaffarpur.

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914.

Serial. No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
1	Madras	Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. L. S. Viraraghava Aiyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	High Court Vakil, Mylapore.	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C., held on 21st December 1914.
2	Do.	Do.	„ N. S. Narasimhachariar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Do. do.	Do.
3	Do.	Do.	„ V. Venkatachariar, P.A.,	Do.	Pleader, Conjeevaram	Do.
4	Do.	Do.	„ T. M. Ramaswami Aiyar, B.A.	Do.	Landlord	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C., held on 27th December 1914.
5	Do.	Do.	„ A. Swaminadha Aiyer, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Mylapore.	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C., held on 21st December 1914.
6	Do.	Do.	„ C. Padmanabha Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Vaishnava Brahmin.	Do. do.	Do.
7	Do.	Do.	„ G. Lakshmana Reddi, B.A.	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Pleader, Gooty, Anantapur.	Do.
8	Do.	Do.	„ K. V. Vaidyanatha Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Brahman	High Court Vakil, Negapatam.	Do.
9	Do.	Do.	„ T. Srinivasaraghavachariar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Vice Charman, Coimbatore.	Do.
10	Do.	Do.	„ Paravasudeva Aiyar	Do.	Salem	Do.
11	Do.	Do.	„ B. S. Nataraja Sastrigal, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Negapatam.	Do.
12	Do.	Do.	„ A. M. Chakrapany Chettiar	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Merchant, Nagapatam	Do.
13	Do.	Do.	„ P. Narayanamurti Pantulu, B.A., B.L.	Brahman	High Court Vakil, Mylapore.	Do.
14	Do.	Do.	„ V. Madhava Menon, B.A., B.L.	Hindu (Nair)	Do. Mangalore.	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C., held on 27th December 1914.
15	Do.	Do.	„ C. K. Mahadeva Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin	High Court Vakil, Royapettah.	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C., held on 21st December 1914.

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914—(cont.)

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Names in Full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
16	Madras ...	Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	„ A. Anantharama Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	High Court Vakil, Nadu Street Mylapore.	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C., held on 21st December 1914.
17	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ K. Sundara Gounder ...	Hindu non Brahmin.	Hosur, Salem ...	Do.
18	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ P. K. Ramakrishna Aiyar ...	Brahmin ...	Pleader, Coimbatore ...	Do.
19	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ Nyapathi Hanumantha Rao Pantulu Garu.	Do. ...	.....	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C., held on 25th December 1914.
20	Do. ...	Do. ...	Rao Bahadur S R. M.M.A. Annamalai Chettiar.	Hindu non Brahmin.	Merchant, Kanadu Kathan, Ramanad District.	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C., held on 21st December 1914.
21	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. K. A. Viraraghavachariar, B.A....	Brahmin ...	Educational Advisor, Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Madras.	Do.
22	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ K. T. Paul, B.A. ...	.....	Municipal Councillor and District Board Member.	Do.
23	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. K. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Vaishnava Brahmin	High Court Vakil, Mylapore.	Do.
24	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ C. Raju Iyengar ...	Do. ...	Pleader ...	Do.
25	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ T. V. Balakrishna Chettiar, B.A.	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Vakil ...	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C., held on 27th December 1914.
26	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ D. P. Chinnakrishna Chetty ...	Do. ...	Merchant, Salem ...	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C., held on 21st December 1914.
27	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ P. V. Srinivasa Rao ...	...	High Court Vakil ...	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C., held on 25th December 1914.
28	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ R. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Vaishnava Brahmin.	Pleader Cuddalore N. T.	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C., held on 21st December 1914.
29	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ R. M. Palat ...	Nair ...	Bar-at-law, Poonamallee Road, Madras.	Do.

30	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ E. S. W. Senathi Raja, L.L.B. ...	Hindu	...	Bar-at-law, Madras	...	Do.
31	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Konda Venkatapayya Garu ...	...	...	Vakil, Guntoor,	...	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C., held on 25th December 1914.
32	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ K. N. Kesari	Hindu	Brahmin.	Doctor	...	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C., held on 27th December 1914.
33	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. Chengiah	Do.	...	Public Prosecutor	...	Do.
34	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. Gurusawmi Chettiar B.A., B.L.	Hindu non-Brahmin.	...	High Court Vakil, 13 Law Chambers Madras	...	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C., held on 21st December 1914.
35	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ A. S. Vaidyanada Aiyar, M.A., L.T.	Hindu Brahmin...	...	Asst. Coimbatore College, Coimbatore.	...	(Coimbatore Peoples)
36	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ K. Bashyam Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Vaishnava Brahmin.	...	High Court Vakil, Mylapore.	...	Do.
37	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. B. Krishna Chettiar F.T.S.	Hindu non-Brahmin.	...	Inamdar Palakode, Salem	...	Do.
38	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Cusbah Venkatagiri Aiyar	Hindu	...	Hosur, Salem	...	Do.
39	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ U. S. Venkataramiah	Do.	...	Salem	...	Do.
40	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. S. Rathnasabapathi Mudaliar.	Hindu non-Brahmin.	...	Landlord and Municipal Councillor Coimbatore.	...	Do.
41	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ N. Rama Row	Hindu	...	Apprentice at Law C/o Mr. V. Ramasami H. C. V. Triplicane.	...	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C., held on 25th December 1914.
42	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ B. Satyanarayana	Do.	...	Do. do.	...	Do.
43	Do.	...	Do.	...	Rao Sahib, D. Subrahmanyan	Brahmin	...	Pleader	...	Do.
44	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. M. Vasudeva Rao	Hindu	...	Landholder, Hosur, Salem.	...	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C., held on 21st December 1914.
45	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. S. Sambamurti Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	...	High Court Vakil, Coimbatore.	...	Do.
46	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. Sambanda Mudaliar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu non-Brahmin.	...	Do. do.	...	Do.
47	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ K. N. Aiya Aiyar, B.A., B.L.,	Hindu Brahmin...	...	High Court Vakil, Mylapore.	...	Do.
48	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ T. V. Venkatarama Aiyar B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	High Court Vakil, Egmore.	...	Do.
49	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ N. K. Ramaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	Do. Tanjore.	...	Do.
50	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ V. Venkatachari, B.A.,	Do.	...	Pleader, Negapatam	...	Do.

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914—(cont.)

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinction.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address	When and how Elected.
51	Madras ...	Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. K. C. Sivaramakrishna Aiyar ...	Hindu Brahman...	Maramat Superintendent, Sivaganga, Ramanad. Dt.	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C., held on 21st December 1914.
52	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ K. Ramanujachariar B.A., ...	Do. ...	Professor, Pachappa's College, Madras.	Do.
53	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ M. Arunachala Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Pleaper, Arni, North Arcot.	At a meeting of the Madras P. C. C. held on 25th December 1914.
54	Do. ..	Do. ...	„ S. Ponusawami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	High Court Vakil ...	Do.
55	Do. .	Do. ...	„ U. C. Krishna Bhutt, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Do. Mangalore.	Do.
56	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ V. K. Nanniah ...	Hindu ...	Merchant, Salem ...	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C. held on 21st December 1914.
57	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ Raja Rao, B.A., B.L. ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Pleader, Tiruppur, Coimbatore.	Do.
58	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ T. Arumainatha Pillai, B.A., B.L.	Native Christian...	High Court Vakil, Mylapore.	Do.
59	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ C. Sitaramiah ...	Hindu ...	Do. Triplicane.	Do.
60	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ K. R. Ramakrishna Aiyar B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin...	Landlord, Apprentice at-Law Dharapuram.	Do.
61	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ C. S. Ramasami Aiyar, B.A., ...	Do. ...	Landlord, Taluk Board, Member, Kalinjivadi, Dharapuram.	Do.
62	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ Ellappa Chettiar ...	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Salem ...	Do.
63	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ P. Sambasiva Rao, B.A., B.L. ...	Brahman Smarta.	High Court Vakil, Ellore ..	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C. held on 25th December 1914.
64	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ T. V. Nanjunda Aiyar ...	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Tirupur ...	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C. held on 21st December 1914.
65	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ P. N. Muthusami Naidu Garu B.A.,	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Merchant, 16 & 17 Second Line Beach.	Do.

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914—(cont).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
86	Madras ...	Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	" A. Tiruvengalappa ...	Hindu ...	Pensioner, Gooty. ...	.....
87	Do. ...	Do. ...	" Copparaju Venkata Rao	Hindu Brahmin.	Ongole. ...	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C., held on 21st December 1914.
88	Do. ...	Do. ...	" C. S. Goindaraju Mudaliar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu non-Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Poona-mallee road, Vepery.	Do.
89	Do. ...	Do. ...	" K. R. Narasimah Chariar ...	Hindu ...	Pleader Dharmapuri, Salem.	Do.
90	Do. ...	Do. ...	" T. S. Venkatarama Sarma, B.A.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
91	Do. ...	Do. ...	" N. Gopalachari, B.A. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
92	Do. ...	Do. ...	" R. Somasundaram Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, Sivaganga, Ramnad District.	Do.
93	Do. ...	Do. ...	" U. Subbayya ...	Hindu ...	Pleader Masulipatam. ...	Do.
94	Do. ...	Do. ...	" A. Suryanarayana, B.A., B.L. ...	Hindu Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Purasawakkam, Madras.	At a meeting of the Madras P.C.C. held on 25th December 1914.
95	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. C. R. Murugesu Mudaliar.	...	Messrs. Gordon Woodroffe & Co.	Do.
96	Do. ...	Do. ...	" P. R. Narayanasami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Mylapore.	At a meeting of the Madras P.C.C. held on 21st December 1914.
97	Do. ...	Do. ...	" C. V. Krishna Rao ...	Do. ...	Ongole ...	Do.
98	Do. ...	Do. ...	" T. Srinivasa Mudaliar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu non-Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, and Municipal Chairman, Erode.	Do.
99	Do. ...	Do. ...	" A. Subramania Aiyar ...	...	Pleader, Vellore ...	At a meeting of the Madras P.C.C. held on 25th December 1914.
100	Do. ...	Do. ...	" K. Hanumantha Rao, M.A., B.L.	Hindu ...	Masulipatam ...	At a meeting of the Madras P.C.C. held on 21st December 1914.
101	Do. ...	Do. ...	" C. P. Narayana Rao, B.A. ...	Hindu Brahmin.	1st Grade Pleader Coimbatore.	Do.

102	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ T. S. Sivasubramania Chettiar B.A.	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Landlord, Tiruppur ...	Do.
103	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ N. Subba Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	...	High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.	Do.
104	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ K. B. Ramanatha Aiyar, M.A., B.L., L.T.	Hindu Brahmin.	Profr., Pachiappa's College, Triplicane.	Do.
105	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Mrs. Annie Besant	...	Editor, Author and lecturer T. S. Adyar, Madras, S.	Do.
106	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Vaidyaratna Pandit D. Gopalaravi, A.V.S.	...	Principal, Ayurvedic College, Madras.	Do.
107	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ T. Sivasankaram Pillai	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Pleader and landlord.	.....
108	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Y. Seshappa	Hindu	Pleader, Taluk and District Board Member, Gooty, Anantapore.	Do.
109	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Ananthanarayana Sastriar	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Tiruppur, Coimbatore.	Do.
110	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Y. Chidambara Rao	Hindu	Pleader and landlord Gooty.	Do.
111	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. Gopala Menon	Nair	Dubash, Messrs. Wilson & Co, Madras.	At a meeting of the Meeting P.C.C. held on 21st December 1914.
112	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. Raghunatha Rao	Hindu	Vakil, Salem	Do.
113	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ V. Masilamani Pillai, B.A., B.L.	Hindu non-Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Purusawalkam.	Do.
114	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. P. Desikachariar	...	Contractor and Timber merchant, S. N. Chetty St., Royapuram.	At a meeting of the Madras P.C.C. held on 25th December 1914.
115	Do.	...	Do.	...	The Hon. Mr. B. V. Narasimha Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Salem.	At a meeting of the Madras P.C.C. held on 21st December 1914.
116	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. S. Kuppuswami Aiyar	Do.	Landlord.	Do.
117	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. A. Duraiswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Mowbray Road, Mylapore.	Do.
118	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ G. Lakshmana Rao B.A.	Do.	Landholder, Bezwada	At a meeting of the Madras P.C.C. held on 25th December 1914.
119	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. Narayana Rao B.A.	Do.	Pleader and Landholder	Do.
120	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. Subba Rao B.A.	Hindu	Pleader, Gooty, Anantapur.	At a meeting of the Madras P.C.C. held on 21st December 1914.

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914. --(cont.)

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
121	Madras	Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. Khan Sahib Mirza Mahomed Beig Sahib Bahadur.	Mohammedan	Zamindar and District Board Member, Yemniganur, Bellary.	At a meeting of the Madras P.C.C. held on 21st December 1914.
122	Do.	Do.	„ R. Nanjunda Rao	Hindu	Pleader and Landlord Gooty, Anantapur.	Do.
123	Do.	Do.	„ R. Subba Rao	Do.	Landholder and Secretary Mutual Benefit Fund, Gooty.	Do.
124	Do.	Do.	„ T. Subba Rao	Do.	Landlord, Taluk and District Board Member, Gooty, Anantapur.	Do.
125	Do.	Do.	„ N. Lakshminarayana Rao, B.A.	Do.	Pleader and Land-holder, Gooty, Anantapur.	Do.
126	Do.	Do.	„ H. Sankara Rao B.A.	Do.	Pleader and Land-holder, Gooty.	Do.
127	Do.	Do.	„ S. R. Desikachariar	Hindu Brahmin.	Landlord and merchant, Coimbatore.	Do.
128	Do.	Do.	„ A. Viswanatha Aiyar	Do.	High Court Vakil, Mylapore.	Do.
129	Do.	Do.	„ R. Seshagiri Rao	Hindu	Merchant	Do.
130	Do.	Do.	„ S. Somasundaram Pillai, B.A., B.L.	Hindu non-Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, G.T., Madras.	Do.
131	Do.	Do.	„ Tawker Komarasami Chettiar...	Do.	Merchant, Nagore-Negapatam.	Do.
132	Do.	Do.	The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar Avl. B.A., L.T.	Hindu Brahmin.	Member of Servants of India Society 17, Sydoji, lane Triplicane.	Do.
133	Do.	Do.	„ Samiappa Mudaliar	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Mirasdar, Nedambalam, Negapatam.	Do.
134	Do.	Do.	„ S. N. Venketesa Aiyar	Brahmin	Vakil	Do.
135	Do.	Do.	„ K. V. Ranganadaswami Iyengar	Vaishnavite Brahmin.	Landlord, Berhampore	At a Meeting of the Madras P.C.C., held on 25th December 1914.

136	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. K. Nair	...	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Salem	...	At a meeting of the Madras P.C.C., held on 21st December 1914.
137	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. K. Ramaswami Goundan	...	Do.	Landlord and District Board Member, Kallipatti, Gobichettipalayam taluk.	...	Do.
138	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ N. Anantharama Aiyar, B.A.,	...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Negapatam	...	Do.
139	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ T. A. Doraisami Pillai	...	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Do.	...	Do.
140	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dewan Bahadur M. Audinarayaniah	...	Hindu Brahmin.	Tondiarpet, Madras	...	Do.
141	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Pasulen Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L.	...	Hindu	Pleader, Gooty	...	Do.
142	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ A. Rangasami Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	...	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, Sivaganga, Ramnad.	...	Do.
143	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ O. A. O. K. Lakshmana Chettiar.	...	Hindu Non-Brahmin.	...	...	Do.
144	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ K. Audishesu Naidu Garu	...	Do.	Asst., Pachiappa's College.	...	At a Meeting of the Madras P.C.C. held on 25th December, 1914.
145	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ A. P. Patro, B.A., B.L.	...	Christian	High Court Vakil and Land holder, Berhampore.	...	At a Meeting of the Madras P.C.C. held on 21st December, 1914.
146	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ P. Parthasarathi Naidu	...	Hindu Kummavar Non-Brahmin.	Municipal Comr., Perambur, Madras.	...	Do.
147	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ V. Raghunatha Rao	...	Hindu Brahmin.	Jagri Agent, Coimbatore	...	Do.
148	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, B.A.,	...	Do.	High Cour Vakil, the Grover Teynampet.	...	Do.
149	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ K. S. V. Rowjee, B.A., B.L.	...	Do.	High Court Vakil, Coimbatore,	...	Do.
150	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ P. V. Ramanujam Chettiar, B.A.,	...	Hindu Non-Brahmin.	Merchant and Land-holder Llanstephan Mc Nicholl Road, Chetput.	...	At a Meeting of the Madras P.C.C. held on 25th December, 1914.
151	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ P. S. Ambalavana Chettiar	...	Do.	Bank Agent, Avanashi	...	At a Meeting of the Madras P.C.C. held on 21st December, 1914.
152	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. Ramasubramania Aiyar	...	Hindu Brahmin.	Landlord, Hermitage, Mylapore, Madras.	...	Do.
153	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ T. E. Sadagopachariar, B.A., B.L.	...	Do.	High Court Vakil, Cuddalore, N. T.	...	Do.

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914—(cont.)

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and How Elected.
154	Madras	Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Coimbatore.	At a Meeting of the Madras P. C. C., held on 21st December 1914.
155	Do.	Do.	„ S. Srinivasa Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Mylapore, Madras.	Do.
156	Do.	Do.	„ M. Subramaniam, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Madras.	...
157	Do.	Do.	„ M. Vedavyasachari, B.A.	Do.	Pleader, Gooty	...
158	Do.	Do.	„ A. Jagadis Aiyar	Do.	Professor, S. P. G. College, Trichy.	...
159	Do.	Do.	„ T. V. Muthukrishna Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Vepery, Madras.	...
160	Do.	Do.	„ B. Sitarama Row, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Mylapore Madras.	...
161	Do.	Do.	„ T. R. Venkatarama Sastriar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Do.	At a Meeting of the Madras P.C.C. held on 21st December, 1914.
162	Do.	Do.	„ K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar	Brahmin	Lanidord, Srirangam	...
163	Do.	Do.	„ M. Arunachala Iyer, B.A., B.L., L.T.	Do.	Pleader, Arni	At a Meeting of the Madras P.C.C. held on 25th or 24th December, 1914.
164	Do.	Do.	„ M. Audiseshiah, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Non-Brahmin	Asst. Professor, Pachiappa's College.	At a Meeting of the Madras P.C.C. held on 21st December, 1914.
165	Do.	Reception Committee 29th I. N. C.	„ R. Iswara Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	High Court Vakil, Quilon...	At a Meeting of the Reception Committee held on 26th December 1914.
166	Do.	Do.	„ R. Subbier	...	Vakil	Do.
167	Do.	Do.	„ S. Srinivasa Aiyar B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	High Court Vakil	.....
168	Do.	Do.	„ N. Ramanatha Iyer	Hindu non-Brahman.	Vakil, Trichinopoly	Do.
169	Do.	Do.	„ A. Krishnaswami Aiyar B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Mylapore	Do.
170	Do.	Do.	„ P. Anjaneyalu, B.A.	Hindu	Pleader, Tenali	Do.

171	Do.	...	Do.	...	" A. Subharama Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin...	High Court Vakil, Mylapore.	Do.
172	Do.	...	Do.	...	Rao Bahadur C. V. Subramania Sastrulu.	Hindu	Government Pleader, Tenali.	Do.
173	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. V. Muddurama Aiyar	Do.	Merchant, Madura	Do.
174	Do.	...	Do.	...	" C. Aiyasami Sastri	Do.	High Court Vakil, Egmore.	Do.
175	Do.	...	Do.	...	" B. Hume Sastri	Do.	C/o, V. Ramasami Esq., High Court Vakil, Triplicane.	Do.
176	Do.	...	Do.	...	" P. Viraraghavalu	Do.	Pleader, Tenaly	Do.
177	Do.	...	Do.	...	" P. Virabadra Aiya	Vysia	Merchant, Tenali	Do.
178	Do.	...	Do.	...	" J. Ponniah	Do.	Do.	Do.
179	Do.	...	Do.	...	" M. Subraya Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Mylapore.	Do.
180	Do.	...	Do.	...	" R. Arunachala Mudaliar	Hindu non Brahmin.	Landholder, Tiruthorai-pundi.	Do.
181	Do.	The Madras Maharajah Sabah.	Mr. C. S. Venkataramiah, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Salem	...	At the General meeting held on 16th December 1914.	
182	Do.	Do.	" Balakrishna Chetty, Thontula, B.A., B.L.	Rala balija	High Court Vakil	...	At the General meeting held on 24th December 1914.	
183	Do.	Do.	" M. K. Ramaswami Aiyar	Hindu Brahmin.	Solicitor, Thumbuchetty St., Madras.	...	Do.	
184	Do.	Do.	" P. Subramania Aiyar, B.A., L.T.	Do.	Asst. Professor, Pachiappa's College, Madras.	...	At the General meeting of the Sabah on 16th December 1914.	
185	Do.	Do.	" R. Mudalianda Chetty, B.A.	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Merchant, Murtyloul, Park Town, Madras.	...	Do.	
186	Do.	Do.	" W. Ramiah, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin	Merchant, 202, Mint St., Madras.	...	Do.	
187	Do.	Do.	" A. N. Ardanari Aiyar B.A., B.L.	Do.	Pleader, Tirupattur	...	At the General meeting held on 24th December 1914.	
188	Do.	Do.	" N. Venkata Rao, Mangalore	...	Landlord, Kilpauk	...	At the General meeting held on 16th December 1914.	
189	Do.	Do.	" M. V. Krishnaswami, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Law Reports Office, P.B. 161, Madras, E.	...	Do.	
190	Do.	Do.	" K. R. S. V. Kasinathan Chetty.	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Devakotta	...	.....
191	Do.	Do.	" K. Nageswara Rao	Hindu Brahmin.	Proprietor <i>Andrapatrica</i> , Madras.	...	.....
192	Do.	Do.	" N. Krishnamachariar, B.A.	Do.	Vellore	...	At the General meeting held on 24th December 1914.	

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914—(cont)

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinction.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
193	Madsas ...	The Madras Mahajana Sabha.	Mr. R. Chengalvaraya Aiyar ...	Hindu Brahmin..	Secretary, rate payers association, Vaniambody.	At the Public meeting held on 24th December 1914.
194	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ K. V. A. L. Muthiah Chettiar ...	Nattukottai Merchant.	.....	.....
195	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ Kasichetty ...	Nattukottai Chettiar.	Merchant ...	Do.
196	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ G. C. Nataraja Mudaliar ...	Hindu Vellala ...	Junior proprietor, The Guardian Press, Madras.	Do.
197	Do. ...	Do. ..	„ R. S. Swaminatha Aiyar ...	Hindu Brahman.	12 Saunadhi Street Mylapore Madras.	At the General meeting held on 16th December 1914.
198	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ Sadhuhamapathipantulu, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	High Court Vakil, Tinnevely Bridge.	Do.
199	Do. .	Do. ...	„ S. Veeraraghavachariar ...	Do. ...	Deputy Cashier, The Madras Bank, 18, Goushmada St. Triplicane.	Do.
200	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ C. S. Chidambaram Pillai, B.A., B.L.	Hindu non-Brahmin.	35, High Road, Egmore ...	Do.
201	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ P. N. Marthandam Pillai ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
202	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ G. Krishna Rao ...	Brahman ...	Jagirdarkumberly, Kilpauk.	At the General meeting held on 24th December 1914.
203	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ S. Rajagopalchariar B.A. ...	Do. ...	Schoolmaster, 16, Venkataramier Lane, G.T. Madras.	At the Gereral meeting held on 16th December 1914.
204	Do. ..	Do. .	The Hon'ble Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Chariar, B.A.	Do.	Pleader, Salem.	Do.
205	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. G. Veeraraghavalu Naidu ...	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Proprietor, Commercial Press, Madras	.....
206	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ T. V. Gopalasami Mudaliar B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	High Court Vakil, Mylapore Madras.	Do.
207	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ S. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin...	Do.	Do.
208	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ S. Muthia Mudaliar, B.A., B.L...	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Do.	Do.
209	Do. ..	Do. ...	„ H. Mohamed Abdul Jamul Badsha Sahib.	Mohamadan ...	Merchant and landlord ...	At the General meeting held on 24th December 1914.

210	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. S. Venkatachariar, B.A., L.L. ...	Hindu Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Vepery, Madras.	At the General Meeting held on the 16th December 1914.
211	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Vidya Sagar Pandya B.A. ...	..	Secretary, Indian Bank, Madras.	Do.
212	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. Doraiswami Aiyangar, B.A. ...	Hindu Brahmin ...	Tholasinga Perumal Covil, Triplicane.	Do.
213	Do.	..	Do.	...	Kaviraj T. S. Ram Bishogratna ...	...	Ayurvedic Doctor, Mothi Mahal, Mount Road.	Do.
214	Do.	..	Do.	...	Mr. C. Ranganayakulu Chettiar ...	Hindu non-Brahmin.	20, Govindappa Naick Street, G. T., Madras.	Do.
215	Do.	..	Do.	...	„ K. Suryanarayana Rao ...	Hindu Brahmin...	23, Angappa Naicken Street, G. T., Madras.	Do.
216	Do.	..	Do.	...	„ C. Karunakara Menon, B.A. ...	Hindu ...	Pleader, Member of District Board, Malabar.	Do.
217	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ G. Narasimhain, L.A.A., A.C.R.A. Associated Accountant	Hindu Brahmin.	Public Auditor, No. 3, South Cooum Road, Mount Road, Madras.	Do.
218	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. Rajagopala Gupta, F.T.S. ...	Hindu Vysia ...	232, Govindappa Naicken Street, Dealer in Precious stones G. T., Madras.	Do.
219	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. Kabboor B.A., F.F. A.A. F.R.E.S. (London) Insurance Specialist and Gold Medalist.	Hindu Brahmin...	Branch Secretary of the General Assurance Society Ltd., 54, Lingha Chetty St., Madras.	Do.
220	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ A. Nathamooni Chetty ...	Hindu Vysia ...	Merchant ...	Do.
221	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ K.R. Subramania Sastriar B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin...	High Court Vakil, Mylapore.	Do.
222	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. Krishna Row, B.A. ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Chairman Municipal Council, Ongole.	Do.
223	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ D. Raghavendra, Rao B.A., B.L. ...	Do. ...	Retired Sub-Judge, 80, Sevaraman Street, Triplicane.	Do.
224	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. Vijaya Raghava Chariar ...	Do. ...	Merchant, 96, Godown St., G. T., Madras.	Do.
225	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ N. Chellapathi Rao B.A. ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Ongole ...	Do.
226	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ T. Rangachariar, B.A., B.L. ...	Hindu Vaishnavite Brahmin	High Court Vakil, Vepery, Madras.	Do.
227	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. Selvaraja Mudaliar ...	Hindu ..	Journalist 7, Parish Venkatachala Iyear Street, G. T., Madras.	Do.

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914—(cont.)

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinction.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
228	Madras	The Madras Mahajana Sabha.	Mr. K. C. Subrahmanyam, Bar.-at-Law.	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Baristar-at-Law, 23, Chapel Street, Vepery, Madras.	At the General Meeting held on 16th December 1914.
229	Do.	Do.	„ A Rangasmi Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin...	Asst. Editor, The "Hindu" Madras.	At a Meeting held in December.
230	Do.	Do.	„ P. R. Lakshmana Rao	Do.	Public Acct. and Auditor Nagoji Rao Street, Triplicane.	At the General Meeting held on 16th December 1914.
231	Do.	Do.	„ A. Venkatarayaliah, B.A., B.L.	...	High Court Vakil, Car Street, Mylapore.	Do.
232	Do.	Do.	„ T. S. Rajagopala Chariar P.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin...	High Court Vakil, 16, Linghi Chetty Street, G. T., Madras.	Do.
233	Do.	Do.	„ T. Ethiraja Moodaliar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu non-Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Poona-mallee Road, Egmore.	Do.
234	Do.	Do.	Dr. M. Krishnaswami, Aiyar M.D.	Hindu Brahmin...	804, Linghi Chetty Street, G. T., Madras.	Do.
235	Do.	Do.	Mr. K. Balasubramania, Aiyar B.A., B.L.	Do.	The Asram, Luz, Mylapore.	Do.
236	Do.	Do.	„ T. M. Krishnaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, 24, South Mada Street, Mylapore.	Do.
237	Do.	Do.	„ K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, B.A.,	Do.	High Court Vakil, 6, North Mada Street, Mylapore.	Do.
238	Do.	Do.	Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon, B.A.	Hindu, Malayalee.	Proprietor, The "Indian Patriot".	Do.
239	Do.	Do.	Mr. T. Muthiah Pillai, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, non-Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, North Mada Street Mylapore.	Do.
240	Do.	Do.	„ K. R. Gurusami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Brahmin...	High Court Vakil, Tinnevely Bridge.	Do.
241	Do.	Do.	„ T. S. Ramaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Mylapore.	Do.
242	Do.	Do.	„ Muhammad Ibrahim Inrashi Sahib, B.A., L.T.	Mohammedan	Principal, Madras-E-Islamiah, Municipal Councillor and District Board Member, Vaniambadi.	At the Public Meeting held on 24th December 1914.

243	Do.	..	Do.	...	„ K. Parthasarathy Aiyangar, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin ..	Teacher, Wesley College, Royapettah.	Do.
244	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ T. S. Viswanatha Aiyar, B.A.	Do. ...	Proprietor, 'Swadesa Mitran', 108, Viraraghava Moodaliar Street.	Do.
245	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. A. Seshagiri Sastriar, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	High Court Vakil, Mylapore.	At the General Meeting held on 16th December 1914.
246	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ N. V. Seshachalam Naidu	Hindu non-Brahmin.	38, Venkatramier Street, G.T., Madras.	Do.
247	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ T. C. Vaidyanatha Aiyar	Hindu Brahmin...	Merchant, 28, Linghi Chetty Street, Madras.	Do.
248	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ N. Chandrasekara Aiyar, B.A., B.L.,	Do. ...	High Court Vakil, Pilatope, Mylapore.	Do.
249	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A., ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Brahmin Street, Chingleput.	Do.
250	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. Satyamurti, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	High Court Vakil, 76, Vellala Street, Purasawakam.	Do.
251	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ V. Venkatasubhiah, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin...	Servants of India Society 17, Sydojy lane, Triplicane.	At the Public Meeting held on 24th December 1914.
252	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ R. C. Krishnaswami Aiyar, M.B., C.M.	Do. ...	Doctor, 314 Thumbu Chetty Street, Madras.	At the General Meeting held on 16th December 1914.
253	Do.	...	Do.	...	Khan Bahadur Valji Lalji	Mohammedan ...	Merchant.	.....
254	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. C. Srinivasa Chariar	Hindu Brahmin...	Proprietor, Messrs. Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Mount Road, Madras.	At the General Meeting held on 16th December 1914.
255	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ P. Parthasarathy Naidu, Commissioner, Corporation of Madras Member, District and Taluq Boards Chingleput.	Kummavar Hindu non-Brahmin.	Proprietor, Paper Mills, Perambur.	By. Mahajana Sabha 21st December 1914.
256	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ R. Narasimham.	Hindu Brahmin...	.. ..	At the Public Meeting held on 24th December 1914.
257	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ T. Narasimha Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	High Court Vakil, 111, Big Street, Triplicane.	At the General Meeting held on 16th December 1914.
258	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. Krishnama Chariar, B.A., B.L.,	Do. ...	High Court Vakil, 31 Kutchery Road, Mylapore.	Do.
259	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ R. Krishnaswami Aiyar	Do. ...	Vakil	.....
260	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ P. S. Ramamurti Pantulu Garu,	Do. ...	I Grade Pleader, Berhampore, Ganjam District.	At the General Meeting held on 16th December 1914.
261	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ R. Narayanaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	High Court Vakil, Mylapore.	Do.

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914—(cont.)

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
262	Madras ...	Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. S. V. Doraiswami Aiyar ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Journalisem, 17, Cutchery Road, Mylapore.	At the General Meeting held on 16th December 1914.
263	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ T. G. Aravamuthan, B.A. ...	Hindu ..	Lecturer in English, Pachappa's College, Vellala Street, Purasawakam Madras.	Do.
264	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ A. C. Parthasarathy Naidu ...	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Editor, The 'Andraprakasika, Mount Road.	Do.
265	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ V. Ranga Chariar ...	Brahmin ...	Caltai Karai, Thinnanur ...	Do.
266	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ D. V. Venkappa ...	.....	309, Linghi Chetty Street, Madras.	Do.
267	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ A. R. L. V. Lakshmana Chettiar.	Hindu non Brahmin.	30, Coral, Merchant Street, G.T., Madras.	At the Public Meeting held on 24th December 1914.
268	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ T. M. Lakshmana Aiyar ...	Brahmin ...	Pleader, Municipal Councilor, Taluk and District Boards Member, Tirupathur.	Do.
269	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ M. Parthasarathy Aiyengar, B.A.	Do. ...	17, South Mada Street, Triplicane.	At the General Meeting held on 16th December 1914.
270	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ P. R. Srinivasa Aiyanggar, M.A., M.L.	Do. ...	Advocate, East Mada Street, Mylapore.	.....
271	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ Y. Narayan ...	.....	Merchant, 3, Esplanade, G.T. Madras.	At the General Meeting held on December 1914.
272	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ V. S. Marthandam Pillai ...	Hindu ...	Land lord, 35 High Road, Egmore.	Do.
273	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ C. S. Srinivasa Chari M.A. ...	Brahmin Vaishnavite.	Asst. Professor of History, 129, China Bazaar Road, Madras.	.....
274	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ V. Arunagiri Naidu, B.A. Hon. Secretary to Southern India Chamber of Commerce.	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Merchant, Egmore.	At the General Meeting held on 16th December 1914.
275	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. P. Nagabhushnam Pantulu Garu, M.A., B.L.	Brahmin ...	High Court Vakil, Mylapore,	Do.

276	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. Venugopal Chettiar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Vysia	...	High Court Vakil, 50, Nattupilliyar Covil Street, G.T., Madras.	Do.
277	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ P. S. Subramania Sastriar	Brahmin	...	Photographer, Mount Road.	Do.
278	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ T. K. Govinda Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	High Court Vakil, 55, Selva Vinayakar Covil Street, Mylapore.	Do.
279	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ G. A. Natesa Aiyar, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin	...	Editor, "Indian Review," Madras.	.....
280	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ G. A. Vaidyarama Aiyar, B.A.	Do.	...	Editor, "Wealth of India," 60, Thumbu Chetty Street, Madras.	.....
281	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ O. A. O. K. Lakshmana Chetty.	Natukottai Chetty.	Madras	.....	.....
282	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ O. A. O. K. Chidambaram Chetty.	Do.	...	Do.	.....
283	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. R. M. Ramaswami Chetty	Do.	...	Do.	.....
284	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. R. M. S. Kuttayan Chetty	Do.	...	Do.	.....
285	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. R. M. M. Annamalai Chetty.	Do.	...	Do.	.....
286	Do.	...	Do.	...	The hon'ble Rao Bahadur, B. N. Sarma, Garu, B.A., B.L.	Pleader	...	} Pleaders.	.....
287	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. D. Srikantha Sastri	Do.	...		.....
288	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ B. Venkatapathi Raza	Do.	...		.....
289	Do.	...	Do.	...	Rao Bahadur, N. C. Rajagopala Chariar.	Hindu Brahmin	.....	.....	10th December 1914
290	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ A. Alawandar Naidu	Hindu non-Brahmin.	...	Dubash, Parry & Co.	Do.
291	Do.	...	Annantapur District Congress Committee.	...	Mr. M. Narayana Charulu, B.A., B.L.	Hindu	...	Penukonda	Meeting on 13th December 1914.
292	Do.	...	Ranipet Congress Committee.	...	„ T. Swaminatha Aiyar, B.A.,	Hindu Brahmin.	...	Pleader, Ranipet.	Meeting on 10th December 1914.
293	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ L. Srinivasaraghava Aiyar	Do.	...	Land holder, Mukundaryapuram, Walaja Taluk, Ranipet.	Do.

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914—(cont).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
294	Madras	... Ranipet Congress Committee	Dewan Bahadur, L. A. Govindaraghva Aiyar Avl., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin...	High Court Vakil, Palm Grove, Mylapore.	Meeting on 10th December 1914.
295	Do.	... Chittoor District Congress Committee.	Mr. M. Venkatakrishnama Chariar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin. Vaishnavite	Pleader, Chittoor	Meeting on 21st December 1914.
296	Do.	.. Do. ...	.. T. K. Duraiswami Aiyangar, B.A.	Do. ...	Pleader, Tirupati	Meeting on 15th December 1914.
297	Do.	... Do. ...	.. T. V. Rangachriar, B.A., B.L. ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Chittur	Do.
298	Do.	... Do. ...	.. C. Rajagopala Charulu, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Do.	Meeting on 21st December 1914.
299	Do.	... Do. ..	.. T. K. Virachariar	Do. ...	Do.	Meeting on 15th December 1914.
300	Do.	... Do. ...	.. M. Narayanasami Reddi garu ...	Non-Brahmin ...	Landholder, Chandragiri ...	Do.
301	Do.	.. Do. ...	.. A. Venkatasubha Reddiar ...	Do. ...	Do.	Do.
302	Do.	... Do. ...	.. W. Viraswami Mudaliar	Do. ...	Landholder	Meeting on 27th December 1914.
303	Do.	... Do. ..	.. Vilappakkam Krishnaswami Aiyar B.A.	...	Pleader	Meeting on 15th December 1914.
304	Do.	... Do. ...	.. M. Sundara Chariar	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Tirupati	Do.
305	Do.	... Do. ...	.. T. Seshachallaiah, B.A.	Do. ...	Do.	Meeting on 27th December 1914.
306	Do.	... Do. ..	.. N. Srinivasa Varadachari	Do. ...	Vakil, Chittoor	Meeting on 16th December 1914.
307	Do.	... Do. ...	.. R. Giri Row Garu, B.A., ...	Do. ...	Headmaster, High School Madanapalle.	Meeting on 22nd December 1914.
308	Do.	.. Do. ..	.. B. S. Seshagiri Rao Garu, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Pleader, Madanapalle	Meeting on 15th December 1914.
309	Do.	.. Do. ..	.. R. Seshagiri Rao Garu	Do. ...	Do.	Do.
310	Do.	... Do. ...	.. R. Jayaranga Rao Garu	Do. ...	Do.	Do.
311	Do.	... Do. ...	.. C. Dorasami Aiyengar, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	High Court Vakil, Chittoor	Do.
312	Do.	... Do. ...	.. K. Venkatachariar	Do. ...	Inamdar of Balakrishnapuram, Sitarampet.	Meeting on 24th December 1914.
313	Do.	... Do. ...	.. T. N. Narayana Reddi Garu ...	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Landholder	Meeting on 22nd December 1914.

314	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ T. T. Viraraghava Chariar ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Chittoor	...	Meeting on 15th December 1914.
315	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Gomatam Srinivasa Chariar, B.A.	Do.	Do.	...	Do.
316	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. Srinivasa Chariar, B.A.	Do.	Retired, Thasildar and Manager, Narayanavaram Estate.	...	Meeting on 24th December 1914.
317	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ L. C. Sundaravarada Chariar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Pleader, Chittoor	...	Meeting on 15th December 1914.
318	Do.	...	The South Arcot Dist. Congress Committee.	...	Mr. T. V. Raghava Chariar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Cuddalore.	...	Meeting on 16th December 1914.
319	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. Nataraja Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Pleader, Cuddalore.	...	Do.
320	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ B. Sanjiva Rao	Do.	Do.	...	Do.
321	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. Krishna Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Cuddalore.	...	Do.
322	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. Ramaswami Reddi	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Mirasdar.	...	Meeting on 23rd December 1914.
323	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. Seshadri Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin...	High Court Vakil, Villupuram.	...	Meeting on 16th December 1914.
324	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. Tiruvenkatachariar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	1st Grade Pleader, Tirupuliyur.	...	Do.
325	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ R. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	1st Grade Pleader, Cuddalore.	...	Do.
326	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. S. Venkatrama Aiyar	Do.	Pleader, Villupuram.	...	Do.
327	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. V. Srinivasachariar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Tirupuliyur.	...	Do.
328	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ V. T. Ramaswamy Aiyar, B.A.	Do.	Merchant, Valavanur, Villupuram Taluk.	...	Do.
329	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ T. R. Chakrapani Aiyangar, B.A.	Do.	1st Grade Pleader, Cuddalore.	...	Do.
330	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ V. T. Dorasami Aiyar	Do.	Merchant, Valavanur, Villupuram.	...	Meeting on 23rd December 1914.
331	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ G. Vaidyanadha Aiyar, B.A.	Do.	Do.	...	Meeting on 16th December 1914.
332	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. S. Bashyam Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Cuddalore.	...	Do.
333	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. R. Krishnamachariar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Tirupuliyur.	...	Meeting on 14th December 1914.
334	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. Devaraja Rao	Do.	1st Grade Pleader, Cuddalore N. T.	...	Meeting on 17th December 1914.

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914. --(cont.)

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335	Madras	Chittoor District Congress Committee.	Mr. T. E. Krishnamurti Aiyangar, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin...	1st Grade Pleader, Tindivanam.	Meeting on 16th December 1914.
336	Do.	Do.	„ A. Chakrapani Aiyar, B.A., B.L....	Do.	High Court Vakil, Cuddalore.	Do.
337	Do.	Do.	„ V. Ramanuja Chariar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	1st Grade Pleader, Tirupuliyar.	Do.
338	Do.	Do.	„ M. G. Parthasarathi Mudali	Hindu	Pleader, Vridhachallam	Do.
339	Do.	Do.	„ P. S. Chakravarthi Aiyanger, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin	I Grade Pleader, Cuddalore.	Do.
340	Do.	Do.	„ N. D. Sri Rama Chariar B.A.	Do.	I Grade Pleader, Tirupuliyar.	Meeting on 23rd December 1914.
341	Do.	Tindivanam Taluk Congress Committee.	„ A. P. Chandranathanainar	Jaina	Mirasidar, Melmalayanur.	Do.
342	Do.	Do.	„ A. Doraiswami Mudaliar	Jain	Mirasdar	Do.
343	Do.	The Bellary District Congress Committee.	Mr. Untakal Krishna Rao, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Retired Tasildar, Civil lines, Bellary.	Meeting on 11th December 1914.
344	Do.	Do.	„ P. Siva Rao	Do.	Vakil, Bellary	Do.
345	Do.	Do.	„ K. Seshagiri Rao, B.A.	Do.	I Grade Pleader, Bellary	Do.
346	Do.	Do.	„ H. Lakshmana Rao, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Bellary.	Do.
347	Do.	Do.	Rao Bahadur, C. S. Subramaniam B.A., B.L.	Do.	Vakil, Bellary	Do.
348	Do.	Do.	Mr. A. Krishnamurthi Rao	Do.	Contractor and Municipal Councillor, Bellary.	Do.
349	Do.	Do.	„ V. Krishnama Chetty, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Bellary.	Do.
350	Do.	Do.	„ Vitta Seshappa	Hindu Vysia	Merchant and Secretary, Peoples Association, Bellary.	Do.
351	Do.	Do.	„ V. Narayana Chetty, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Bellary.	Do.
352	Do.	Hospet	Rao Bahadur, C. Hanumanth Gowd.	Hindu Madhwa Brahman.	Land Owner and Inamdard.	Public Meeting, Hospet, on 14th December 1914.
353	Do.	Do.	Mr. B. Gopala Char, B.A.	Do.	Pleader and Landholder	Do.
354	Do.	Do.	„ T. S. Krishna Rao, B.A.	Do.	Pleader, Hospet, Bellary Dt.	Do.
355	Do.	Do.	„ T. Venkataramana Char, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Do.	Do.

356	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	K. Gurraja Row, B.A., B.L.	...	Do.	...	Pleader and Land Owner.	Do.
357	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	D. Sreepathi Rao, B.A.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
358	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	P. Raghava Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	...	Hindu Brahmin.	...	Pleader, Chingleput	Meeting on 19th Dec. 1914.
359	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	P. Chinnrasawmy Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	...	Do.	...	High Court Vakil, Chingleput.	
360	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	D. A. Raghavachari	...	Do.	...	Mirasdar, Conjeevaram	Do.
361	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	C. V. Varadachariar, B.A.	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Conjeevaram	Do.
362	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	K. M. Venkatarama Reddiar	...	Hindu non-Brahmin.	...	Land-lord	Do.
363	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	N. C. Srinivasachariar	...	Hindu Brahmin.	...	Pleader, Tiruvallur	Do.
364	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	M. K. Ramanathan Sarma	...	Do.	...	Land-lord, Conjeevaram	Do.
365	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	P. Srinivasachariar	...	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
366	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	P. K. Seshadri Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	...	Do.	...	1st Grade Pleader, Chingleput.	Do.
367	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	M. Vathachala Aiyar, B.A.	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Poonamallee	Do.
368	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	Muthiah Mudaliyar, B.A.	...	Hindu non-Brahmin Vellala.	...	Zemindar, Cheyur	Do.
369	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	T. K. Ramakrishna Aiyar	...	Hindu Brahmin...	...	Pleader, Conjeevaram	Do.
370	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	M. Venkataraghava Reddiar	...	Hindu non-Brahmin.	...	Zemindar of Manur	Do.
371	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	Acha Rangachariar	...	Hindu Brahmin.	...	Land-lord	Do.
372	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	M. B. Raghavachariar	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Chingleput	Do.
373	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	C. Tiruvengada Chariar, B.A.	...	Do.	...	1st Grade Pleader, Chingleput.	Do.
374	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	R. Vengu Aiyar	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Coimbatore	Do.
375	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	T. A. Ramalingham Chettiar, B.A., B.L.	...	Hindu non-Brahmin.	...	High Court Vakil, etc., Coimbatore.	Do.
376	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	S. Nallavirappa Mudaliar	...	Do.	...	Land-lord, Kottur	Do.
377	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	K. S. Vaidyanathan M.A., L.T.	...	Hindu Brahmin.	...	Acting Principal, The Coimbatore College, Coimbatore.	Do.
378	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	C. K. Ramaswami Gounder	...	Hindu non-Brahmin.	...	Land-lord, Kallipatti	Do.
379	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	C. V. Venkatramana Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	...	Hindu Brahmin.	...	High Court Vakil, Coimbatore.	Do.
380	Do.	...	The Cuddappah District Congress Committee.	...	"	C. Lakshyminaryana Sastri, B.A., B.L.	...	Hindu Brahmin.	...	First Grade Pleader, Cuddapah.	At a meeting on 20th December 1914.
381	Do.	...	Do.	...	"	C. Seshachala Iyer	...	Do.	...	Second Grade Pleader, Cuddapah.	At a meeting on 13th December 1914.

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914—(cont.)

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and How Elected.
382	Madras	The Cuddappah District Congress Committee.	Mr. C. Ramachandra Rao, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin...	High Court Vakil, Cuddappah.	At a meeting on 13th December 1914.
383	Do.	Do.	„ C. Srinivasa Rao	Do.	1st Grade Pleader, Cuddappah.	At a meeting on 20th December 1914.
384	Do.	Do.	„ G. Venkata Rao	Do.	Pleader, Cuddappah	At a meeting on 13th December 1914.
385	Do.	Do.	„ G. Venkataramaiah	Do.	Pleader, Proddutur	Do.
386	Do.	Do.	„ V. Vasanta Rao, B.A.	Do.	Pleader, Proddutur	Do.
387	Do.	Do.	„ K. Kottai Reddi, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu	Bar-at-Law, Cuddappah	At a meeting on 20th December 1914.
388	Do.	Do.	„ K. Subba Reddi, B.A.	Do.	Bar-at-Law, Madras	At a meeting on 20th December 1914.
389	Do.	Do.	„ C. S. Narasimah Charlu, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	First Grade Pleader, Proddutur.	At a meeting on 13th December 1914.
390	Do.	Do.	„ Visur Pichya, B.A.	Do.	First Grade Pleader, Cuddappah.	Do.
391	Do.	Do.	„ G. Subba Rao	Do.	Merchant, Cuddappah	At a meeting on 20th December 1914.
392	Do.	Do.	„ K. Gundu Rao, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Cuddappah.	At a meeting on 13th December 1914.
393	Do.	Do.	„ C. Narayanaswami Naidu, B.A., B.L.	Hindu	Do.	At a meeting on 20th December 1914.
394	Do.	Do.	„ B. P. Devarajulu Naidu, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Do.	Do.
395	Do.	The Aska Taluk Congress Committee.	„ Madhusudan Panigrahi, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin...	Pleader, Aska, Ganjam District.	Meeting on 24th December 1914.
396	Do.	Do.	„ Appicatla Tumbanadhan Pantulu Garu.	Do.	Do.	Meeting on 16th December 1914.
397	Do.	Ganjam District Association.	„ G. V. Varadarajulu, Municipal Councillor, Chicacole.	Hindu	Land-lord and merchant	By the District Association on 29th December 1914.
398	Do.	Do.	„ B. Sankara Sastri, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Government Pleader, Chicacole.	By the District Association on 23rd December 1914.
399	Do.	Do.	„ W. V. B. Ramalingam Pantalu.	Do.	Contractor	By the District Association on 13th December 1914.

400	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ A. V. Subba Rao, B.A., B.L.	...	Do.	...	High Court Vakil, Berhampore.	Do.
401	Do.	..	Do.	...	„ S. V. Sundararama Sastri	...	Do.	...	Land-lord, Berhampore	By the District Association on 23rd December 1914.
402	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. Satyanarayana Pantulu		Do.	...	Landholder and Manager, Gurunti Farm, Berhampore.	By the District Association on 13th December 1914.
403	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ W. V. Subharau Pantulu, B.A....		Do.	..	Dewan, Chikati Zamindari Chikati, Ganjam District.	By the District Association on 23rd December 1914.
404	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. Ranganadha Chari, B.A., L.L.B.		Do.	...	Vakil, Berhampore	By the District Association on 13th December 1914.
405	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ V. V. Joggiah Pantulu	...	Do.	...	Government Pleader, Berhampore.	.....
406	Do.	...	The Amalapuram Taluk Congress Committee.	...	„ Susula Goplasastry Garu, B.A.,		Hindu Brahmin.		1st Grade Pleader, Amalapuram.	Meeting on 16th December 1914.
407	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Vadravu, Ramamoorthy Pantulu Garu.		Do.	...	Pleader, Amalapuram	Do.
408	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Chavali Lakminarayana Garu, B.A., B.L.		Do.	...	1st Grade Pleader, Amalapuram.	Do.
409	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Palepu Gavanaju Pantalu Garu.		Do.	...	Pleader, Amalapuram	Do.
410	Do.	...	Godavari District Association.	...	Rao Saheb Pydah Venkatachelapati.		Hindu Vysya	...	Merchant, Cocanada	Public meeting, Cocanada.
411	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Ch. V. Peraya Sartry Garu	...	Hindu Brahmin.		Pleader	Meeting on 16th December 1914.
412	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Durbhar Venkiah	...	Do.	...	High Court Vakil,	Public meeting, Cocanada.
413	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Gollakotu China Jogamnam, B.A., B.L.		Do.	...	Pleader	Do.
414	Do.	...	Do.	..	„ M. S. Narasimha Rao	...	Do.	...	Land holder, Cocanada	By the Godavari District Association.
415	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ V. Bhavanarayana, B.A., B.L.	...	Do.	...	Pleader	Public meeting Cocanada.
416	Do.	..	Do.	...	„ B. Sambamurti Garu, B.A.	...	Do.	...	First Grade Pleader, Cocanada.	At a Public meeting held on 16th December 1914.
417	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Lakkaraju Subba Rao, B.A., B.L.		Do.	...	High Court Vakil, Coconada.	Do.
418	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Chaganti Swedayya Garu	...	Do.	...	Land-holder and millowner, Coconada.	Do.
419	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ D. V. Prakasa Rao, B.A.	...	Do.	...	Civil Pensioner, and Municipal Councillor, Cocanada.	Do.

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914—(cont).

Serial. No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinction.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
420	Madras	Godavari District Association.	Hon'ble Mr. K. R. V. Krishna Rao, B.A.	Do.	Zemindar, of Polavaram, Cocanada.	At a Public Meeting held on 16th December 1914.
421	Do.	Do.	Mr. M. Atchutharamiah	Do.	Pleader, Sub-Court, Cocanada.	Do.
422	Do.	Do.	Ch. Lakshminarayana Sastry	Do.	2nd Grade Pleader, Cocanada	Do.
423	Do.	Do.	Y. Kameswara Rao	Do.	1st Grade Pleader, Cocanada.	Do.
424	Do.	Do.	C. L. Narasimha Rao, B.A.	Do.	Manager, Kabaleswara-puram, Estate.	Do.
425	Do.	The Rajahmundry Divisional Association.	V. Subba Rao, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, Rajahmundry	Meeting on 14th December 1914.
426	Do.	Do.	S. Syamala Rao, B.A.	Do.	Pleader, Rajahmundry	Do.
427	Do.	Do.	Korvari Chandra Reddi	Hindu non-Brahmin, Bhuman-chi Reddi.	Merchant, Nidadavul, Kistna District.	Do.
428	Do.	Do.	Nyapathi Kameswara Rao, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	First Grade Pleader, Rajahmundry.	Do.
429	Do.	Do.	V. L. Narasimha Murthy, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Do.	Do.
430	Do.	Do.	V. Achyuthalingam, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Do.	Do.
431	Do.	Do.	P. Sundarasiva Rao, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Vakil, Rajahmundry	Do.
432	Do.	Do.	G. Seshagiri Rao, M.A., B.L.	Do.	Pleader.	Do.
433	Do.	Do.	Ch. L. Narasimham Garu	Do.	Editor, "Desamatha" Rajahmundry.	Do.
434	Do.	Do.	S. Bhimasankara Rao Garu, B.A.	Do.	Pleader, Rajahmundry	Do.
435	Do.	Do.	D. B. Krishnamurti	Do.	.....	Without credutials by order of the Captain.
436	Do.	Do.	E. Venkatesvaram	Do.	.....	.....
437	Do.	Ellore Divisional Association.	Mr. Valluri Rama Rao Garu	Hindu Brahman...	Pleader, Ellore	Meeting on 7th Dec. 1914.
438	Do.	Do.	Vegusana Ramachandra Raju Garu.	Kshatria	Land-holder Ganapavasam, Bhimavaram Taluque, Kistna District.	Do.
439	Do.	Do.	P. Narasimha Raju Garu	Do.	Land-lord, Relangi, Tanuku Taluk, Kistna District.	Do.

440	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Maddula Manikyam Garu	...	Vysya	...	Merchant and member, Guntur Taluk Board, Ellore.	Meeting on 25th December 1914.
441	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Madula Gangaraju	...	Do.	...	Merchant, Ellore	Do.
442	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Pennatcha Reddi Raju Garu, B.A., B.L.	...	Kshatria	...	High Court Vakil, Ellore...	Meeting on 7th December 1914.
443	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Pennatcha Suryanarayana Raju, Garu, B.A.	...	Do.	...	Land-lord, Alamur, Tanuku Taluk.	Do.
444	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Kalidindi Venkatrama Raju Garu.	...	Do.	...	Land-holder, Pedapullem, Bhimavaram Taluk.	Do.
445	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Mothey Venkanna Garu	...	Vysya	...	Merchant, and Zamindar of Vissannapet, Ellore.	Do.
446	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Mothey Narayana Rao	...	Do.	...	Merchant, and Zemindar, Ellore.	Meeting on 24th December 1914.
447	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. Kondiah Sastri Garu, B.A.	...	Brahmin	...	1st Grade Pleader	Meeting on 7th December 1914.
448	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. Chakradhara Rao, B.A., B.L....	...	Hindu	...	High Court Vakil	Do.
449	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ T. Dharuchraju Garu, B.A., B.L....	...	Do.	...	1st Grade Pleader, Ellore	By the Association, 25th December 1914.
450	Do.	..	Do.	...	„ Kurma Venkatareddi Naidu Garu, B.A., B.L.	...	Do.	...	High Court Vakil, Ellore...	Meeting on 7th December 1914.
451	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Y. Mangiah, B.A., B.L.	...	Hindu Brahmin...	...	Pleader, Korrur, Kishna District.	Meeting on 27th December 1914.
452	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Valluri Venkatarao Garu, B.A., B.L.	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Ellore	Meeting on 7th December 1914.
453	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Bommireddipalli Gangaraju Garu B.A., B.L.	...	Do.	...	1st Grade Pleader, Ellore ...	Do.
454	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Valluri Kothandaramiah Garu, B.A.	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Ellore	Do.
455	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Sananchi Sitaramiah Garu, B.A., B.L.	...	Do.	...	High Court Vakil, Ellore ...	Meeting on 18th December 1914.
456	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Bhupatiraju Bangaraju Garu	...	Kshatria	...	Land-holder, Ellore	Do.
457	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Nadampalli Rajam Raju Garu	...	Do.	...	Do.	Meeting on 22nd December 1914.
458	Do.	...	Do.	...	The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur, M. Rama- chandra Rao, B.A., B.L.	...	...	...	Vakil, Ellore	.....
459	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Maddila Venkataratnam	...	Hindu	...	Merchant	.....
460	Do.	...	Peoples Association, Narasapur.	...	„ S. Hanumanulingam	Proprietor, Weaving factory, Narasapur.	Meeting on 19th December 1914.

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914—(cont.)

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461	Madras	People's Association, Narasapur.	Mr. K. Seshacharulu Garu, B.A. ...	Brahmin ...	Pleader, District Munsiff Court, Narasapur.	Meeting on 19th December 1914.
462	Do.	Do.	„ P. Lakshminarasimham ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Do.	Do.
463	Do.	Kistna District Committee.	„ V. Narasimham, B.A., B.L. ...	Do. ...	High Court Vakil, Masulipatam.	Meeting on 18th December 1914.
464	Do.	Do.	„ M. V. Chinnayya Rao, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Vakil, District Court, Masulipatam.	Do.
465	Do.	Do.	„ Bagavatula Lakohi Narasimham Inamdar.	Do. ...	Godugupet, Masulipatam ..	Do.
466	Do.	Do.	„ D. Niladri Raju ...	Hindu Kshatria...	Land-holder, Pennumantra, Tanuku Taluk.	Do.
467	Do.	Do.	„ T. Gopalakrishna Murti ..	Hindu Brahmin...	Pleader, Gudiwada ...	Do.
468	Do.	Do.	„ A. Krishnamurthi, B.A., B.L. ...	Do. ...	District Court Vakil, Masulipatam.	Do.
469	Do.	Do.	„ K. Sitarama Rao, M.A., (Edin) ...	Do. ..	Professor, National College, Masulipatam.	Do.
470	Do.	Do.	„ Kasturi Sitapati Rao, B.A. ...	Do. ...	District Court Vakil, Masulipatam.	Do.
471	Do.	Do.	„ S. Hanumantha Rao Pantulu, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	High Court Vakil, Masulipatam.	Do.
472	Madras	The Bezvada Divisional Congress Committee	Mr. D. V. Hanumantha Rao Pantulu Garu.	Hindu ...	Municipal Chairman, Bezvada.	Meeting on 21st December 1914.
473	Do.	Do.	„ Vinjammi Gopalakrishna Iyengar, M.A., L.L.B.	Do. ...	Barrister-at-Law ...	Do.
474	Do.	Do.	„ V. Bhavanacharyulu Garu ...	Do. ...	Vakil ...	Do.
475	Do.	Do.	Doctor, A. Lakshmipathi B.A., M.B.C.M.	Do. ...	Doctor, Madras ...	Do.
476	Do.	Do.	Mr. S. G. Kama Sasri Garu ...	Do. ...	Pleader ...	Do.
477	Do.	Do.	„ V. Kusal Ramiah Garu ...	Do. ...	Land-lord ...	Do.
478	Do.	Do.	„ Kidambi Viraraghava Chari, B.A.	Do. ...	1st Grade Pleader ...	Do.
479	Do.	Do.	„ D. Madhava Rao, B.A., B.L. ...	Brahmin ...	High Court Vakil ...	Do.

480	Do.	Do.	Challapathi Lakshminarasimham Garu.	Hindu	Pleader	Do.
481	Do.	Do.	H. Suryanarayana Rao, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil	Do.
482	Do.	Do.	D. Lakshmipathi Sastri Garu ...	Do.	Merchant, Bezwada	Do.
483	Do.	Do.	Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Pleader, Bezwada	Do.
484	Do.	Do.	Suri Venkatanarasimha Sastri ...	Do.	Do.	Do.
485	Do.	Do.	Yellannaju Sastrulu, B.A., B.L. ...	Do.	High Court Vakil	Do.
486	Do.	Do.	Velari Yegnarrayana Garu, Ag-raharamdar.	Do.	Land holder	Do.
487	Do.	Do.	Dasa Trivikrama Rao Pantulu Garu.	Do.	Do.	Do.
488	Do.	Do.	Kodali Sivaramakrishna Rao ...	Do.	Travelling Secretary, Kishna District Association.	Do.
489	Do.	Do.	C. S. Rama Sarma Garu ...	Do.	Land-lord	Do.
490	Do.	Do.	K. Lakshminarayana Garu ...	Do.	Land holder	Do.
491	Do.	Do.	A. Venkataram Pantulu Garu ...	Do.	Vakil.	Do.
492	Do.	Do.	Gulam Mohidin Sahib, Jagirdar and Merchant.	Mohammedan	Jagidar and Merchant Bezwada.	Do.
493	Do.	Do.	A. Narayana Rao, Pantulu Garu.	Hindu	Journalist	Do.
494	Do.	Do.	Veturi Krishnabrahman Garu B.A.	Do.	Vakil	Do.
495	Do.	Do.	Ch. Rama Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Land Lord	Do.
496	Do.	Do.	Chella Subba Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A.	Do.	Vakil	Do.
497	Do.	Do.	K. Venkatappiah Garu, M.A. ...	Do.	Teacher	Do.
498	Do.	Do.	D. V. Narasimha Sastri, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Vakil	Do.
499	Do.	Do.	R. Jagannadha Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A.	Do.	Do.	Do.
500	Do.	Do.	Chamadhi Mallikarjuna Rao Pantulu Garu.	Do.	Land holder, Bezwada	Do.
501	Do.	Kurnool District Congress Association.	Mr. M. Munuswamy a	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Kurnool	Meeting on 15th December 1914.
502	Do.	Do.	N. Ramaswamyya, B.A., B.L. ...	Do.	Do.	Do.
503	Do.	Do.	K. Ekambara Aiyar, B.A. ...	Do.	Pleader, Nandyal	Do.
504	Do.	Do.	Desapandi Subba Rao, B.A. ...	Do.	Do.	Do.
505	Do.	Do.	Turaga Purna Chandra Rao ...	Do.	Vakil, Markapur, Kurnool District.	Do.

Register of Delegates, Indian Notional Congress, Madras, 1914—(cont.)

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506	Madras	...	Kurnool District Congress Association.	„ M Madhwa Charulu, B.A , B.L...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Kurnool ... Meeting on 15th December 1914.
507	Do.	...	Do. ...	„ N. Ranga Charlu, B.A. ...	Do. ...	Vakil, Kurnool ... Do.
508	Do.	...	Do. ...	„ C. V. Krishna Rao Nayudu, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Velama non-Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Kurnool. Do.
509	Do.	...	Do. ...	„ J. Ramayya Chetty ...	Hindu Vysya ...	Merchant and Municipal Councillor, Kurnool. Do.
510	Do.	...	Do. ...	„ P. Subramanyam, B.A. ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Nandyal ... Meeting on 18th December 1914.
511	Do.	...	Do. ...	„ C. V. Ranga Reddi, B.A., B.L. ...	Hindu non-Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, and Municipal Councillor, Kurnool. Meeting on 15th December 1914.
512	Do.	...	Do. ...	„ P. S. Parthasarathi Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Kurnool. Meeting on 18th December 1914.
513	Do.	...	Do. ...	„ Ponem Ramiya ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Koilkuntla ... Meeting on 15th December 1914.
514	Do.	...	Do. ...	„ S. Narasimhulu, B.A., B.L. ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Kurnool ... Do.
515	Do.	...	Do. ...	Rao Bahadur, S. V. Narasimha Rao, B.A.	Do. ...	Do. ... Do.
516	Do.	...	Madura ...	„ P. S. Ananthunarayana Sastriyar.	Do. ...	Pleader, Sivaganga ... At a meeting on 22nd December 1914.
517	Do.	...	Do. ...	„ P. V. T. V. Manduppa Chetty ...	Hindu, Saivite ...	Money lending ... Do.
518	Do.	...	Do. ...	„ P. N. Subramania Iyer, B.A. ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Teacher ... Do.
519	Do.	...	Do. ...	„ B. Hanumanth Rao ...	Brahmin, Telugu.	Pleader, Sivaganga ... Do.
520	Do.	...	Do. ...	„ P. Subbaraya Iyer ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Prest. Madura Taluk Board Pleader, Madura. Do.
521	Do.	...	Do. ...	„ S. Harihara Iyer B.A., B.L. ...	Brahmin ...	High Court Vakil, Madura. At a meeting on 7th December 1914.
522	Do.	...	Do. ...	„ Dewan Bahadur Ramabhadra Naidu Garu.	Hindu ...	Zemindar of Dondappa-naickanur. Do.
523	Do.	...	Madura Ramnad Dist. Congress Committee.	„ T. V. Krishnamurthi Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin...	High Court Vakil, Madura. At a meeting on 22nd December 1914.
524	Do.	...	Do. ...	„ K. Srinivasa Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Vakil, Madura ... Do.
525	Do.	...	Do. ...	Hon. Mr. K. Rama Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	High Court Vakil, Madura. Do.

526	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. T. V. Appadurai Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
527	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. Ramakrishna Iyer	Do.	..	Land-lord Sholavandan	Do.
528	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ R. Venkatavaradha Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	High Court Vakil, Madura.	Do.
529	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. Srinivasaraghava Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	Pleader, Madura	Do.
530	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ A. Lakshminarayana Iyer	Do.	...	High Court Vakil, Madura.	Do.
531	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. S. Sesha Iyengar, B.A.	Do.	...	Pleader, Madura	At a meeting on 7th December 1914.
532	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ V. Manickam Pillai, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	Vakil, Madura	Do.
533	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. Manickavasakam Pillai, B.A., B.L.	Hindu	...	Pleader, Madura	Do.
534	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ V. M. Ramalinga Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin	..	High Court Vakil, Madura.	At a meeting on 22nd December 1914.
535	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ K. R. Venkatarama Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	Do.	At a meeting on 7th December 1914.
536	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ P. Krishnaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	Do.	At a meeting of the Dt. People's Association on 7th December 1914.
537	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. D. Krishna Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	Pleader, Madura	At a meeting on 22nd December 1914.
538	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ P. Ramaswami Aiyar	Do.	...	Pleader, Sivaganga	Do.
539	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. G. Mukundaraja Iyengar, B.A.	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
540	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ P. K. Padbanaba Sastri	Do.	...	Vakil, Quilon	Do.
541	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ K. Seshadri Aiyar	Do.	...	Landlord	Do.
542	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ P. V. Narayanaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	Pleader, Tirumangalam	Do.
543	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ P. V. Subramania Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	Vakil, Madura	At a meeting on 7th December 1914.
544	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. Srinivasa Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	High Court Vakil, Madura.	Do.
545	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ R. Narasimah Iyengar	Do.	...	Pleader, Madura	Do.
546	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. M. Narayana Aiyengar	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
547	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. P. L. Arunachalam Chettiar.	Hindu Nattukottai Chetti.	...	Landlord	At a meeting on 22nd December 1914.
548	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Rajarama Iyer, B.A., L.T.	Hindu Brahmin...	...	Principal, Madura College, Madura.	At a meeting on 7th December 1914.
549	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ R. Narayanaswami Iyer	Do.	...	Pleader, Aruppukotta, Ram- nad District.	At a meeting on 22nd December 1914.
550	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ R. Sri Kalakasti Iyer, B.A.	Do.	...	Pleader, Ramnad	Do.

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914—(cont.)

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Names in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinctions.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
551	Madras	Madras Ramanad Dt. Congress Committee	Mr. S. V. M. L. Lakshymanan Chettiyar.	Nattukottai Chetti.	Moneylender, Karakudi	At a meeting on 7th December 1914.
552	Do.	Do.	„ A. K. D. Dharmaraja Avergal	Hindu	Miras, Rajapalayam	At a meeting on 22nd December 1914.
553	Do.	Do.	„ V. Ramaswami Aiyengar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin..	Pleader	Do.
554	Do.	Do.	„ V. Vedantachariar, B.A.	Do.	Vakil, Srivaliputtur	Do.
555	Do.	Do.	„ C. S. Desika Iyengar	Do.	Pleader, Srivaliputtur	Do.
556	Do.	Do.	„ S. D. Thathachariar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Pleader, Madura	Do.
557	Do.	Do.	„ M. N. Natesa Iyer	Do.	Do.	At a meeting on 7th December 1914.
558	Do.	Do.	„ M. K. Sundararaja Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Do.	At a meeting on 22nd December 1914.
559	Do.	Do.	„ A. Rengaswami Aiyengar	Do.	Pleader	Do.
560	Do.	Do.	„ M. Venkatesa Sastri	Do.	Trader, New St., Madura	Do.
561	Do.	Do.	„ S. K. Rengaswami Iyengar	Do.	Pleader, Srivaliputtur	Do.
562	Do.	Do.	„ M. V. Govinda Rao	Do.	Municipal Councillor, Madura.	At a meeting on 7th December 1914.
563	Do.	Do.	„ V. S. Lakshmynarayana Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Madura.	At a meeting on 22nd December 1914.
564	Do.	Do.	„ P. N. Aiya Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Do,	Do.
565	Do.	Do.	„ K. Jayabisvara Iyer, B.A.	Do.	Pleader, Madura	Do.
566	Do.	Do.	„ T. Ramaswami Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Do.	At a meeting on 7th December 1914.
567	Do.	Do.	„ V. Sundaram Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Do.	Do.
568	Do.	Do.	„ A. Ganapathy Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Do.	.....
569	Do.	The Palghat Divisional Congress Committee.	„ M. Krishnamachariar	Hindu Brahmin...	Headmaster, Ottapalam High School, Ottapalam.	Meeting on 17th December 1914.
570	Do	Do.	„ N. S. Ramiah	Do.	Land-lord, Nellichery, Palghat.	Do.
571	Do.	Do.	„ V. K. Gayatri Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Pleader, Vadakantara Village, Palghat.	Do.

572	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ V. Kunhiraman Nair, G.B., V.C.	Hindu Nayar Caste.	Veterinary Surgeon, Sultanpet, Palghat.	Do.
573	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ K. Kunhikuttan Thampan	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Land-lord, Puthur, Palghat.	Do.
574	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ T. L. Swaminathan Aiyar	Hindu Brahmin...	Banker and Merchant, Tirunillai, Palghat.	Do.
575	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. K. Ramaswami Aiyar, B.A.	Do.	Pleader, Sekharipuram, Palghat.	Do.
576	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ P. V. Dorasami Aiyar	Do.	Vakil, Ponnari, (S.Malabar.)	Do.
577	Do.	...	North Malabar, Tellichery.	...	„ Kizhakepat Sankara Menon, B.A.	Hindu Nair	Barrister-at-Law, Tellichery.	Meeting on 11th December 1914.
578	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Pattath Ramunni Marar, B.A., B.L.	Do. Marar	High Court Vakil, Tellichery.	Do.
579	Do.	...	The Malabar District Congress Committee.	...	„ G. S. Krishna Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin...	Vakil, Chalapuram, Calicut.	Meeting on 16th December 1914.
580	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ E. Narayanan Nair, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Niar	High Court Vakil, Chalapuram, Calicut.	Do.
581	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ T. Govindan Nair, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Pleader, Calicut	Do.
582	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ A. V. Govinda Menon, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Chalapuram, Calicut.	Do.
583	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. M. Raichan Moopan	Hindu Tiyyan	Land-lord, Calicut.	Do.
584	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ V. S. Venkatachala Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin...	First Grade Pleader, Payyali, North Malabar.	Do.
585	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ G. Damodara Rao, B.A., B.L.	.....	High Court Vakil, Tellichery.	.....
586	Do.	...	Nellore District Congress Committee.	...	„ M. Hanumantha Rao	Hindu	Pleader, Kondakur, Nellore District.	Meeting on 22nd December 1914.
587	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ R. Rajagopala Aiyar	Hindu Brahmin	Apprentice at-Law, Madras	Meeting on 27th December 1914.
588	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ T. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Nellore.	Meeting on 21st December 1914.
589	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Kondain, Kumarasamy Aiyar, B.A.,	Do.	Teacher, Nellore	Meeting on 27th December 1914.
590	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Nemali Subba Rao	Do.	Private Secretary to Kumara Rajah of Venkatagiri, Nellore District.	Do.
591	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Mahammed Ziauddin Sahib Ahmed Ansari.	Mohammedan	Kazi	Do.
592	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ N. Seshadri Aiyangar, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin...	Vakil, Kanigiri, Nellore District.	Meeting on 21st December 1914.

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914—(cont.)

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593	Madras	The Malabar District Congress Committee.	Mr. Mannipalli Raniakrishna Rao ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Publisher and Bookseller, M, N. Agraharam, Nellore.	Meeting on 21st December 1914.
594	Do.	Do.	„ E. Ragahva Reddi, B.A., B.L. ...	Hindu non-Brahmin,	Vakil, Nellore ...	Do.
595	Do.	Do.	„ O. Subba Rao, B.L. ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Do. ...	Do.
596	Do.	Do.	„ M. K. Seshachari ...	Do. ...	Teacher, Allur ...	Do.
597	Do.	Do.	„ B. Annasami Aiyar, B.A. ...	Do. ...	1st Grade Pleader, Nellore.	Do.
598	Do.	Do.	„ O. Visvanadha Rao, B.A., B.L. ...	Do. ...	Do.	Do.
599	Do.	Do.	„ K. Audinarayana Reddi ...	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Land-lord ...	Do.
600	Do.	Do.	„ T. Srikrishmayya, B.A., B.L. ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Pleader ...	Do.
601	Do.	Do.	„ N. Ramanuja Chariar, B.A., B.L. ...	Do. ...	Vakil, Nellore ...	Do.
602	Do.	Do.	„ Chinnalamarri Lakshmana Rao.	Do. ...	Pleader and District Board Member, Kanigiri.	Do.
603	Do.	Do.	„ Bezwada Pattahbhi Rami Reddi Garu,	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Buchireddipalbin, Nellore...	Do.
604	Do.	Do.	„ Rebala Subbarayudu, B.A., B.L....	Hindu ...	District Court Pleader, Nellore.	Do.
605	Do.	Do.	„ P. C. Venkatanarayana ...	Hindu Vysia ...	Merchant, Cocanada ...	Do.
606	Do.	Do.	„ M. Subba Rao, M.A. ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Professor of History ...	Meeting on 27th December 1914.
607	Do.	Do.	„ M. Sivakamiah, B.A., L.T. ...	Do. ...	Teacher ...	Do.
608	Do.	Do.	„ N. Singara Chari ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Meeting on 21st December 1914.
609	Do.	Do.	„ A. L. Narasimham ...	Do. ...	Land-holder ...	Meeting on 27th December 1914.
610	Do.	Do.	„ M. V. Subba Rao, B.A., B.L. ...	Do. ...	Vakil, Nellore ...	Meeting on 21st December 1914.
611	Do.	Do.	„ C. Malakondiah B.A., B.L. ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Nellore ...	Do.
612	Do.	Do.	„ V. Sbramaniam, B.A. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
613	Do.	Do.	„ N. Sundararajan ...	Do. ...	Land-lord ...	Do.
614	Do.	Do.	„ K. Parthasarathi Aiyangar ...	Do. ...	Land-holder ...	Do.

615	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Sunkur Krishnaswami Chetty, B.A., B.L.	Hindu non-Brah- min Vysia.	Vakil, Nellore	...	Do.
616	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Parvatareddi Rama ch a n d r a Reddi Garu,	Hindu non-Brah- min.	Landholder, Allur	...	Do.
617	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ P. Ramakrishnayya	Hindu Brahmin...	Pleader, Kanigiri, Nellore District.	...	Do.
618	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Pellati Penchelu Reddi	Hindu Kapu ...	Land-lord	...	Do.
619	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Nandagiri Hanumantha Rao	Hindu Brahmin...	Teacher, Ranganayakulupet, Nellore.	Meeting on 27th December 1914.	
620	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ G. Yenadi Reddi	Hindu non-Brah- min.	Land-lord, Indukurpet, Nellore District.	Meeting on 21st December 1914.	
621	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. Rama Rao	Hindu Brahmin...	Landholder	Meeting on 27th December 1914,	
622	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ J. Krishnaswami Naidu	Hindu non-Brah- min.	Merchant, Stonehousepet, Nellore.	Do.	
623	Do.	...	Do.	...	The Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin...	High Court Vakil, Nellore.	Meeting on 21st December 1914.	
624	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Rehala Sundararami Reddi	Hindu non-Brah- min.	Land-lord, Northamapur, Nellore District.	Do.	
625	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Kasavaraju Narasinga Rao	Hindu Brahmin...	Pleader, Kavali, Nellore	Do.	
626	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ Venganti Venkatasubhiah, B.A....	Do.	Pleader, Kavali	Do.	
627	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ P. Bramananda Rao	Do.	.....	Meeting on 27th December 1914.	
628	Do.	...	Taluk Congress Com- mittee, Kavali.	...	„ A. Suryarama Aiyar, B.A.	Do.	Pleader	Meeting on 21st December 1914.	
629	Do.	...	Salem District Con- gress Committee.	...	„ P. L. Ramaswami Naicker	Hindu non-Brah. min.	Mittadar Salem	.....
630	Do.	...	Tanjore District Con- gress Committee.	...	„ K. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin...	Vakil, Tanjore	Public Meeting on 25th December 1914.	
631	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ N. R. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Do.	Congress Committee 12th December 1914.	
632	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. Kuppusami Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Vakil, Kumbakonam	Do.	
633	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ N. R. Vijayaraghava Aiyangar...	Do.	Merchant, and Union Chair- man, Nidamangalam.	Do.	
634	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. P. Dorasami Aiyar	Do.	Jouralist, Tanjore	Do.	
635	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ T. Kothandarama Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Cadell's Road Tanjore.	Do.	
636	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ T. C. Srinivasaraghavachari	Do.	Merchant, West Main Street, Tanjore.	Do.	

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914.--(cont.)

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637	Madras	Tanjore District Congress Committee.	Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar	Hindu Brahmin .	Press Correspondent, Kumbakonam, Samprada Vydanadan Street.	Congress Committee 12th December 1914.
38	Do.	Do.	„ K. Natarajan, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, West main Street, Tanjore.	Do.
639	Do.	Do.	„ K. P. Subrahmaniam, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Vakil, Tanjore.	Do.
640	Do.	Do.	„ R. Vasudeva, Rao	Do.	Land-holder, Koiladi, Tanjore Taluk.	Do.
641	Do.	Do.	„ T. Kumarasami Pillai	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Pleader, Karuthattangudi, Tanjore.	Do.
642	Do.	Do.	„ A. Ganapathi Aiyar, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin...	School Master, "Ramachandra vilas" West Main Street, Tanjore.	Do.
643	Do.	Do.	„ T. R. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A., L.T., M.R. A.S.	Do.	School Master, 308 Aiyavaiyer Lane, West Main Street, Tanjore.	Do.
644	Do.	Do.	„ T. N. Sitarama Pillai	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Retired Judicial Officer	Do.
645	Do.	Do.	„ G. Venkataranga Charari	Hindu Brahmin...	Pleader and Mirasdar, Tiruthoraipundi	Do.
646	Do.	Do.	„ V. Rangachari, B.A.	Do.	Mirasdar, Kadalangudi St., Kumbakonam	Do.
647	Do.	Do.	„ V. R. Srinivasan, B.A.	Do.	Secretary, Tanjore District Cooperative Central Bank Kumbakonam.	Do.
648	Do.	Do.	„ E. Suryanarayna Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Ist Grade Pleader, Ellayaman Coil Street, Tanjore.	Do.
649	Do.	Do.	„ T. P. Subhia Mudaliar	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Municipal Councillor...	Do.
650	Do.	Kumbakonam Congress Committee.	„ G. V. Venkatarama Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin...	Vakil, Kumbakonam	Public Meeting on 16th December 1914.
651	Do.	Do.	„ M. K. Vaidyanatha Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Do.	Do.

652	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. T. S. Subramania Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin...	High Court Vakil and Municipal Councillor, Baktapuri St., Kumbakonam.	Public Meeting on 16th December 1914.
653	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ T. K. Sivarama Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil, Kumbakonam.	Do.
654	Do.	...	Do.	...	Rao Bahadur N. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Do.	Do.
655	Do.	...	Do.	..	Mr. R. Narasimha Chariar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Ist Grade Pleader ...	Do.
656	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ V. Nageswara Sastri ...	Do.	Mirasdar, Poet and Astrologer, 17, Pachiappa's St., Kumbakonam.	Do.
657	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ N. Thiruvengadatha Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Ist Grade Pleader, Lakshmililasa Agraharam, Kumbakonam.	Do.
658	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ K. Sarangapani Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Mirasdar, 52, Big Street, Kumbakonam.	Do.
659	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ N. Srinivasa Aiyangar ...	Do.	Mirasdar, Lakshmililasa Agraharam, Kumbakonam.	Do.
660	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ N. Apathsahaya Aiyar ...	Do.	Mirasdar ...	Do.
661	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. Natesa Aiyar, B.A., B.L. ...	Do.	High Court Vakil, Kumbakonam.	Do.
662	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ C. K. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Do.	Do.
663	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ A. Vasutheva Rao ...	Do.	Mirasdar, 7, Kalyanarama Iyer St., Kumbakonam.	Do.
664	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ V. Swaminatha Mudaliar ...	Do.	Mirasdar, Kumbakonam ...	Do.
665	Do.	...	Nannilam Taluk Congress Committee, Mudikondan.	...	„ V. Panchapagesa Aiyar ...	Do.	Land holder, Sengalipuram, Kodavasal Post, Tanjore.	Meeting on 16th December 1914.
666	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ N. Venkatarama Aiyar ...	Do.	Land holder, Mudikondan, Tanjore District.	Do.
667	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. M. Subbarama Aiyar ...	Do.	Land holder, Sengalipuram Post, Tanjore District.	Do.
668	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ V. Subramania Aiyar ...	Do.	Land holder, Konerirajapuram via., Tiruvadamarudur, Tanjore Dist.	Do.
669	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. Srinivasa Aiyar ...	Do.	Land holder, Vishnupuram, Eravanjeri Post, Tanjore District.	Do.

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914—(cont).

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670	Madras	...	Nannilam Taluk Congress Committee, Mudikondan.	„ V. Nataraja Aiyar	... Hindu Brahmin...	Land holder, Sengalipuram, Kodavasal Post, Tanjore District.	Meeting on 16th December 1914.
671	Do.	...	Do.	„ P. A. Subramania Aiyar	... Do. ...	Teacher, Edward Secondary School, Mudikondan, Tanjore District.	Do.
672	Do.	...	Do.	„ Vaithinathasami Aiyar	... Do. ...	Landholder, Mudikondan, Tanjore District.	Do.
673	Do.	...	Do.	„ V. Mahadeva Aiyar	... Do. ...	Do.	Do.
674	Do.	...	Do.	„ S. P. Natesa Aiyar	... Do. ...	Land-lord, Serukulathur, Tanjore District.	.....
675	Do.	...	Mayavaram Taluk Congress Committee.	„ S. Gopala Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	... Do. ...	Ist Grade Pleader, Mayavaram.	Meeting on 14th December 1914.
676	Do.	...	Do.	„ K. Seshu Aiyar, B.A., L.T.	... Do. ...	Headmaster, Municipal High School, Mayavaram.	Do.
677	Do.	...	Taluk Congress Committee, Shiyali.	„ T. R. Srinivasa Chari, B.A.	... Do. ...	Pleader, Shiyali	Meeting on 13th December 1914.
678	Do.	...	Do.	„ S. Raghupathi Aiyar	... Do. ...	Landholder	Do.
679	Do.	...	Do.	„ S. Subramania Aiyar	... Do. ...	Landholder, Tadulan Coil, Shiyali.	Do.
680	Do.	...	Do.	„ N. Thiruvenkata Chari	... Do. ...	Do.	Do.
681	Do.	...	Do.	„ N. R. Kothandarama Aiyar	... Do. ...	Landholder, Neppathur, Shiyali.	Do.
682	Do.	...	Do.	„ S. Subbaraya Mudaliar	... Hindu non-Brahmin.	Landholder, Shiyali	Do.
683	Do.	...	Do.	„ S. Ramakrishna Pillai	... Do. ...	Landholder, Sriranganathapuram, Shiyali.	Do.
684	Do.	...	Do.	„ P. K. Swaminatha Pillai	... Do. ...	Landholder and V. M., Perunthottam Village, Shiyali.	Do.
685	Do.	...	Do.	„ N. Swaminatha Aiyar	... Hindu Brahmin...	Landholder, Neppathur, Shiyali.	Do.

686	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. K. Jagadesa Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	Pleader, Shiyali	...	Do.
687	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ V. Srinivasa Aiyar	Do.	...	Land holder, Kunnam vil- lage, Shiyali Taluk.	...	Do.
688	Do.	...	Tinnevelly District Congress Committee.	...	„ K. A. Sivagnanam Pillai	Hindu non-Brah- min, Vellala.	...	Pleader, Ambasamudram...	...	Meeting on 21st December 1914.
10689	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ K. V. Anantanarayana Aiyar, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	...	Do.	...	Do.
6.0	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ V. S. Arumugama Pillai	Hindu non-Brah- min.	...	Land-holder and Merchant, North Cota, St. Tinnevelly.	...	Do.
691	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ J. Varadaraja Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin, Vaishnavite.	...	High Court Vakil, Vannar- pet.	...	Do.
692	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ V. V. Srinivasa Chariar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
693	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ G. Sankarasadasiva Aiyar, B.A.,	Hindu Brahmin...	...	Vakil and Land-holder, Ambasamudram.	...	Meeting on 26th December 1914.
694	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ M. V. Ramswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	1st Grade Pleader, Tinn- evelly Bridge.	...	Meeting on 21st December 1914.
695	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ K. K. Madhava Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	1st Grade Pleader, Viraraga- vapuram.	...	Do.
696	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ K. S. Anantanarayana Aiyangar, B.A.	Do. Vaishnavite...	...	1st Grade Pleader, Tinn- avelly.	...	Do.
697	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ R. Venkateswara Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin...	...	Do.	...	Do.
698	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ O. P. Umayar Bhagam Pillai	Hindu non-Brah- min.	...	Merchant, O.P. Smith & Co., Madras.	...	Do.
699	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ A. Padbanabha Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin...	...	Pleader, Tinnevelly	...	Meeting on 26th December 1914.
700	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ H N. Tirumalasami Aiyar, B.A.	Do.	...	Do. Ambasamudram.	...	Meeting on 21st December 1914.
701	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. Gopala Aiyar	Do.	...	Do. Srivaikuntam	...	Do.
702	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ T. Surya Muthiah Pillai	Hindu Vellala	...	1st Grade Pleader, Tuticorin.	...	Do.
703	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. V. Krishna Aiyar	Hindu Brahmin.	...	Pleader, Srivaikuntam	...	Do.
704	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ T. V. Balakrishna Sastri, B.A.	Do.	...	Do. Tinnevelly	...	Do.
705	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ K. R. Krishnaswami Aiyar	Do.	...	Typist and Land-holder	...	Do.
706	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ B. Subbarayalu Naidu	Hindu Baliya	...	Banker and Landlord, Gopal Lodge, Vannarpet, Tinn- avelly Bridge.	...	Do.
707	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ G. Ramabhadra Aiyar	Do.	...	Pleader, Tinnevelly Bridge.	...	Meeting on 27th December 1914.
708	Do.	...	Do.	...	„ S. Venkatakrishna Aiyar	Do.	...	Vakil, Sermadevi, Tinn- avelly.	...	Meeting on 26th December 1914.

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914—(cont).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic Distinction.	Caste, Creed or Race.	Profession, Calling, Occupation and Address.	When and how Elected.
709	Madras ...	Trichinopoly District Congress Committee.	Mr. Duraisami Reddiyar ...	Hindu non-Brahmin.	Mirasdar, Namakkal ...	Meeting on 12th December 1914.
710	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ R. Srinivasa Aiyar, B.A., B.L. ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Vakil, Trichinopoly ...	Do.
711	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ G. S. Raghavachari ...	Do. ...	Mirasdar, Trichinopoly ...	Meeting on 20th December 1914.
712	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ S. K. Sarma ...	Do. ...	Asst. Editor, "Wednesday Review," Trichinopoly.	Do.
713	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ K. N. Raghunathaswami Aiyar.	Do. ...	Mirasdar, Kulimani, Trichinopoly.	Do.
714	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ K. V. Jambunatha Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Vakil ...	Meeting on 12th December 1914.
715	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ S. Radhakrishna Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Pleader, Trichinopoly ...	Do.
716	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ S. Sivaramakrishna Aiyar ...	Do. ...	High Court Vakil, Trichinopoly.	Do.
717	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ S. Venkoba Rao. B.A., B.L. ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Trichinopoly ...	Meeting on 20th December 1914.
718	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ K. Narayanaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	High Court Vakil, Trichinopoly.	Meeting on 12th December 1914.
719	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ T. S. Sethu Rao ...	Do. ...	Mirasdar, Tirukambuliur, Kattalai.	Do.
720	Do. ...	Do. ...	Rao Bahadur Y. Narayana Rao ...	Do. ...	Retired Chief Cashier, S. I. Ry., Trichinopoly.	Meeting on 20th December 1914.
721	Do. ...	Do. ...	Rao Sahib S. M. Raja Ram Rao ...	Do. ...	Editor, "Wednesday Review," Trichinopoly.	Meeting on 12th December 1914.
722	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. T. V. Swaminatha Sastri Dn & S.	Do. ...	Medical Practitioner ...	Do.
723	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ F. G. Natesa Aiyar ...	Indian Christian...	Staff Clerk, Traffic Manager's Office, S. I. Ry., Trichinopoly.	Do.
724	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ N. L. Sivarama Aiyar ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Banker, Trichinopoly ...	Do.
725	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ V. Ramaiyer B.A., B.L. ...	Do. ...	High Court Vakil, Trichinopoly.	Do.
726	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ S. Balakrishna Aiyar ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Trichinopoly ...	Do.
277	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ C. Rajalinga Chariar ...	Vysia ...	Zemindar of Elamballi ...	Do.

728	Do.	...	Do.	...	" K. R. Venkataraman	...	Do.	...	Editor, " South Inidan Record " Tiruvani Coil.	Do.
729	Do.	...	Do.	...	" S. Kasturi Ranga Chariar, B.A., B.L.	...	Hindu Brahmin...	...	Pleader, Trichinopoly	Meeting on 20th December 1914.
730	Do.	...	Kulitalai Taluk Congress Committee.	...	" V. Rangasami Thathachar	...	Hindu Brahmin...	...	Land-holder, Kulitali	Meeting on 21st December 1914.
731	Do.	...	Do.	...	" V. L. Sundram Aiyar, B.A.	...	Do.	...	Land-holder and Pleader, Kulitali.	Meeting on 11th December 1914.
732	Do.	...	Do.	...	" K. T. Chandrasekhara Rao	...	Do.	...	Pleader and Mirasdar, Kulitali.	Do.
733	Do.	...	Do.	...	" M. R. Ranganatha Rao	...	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
734	Do.	...	Do.	...	" R. Raghavendra Rao	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Kulitali	Do.
735	Do.	...	Do.	...	" R. Sundaresa Rao, B.A., B.L.	...	Do.	...	1st Grade Pleader, Kulitali.	Do.
736	Do.	...	Do.	...	" T. V. Subba Rao	...	Do.	...	Pleader and Land-holder, Kulitalai.	Do.
737	Do.	...	Do.	...	" B. S. Ramasami Aiyar	...	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
738	Do.	...	Do.	...	" P. T. Rangasami Aiyangar	...	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
739	Do.	...	Do.	...	" L. Manickavasaga Mudaliar	...	Hindu non-Brahmin, Thondamandala Vellala.	...	Do.	Do.
740	Do.	...	The Vizagapatam Dist. Congress Committee.	...	" Mallimadugula Bangariah, B.A., B.L.	...	Hindu Brahmin...	...	High Court Vakil, Vizagapatam.	Meeting on 23rd December 1914.
741	Do.	...	Do.	...	" P. C. Ellayya	...	Hindu	...	Merchant and Commission Agent, Bimilipatam.	Do.
742	Do.	...	Do.	...	" V. Durga Prasada Rao, B.A., B.L.	...	Hindu Brahmin...	...	High Court Vakil	Do.
743	Do.	...	Do.	...	" Akella Suryanarayana Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A.	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Main Road, Vizagapatam.	Do.
744	Do.	...	Do.	...	" Prabhala Lakshminarasimham, B.A., B.L.	...	Do.	...	High Court Vakil, Vizagapatam.	Do.
745	Do.	...	The Vizianagaram Taluk Congress Committee.	...	" N. Venkataraman, M.A.	...	Do.	...	Lecturer, Maharaja's College	Meeting on 14th December 1914.
746	Do.	...	Do.	...	" O. P. Ramamurthy, B.A.	...	Do.	...	1st grade Pleader, Vizianagaram.	Do.
747	Do.	...	The Parvatipur Divisional Congress Committee.	...	" O. V. Jagannada Sastri	...	Do.	...	1st grade Pleader, Parvatipur.	Meeting on 24th December 1914.
748	Do.	...	Do.	...	" A. Jagannadham Pantulu, B.A.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
749	Bombay	...	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee	...	" Narottam Morarji Gokuldas	...	Hindu Bhatia	...	Millowner, Pedder Road, Bombay.	Meeting on 16th December 1914.

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914—(cont).

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750	Bombay ...	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. Girjashankar B. Trivedi, B.A. ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Salesman, Bandra Bombay.	Meeting on 18th December 1914.
751	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ Nalinkanta Narasinga Rao Divatia.	Hindu Nagor Brahmin.	Electrical Engineer, Blue Bungalow, Bandra, Bombay	Do.
752	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ Jaisuklal K. Mehta, M.A. ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Secretary Indian Merchant's Chamber, Bombay.	Do.
753	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ Chandrashankar Narmadashankar Pandya, B.A., L.L.B. ...	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court Morarji Gokuldas Buildings, Girgaon, Bombay.	Do.
754	Do. ..	Do. ...	„ Ratansi Dharamsi Morarji ...	Hindu Bhatia ...	Milowner, Chinabaj Girgaon, Bombay.	Do.
755	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ Trikamdas Dharamsi Morarji ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
756	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ Jaumadas Dwarkadas, B.A. ...	Do. ...	Merchant, Bankers' Bungalow, Chowpatty, Bombay.	Do.
757	Do. ...	Bombay Presidency Association.	„ Sir Vithaldas D. Thakersey, Kt.	Hindu ...	Mill Owner, Warden Road, Bombay.	Meeting on 18th December 1914.
758	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ Gopalkrishna Devdhar, M.A. ...	Hindu Brahmin .	Member of Servants of India Society, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay.	Do.
759	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ Indornarayan Brijmobanlal ...	Hindu ...	Vakil, High Court ...	Do.
760	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ J. R. Gharpure ...	Do. ...	Gergaum, Angre's Wadi, Bombay.	Do.
761	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ G. K. Gadgil, B.A., ...	Do. ...	Barrister-at-Law and Advocate, High Court, Bombay.	Do.
762	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ Sir. N. G. Chandaverkar, Kt. ...	Do. ...	Pedder Road, Bombay ...	Do.
763	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ D. G. Dalvi ...	Do. ...	Thakoredwar, Bombay ...	Do.
764	Do, ...	Do. ...	„ N. M. Samarth ...	Hindu Chanda Seynia kayastha Prabhu.	Vakil, High Court, Girgaon, Bombay.	Do.
765	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ Narayan Mallar Joshi, B.A. ...	Hindu Brahmin...	Member of Servants of India Society, Bombay, branch, Sandhurst, Girgaon Bombay.	Do.

766	Do.	... Deccan Sabha	Poona.	„ Vrajlal Vanmalai Modi	... Hindu	... Merchant, Picket Road, Kalbadevi, Bombay.	Meeting on 20th December 1914.
767	Do.	... Do.	... „	S. S. Sethur, B.A., L.L.B.	... Hindu Brahmin...	Advocate, High Court Bombay.	Do.
768	Do,	... Do.	... „	Gopal Rao Borgamuker	... Do.	Vakil, Gulburgh	Do.
769	Do.	... Do.	... „	G. A. Kasi Rao	... Do.	Land-lord, Bombay	Do.
770	Do.	... Do.	... „	Atmaram Sitaram Wagh	... Gowd Saraswat Brahmin.	Clerk, Bombay	Do.
771	Do.	... Do.	... „	S. A. Manurker	... Lingayet	Merchant, Poona	Do.
772	Do.	... Do.	... „	L. R. Gokhale	... ..	Pleader	Do.
773	Do.	... Do.	... Prof.	V. G. Kale, M.A.	... Hindu Brahmin	Professor, Ferguson College, Poona.	Meeting on 13th December 1914.
774	Do.	... Do.	... Mr.	Amrittal Thakker, I.C.E.	... ..	Member of the servants of India Society, Poona.	Do.
775	Do.	... Do.	... „	Totaram Sanadhya	... Hindu	Public Worker, Feozabad, (Agra District).	Meeting on 20th December 1914.
776	Do.	... Do.	... „	H. Ghulam Hussain	... Mohammedan	General Merchant, Raichur.	Do.
777	Do.	... Do.	... „	Giri Rao	... Hindu Brahmin...	Vakil, High Court, Hyderabad, Deccan.	Do.
778	Do.	... Do.	... „	P. Kesheve Rao	... Do.	Do.	Do.
779	Do.	... Do.	... „	V. R. Naick	... Do.	Jagirdar, Gouliguda, Hyderabad, Deccan.	Do.
780	Do.	... Do.	... „	Vasudev Rajaram Gupta, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Prabhu	District Pleader, Poona.	Meeting on 13th December 1911.
781	Do.	... Do.	... „	Harjevan K. Mehta	... Hindu	Morarji, Gokuldas Chawl, Kalbaderi, Bombay.	Meeting on 20th December 1914.
782	Do.	... Do.	... „	Ramsing Dingar Sing	... Do.	Spinning Master, S. W. Mills, Sholapur.	Do.
783	Do.	... Hyderabad (Sind) Dist. Congress Committee.	... „	H. T. Jagtiani	... Do.	Merchant, Hyderabad (Sind).	Meeting on 13th December 1914.
784	Do.	... Do.	... „	Kemchand Shewakran Malka	... Do.	Oculist Surgeon	Do.
785	Do.	... Do.	... „	S. M. Lalwani	... Do.	Zemindar, Hyderabad	Do.
786	Do.	... Do.	... „	Hirarand Santokram, B.A., L.L.B.	... Do.	Pleader, Hyderabad (Sind).	Do.
787	Do.	... Do.	... „	Jithmal Parasuram Guhagan	... Do.	Hyderabad (Sind)	Do.
788	Do.	... Do.	... „	Gopaldas Jhamatmal	Hindu Amil	Pleader, Hyderabad (Sind).	Do.
789	Do.	... Karachi District Congress Committee.	... „	Asudamal Revachand	... Hindu Lohana	Managing Clerk to Messrs Harchandrai & Co., Pleaders, Karachi.	Meeting on 16th December 1914.
790	Do.	... Do.	... „	Asaumal B. Vizirani, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Amil	Pleader, Karachi	Do.

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914—(cont.)

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791	Bombay	Karachi Dist. Congress Committee.	Mr. Srichand Vishindoss, B.A.	Hindu Lohana	Merchant and Land-lord, Karachi.	Meeting on 16th December 1914.
792	Do.	Do.	„ Durgad B. Advani	Hindu Amil	Architect Engineer, Karachi	Do.
793	Do.	Do.	„ Thakurdas Fatekchand	Hindu Lohana	Merchant, Karachi	Do.
794	Do.	Do.	„ Kima'rai Bhojraj	Do.	Pleader, Karachi	Do.
795	Do.	Satara District Congress Committee.	„ Sadashiva Khande Allekar, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Brahmin	Pleader, Karad District, Satara.	At a meeting of District Congress Committee.
796	Do.	Do.	„ Ramachandra Ganesh Soman	Do.	Pleader, Satara	Do.
797	Do.	Do.	„ Narayan Ganesh Patankar, B.A., L.L.B.	Do.	Pleader, Islampur, (Satara).	Do.
798	Do.	Khandesh Dist. Congress Committee.	The Hon. S. B. Upasni, B.A., L.L.B.	Do.	Retired First Class Sub-judge, Dhulia.	Meeting on 25th December 1914.
799	Do.	Do.	Mr. B. R. Ramsing, B.A., L.L.B.	Do.	Pleader, Dhulia	Do.
800	Do.	Gujaret Sabha, Ahmedabad.	The Hon. Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkanth, B.A., L.L.B.	Gujarati Nayar Brahmin.	Lawyer, Ahmedabad	Meeting on 20th December 1914.
801	Do.	Nagur Dist. Congress Committee.	Mr. Harikeshan Patwardhan, B.A., L.L.B.	Brahmin	Pleader	Do.
802	Do.	Do.	„ Ganesh Krishna Chitule, B.A., L.L.B.	Do.	Pleader, New City, Hilway.	Do.
803	Bengal	Provincial Congress Committee.	Babu Satyanada Bose	Hindu	Landholder	At a meeting on 12th December 1914.
804	Do.	Do.	Prahalandra Chandruhari	Bengali Brahmin.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Patna.	At a meeting on 12th December 1914.
805	Do.	Do.	Bubu Laait Mohan Doss	Do.	Teacher, 82/1, Harrison Road, Calcutta.	Do.
806	Do.	Do.	S. N. Basue	Hindu	.....	Do.
807	Do.	Do.	Hon. Mr. Ramani Mohan Doss	Do.	Zemindar	Do.
808	Do.	Do.	H. K. Sircar	Do.	Doctor	Do.
809	Do.	Do.	Baba Chatindranat Bose, M.A.	Do.	Solicitor, High Court, Calcutta.	Do.
810	Do.	Do.	J. Candralaw	Do.	Bar-at-Law	Do.
811	Do.	Do.	Dr. M. N. Basu	Do.	.....	Do.

812	Do.	...	Do.	...	Hon. Dr. Nilratan Sircar	...	Brahmin	...	Medical Practitioner	...	Do.
813	Do.	...	Do.	...	The Hon. Rai Bahadur Radha Charan Pal.	...	Hindu	...	.....	...	Do.
814	Do.	...	Do.	...	Hon. Mr. Surendanath Banerjea	...	Do.	...	Calcutta	...	Do.
815	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Jogandranath Bose	...	Do.	...	.....	...	Do.
816	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dr. R. G. Kar	...	Do.	...	.....	...	Do.
817	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Prittiwish Chanda Rey	...	Do.	...	Journalist	...	Do.
818	Do.	...	Do.	...	Principal Heramba Chandra Mitra.	...	Brahmin	...	Educationalist	...	Do.
819	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Motilal Sen	...	.....	.....	.....	...	Do.
820	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Babu Bhupandra Nath Basu	...	Hindu	...	10, Hastings, St., Calcutta.	...	Do.
821	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Mohari Chan Mitra	...	Do.	...	.....	...	Do.
822	Do.	...	Do.	...	D. C. Gosh, Esq.,	...	Do.	...	Bar-at-Law	...	Do.
823	Do.	...	Do.	...	R. D. Mehta Esq., C.I.E.	...	Parsi	...	.....	...	Do.
824	Bengal	...	Indian Association	...	Mr. Baba Chachindra Prasad Bose.	...	Bengalee	...	Editor, "Babidar and Banisa."	...	At a meeting on 12th December 1914.
825	Do.	...	Do.	...	" Babu Krishnakumar Mitra, B.A.	...	Do.	...	Editor, "Sanjibani"	...	Do.
826	Do.	...	Faridpur	...	" Prithivi Chandra Roy	...	Hindu Kayastha.	...	Zemindar, No. 39, Creek Row, Calcutta.	...	At a meeting on 13th December 1914.
827	Do.	...	Do.	...	" Purnachandra Mitra, B.L.	...	Hindu Brahmin...	...	Pleader, Faridpur	...	Do.
828	Do.	...	Dinajpur	...	" Babu Jogindrachandra Chakravarthi.	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Judges Court, Dinajpur.	...	Do.
829	Do.	...	Faridpur	...	" Kristodas Roy	...	Do.	...	Zemindar, No. 17, Harri-chandra Mullick's Lane, Calcutta.	...	Do.
830	Do.	...	Do.	...	" Chunni Lal Lahini	...	Do.	...	Agent, Hindustan & Co., No. 6, Sembudoss Street,	...	Do.
831	Do.	...	Mymensingh Association.	...	" Babu Jugisdischandrasen Gupta.	...	Baidya	...	Merchant, Madras	...	At a meeting on 18th December 1914.
832	Do.	...	Do.	...	" Promorthanath Bose	...	Khtria	...	Pleader	...	At a meeting on 14th December 1914.
833	Do.	...	Do.	...	" Hemanga Moha Ghose	...	Hindu Khyasta	...	Muktur, Mymensing	...	Do.
834	Do.	...	Do.	...	" S. M. Bose Esq., M.A., L.L.B.	...	Bramo	...	Bar-at-law, 93, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.	...	Do.
835	Do.	...	Rajshahi	...	" Singht Arukul Chandra Chukravarti.	...	Bengali Brahmin.	...	Pleader, Rajshahi	...	Do.
836	Do.	...	Do.	...	" Srinjit Kisori Mohan Chowdhary M.A., B.L.	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
837	Do.	...	Dacca People's Association.	...	" Manaranjan Banerji, B.L.	...	Hindu	...	Pleader, Judge's Court, Dacca.	...	At a meeting on 20th December 1914.

Register of Delegates, Indian National Congress, Madras, 1914—(cont)

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838	Bengal ...	Krishnagar Town Hall.	Mr. Babu Gagan Chandra Biswas B.A.	Hindu Bengali, Mahishya.	Retired Executive Engineer, Zemindar, 37/1, Harrison Road, Calcutta.	At a meeting on 14th December 1914.
839	Do. ...	Midnapore ...	„ Matilal Makurji, B.A., B.L. ...	Brahmin, Bengali.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Mid- napur.	Do.
840	Do. ...	Barisal Dist. Associ- ation.	„ Sarat Chandra Gusha, M.A., B.L.	Kayestha ...	Pleader, Judge's Court, Barisal.	At a meeting on 22nd December 1914.
841	U. P. of Agra and Oudh.	U. P. Congress Com- mittee.	„ Hirday Nath Kunzru, B.A., B.S.C.	Hindu Brahmin...	Members of the servants, of India Society, Allaha- bad.	Meeting on 13th December 1914.
842	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ Ramakant Malaviya ...	Do. ...	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad.	Do.
843	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ Jivan Shanker Yagnit, M.A., L.L.B.	Do. ...	Vakil, Aligarh City ...	Do.
844	Do. ...	Dist. Congress Com- mittee, Sitapur.	„ Akshay Kumar Basu, B.A. ...	Hindu ...	Pleader, Sitapore Oudh ...	Meeting on 23rd Decemher 1914.
845	Do. ...	U. P. Congress Com- mittee.	„ Gopal Doss Sharnusi ...	Brahmin ...	Legal, Profession Orai ...	Meeting on 13th December 1914.
846	United Pro- vince. ...	Gorukpur Congress ... Committee.	„ Ayodhya Doss ...	Hindu ...	Barrister-at-Law ...	Meeting on 18th December 1914.
847	Oudh ...	The Lucknow District Congress Committee.	„ Pandit Ikkal Narayan Masaldar.	Hindu Brahmin Kashmiri.	Bar-at-Law, Golaganj, Lucknow.	Meeting on 19th December 1914.
848	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ Babu Hari Kishen Dhaon, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Khattri ...	Vakil, High Court, Chank, Lucknow.	Do.
849	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, M.A., L.L.B., F.A.U.	Hindu Brahmin...	Vakil, High Court, 7, Natt Road, Lucknow.	Do.
850	Do. ...	Do. ...	„ A. P. Sen ...	Hindu Brahma Vaidyar.	Barrister-at-Law, Lucknow.	Do.
851	Berar ...	Berar Standing Con- gress Committee.	Dr. Shridar V. Ketkar ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Writer and Teacher, Amroati.	Meeting on 12th December 1914.
852	Do. ...	Berar Provincial Con- gress Committee.	Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, B.A., L.L.B.	Do. ...	High Court, Pleader ...	Meeting on 8th December 1914.

853	Do.	Do.	Mr. M. P. Sant	Do.	Asst. Secretary Industrial Conference, Amroati.	Do.
854	Do.	Do.	The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, C.I.E.	Do.	Advocate, Amroati	Do.
855	Do.	Amroati Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. G. R. Krishnasagar	Do.	Asst. Secretary, Industrial Conference.	Meeting on 8th December 1914.
856	Central Provinces.	Central Provinces Provincial Congress Committee.	„ Shridar Damoder Khare, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Brahmin...	Pleader, Wardha	Meeting on 21st December 1914.
857	Do.	Do.	„ N. A. Draird, M.A.	Do.	Senior member of Servants of India Society, Nagpur.	Do.
858	Behar	Behar Provincial Congress Committee.	„ S. A. Raja Aiyar	Do.	Editor, "Express," Bankipore.	Meeting on 10th December 1914.
859	Do.	Behar Provincial Congress Committee and Muzaffarpur District Congress Committee.	„ Arikshan Sinha	Do.	Pleader, Muzaffarpur	Do.
860	Behar U. P.	Behar Provincial Congress Committee and U. P. Congress Committee.	„ Sachidananda Sinha	Hindu	Bar-at-law, Bankipore, 7, Elgin Road, Allahabad.	At meetings of those Committees.
861	U. P.	Gorukpur	„ Ayodhyadas	Do.	Barrister-at-law	Meeting on 18th December 1914.
862	Do.	Lucknow People's Association.	„ Babu Ramapat Ram, M.A., L.L.B.	Do.	Vakil, High Court	At a meeting of the Association.
863	Behar and Orissa.	Behar Provincial Association.	„ Bhuvaneshwar Prasad	Kayastha	Assistant Secretary, Behar, Land-holders Association, Bankipore.	Do.
864	Behar	Behar Provincial Congress Committee.	Babu Arikshan Sinha	Hindu Brahmin...	Pleader	Do.
865	Upper Burma	Mandalay Association.	Mr. J. N. Basu, B.A., B.L.	Bengalee Hindu...	Advocate, Mandalay	Meeting on 11th November 1914.
866	Do.	Do.	„ Swaminatha Vasudevan, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin...	Do.	Do.