

REPORT

OF THE

3

Twenty-fifth
Indian National Congress

HELD AT

ALLAHABAD



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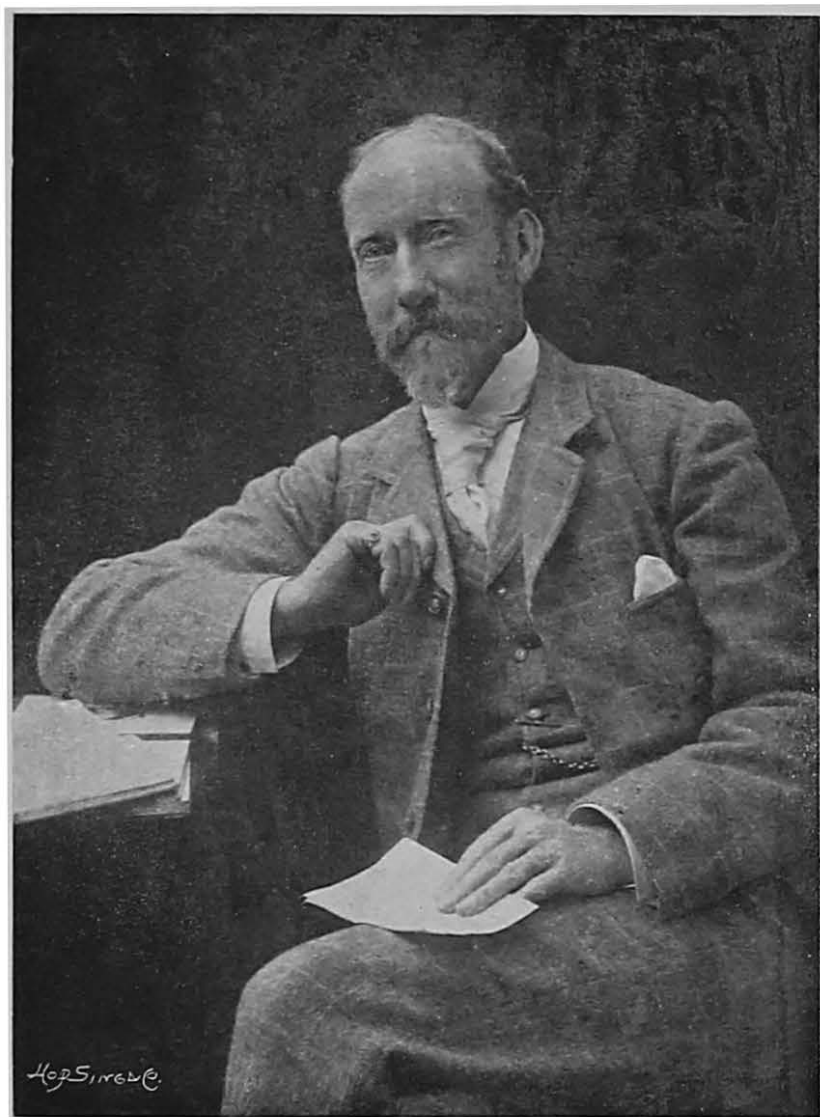
26th, 27th, 28th and 29th December, 1910



Allahabad

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1911



SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN,
President, 25th Indian National Congress, 1910,
ALLAHABAD.

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INTRODUCTION.

My sympathy with your aspirations is whole-hearted; and I cherish an enduring faith in the future destiny of India. India deserves to be happy. And I feel confident that brighter days are not far off. There is a saying that every nation deserves its fate; and my confidence in the future of India is founded on the solid merits of the Indian people—their law-abiding character, their industry, their patient and gentle nature, their capacity for managing their own affairs, as shown in their ancient village organisation. Further I put my trust in the intelligence, the reasonableness and the public spirit of the educated classes. And last, but not least, I have confidence in the Congress, whose plous duty it is to guide the people in their peaceful progress towards self-government within the Empire.—SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN.—(Presidential Address, *Supra*, p. 24.)

THE Indian National Congress completed twenty-five years' of useful activity and met at Allahabad to celebrate its silver jubilee in the Christmas week of 1910. When the Congress was first held in Bombay in 1885, could its founders have hoped for the brilliant future that awaited it? The success of the Congress is proof of the fitness of the educated people of India for a larger and a really potent share in the government of their country. There is not any single instance of the Congress having taken a wrong view of a subject touching the administration of the country and felt the necessity of changing an opinion once recorded. When it is remembered that as much cannot be claimed for those responsible for the government of the country—that they have been obliged to adopt the Congress views of public questions notwithstanding their manifest inclination to the contrary—that reforms once ridiculed as senseless or unpractical have since been actually given effect to, no more need be said in vindication of Congress statesmanship. Not long ago, it would have been nothing short of heresy to suggest that Indians could be taken into the Executive Councils of the Governor-General and the Governors of Presidencies and the Council of the Secretary of State; to-day, not only are there Indian members in them, but an Executive Council has been established in a large province governed by a Lieutenant-Governor and an Indian member appointed to it, and it may be regarded as practically certain that sooner than later, Council government will be established in another large province with an Indian as a member of the Council. When the Congress was established, Indian Legislative Councils consisted of members of Executive Councils, and a few nominated members whose fitness was determined by their readiness to subordinate their opinions (where they had any, that is to say,) to the wishes of their official patrons. They were described by the orator of the Congress as 'gilded shams' consisting of 'magnificent nonentities.' In response to the agitation of the Congress the Indian Councils Act of 1892 was passed, and the Councils were expanded as well as reformed. But the concessions

were inadequate, and the Congress rightly refused to be satisfied with the little that was granted. Again, in response to Congress agitation, the Councils were enlarged and reformed, and, whatever may be the defects of the Regulations which are a matter of administrative arrangement, the statutory recognition of principles is as satisfactory as can be expected in present circumstances. One is inclined to think that it was in an inspired moment that Babu Surendranath Banerjea exclaimed at the Madras Congress that Lord Morley would be known in history as the Simon de Montfort of the Indian Parliament. The foundations of local self-government which were laid by Lord Ripon, the good, in 1882, have not been built upon, it is true, as they should have been; but Lord Morley in his famous despatch of 1908 called upon the Government of India to take action in the desired direction, and the Royal Commission on Decentralisation made specific recommendations to the same end. These are engaging attention, and it is believed that the Government will, without much delay, announce the reforms which they have decided to carry out. An important feature of them will probably be the revival of village *panchayats* which are to be endowed with real power. In matters of administration, as distinguished from constitutional reforms, the substitution of Indian for excessive paid European agency in the higher offices of the public service is in actual progress, though possibly, more slowly than should be the case; the separation of magisterial from police and revenue duties has been definitely recognised as desirable and is near accomplishment in certain tracts; a more vigorous educational policy is being pursued, and the question of free and compulsory elementary education has come within the range of practical politics; Government sympathy for economic development has been quickened, while agricultural improvement and the condition of the agricultural population have been receiving greater attention. A period, we all hope, has been put to the increase of military expenditure, and the urgency of economy is expressly recognised by the Government. This does not exhaust, by any means, the list of improvements that are essential to the well-being and advancement of the people of India, and, even where some progress has been recorded, much more has to be accomplished. There can never be a full stop to progress. And at what pace it will be achieved depends very much upon the people themselves—their moral energy, their determined persistence, their patient and faithful devotion to their holy motherland. ‘Nations by themselves are made.’

The ‘subjective triumphs’ of the Congress are more important still. Notwithstanding differences between Hindus and Mahomedans emphasised in recent days, the process of nation-building has been progressing as the result of Congress activities; national

self-consciousness and national self-respect are greater realities to-day than they were before the establishment of the Congress; patriotism has become a real live quality, and the number of public-spirited men is larger and on the increase. Movements for industrial development and social reform have been set afoot as adjuncts of the political movement. The Congress season is definitely accepted by growing numbers as the Week of National Service. Internal trouble there was, and at one moment everything appeared wrapped in unrelieved darkness. But the fabric on which irreverence laid its rude hands has been re-built to the satisfaction, if not of all, certainly of almost all the Congressmen. Those who preferred to withhold their help from the resuscitated Congress have fortunately been showing an increasing tendency to offer themselves again to its service. The first two sessions of the Congress after the Surat misfortune were perhaps less successful than some that had been held before, but last year at Allahabad—the city where the Constitution was adopted—the attendance was thoroughly satisfactory, large numbers having come from distant provinces, and it would have left absolutely nothing to be desired if the United Provinces had been even more largely represented. In fact, the last session was like any of the successful sessions of earlier years. It furnished abundant proof of the vitality of the national assemblage, and brought to mind the beautiful words of Dr. Rashbehari Ghose, that ‘the Congress bears a charmed life and is fated not to die.’

The Reception Committee of Allahabad, at the head of which was placed most appropriately the first citizen of the capital of the province, was singularly fortunate in the selection it made of the President of the Congress. No Englishman or Scotchman, living or dead, and no Indian either, with the solitary exception of the revered Dadabhai Naoroji, has laboured for the welfare of India as devotedly and as incessantly as Sir William Wedderburn. Sir William had presided over the great Bombay Congress of 1889, but would the people of India be able to pay him their debt of endless gratitude even if they elected him President of the Congress every year in succession? How he has felt for us, what he has done for us, what he has sacrificed and suffered, what he has braved and borne, are matters of history. Sir William has an Indian soul encased in a Scotch body; and those who have faith in the doctrine of re-birth will perhaps have no difficulty in believing that he was an Indian in his past birth and may be again in his next. The respect and affection which Indians feel for Sir William found eloquent expression in the speeches of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, Babu Surendranath Banerjea and other leading members of the Congress. Indeed, we cannot have a more beautiful pen-picture of Sir William than what was drawn by Mr. Gokhale in the speech in

which he proposed the vote of thanks.* Sir William came to India on the arduous mission at imminent risk to his health at his advanced age of 72, and crowded into three weeks the work of as many months. The credit was his of having successfully arranged the Congress deputation to his Excellency the Viceroy—an event that had not taken place before; and in this respect the last Congress was rendered memorable.† The thanks of Congressmen are due to his Excellency Lord Hardinge for having established a useful precedent, which has since been followed by the Governor of Madras who received a deputation of the Madras Provincial Conference. Another achievement of Sir William Wedderburn's was the Hindu-Mahomedan Conference which met at his residence at Allahabad on New Year's Day under his own presidency. It may not be unreasonable for one to doubt the success of this mission of peace, but that the motive was noble and the effort worth making no one will gainsay. And thanks are due to Sir William for having brought together leading men of the two communities and earnestly tried to persuade them to make up their unnecessary and unfortunate differences.

Of the Congress address of Sir William it is not necessary to say much. A perusal of it (*supra*, pp. 24-31) will show that it was a unique one of its kind. If there be a task more difficult than another, it is for a political speaker to prepare an address which will have nothing but good words for all—all persons, all parties, all classes. Sir William Wedderburn succeeded in accomplishing this difficult task. He came to India not to agitate but to make peace; he preached conciliation, hope and united effort. He admonished the Hindus to be friends with the Musalmans, the non-officials to co-operate with the officials, Indians and Europeans to respect each other, extremists to abandon their wayward wanderings and come into the Congress fold. Sir William naturally emphasised the importance of political work in England on behalf of the Congress cause, and before he left, succeeded in raising a substantial sum of money for this object.

Of all the resolutions, perhaps the most important, certainly the most troublesome, was the one which dealt with Legislative Council Regulations. The preceding session at Lahore expressed its strong disapproval of communal representation by separate electorates. Should this be repeated or not was the question. A number of delegates was opposed to the re-affirmation, but there were others equally convinced that it should be reaffirmed. The Subjects Committee anxiously debated the question at three sittings, and the resolution as actually passed embodied a compromise between opposing views which satisfied almost everybody. It recognised the necessity of fair and adequate representation of the Mahomedan and other communities

* *Supra*, pp. 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 111, 112, 113, 114.

† For the address of the Congress deputation and the reply of his Excellency the Viceroy, *vide* Appendix G, pp. 228-30.

where they were in a minority, but disapproved the existing regulations under which this was secured by means of separate electorates. This was the portion of the resolution which gave rise to contention. Everybody agreed that in other respects the regulations were seriously defective and required modification in order that the objects of the Indian Councils Act of 1909 might be truly given effect to. The resolution was in the capable hands of Dr. Satish Chandra Banerji, and his speech (*supra*, pp. 84-6) and the speeches of his seconder and supporters, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru (*supra*, pp. 86-7), Rao (now Dewan) Bahadur M. Adinarayana Iyah (*supra*, pp. 87-8) and Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan (*supra*, pp. 90-1) should be read. The learned Nawab is a patriotic gentleman who, wiser than many of his co-religionists, sees far into the future and has cast his lot with the nationalists as opposed to the separatists, and his words of earnest admonition deserve to be read, marked, learnt and inwardly digested by those short-sighted men who in the triumph of the passing hour, have been conducting themselves with a regrettable absence of prudence and patriotism alike. It was an altogether notable speech which Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan delivered. Allied to this subject was the resolution which followed. It was a part of the compromise that the application or extension to local bodies of the principle of separate communal electorates should be expressly condemned; and the condemnation was uttered by three distinguished Mahomedan delegates, one of whom is one of the founders of the Muslim League. The Hon. Mr. Jinnah moved the resolution, and the Hon. Mr. Haque and Mr. Syed Hasan Imam seconded and supported it (*supra*, pp. 93-5). Looking at the question from a practical point of view, Mr. Hasan Imam had no 'hesitation in declaring that the method of separate representation in the local bodies will introduce great complications that will subsequently get into the homes of every Indian, be he a Hindu or Muhammadan, Parsi or Jain, Christian or Sikh, or anybody else.' Two other resolutions which related to or arose out of the Morley-Minto reforms were, the fourth,—that section 3 of the Indian Councils Act of 1861 be so amended as to allow of advocates, vakils and attorneys being appointed to the place of Law Member of the Governor-General's Council—and the eighth, that Executive Councils be established at an early date in the United Provinces and the Punjab. The Hon. Mr. S. Sinha and Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma did full justice to the former proposition (*supra*, pp. 35-6), and Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra and Mr. P. L. Rajpal to the latter (*supra*, pp. 54-8). Expansion of the rights of local self-government, beginning with the village as the unit, is the logical and necessary complement of the reform of Legislative Councils, and the Congress view of the subject, which was embodied in resolution IX, was elaborated with ability and knowledge by Dr. H. S. Gour from the Central Provinces and the Hon. Mr. G. Raghava

Rao and the Hon. Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao from Madras. Students of this important question will find their speeches (*supra*, pp. 59-62) informing and instructive.

Other resolutions related to administrative matters of more or less importance. The demand for simultaneous examinations, with which the Grand Old Man's name is inseparably associated, was reiterated in a resolution moved by the venerable President himself; while early redress of the grievances of Indians in the Medical Service was asked for in resolution XI which set out that an Indian Civil Medical Service wholly distinct from the Indian (Military) Medical Service should be constituted 'in the interests of the public, the medical service and the profession, as well as for the sake of economy in expenditure.' Sir Bhalchandra Krishna was appropriately put in charge of this resolution, which was seconded by Dr. D. R. Ranjit Singh of Allahabad and Dr. H. D. Pant of Lucknow (*supra*, pp. 69-72). Proposals for the better administration of justice by the separation of judicial from executive functions and the recruitment of judicial officers from among members of the legal profession, which came before the Congress not for the first time, were set forth in the speeches of Babu Jogendra Nath Mukerji, the Hon. Babu Braj Kishore Prasad and Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer (*supra*, pp. 51-4). To the subject of supreme importance, *viz.*, education, the Congress devoted two resolutions, *viz.*, resolution no. XIII, which asked for free and compulsory elementary education, and resolution no. XXI, which asked for larger expenditure on and a more popular policy in regard to secondary and higher education, and technical and industrial education. In the latter resolution the people were exhorted to supplement existing institutions and the efforts of the Government by organising for themselves an independent system of literary, scientific, technical and industrial education suited to the conditions of the different provinces in the country.' Mr. G. A. Natesan of Madras, who, as secretary of the South Africa Indian League in Madras, has bestowed particular attention on the subject and laboured harder in the cause of our suffering countrymen in South Africa than perhaps any other public man in India, brought up the resolution on Indians in the colonies in one of the best speeches of the session which made a deep impression, and his speech (*supra*, pp. 37-41) deserves to be read in its entirety. Mr. Manilal M. Doctor, an Indian barrister who resides in Mauritius, seconded the resolution and in doing so, spoke of the condition, which is sad indeed, of Indians in that island. Those living in this country lack information on the latter subject which however seems to call for earnest attention, and Mr. Manilal Doctor's speech (*supra*, pp. 41-4) should, accordingly, be read with attention. In two able speeches Mr. N. M. Samarth, a favourite on the Congress platform, and Mr. N. A. Dravid, one of the talented

band of the self-denying men who belong to that glorious organisation—the Servants of India Society, founded by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, who himself is a ‘perfect Servant of India’—spoke of the need for an enquiry into the growth of public expenditure in India, a reduction of which is urgently called for (resolution XIV, *supra*, pp. 81-4). To Mr. J. Chaudhuri was entrusted the resolution which asked for the repeal of the Press Act and the Seditious Meetings Act—a perfectly just prayer but which evidently stands no chance of being listened to by the authorities; while the standing grievance of Bengal, the dismemberment of that great and fair province, was dealt with in a speech of remarkable power—the most eloquent speech of the last Congress by common consent—by the veteran Congressman Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar of Faridpur (*supra*, pp. 63-6). Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon, the able editor of the *Indian Patriot*, one of the best papers in India, made a statesmanlike speech in seconding the resolution (*supra*, pp. 66-7). The ‘omnibus’ resolution (no. XXIII) relating to police reforms, permanent settlement and military expenditure was moved from the chair.

The Congress passed the following resolution at the special desire of Sir William Wedderburn :—

“Having regard to the great improvement which has taken place in the general situation of the country as recognised by the late Viceroy and other high authorities, this Congress respectfully appeals to his Excellency Lord Hardinge to signalise the commencement of a new administration by an act of clemency to those who are undergoing imprisonment for purely political offences. In the opinion of this Congress, such an act of clemency will have the undoubted effect of facilitating the return of the country to normal conditions and will lead to a further improvement in the relations between the Government and the people.”

The opportuneness and the wisdom of this recommendation will not be questioned by any impartial and sagacious observer of public events, and it is very much to be wished that the gracious visit of his Majesty the King-Emperor may be signalised by the act of clemency for which Sir William Wedderburn pleaded and which the Congress endorsed with one accord of heart and will. This is not a constitutional or an administrative problem in which it does not behove a constitutional monarch to intervene. It is always the Royal prerogative to show mercy, and the occasion will be peculiarly appropriate for our Sovereign Lord to exercise that benign quality.

The Congress appointed a committee to consider amendments to the Constitution and report them to the next Congress at Calcutta. This Committee is expected to meet at Allahabad in October next. Sir William Wedderburn made an appeal to members of the Congress to consider if they could not, without compromising the principles for which they stood, make it in some way easier for those to return to the fold who accepted the principles of the Congress but who ‘are

not satisfied about the necessity of the steps taken by the leaders of the constitutional party, after the unhappy split at Surat, to preserve the Congress from extinction.' It is evidently this point which the committee appointed by the Congress will, among other matters, consider. An All-India Congress Committee was then appointed. Messrs. D. E. Wacha and D. A. Khare were re-appointed General Secretaries. On the invitation of the Hon. Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu it was resolved to hold the next session at Calcutta. The Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress came to a close amidst hearty cheers for the King-Emperor, his Excellency the Viceroy, Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. A. O. Hume and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

May the Indian National Congress succeed ever more and more, will always be the prayer of every patriotic Indian whose pride it should be to labour for it 'heart within and God overhead'!

RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT

THE TWENTY-FIFTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

HELD AT ALLAHABAD

On the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th December, 1910.



RESOLUTION I.—DEMISE OF KING EDWARD THE SEVENTH.

This Congress desires to give expression to its profound grief at the sudden and untimely demise of His Most Gracious Majesty King Edward VII, whose beneficent reign will ever be memorable in the annals of India for the steps taken to obliterate race distinctions in making appointments to high office and for the measures of constitutional reform adopted with a view to associate the people of this country with the administration of their affairs.

[Put from the Chair and carried nem con].

RESOLUTION II.—ACCESSION OF KING GEORGE THE FIFTH.

This Congress offers its humble homage and duty to King-Emperor George V on his accession and begs to tender to His Majesty an assurance of its profound loyalty and attachment to his august throne and person. This Congress expresses its deep and heartfelt joy at the announcement of the proposed visit of Their Most Gracious Majesties King George and Queen Mary to India in 1911.

[Put from the Chair and carried nem con].

RESOLUTION III.—WELCOME TO THE NEW VICEROY AND ADDRESS AND DEPUTATION TO HIS EXCELLENCY.

(a) This Congress, in offering its warm and respectful welcome to His Excellency Lord Hardinge, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, begs to convey to His Excellency an earnest assurance of its desire to co-operate loyally with the Government in promoting the welfare of the people of the country.

(b) This Congress resolves that a Sub-Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to prepare an address to

be presented to His Excellency in the name of the Congress by a deputation headed by the President :—

The President,
 The Ex-Presidents present,
 The General Secretaries,
 The Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu (*United Bengal*),
 Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar (*United Bengal*),
 The Hon'ble Mr. N. Subba Rao (*Madras*),
 The Hon'ble Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, (*Madras*),
 The Hon'ble Mr. M. H. Jinnah (*Bombay*),
 Mr. N. M. Samarth, (*Bombay*),
 Pandit Bishan Narain Dhar (*United Provinces*),
 Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan (*United Provinces*),
 Mr. Syed Hasan Imam (*Behar*),
 Dr. H. S. Gaur (*Central Provinces*),
 The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar (*Berar*),
 The Hon'ble Mr. Harkisen Lal (*The Punjab*) and
 Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhri (*The Punjab*).

[*Put from the Chair and carried nem con*].

RESOLUTION IV.—LAW MEMBERSHIP.

In view of the fact that section III of the Indian Councils Act of 1861 is understood in practice to limit appointment to the Office of Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council to members of the English Bar, thereby greatly restricting the field from which a selection may be made, this Congress urges that the said section be so amended as to allow of Advocates, Vakils and Attorneys-at-law of Indian High Courts being appointed to that office.

[*Proposed by Hon. Mr. S. Sinha (Allahabad), seconded by Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma (Vizagapatam) and carried unanimously*].

RESOLUTION V.—INDIANS IN THE COLONIES.

(a) This Congress expresses its great admiration of the intense patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice of the Indians in the Transvaal—Mohammadan and Hindu, Zoroastrian and Christian—who, heroically suffering persecution in the interests of their countrymen, are carrying on their peaceful and self-less struggle for elementary civil rights against heavy and overwhelming odds, and urges the Imperial Government to adopt a firm and decisive attitude on the question so as to remove a great source of discontent amongst the people of India.

(b) This Congress begs earnestly to press upon the Government of India the necessity of prohibiting the recruitment of indentured Indian labour for any portion of the South Africa Union, and of dealing with the authorities there in the same manner as the latter deal with Indian interests, so long as they adhere to the selfish and one-sided policy which they proclaim and practise and persist in their present course of denying to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire.

(c) This Congress protests against the declarations of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing the self-governing colonies in the British Empire to monopolize vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlement and deems it its duty to point out that the policy of shutting the door in these territories against, and denying the rights of full British citizenship to, all Asiatic subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy of the open door in Asia, is fraught with grave mischief to the Empire and is as unwise as it is unrighteous.

[*Proposed by Mr. G. A. Natesan (Madras), seconded by Mr. Manilal M. Doctor (Mauritius), supported by (1) Mr. Raghunandan Prasad (Basti), and (2) Mr. Debi Prasad (Cawnpore) and carried unanimously*].

RESOLUTION VI.—THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT.

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

[*Proposed by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (Allahabad), seconded by Mr. Jitendra Lal Banerji (Calcutta), supported by (1) Babu Dwarka Nath (Mozufferpur), (2) Mr. D. V. Krishna Rao (Rajamundry), (3) Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu (Calcutta) and (4) Mr. Lokamal Chellaram (Karachi) and carried unanimously*].

RESOLUTION VII.—JUDICIAL REFORM.

(a) This Congress places on record its sense of regret that notwithstanding the hopes held out by the Government that the Executive and Judicial functions were soon to be separated, no effective steps have been taken in that direction, and concurring with previous Congresses, urges a complete separation of the two functions without further delay.

(b) This Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, urges that the Judicial Service in all parts of the country should be recruited mainly from the legal profession.

[*Proposed by Babu Jogendra Nath Mukerji (Dinajpur), seconded by the Hon'ble Babu Braj Kishore Prasad (Darbhanga), supported by Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer (Madras) and carried unanimously*].

RESOLUTION VIII.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL FOR THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH AND THE PUNJAB.

This Congress earnestly recommends that speedy action be taken under the Indian Councils Act to establish Executive Councils in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and in the Punjab.

[*Proposed by Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra Lucknow), seconded by Mr. P. L. Rajpal (Amritsar) and carried unanimously*].

RESOLUTION IX.—LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

This Congress expresses its satisfaction that the Secretary of State has recognised that the Local Self-Government scheme of 1882 has not had a fair trial and has pressed on the Government of India the necessity of an effectual advance in the direction of making local, urban, and rural bodies really self-governing, and it expresses the earnest hope that the Government will be pleased to take early steps to make all local bodies from village Panchayets upwards elective with elected non-official chairmen and to support them with adequate financial aid.

[*Proposed by Dr. H. S. Gaur (Raipur), seconded by the Hon. Mr. G. Raghava Rao Berhampore, supported by (1) The Hon. Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao (Ellore), and (2) Munshi Sankata Prasad (Benares) and carried unanimously*].

RESOLUTION X.—THE PARTITION OF BENGAL.

(a) This Congress earnestly appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India not to treat the question of the Partition of Bengal as incapable of reconsideration, but to take the earliest opportunity so to modify the said Partition as to keep the entire Bengali-speaking community under one and the same administration.

(b) This Congress humbly submits that the rectification of this admitted error will be an act of far-sighted statesmanship. It will restore contentment to the Province of Bengal, give satisfaction

to other provinces and enhance the prestige of His Majesty's Government throughout the country.

[*Proposed by*—Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar (Faridpur), *seconded by*—Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon (Madras), *supported by* Mr. Nibaran Chandra Dass Gupta (Barisal) and *carried unanimously*].

RESOLUTION XI.—INDIANS IN THE MEDICAL SERVICE.

(a) This Congress thanks the Secretary of State for his despatch regarding employment in the superior posts of the Civil Medical Service, and earnestly requests the Government of India to take early action in the direction pointed out by the Secretary of State for India.

(b) In the interests of the public, the medical service and the profession, as well as for the sake of economy in expenditure, this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, urges the constitution of a distinct Indian Civil Medical Service wholly independent of the Indian (Military) Medical Service.

[*Proposed by*—Sir Bhalchandra Krishna (Bombay), *seconded by* Dr. D. R. Ranjit Singh (Allahabad), *supported by* Dr. H. D. Pant (Lucknow) and *carried unanimously*].

RESOLUTION XII.—REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION.

Having regard to the state of the country since the passing of the Seditious Meetings Act and the Indian Press Act, this Congress earnestly prays that the former be not re-enacted at the expiry of its term and that the latter be removed from the Statute Book without delay.

[*Proposed by* Mr. J. Choudhri (Calcutta), *seconded by* Mr. A. S. Krishna Row (Nellore), *supported by* Mr. Dwarkanath (Mozaffarpore) and Mr. Yusuf Ali (Lucknow) and *carried unanimously*].

RESOLUTION XIII.—ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

In the opinion of this Congress, the time has arrived when a substantial beginning should be made in the matter of elementary education—free and compulsory—throughout the country.

[*Proposed by* Mr. V. V. Jogia Pantulu (Berhampore), *seconded by* Mr. Chitale (Ahmednagar), *supported by* Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru (Agra) and *carried unanimously*].

RESOLUTION XIV.—PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.

Having regard to the enormous growth that has taken place in the public expenditure of the country, this Congress urges that a mixed commission of inquiry composed of officials and non-officials be appointed to enquire into the causes which have led to this increase and to suggest remedies.

[*Proposed by Mr. N. M. Samarth (Bombay), seconded by Mr. N. A. Dravid (Poona) and carried unanimously*].

RESOLUTION XV.—COUNCIL REFORM REGULATIONS.

While recognising the necessity of providing for a fair and adequate representation in the Legislative Councils for the Mahomedan and other communities where they are in a minority, this Congress disapproves the Regulations promulgated last year to carry out this object by means of separate electorates, and in particular urges upon the Government the justice and expediency of modifying the regulations framed under the Indian Councils Act of 1909, before another election comes on, so as to remove anomalous distinctions between different sections of His Majesty's subjects in the matter of the franchise and the qualifications of candidates and the arbitrary disqualifications and restrictions for candidates seeking election to the Councils. The Congress also urges a modification of the Regulations, where necessary, relating to the composition of non-official majorities in the Provincial Councils, so as to render them effective for practical purposes.

[*Proposed by Dr. Satish Chandra Banerjee (Allahabad), seconded by (1) Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru (Allahabad), (2) Rao Bahadur M. Adinarayana Iyah (Madras), supported by (1) The Hon. Mr. Harchandrai Vishandas (Karachi), (2) Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan (Lucknow), (3) Shaik Faiyaz Ali (Hardoi), (4) Mr. Yusuf Husain (Lucknow) and (5) Babu Surendranath Banerji (Calcutta) and carried unanimously*].

RESOLUTION XVI.—SEPARATE ELECTORATES FOR LOCAL BODIES.

This Congress strongly deprecates the extension or application of the principle of separate communal electorates to Municipalities, district boards or other local bodies.

[*Proposed by Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay), seconded by Hon. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque (Bankipore), supported by Syed Hasan Imam (Bankipore) and carried unanimously*].

RESOLUTION XVII.—CONCILIATION BOARDS.

In view of the disturbances that have occurred from time to time in this country on occasions of religious celebrations, this Congress urges the Government to form Conciliation Boards at places where disturbances are apprehended and to take timely and adequate measures for the prevention of such disturbances.

[*Proposed by Mr. G. K. Devadhar (Poona), seconded by Mr. Ram Kumar Goenka (Calcutta), supported by Mr. Somasundaram Pillay (Madras) and carried unanimously*].

RESOLUTION XVIII.—REFORMS IN CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR.

This Congress is of opinion that the time has come for the establishment of a Provincial Legislative Council for the Central Provinces and Berar and for according to Berar, which is now held by the British Government on a permanent tenure, the status and privileges which are accorded to provinces included in British India.

[*Put from the Chair and carried unanimously*].

RESOLUTION XIX.—REFORM SCHEME IN THE PUNJAB.

This Congress records its opinion that the Regulations framed for the Punjab under the Reform Scheme fail to give satisfaction for the following reasons, namely :—

(a) that the numerical strength of the Council provided for in the Regulations is not sufficient to allow an adequate representation to all classes and interests of the population, nor is it commensurate with the progress made by that Province in matters social, educational, industrial and economical ;

(b) that the elected element prescribed by the Regulations for the Local Legislative Council is unduly small and altogether insufficient to meet the needs and requirements of that Province and compares unfavourably with those accorded to other Provinces ;

(c) that the proportion of nominated members of the Punjab Legislative Council is inequitable and out of proportion to the ratio of the different sections of the population ; and

(d) that the regulations as framed tend practically to keep out non-Mahomedans from the Imperial Legislative Council.

[*Put from the Chair and carried unanimously*].

RESOLUTION XX.—REDUCTION OF CABLE RATES.

In the opinion of this Congress, it is extremely desirable on more than one ground that the rate of cable messages between England and India should be still further reduced so as to offer greater facilities to the trade and the press and, at the same time, stimulate traffic in these messages.

[Put from the Chair and carried unanimously].

RESOLUTION XXI.—EDUCATION.

This Congress is of opinion that the Government should take early steps:—

- (a) to assign larger sums of money to secondary and higher education (especial encouragement being given, where necessary, to educate all backward classes);
- (b) to make adequate provision for imparting industrial and technical education in the different provinces, having regard to local requirements; and
- (c) to give effective voice to the leaders of Indian public opinion in shaping the policy and system of education in this country.

In the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for people, all over the country, to take up earnestly the question of supplementing existing institutions and the efforts of Government by organising for themselves an independent system of literary, scientific, technical and industrial education, suited to the conditions of the different provinces in the country.

[Proposed by Mr. A. P. Patro, seconded by Mr. Pulin Chandra Das (Chittagong), supported by (1) Mr. Devi Prasad Sukla (Cawnpore), (2) Mr. V. R. Dixit (Nagpur), (3) P. Rama Kant Malaviya (Allahabad), and carried unanimously].

RESOLUTION XXII.—SIMULTANEOUS EXAMINATIONS.

This Congress is of opinion that the examination held in England for the Indian Civil Service should be simultaneously held in India and in England and that all higher appointments which are made in India should be made by competitive examinations only.

[Put from the Chair and carried unanimously].

RESOLUTION XXIII.—OMNIBUS RESOLUTION.

1.—Police Reforms.

(a) Competitive examinations for the recruitment of the Police Service in the higher grades should be thrown open to all classes of British subjects instead of being confined to candidates of British birth and such examinations should be held simultaneously in England and in India ;

(b) educated Indians should be largely employed in the higher grades in order to secure efficiency in work ;

(c) enlistment in the Provincial Service should be by competitive examination ; and, lastly,

(d) the District Officers who are the heads of the Police should be relieved of Judicial work and all control over the Magistrates of the Districts.

2.—Permanent Settlement.

A reasonable and definite limitation to the State demand on land and the introduction of a permanent settlement or a settlement for a period of not less than 60 years in those provinces where short periodical settlements or revisions prevail, are, in the opinion of the Congress, the only means of ameliorating the present unsatisfactory condition of the agricultural population.

3.—Military Expenditure.

In the opinion of this Congress, a reduction is urgently needed of the annually growing Military Expenditure which now absorbs nearly one-third of the Empire's revenue leaving only an inadequate portion of the balance available for many objects of public utility, specially education and sanitation, which are yet greatly starved.

[Put from the Chair and carried unanimously].

RESOLUTION XXIV.—POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Having regard to the great improvement which has taken place in the general situation of the country as recognised by the late Viceroy and other high authorities, this Congress respectfully appeals to His Excellency Lord Hardinge to signalize the commencement of a new administration by an act of clemency to those who are undergoing imprisonment for purely political offences. In the opinion of this Congress, such an act of clemency will have the undoubted effect of facilitating the return of the country to normal conditions and will lead to a further improvement in the relations between the Government and the people.

[Put from the Chair and carried unanimously].

RESOLUTION XXV.—AMENDMENTS IN THE CONSTITUTION.

That the amendments suggested by the United Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and such other amendments as may be suggested by other Committees be referred to a Sub-Committee consisting of the members of the All-India Congress Committee and two members elected by each of the Provincial Congress Committee, who are members of a Congress organization, for consideration and report before the end of October 1911, the Sub-Committee to meet at Allahabad and their report be laid before the next Congress for consideration.

[Put from the Chair and carried unanimously].

RESOLUTION XXVI.—ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

The following gentlemen are nominated to constitute the All-India Congress Committee for 1911 :—

*Members.**Madras—*

1. The Hon'ble Mr. Nawab Syed Mahomed Bahadur,
2. The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar, B.A., B.L.,
3. Mr. P. R. Sundara Aiyar, B.A., B.L.,
4. The Hon'ble Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.,
5. Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon, B.A.,
6. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, B.A., L.T.,
7. The Hon'ble Mr. P. Kesava Pillai,
8. Mr. K. R. Guruswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.,
9. Mr. W. L. Venkataramiah, B.A., B.L. (Berhampore Ganjam),
10. The Hon'ble Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar, B.A., B.L.,
11. Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.,
12. Mr. G. A. Natesan, B.A.,
13. Mr. P. N. Raman Pillai, B.A.,
14. The Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Row, B.A., B.L. (Ellore),
15. Mr. V. V. Jogiah Pantulu Garu, (Berhampore).

EX-OFFICIO :—

Bombay—

1. Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq.,
2. Hon. Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta, M.A., K.C.I.E.,
3. Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, B.A., C.I.E.,
4. D. E. Wacha, Esq.,
5. Daji Abaji Khare, Esq., B.A., LL.B.

ELECTED :—

1. Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt., L.M.,
2. Hon. Mr. Gokul Das Kahan Das Parekh, B.A., LL.B.,
3. Hon. Mr. Chimanlal H. Sitalvad, B.A., LL.B.,
4. Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah,
5. Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal Desai, M.A., LL.B.,
6. Hon. Mr. Harchandrai Vishandas, B.A., LL.B.,
7. Rao Bahadur Khandebhai Gulabbhai Desai, I.C.E.,
8. Abbas S. Tyabji, Esq.,
9. Hormusji A. Wadya, Esq.,
10. Vishnu Krishna Bhatavadekar Esq., B.A., LL.B.,
11. Narayan Madhav Samarth, Esq., B.A., LL.B.,
12. Mathra Das Ramchand Javahari, Esq., B.A.,
13. Hari Sitaram Dixit, Esq., B.A., LL.B.,
14. Narayan Vishnu Gokhale, B.A., LL.B.,
15. Damodar Ganesh Padhye, Esq., M.A.

EX-OFFICIO :—

Bengal—

1. Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee,
2. Dr. Rashbehary Ghosh, C.I.E.

ELECTED :—

1. Hon'ble Babu Baikunthanath Sen (Berhampore).
2. Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar (Faridpur).
3. „ Annada Chandra Roy (Dacca).
4. „ Aswini Kumar Dutt (Barisal).
5. „ Bishnupada Chatterji (Hooghly).
6. „ Kishorimohan Chowdhuri (Rajshahye).
7. „ Krishna Kumar Mitra.
8. Mr. A. Choudhri.
9. Mr. J. Ghosal.
10. Babu Prithwish Chandra Roy.
11. „ Jatimohan Sen (Chittagong).
12. Mr. J. Choudhri.
13. Babu Heramba Chandra Maitra.
14. „ Jogendra Nath Mukerjee.
15. Maulvi Abul Kasim.
16. Maulvi Dedar Bux.
17. Dr. Nilratan Sircar.
18. Babu Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta.
19. Hon'ble Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu.
20. Babu Satyananda Bose.

United Provinces—

EX-OFFICIO :—

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

ELECTED :—

1. The Hon'ble Pandit Moti Lal Nehru (Allahabad).
2. The Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha (Allahabad).
3. The Hon'ble Babu Ganga Prashad Varma (Lucknow).
4. Dr. Satish Chandra Banerji (Allahabad).
5. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru (Allahabad).
6. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (Allahabad).
7. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra (Lucknow).
8. Pandit Iqbal Narain Masaldan (Lucknow).
9. Babu Ram Chandra (Lucknow).
10. Mr. Mushir Husain Qidwai (Lucknow).
11. Nawab M. M. Sadiq Ali Khan (Lucknow).
12. Mr. A. P. Sen (Lucknow).
13. Babu Ishwar Saran (Allahabad).
14. Babu Preo Nath Banerjee (Bareilly).
15. Munshi Narain Prashad Asthana (Agra).

Central Provinces—

1. The Hon'ble Mr. G. M. Chitnavis, C.I.E., Member of the Viceregal Council.
2. R. B. D. N. Choudhri, B.A., LL.B., Pleader, (Raipur).
3. R. B. Vaman Rao Kolhatkar (Retired Sessions Judge).
4. R. B. Bapurao Dada, M.A., B.L., Advocate.
5. R. B. V. R. Pandit, M.A., Bar-at-Law.
6. V. R. Dixit, Esq., Bar-at-Law.
7. M. K. Padhye, Esq., B.A., LL.B.

The Punjab—

1. Hon. Lala Harkishan Lal.
2. L. Dhanpat Rai.
3. L. Sangam Lal.
4. L. Dharam Das Suri.
5. Pandit Ram Bhuj Dutt Choudhri.
6. Mr. S. S. Bhatia.
7. Mr. Gunpat Rai.
8. Mr. Duni Chand.
9. Mr. N. Gupta.
10. Ringada Bhagat Ram.
11. L. Bhana Ram.
12. S. Gucharan Singh.
13. R. S. Gordhan Lal.

Behar—

1. Mr. Syed Hasan Imam.
2. The Hon'ble Mr. Muzhar-ul Haque.
3. The Hon'ble Mr. Deep Narain Singh.
4. Mr. Parmeshwar Lal.
5. Hon'ble Mr. Braj Kishore Lal.

Berar—

1. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar,
2. Rao Bahadur Deorao Vinayak,
3. Mr. M. V. Joshi,
4. Mr. R. G. Mundle,
5. Gulam Mohamad Khan, Esq.

Burma—

1. Mr. V. G. Bijapurkur, M.A., LL.B.,
2. Mr. Somasundaram Mudaliar.

[Put from the Chair and carried unanimously].

RESOLUTION XXVII.—THANKS FOR SERVICES.

This Congress desires to convey to Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. A. O. Hume, Sir Henry Cotton, and other members of the British Committee its grateful thanks for their disinterested and strenuous services, and it takes this opportunity to make an earnest appeal to the Indian public to place adequate funds at the disposal of the Committee to enable it to carry on its work with vigour.

[Proposed by Mr. Surendranath Banerji (Calcutta) and carried unanimously].

RESOLUTION XXVIII.—GENERAL SECRETARIES.

That Mr. D. E. Wacha and Mr. Daji Abaji Khare be appointed General Secretaries for the ensuing year.

[Put from the Chair and carried unanimously].

RESOLUTION XXIX.—PLACE OF NEXT CONGRESS.

The next Congress be held at Calcutta.

[Proposed by The Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu (Calcutta) and carried unanimously].

RESOLUTION XXX.—VOTE OF THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT.

That our most cordial thanks be accorded to our President, Sir William Wedderburn, for the great trouble he has taken in coming out to India to preside over this assembly and for his devoted labours in guiding aright the deliberations of this Congress.

[Proposed by The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale (Bombay) and seconded by the Hon'ble Pandit Moti Lal Nehru (Allahabad) and carried unanimously].

W. WEDDERBURN,
President.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
TWENTY-FIFTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

HELD AT ALLAHABAD

On the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th December, 1910.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

THE first meeting of the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress took place on the afternoon of the 26th December, 1910, in a large pavilion specially constructed for the purpose on an extensive plot of land opposite the Allahabad Fort at the confluence of the two rivers, the Ganges and the Jumna, very close to the spot where the Great Proclamation of Queen Victoria, the Good, was read on the 1st November, 1858. The whole area was full of tents and temporary cottages which accommodated over 600 delegates and a large number of visitors. The meeting pavilion had twenty-five sides, each side having a gate illustrating the twenty-five sessions which the Congress had held. It was suitably decorated and adorned with the portraits of the past Presidents of the Congress. Long before the time fixed for the meeting of the Congress, delegates and visitors began to pour in and at noon the entire pavilion was full—over 600 delegates and nearly 4,000 visitors had taken their seat.

Sir William Wedderburn arrived at twelve noon and was conducted to his seat on the platform, accompanied by the ex-Presidents of the Congress who were present, the General Secretaries, the Hon'ble Pandit Sundarlal, Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Vice-Chairmen and the Secretaries of the Committee. They were escorted by the Congress Volunteers under the command of the Captain. As Sir William entered the pavilion he was received with loud and enthusiastic cheering. On the President taking his seat, the proceedings began with an address of

Welcome from the Reception Committee.

THE HON'BLE PANDIT SUNDARLAL, C.I.E., [Allahabad, No. 346 in the list] rose and said :—

Sir William Wedderburn, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—It is my pleasing duty, on behalf of the members of the Reception Committee, to accord you a most hearty welcome to our ancient town, which has now for the third time been chosen as the seat of the deliberations of this assembly. I am conscious that the arrangements for your reception, this year, are not what we would wish them to have been. By reason of the great demand for houses on account of the United Provinces Exhibition, we have not been able to accommodate more than a few delegates in houses. I fear many of you, especially those hailing from the warmer climes of Southern India, will much miss the comforts of a well-built house, unaccustomed as you are to camp life in the December of Allahabad, but as fellow-workers and comrades in a common cause you will, we hope, generously overlook our shortcomings. We are extremely indebted to the authorities, both Civil and Military, for the readiness with which they agreed to place at our disposal the large plot of land occupied by our camp and we are much obliged to Mr. Hopkins

First day.
Address of the
Chairman,
Reception
Committee.

and the Magh Mela Committee and the Committee of Management of the Exhibition for the courtesy and consideration they have invariably shown to us. Our camp faces the Exhibition and the Fort, and is not far from the Ganges, the Jumna and the Exhibition. It is, you will be glad to hear, in close proximity to the sacred spot on which was read by the late Lord Canning the great Proclamation of 1858, of the Greatest Queen who ever ruled in this world, our late Queen-Empress Victoria (*cheers*) on the assumption of the direct Government of India by the British Crown.

Meeting, as we do, at Allahabad, my mind naturally travels back to 1888 and 1892, the two occasions on which the Congress was held at Allahabad, and it is sad to recall that the principal figures of those years are no more. Mr. George Yule, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, the Hon'ble Pandit Ajudhia Nath and the Hon'ble Pandit Bishambhar Nath were, as most of you know, among the strongest pillars of the Congress. It was mainly due to the indefatigable labours and the boundless energy of the two last-named gentlemen, who were then at the helm of the Congress movement in these Provinces, that we were able to tide over the difficulties of those two sessions. Our revered friend, Mr. Hume (*cheers*), was one of the most conspicuous figures in the first Allahabad Congress, and as it happened, the second was the very first which was deprived of the great benefit of his counsel and direction. Seventeen sessions of the Congress have since been held, and though during these years the Congress has had its admirers and detractors, its spring tides and neap tides, its success on the whole is the greatest tribute to the enduring character of Mr. Hume's labours for the land he loves so well. He is not here to-day in person, but without a doubt he is communing with us in spirit from his distant island-home. We, in Congress assembled, send up our prayers for one whom India can ill spare.

Nor can we forget our Grand Old Man, I mean Dadabhai Naoroji (*cheers*) who, though unable any longer actively to throw himself into the fray still takes the deepest interest in all our National affairs. May he live long to enjoy his well-earned rest in his native land.

I regard it a singular good fortune to find that Sir William Wedderburn (*cheers*) is able to be amongst us here to-day. He is a hereditary friend of the Indian people. Who does not remember the services of his late lamented brother, Sir David Wedderburn? Loyal to the service to which he belonged and faithful to the Government which he served, Sir William when he was an official, was no less a friend of the people—of the educated classes, as well as of the inarticulate masses—and it is worth recalling that he did not hesitate to attend and give the benefit of his advice to the first Congress, in the very city in which he was still in service.

Of Sir William's work for India after retirement, what can I say which will at all adequately convey what you and I do feel and what every Indian feels? He has lived what Mr. Haldane would have called a dedicated life. What man, living or dead, Englishman or Indian, has done more than our honoured President-elect for the political advancement and material amelioration of India? What has he not braved and borne for us and our motherland? I rejoice to think that the Indian National Congress is to have the honour of having him for its President for a second time, and that, that honour has been reserved to my city and our United Provinces (*cheers*.)

Brother-delegates, we have sustained a great national loss by the death of our beloved and revered Sovereign, His Majesty King Edward VII, whose short but most brilliant reign will ever be remembered in India, as a reign of peace and progress, as a reign during which were introduced constitutional reforms of great importance, which will enable our people to be better represented in our Legislative Councils, and as a reign in which Indians were associated for the first time in the

highest Executive Councils of the land. King Edward will be known in history as the Peace-maker, but to me he appeals most for his humane sympathies, which knew no race or geographical limits. I doubt if a kindlier heart ever beat within a human breast. I feel that His late Majesty was one of those high beings, very rarely met with, who ever kept before him the lofty precepts of Wesley :

Do all the good you can,
By all the means you can,
In all the ways you can,
At all the times you can,
To all the people you can,
As long as ever you can.

India, of course, was not absent from the mind of a sovereign so benevolent. Having personally acquainted himself with our people and the country, His Majesty never lost his interest in their welfare and prosperity. He sorrowed in our sorrows, and rejoiced in our joys. He won the love and affection of his Indian people, and long shall we deplore his unexpected death. No section of His Majesty's subjects feels more genuine and deeper sorrow for his untimely passing away, or sympathises more deeply with his consort, Her Majesty Queen Alexandra, than we, the people of this vast continent.

To King George we tender our most loyal and respectful congratulations on his accession to the Throne of his illustrious ancestors. It was not very long ago that His Majesty the King and Queen Mary visited our land. Their kingly sympathy for Indians was a marked feature of their tour. In his celebrated speech at the Guildhall, on his return from India, he pleaded for greater sympathy for our people. The news of his proposed visit to India for Coronation at Delhi, has sent a thrill of joy throughout India. The deep significance of the event is realized by every one, and we of the Congress—the children of British rule as the late Lord Ripon aptly styled us—can only express our grateful appreciation of the thoughtful consideration shown by His Majesty for the feelings of his dutiful Indian subjects. The auspicious ceremonial at Dehli will deepen our loyalty to the Throne and our affection and respect for the person of our great Sovereign ; and altogether it will be productive of the happiest results. Need I say that our gratification is considerably enhanced by the announcement that Her Majesty the Queen-Empress will accompany the King-Emperor ?

There has been a change in the office, both of the Secretary of State and of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. When Lord Morley took charge of his office five years ago, the feelings of educated India were faithfully voiced by our distinguished countryman, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, who when presiding over the Benares session of the Congress, said in his own choice language :—

“ Large numbers of educated men in this country feel towards Mr. Morley “as towards a master, and the heart hopes and yet trembles, as it had never hoped or trembled before. He, the reverent student of Burke, the disciple of Mill, the “ friend and biographer of Gladstone, will he courageously apply their principles “ and his own to the government of this country, or will he, too, succumb to the “ influences of the India Office around him and thus cast a cruel blight on hopes “ which his own writings have done so much to foster? We shall see.”

We have seen, and I think I echo the sentiment of everyone when I say that despite the mistakes made, which cannot be ignored or made light of, Lord Morley's tenure of office as Secretary of State has been a great blessing to this country. He and Lord Minto have, it must be acknowledged, guided the vessel of State with great skill and thoughtfulness during a period of considerable difficulty and complexity. It required no ordinary courage to persist with the far-reaching scheme of constitutional reforms, under the circumstances that prevailed till a short time back, and we are beholden to the two statesmen for elevating the political status

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of the Indians. The admission of Indians into the Executive Councils is, in my view, the largest advance made since the assumption of direct sovereignty over India by the British Crown; and if this alone had been done and nothing else in the direction of political advance, I say that Lords Morley and Minto would still be entitled to India's deepest gratitude. But the expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils is not much less important. It is true that the regulations for elections are defective in several essential respects, and in none more than in the class inequality they have introduced, but I would ask you to distinguish between what is a merely administrative matter and the statutory recognition of constitutional rights, which has been secured. When you approach the question from this standpoint, I am confident you will refuse to join those, happily not large in numbers, who would belittle the reforms. It will rest with us to secure a suitable modification of the regulations. The new Councils, such as they are, confer considerable powers and privileges upon their members. It now remains for these members to make the best use of their opportunities. It is a happy circumstance that Lord Minto's Viceroyalty will be commemorated in a form inseparably associated with the Proclamation—our Magna Charta.

Gentlemen, I venture to think that it is fortunate that Lord Morley and Lord Minto have been succeeded by Lord Crewe and Lord Hardinge. When we remember that our present Secretary of State satisfied Mr. Gladstone by his administration of Ireland, and was specially honoured by that great man, we may well hope that he will not disappoint expectations at the India Office. As for Lord Hardinge, to whom we accord a cordial and respectful welcome as the representative of our Sovereign, I think, I speak for you all when I say, that the few speeches made by him since his arrival in this country show that he will pursue a policy of economy and impartiality as between one community and another.

It will not be right for me to discuss here any question which is likely to form the subject of a resolution at this Congress, but with your permission, I would desire to bring to His Excellency's particular notice the urgency of certain matters. The first and foremost of them is the extension of education, both general and technical, throughout the land. I am aware that our educational system has received in recent times considerable attention both at the hands of the Government and the public. The appointment of a non-official educationist to the Council of the Secretary of State for India, and the creation of a separate portfolio for Education in the Executive Council of His Excellency are unmistakable indications of the greater importance now attached by the Government to the subject of public education. Nor are signs wanting which show that the Indian public have awakened to the necessity of responding to the efforts of the Government to further the cause of education. Speaking of the United Provinces, the Director of Public Instruction in a recent report, recorded:—“There remains one feature in the events of the past year that calls for grateful and honourable record. The examples of public spirit and munificence of private persons mentioned in the body of this report, are eloquent and living testimony to the noble tradition of pious benefactors. It is here that hopes for the future of education must centre, if its increasing demands are to be satisfied.” As an administrator of high rank and position and of great Indian experience recently observed on a public occasion:—“The visitor from the west opens his eyes as he travels for hundreds of miles without seeing a single factory chimney. If we want India to prosper we should endeavour to get it studded with factories after the manner of the flourishing countries of modern Europe.” I earnestly hope that the subject will receive the attention that its importance demands at the hands of His Excellency the Viceroy and the Member for Education, the Hon'ble Mr. Butler.

The second matter to which I would refer is the separation of Judicial and Executive functions. The introduction of this important reform as an experimental measure was, I understand, approved some time ago. I trust the measure will soon be given a trial in every major province of the Empire.

And if you, brother-delegates, from the more fortunate provinces, would not grudge a solitary reference to a provincial question, I would make an appeal for the early establishment of an Executive Council in the United Provinces.

Brother-delegates, our President-elect, true and far-seeing friend of India as he is, is anxious that there should be no antagonisms in India, and in pursuance of his mission of peace is promoting a friendly conference which is to be held under his auspices at which Hindu and Musalman leaders will be invited to be present. He has been so far successful as to enlist the co-operation of three such men as His Highness the Aga Khan, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and the Right Hon. Mr. Amcer Ali. That we of the National Congress wish that the utmost success may attend the noble exertion of Sir William, I need not say, for he knows it, and has said so in Bombay. Let any fair critic judge the Congress—its resolutions as well as the utterances of responsible Congressmen ever since the inception of the movement—and I have no fear that he will be able to light upon anything anywhere which may be interpreted as making for racial antagonism. Our very first President included among the aims and objects of the Congress “the eradication of all possible race, creed or provincial prejudices among the lovers of the country, and the fuller development and consolidation of national unity.” The promotion of national unity finds a prominent place in the objects of the Congress as authoritatively defined in the first article of our Constitution. The question that has given rise to much controversy is that of special communal representation in connection with the reforms recently promulgated. Well, the Congress has ever been for fairness to all communities, as will be seen from the clause relating to this matter in its scheme of Council reform adopted at the great Congress—the greatest yet held—at Bombay, at which Sir William Wedderburn himself presided. That clause was “that whenever the Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans, or Hindus are in a minority, the total number of Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus, as the case may be, elected to the provincial legislature, shall not, so far as may be possible, bear a less proportion to the total numbers elected thereto, than the total number of Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus, as the case may be, in such electoral divisions bear to its total population.” I ask what can be fairer? And no one of us wants to resile from that position deliberately taken up. My own experience is limited to the United Provinces, in which the relations between the Moslem and the non-Moslem populations have been generally cordial. In all business and social relations the great mass of the members of both communities have been friendly. Even in the elections to the District and Municipal Boards, the relative numbers of Hindus and Mahomedans returned (and the great majority of the latter could have been only returned on the strength of Hindu votes) conclusively prove that our Mahomedan brothers have always received a fair treatment. A recent despatch of the Government of the United Provinces states that out of 663 members of Districts Boards, 445 were Hindu and 189 were Mahomedans, of 965 members of Municipal Boards, 562 are Hindus and 310 are Mahomedans and this in a province in which the Mahomedan population is about $\frac{1}{3}$ only of the non-Moslem population. Well was it observed in connection with the proposals for Moslem representatives in District and Municipal Boards in the United Provinces, by so distinguished a statesman as our present Lieutenant-Governor, the Hon'ble Sir John Prescott Hewett, that “it would be a pity to disturb the generally amicable relations at present existing between the Hindus and Mahomedans by introducing religious distinctions in the electoral system.”

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In the local Legislative Council as constituted before the introduction of the recent reforms, Mahomedan gentlemen rarely stood as candidates for election, but out of six candidates returned to the Viceregal Council two (*i.e.*, $\frac{1}{3}$ rd) have been Mahomedans. The introduction of religious distinctions in the electoral system no doubt tends to create a gulf between the two communities which it has been our earnest desire to bridge over. We yield to none in our purpose of greater unity among the various sections of our composite nationality. We realize and have never failed to realize that such unity is an essential condition of achieving improvements in the government of our country. Nobody will, therefore, rejoice more than we of the National Congress, if Sir William Wedderburn's efforts there are crowned with success. Certainly they deserve to succeed.

Brother-delegates, I fear I have already detained you too long. I know that like me you are anxious to listen to the address of our venerable President, to whose words of wisdom we will reverentially listen. I will, therefore, now ask you to formally request our President to take the chair and to proceed with the work of session which I hope and pray may be blessed with success (*cheers*).

Address of
 President.

Shri Surendra
 Banerjea.

BABU SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA, [Calcutta, No. 260 in the list] who was received with deafening cheers, formally moved that Sir William Wedderburn do take the chair as President of the Congress. He said:—Ladies and gentlemen, the task has been imposed upon me by the Reception Committee to place before you a resolution which, I am sure, will meet with your unanimous and enthusiastic concurrence and support. I beg to move that Sir William Wedderburn be elected President of this Congress (*cheers*.) Sir William does not come to us as a stranger. President of a former Congress, he has again been invited to assume the responsibilities of that great office. He is a commanding figure in the public life of modern India. When the history of these times comes to be written, as I hope and trust it will be,—not indeed by writers of the type of Valentine Chirol, but by sympathetic onlookers, conversant with the deep under-currents of Indian thought and the significance of Indian aspirations,—when the history of our times comes to be written by such men—to Sir William Wedderburn will be accorded a high and honourable place among those who by their labours and self-sacrifice have contributed to the up-building of Indian political life and the furtherance of India's political progress. In the muster-roll of distinguished Englishmen, who have loved India with an abounding love and have served her with passionate devotion, Sir William Wedderburn will be one of the most distinguished. How many of us, children of the soil, whose bones will rest here, whose interests, sympathies and reminiscences are centred in this ancient land, can claim to have exhibited in the record of their life-work, the selfless devotion, the unflinching self-sacrifice and the supreme love for India and her peoples, which have always been the dominating features in the public career of Sir William Wedderburn (*cheers*).

If it is true, that the unrest, of which we hear so much, and much of which, in the words of Lord Minto, is legitimate, is due to the impact of British influences and of Western civilization, it is true in an equal sense, that the public spirit, which glows in the bosoms of so many of us, has derived its first impulse and its living inspiration from the examples of great and good Englishmen like Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Allan Hume, Sir Henry Cotton (*cheers*) and others. They lit the torch which now burns in us with a steady flame and which, I trust, sooner or later—sooner rather than later—will illumine the whole Indian continent. Milton sang of his life as self-consecrated in the service of God. Of Sir William Wedderburn we say that his is a dedicated life in the service of India. Fifty years ago he came out to this country as an official—as a member of the Indian Civil Service. But he was truly an Indian patriot in the garb of an English official. If Sir William Wedderburn's

lot had been cast in more superstitious times, his contemporaries would have regarded him as the incarnation of some great Hindu Mahatma born again in the flesh for the well-being of his people. As an official, Sir William Wedderburn preferred the interests of the people to those of his own service. The people were the objects of his most anxious concern. His love for the masses was deep and abiding. He was a pioneer of the Agricultural Banks and Arbitration Boards, of which we hear so much in these days; and when he retired, it was amid the regrets of a whole nation. When they presented him with a purse, he made it over to the Bombay Presidency Association for the political advancement of the people. This utter selflessness and absolute devotion to the interests of India and her people have been the dominant characteristics of Sir William Wedderburn's public life. In his retirement he has been ceaseless in his endeavours for the welfare of India. If at this moment there is a wider and deeper interest felt in England in regard to Indian affairs than has been the case within the lifetime of this generation, the result, apart from the large general causes which have been operative in that direction, is, to some extent at least, due to the efforts of Sir William Wedderburn and his colleagues on the British Committee.

I have heard uncharitable criticisms about "India" and the British Committee. It is easy enough to criticise--that I know from my experience as a journalist. The chair of the critic, I am afraid, is apt to foster a spirit of irresponsibility. But constructive work amid enormous difficulties, amid the apathy of those whom you are serving, the pressure of financial embarrassments and, above all, the slow movement of all schemes of reform and their apparent want of success, is calculated to try the patience, the enthusiasm and the robust optimism of even the most ardent. How would our cause fare in England without the British Committee and "India"? Let the critics answer. You must have some sort of organization, some organ of your own, for the protection of your interests. Do away with them, you cannot. Re-construct them if you like. To find fault with them is unpatriotic.

Sir William Wedderburn entered Parliament to serve India, and he served our cause with an unselfish devotion, which has been the admiration of friends and foes alike. In Parliament, he has been ceaseless in his endeavours to secure a committee of enquiry into Indian affairs. Somehow or other Governments in these days fight shy of enquiries, which were periodically held under the East India Company. While we, of the popular party, are calling for "light; more kindly light amid the encircling gloom," Governments hug darkness to their souls. However that may be, all that Sir William Wedderburn and his friends could get, was the appointment of a committee known as the Welby Commission to enquire into Indian expenditure and the financial relations subsisting between England and India. Sir William Wedderburn was a member of that commission and the minority report which he submitted, along with Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and the late Mr. Caine, is an able vindication of our financial interests and constitutes a vigorous plea for financial justice to India. After seven years of strenuous labour, he retired from Parliament, but there still remains a memorial of his work in the Parliamentary Committee, to the usefulness of which, all, who have been to England in connection with Indian deputations, can testify. The Committee represent an organised body, of members of Parliament, definitely pledged to protect the interests of India. Such is a brief record of some of the features in the work of our President-elect.

But above and beyond this work the memory of which will endure as long as a particle of gratitude is left in the Indian mind, is the noble personality of the great worker. It is the association of such men that imparts an added dignity to the labour of love in which many of us are engaged and which with some of us, at

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any rate, has been the pride and the privilege of our lives. The work of political agitation in India is uplifted to higher dignity when among the agitators are men like Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Allan Hume and Sir Henry Cotton. We are quite content to be called agitators and bear the opprobrium which the name implies in such excellent company. To work for India, to live for India, has been the creed of Sir William Wedderburn. In health or in sickness, India has been the object of his passionate devotion. He has added to the ties of gratitude which bind us to him, by coming out at this time of life, at great personal sacrifice and with no small risk to his health, to preside over our deliberations. This act of self-denial will endure in the stimulus, which it will give to all workers in the cause of this country.

We are living in a critical, I might add, a formative period in the history of our country. Now, if ever, we need the guidance—the wise and statesmanlike guidance—of men like Sir William Wedderburn. Peace and reconciliation must be our watchwords amid the jarring conflict of warring elements. Peace is the avowed mission of Sir William Wedderburn. We wish him god-speed and we have resolved to place him in a position of commanding authority over us so that he may fulfil his mission and render one more memorable service to India and cover himself with the enduring glory of the blessed peace-maker, for whom, in the words of one of the great inspired books of mankind, the Kingdom of Heaven has been promised.

I will not detain you any longer, but will conclude by requesting Sir William Wedderburn to take the chair as President of this Congress (*cheers*).

cha. MR. D. E. WACHA, [Bombay, No. 123 in the list] in seconding, said :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I have very great pleasure in seconding the resolution which has been moved by my friend, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, in such inspiring and eloquent terms. After the very inspiring and eloquent terms in which he has moved this resolution for the election of Sir William Wedderburn, I do not think that I should detain you any longer. I will only say this, that the deep devotion and abiding sympathy of Sir William for the cause of India for the last twenty-five years are so well-known to you that I do not think that any words of mine are now necessary in order that this resolution might be carried by acclamation (*cheers*). Sir William has been associated with the Congress, most actively, most devotedly, ever since the institution of the Congress itself since 1885. It is a matter of the greatest regret to us all that one of the founders of the Congress, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, is no more with us. But we have still with us, our friend, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, now in his retirement, and here is Sir William Wedderburn, who has unceasingly, amidst much abuse, amid much obloquy, through the long time of twenty-five years' devotedly worked for our cause. Sir William Wedderburn's name is a household word amongst us, and I think, sir, that in asking him to-day to preside over our Congress and conferring the honour of the Presidentship upon him for the second time, this Congress is doing nothing more than its duty and is honouring itself. Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to support this resolution by acclamation (*cheers*).

the Hon'ble
Rao Bahadur
R. N. Mudholkar.

THE HON'BLE RAO BAHADUR R. N. MUDHOLKAR, [Amraoti, No. 629 in the list] in supporting said :—Ladies and Gentlemen, the proposition is one which does not need any words of mine to commend it to your acceptance, and if it was a merely formal resolution I should have contented myself by merely saying that I have very great pleasure in supporting it. But, Ladies and Gentlemen, I regard the call of the Chairman of the Reception Committee as a call to duty, as a call on myself and all my countrymen here to make their humble and grateful acknowledgments to one of the greatest Englishmen, I should say, to one of the greatest of living men who have devoted themselves to the good of mankind and especially to the good of fallen races. Gentlemen, it has been said, and aptly, that the peculiar feature of the

Hindu character is its gratefulness and it is because this occasion afforded me an opportunity of expressing my grateful thanks, my humble devotion, to him whom from my boyhood I have regarded as a typically good man that I have accepted the call of the Chairman, and I wish to offer my humble acknowledgments to Sir William Wedderburn. It is nearly forty years since I first heard the name of Sir William Wedderburn. He was then in service and from that time his name had reached not only those who took part in the politics of Western India, but even the schools and colleges and places remote and distant in the mofussil. He was then known as the great friend of the ryot. We afterwards came to know him as the great friend of the educated people. Later on when we saw more of his character we came to know him as the great friend of Indians, and now that we knew him better, we should say he is one of the very best friends of the Empire. Gentlemen, in that eloquent speech with which this proposition was moved by our friend, Babu Surendranath Banerjea, a short account is given of the various services which Sir William Wedderburn has rendered. To me it appears that the greatest service which he has rendered to the British Empire is to redeem the character of Englishmen (*cheers*). There have been too many occurrences, too many episodes, too many utterances, which, to a person of his temperament, to all men who value high thinking, to all men who value charity, there are, I say, too many things of that kind said and done which would bring blush to their cheeks. It is men like Sir William Wedderburn who confirm men's faith in the goodness of the human mind, and it is because there are persons like Sir William Wedderburn amongst Englishmen that those, who still pin their faith to constitutional reform, work amid the difficulties which surround them. Gentlemen, it is not proper for me to stand between you and the President's address, but as I have said it was incumbent upon us, it was incumbent upon all men who have known Sir William Wedderburn, who had the privilege of working under him, who have often derived inspiration from what he wrote and from his noble conduct in weal and woe, in prosperity and when the dark clouds of adversity were not only hovering on the horizon but had overcast the sky, and amidst praise and calumny has stood steadfastly by us, it is necessary for us once more to express our gratitude to him. In calling upon him to preside it is not on him that we confer any honour, any distinction, but it is upon ourselves that we confer great honour and great distinction (*cheers*).

THE HON'BLE MR. N. SUBBA RAO [Madras, No. 78 in the list] said:—Mr. Chairman, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—It is hardly necessary for me to say anything to commend this resolution for your acceptance. We all feel the weight of great obligation that we have been laid under by self-sacrificing work done by our worthy President in the cause of our country. We feel particularly at this juncture that the weight of that obligation is all the greater, for India is now passing through one of the most critical periods in her eventful history. There are numerous problems that are awaiting solution, problems which have to be tackled with great sympathy and foresight, and at this juncture whom can we call to the chair than one who has shown that insight and sympathy into the present situation? It has always appeared to me that British statesmanship has been saved by Englishmen like Sir William Wedderburn in dealing with the complex problems of this country, problems which are said to baffle the highest statesmanship of the greatest men. It is men of the broadest sympathies which Sir William and others like him possess that enable them to penetrate, as it were, behind the veil and look deep into the situation and guide us on to a safe haven. Gentlemen, it is hardly necessary for me to say anything more on the subject. I commend to you the proposition which has been placed before you (*cheers*).

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THE HONOURABLE LALA HARKISHEN LAL [Lahore, No. 547 in the list] said :—
Gentlemen, I heartily support this resolution.

MR. YUSUF HUSAIN [Lucknow, No. 509 in the list], supported the resolution in an Urdu speech.

THE HON'BLE PUNDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA [Allahabad, No. 348 in the list] further supported the motion in an eloquent speech in Hindi which was repeatedly cheered.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN was then installed in the Presidential chair amidst scenes of great enthusiasm.

The President's inaugural Address.

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SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, President, [Allahabad, No. 345 in the list] who was received with renewed and most enthusiastic cheers, then rose and delivered the following address :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—In selecting me to preside, for the second time, over your National Assembly, you have bestowed upon me a signal mark of your confidence. The honour is great ; the responsibilities are also great ; and I must ask from you a full indulgence. At the same time, whatever my shortcomings may be, there is one measure of respect in which I shall not be found wanting, and that is in good-will towards you and the cause you represent. My sympathy with your aspirations is whole-hearted ; and I cherish an enduring faith in the future destiny of India (*cheers*). India deserves to be happy. And I feel confident that brighter days are not far off. There is a saying that every nation deserves its fate ; and my confidence in the future of India is founded on the solid merits of the Indian people—their law-abiding character, their industry, their patient and gentle nature, their capacity for managing their own affairs, as shown in their ancient village organisation. Further, I put my trust in the intelligence, the reasonableness and the public spirit of the educated classes. And last, but not least, I have confidence in the Congress, whose pious duty it is to guide the people in their peaceful progress towards Self-Government within the Empire (*cheers*).

A few days ago, speaking at a gathering of friends in England, who commissioned me to bring you their hearty greeting, I quoted the words of my dear old friend Sir Wilfred Lawson, who during his long life was ever engaged in some uphill battle for the cause of righteousness. He said that we should hope all things, but expect nothing. This is the spirit which defies discouragement, and is beyond the reach of disappointment. During the last 20 years it has been difficult for the friends of India even to hope. Poor India has suffered pains almost beyond human endurance. We have had war, pestilence and famine, earthquake and cyclone ; an afflicted people, driven well nigh to despair. But now, at last, we see a gleam of light. Hope has revived, and the time has come to close our ranks and press forward with ordered discipline. There is much arduous work to be done, but the reward will be great. In the words of the poet, let us “ march with our face to the light ; put in the sickle and reap.”

OUR WATCHWORDS.

Our watchwords must be “ Hope ”—“ Conciliation ”—“ United Effort.”

HOPE.

The late King-Emperor, Edward the Peace-maker, whose loss we shall ever deplore, in his message to the Princes and people of India on the occasion of the Jubilee, gave us every ground for hope. In that gracious Declaration, which confirmed and developed the principles laid down in Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858, he promised concessions to the wishes of the people, including the steady obliteration of race distinctions in making appointments to high office, the extension of representative institutions, and a kindly sympathy with Indian aspirations

generally. Effect was given to those promises by Lord Morley's appointment of Indians to his own Council, and to the Executive Council (the inner Cabinet) of the Viceroy and of the Local Governments, and when he successfully carried through both Houses of Parliament his far-reaching measure of reform for the expansion of the Legislative Councils on a wider representative basis. A hopeful spirit as regards the near future is also justified by the sympathetic tone of the speeches of both the outgoing and the incoming Viceroy. India honours Lord Minto as a man who, under the most trying circumstances, has bravely and honestly striven to do his duty. According to his view, the unrest and political awakening in India is evidence that "the time has come for a further extension of representative principles in our administration." And Lord Hardinge has promised to "do his utmost to consolidate the beneficent and far-reaching scheme of reform initiated by Lord Morley and Lord Minto for the association of the people of India more closely with the management of their own affairs, and to conciliate the races, classes and creeds."

CONCILIATION.

And this brings us to the duty of conciliation, as now the first step towards constructive work. As long as Indian leaders could only offer a criticism of official measures from outside, it was necessary that their main energies should be directed towards securing a modification of the system of administration under which they lived. And in such work it was inevitable that hard and unpleasant things should occasionally be said on either side, rendering harmonious co-operation difficult, if not impossible. But now that opportunities have been provided for popular representatives to discuss, in a serious and responsible spirit and face to face with official members, the grievances of the people which they would like to see removed or the reforms which they wish to be carried out, the dominant note of their relations with official classes, as also among themselves, should, I think, be one of conciliation and co-operation (*hear, hear*). There is an enormous amount of good, solid, useful work for the welfare of the people of India to be done in various directions, needing devoted workers, who will labour strenuously and with a genuine appreciation of one another's difficulties. Such is the work for the economic and industrial regeneration of the country, and for the development of education,—elementary education for the masses, technical education, and the higher education of the West—England's greatest boon to India—the magic touch, which has awakened to new life the ancient activities of the Indian intellect. Besides these, there are other important items in the Congress programme calling loudly for early attention and settlement. All this means effort, strenuous, well-directed, and self-sacrificing: and it needs co-operation from every quarter. In facing this high enterprise, let us forget old grievances, whether of class or creed or personal feeling. Let us not dwell on matters of controversy, but cultivate a spirit of toleration, giving credit to all that, however different their methods may be, they are true lovers of mother India, and desire her welfare. If, as I trust will be the case, you accept these general principles, I will ask you briefly to consider the specific cases in which, from the nature of things, we must anticipate some difficulty in obtaining the hearty co-operation we so much desire. In so vast and composite an entity as India, there exist necessarily divergent views and divergent action in matters, political and social, leading to friction. Among important classes and groups difficulties have hitherto arisen in three principal directions: we have the differences (1) between European officials and educated Indians, (2) between Hindus and Mahomedans, and (3) between Moderate Reformers and Extremists. Such tendencies to discord cannot be ignored. But my proposition is that the conflict of interest is only apparent; that if we go below the surface, we find identity of object among all these classes and groups; that all are equally interested in the prosperity and happiness of India; and that the only true wisdom

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is for all to work together in harmony, each casting into the common treasury his own special gifts, whether of authority, or of knowledge, or of unselfish devotion. (*hear, hear*).

“CONCILIATION :” (1) OFFICIALS AND NON-OFFICIALS.

Let us then consider briefly the facts regarding each of the three cases above noted, beginning with that of European officials and independent Indian opinion. In order to trace the growth of the existing tension, we cannot do better than refer to the records of the Congress, which during the last 25 years has mirrored popular feeling, and registered the pronouncements of many trusted leaders; some of whom, alas! have passed away, as Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Mr. Justice Tyabji, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, and Mr. Ananda Charlu; others, as the Grand Old Man of India (*cheers*), are still with us, to cheer us with their presence and guide us on our way. Now what was the feeling 25 years ago of the Congress leaders towards British policy and British administrators? There could not be a more sincere and uncompromising exponent of independent Indian opinion than Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, but nothing could be stronger than his repudiation of any feeling unfriendly to British policy or British methods. As President of the Second Congress in 1886 he said:—“It is under the civilizing rule of the Queen and people of England that we meet here together, hindered by none, and are freely allowed to speak our mind without the least fear and without the least hesitation. Such a thing is possible under British rule and British rule only.” He then goes on to recount some of the “great and numberless blessings which British Rule has conferred on us,” concluding as follows:—“When we have to acknowledge so many blessings as flowing from British rule,—and I could descant on them for hours, because it would be simply recounting to you the history of the British Empire in India,—is it possible that an assembly like this, every one of whose members is fully impressed with the knowledge of these blessings, could meet for any purpose inimical to that rule to which we owe so much?” Such were, not so long ago, the cordial feelings of educated Indians towards British policy and British administrators. A change of policy produced a change of sentiment. The various measures which caused this sad estrangement are well known; and I will not now recapitulate them, because I am above all things anxious that by-gones should be by-gones. Happily, also, the introduction of the reforms of Lord Morley and Lord Minto has done a good deal to mitigate existing bitterness. Conciliation on the part of the Government has already produced some effect, but it has not been carried far enough to bear full fruit. With a view, therefore, to restore old friendly relations, I will venture to make a two-fold appeal to the official class; first, to accept and work the new policy represented by the reforms in an ungrudging, even, generous spirit, and to carry it further, especially, in the field of local Self-Government—in the district, the taluka and the village; and, secondly, to facilitate a return of the country to a normal condition by an early repeal of repressive measures or, in any case, by dispensing, as far as possible, with the exercise of the extraordinary powers which they have conferred on the Executive, and by making it easy for those who have seen the error of their ways to go back quietly to the path of law and order. Any fresh offences must, of course, be dealt with, but moderate men would have a chance of working effectively for peace, if the public mind was not kept in a state of tension by indiscriminate house-searchings, prosecutions and other processes in pursuit of offences of an older date. There is a saying that it takes two to make a quarrel. May I, therefore, at the same time make an appeal to Indian publicists, in the interest of their own people, to facilitate forbearance on the part of the authorities by realising the difficulties of the administration and by avoiding the use of language which rouses official suspicion and gives rise to vague apprehension. In this way both parties would make their contribution to peace and good-will.

As an old Civilian, and as belonging to a family long connected with India, I appreciate the merits of the Indian Civil Service, and believe that there never existed a body of officials more hard-working and trustworthy. But the time has come for a modification of the system. The guardian, if somewhat austere, has been honest and well-meaning; but the ward has now reached an age at which he is entitled to a substantial share in the management of his own affairs. Is it not the part of wisdom to accord this to him with a good grace? During the last few years, official duties, connected with repression, have been carried out with characteristic thoroughness; severe punishments have been awarded and such advantages as could possibly accrue to law and order from this policy have been realised. But the performances of such duties must have been irksome and uncongenial to the British temperament. All, therefore, will be glad of a truce in those proceedings. It is now the turn of conciliation, which will give encouragement to the great body of well-affected citizens, whose hopes are blighted by disorder, and whose dearest wish is to bring back peace to a troubled land. This policy is both the wisest and the most congenial. I am sure, and I speak from personal experience, the Civilian will find his life pleasanter, and his burdens lighter, if he will frankly accept the co-operation which educated Indians are not only willing but anxious to afford. This was the view taken by Sir Bartle Frere, who said:—“Wherever I go, I find the best exponents of the policy of the English Government and the most able coadjutors in adjusting that policy to the peculiarities of the natives of India among the ranks of the educated Indians.” But apart from the satisfaction, and personal comfort of working in harmony with his surroundings, the young Civilian naturally craves for a high ideal in the career he has chosen; and he cannot but feel a glow of sympathy for the views of the older generation of administrators—Elphinstone and Malcolm, Munro and Macaulay—who foresaw with gladness the day of India’s emancipation. Every profession needs its ideal. Without that, it is but a sordid struggle for livelihood; and every man of a generous spirit, who puts his hand to the Indian plough, must regard the present discord as but a temporary phase, and look forward to the time when all will work together to rescue the masses from ignorance, famine and disease, and to restore India to her ancient greatness.

“CONCILIATION : ” (2) HINDUS AND MAHOMEDANS.

We come next to the case of the Hindus and Mahomedans. This is a domestic question, and it is doubtful how far an outsider can usefully intervene. But I will venture to say a few words on the subject, because I feel so strongly the danger to peace and progress, if these two great communities come to be arrayed in two hostile camps. Also, in the position I now occupy as your President, I feel to a certain extent justified in my intervention, because one of the principal objects of the Congress, as declared by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee at the opening of the first Congress in 1885, was “the eradication, by direct friendly personal intercourse, of all possible race, creed or provincial prejudices among all lovers of our country.” Fortified by these considerations, I approached the subject, before leaving England, in consultation with esteemed Indian friends who were anxious to promote conciliation; and I am glad to say that a hopeful beginning has been made. His Highness the Aga Khan, in agreement with Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Mr. Ameer Ali, has proposed a Conference, where the leaders of both parties may meet, with a view to a friendly settlement of differences; and at their request, I addressed a letter to some of the leading representatives of the various communities in different parts of India, explaining the proposal and inviting their co-operation. In this connection we may refer to the words of our lamented friend, Mr. Justice Tyabji, who presided over the Third Congress at Madras. He recognised that each of the great Indian communities has its own peculiar social, educational and economic problems to solve. „ But,” he said, “so far as general political questions affecting the whole of India—

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such as those which alone are discussed by this Congress—are concerned, I for one am utterly at a loss to understand why Mahomedans should not work shoulder to shoulder with their fellow-countrymen of other races and creeds for the common benefit of all." This pronouncement seems to place the whole question in its true light. This also is the view taken by Mr. Wilfred Blunt, than whom there is no truer friend of Islam. He urges the Mahomedan community to join the Congress movement, "if they would share the full advantages of the coming self-government of their country." Mr. R. M. Sayani, a Mahomedan gentleman of wide experience, who was your President in 1896, carefully analysed the facts of the case, tracing the historical origin of the friction between Hindus and Mahomedans, and at the same time indicating the influences which make for conciliation. No doubt certain recent events have brought into prominence the differences between the two communities; but these differences should not be exaggerated, and we should rather direct our attention to the solid interests in which all Indians are equally concerned. I would therefore commend to the special attention of both Hindus and Mahomedans the facts and arguments contained in Mr. Sayani's presidential address, which will be found at pages 319 to 346 of the handy volume, entitled "The Indian National Congress," which we owe to the public spirit of our friend, Mr. G. A. Natesan of Madras.

A recognition by the two great communities of the essential identity of their real interests, however long it may be delayed, is, I feel convinced, bound to come at last. Meanwhile, as practical men, it behoves us to hasten this consummation by utilising every opportunity that presents itself to promote joint action, as also by avoiding, as far as possible, those occasions or controversies which lead to friction. A good illustration of what may be achieved by the Hindus and Mahomedans standing shoulder to shoulder in the service of India is supplied by the latest news from South Africa. Here, if anywhere, the Indian cause appeared to have arrayed against its overwhelming odds. But thanks to the determined stand made by the Indian community under the splendid generalship of Mr. Gandhi, the long night seems to be drawing to a close and we already see the faint glimmering of a new dawn. There is no doubt that the manner, in which the people of India, without distinction of race or creed, have come forward to support their suffering brethren in the Transvaal, has made an impression on both the Imperial and the South African Governments. In the new Councils, too, members of the two communities have excellent opportunities of working together for the common good, and much may be achieved by them in matters like the education of the masses, higher and technical education, and the economic and industrial development of the country. Such co-operation, besides producing substantial results directly, will also have the indirect effect of strengthening those tendencies which make for joint action in public affairs generally.

"CONCILIATION:" (3) MODERATES AND EXTREMISTS.

Lastly we have to consider the differences which have arisen among Indian reformers themselves, between those who are known as "Moderates" and those who are called "Extremists." In 1885, when Mr. Allan Hume, Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee founded the Indian National Congress on strictly constitutional lines, there were no differences: for more than 20 years from that date all Indian reformers worked together harmoniously, and, year by year, patiently and respectfully, placed before the Government of India a reasoned statement of popular needs. But in 1907, at Surat, there was a split in the Congress. The more impatient spirits, despairing of success by Congress methods, broke away from their former leaders, and sought salvation in other directions, and by other methods. Now as a mere matter of tactics and expediency, to put it no higher, I would ask,

have those other methods been successful? It appears to me that they have resulted in wholesale prosecutions and much personal suffering, without tangible benefit to the popular cause. On the contrary, all departures from constitutional methods have weakened the hands of sympathisers in England; while furnishing to opponents a case for legislation against the Press and public meeting, and an excuse for dragging from its rusty sheath the obsolete weapon of deportation without trial. I should like to put another question, and it is this: If now the tide of reaction has been stayed, and if, in any respect, we have had the beginning of better things, is not this mainly due to the labours of the Congress? I do not wish unduly to magnify Congress results. But what other effective organisation exists, either in India or in England, working for Indian political reform? For a quarter of a century the Congress has been at work, openly and fearlessly, without haste and without rest, educating public opinion, and, at the close of each year, pressing upon the Government a well considered programme of reforms. It would be a reflection on the intelligence of the Government to suppose that such a practical expression of popular wishes was without its effect. And, as a matter of fact, Lord Morley's beneficent measures have followed Congress lines, the reform and expansion of Legislative Councils having been the leading Congress proposal from the very first session in 1885. I would therefore submit to our "impatient idealists" that there is no cause for despair as regards Congress methods, and I would ask them not to play into the hands of our opponents by discrediting the results of Congress work. Advanced reformers should not preach the doctrine of discouragement, but rather carry the flag boldly forward, as the scouts and Uhlans of the army of progress. We have heard something about "mendicancy" in connection with petitions to Parliament and the higher authorities. But Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, as President at Calcutta in 1906, pointed out that "these petitions are not any begging for any favours any more than the conventional 'your obedient servant' in letters makes a man an obedient servant. It is the conventional way of approaching higher authorities. The petitions are claims for rights or for justice or for reforms,—to influence and put pressure on Parliament by showing how the public regard any particular matter." Assuredly the authors of the Petition of Right were not mendicants. On the contrary, they were the strong men of the 17th century, who secured to the people of England the liberties they now enjoy. In following this historical method, therefore, there is nothing to hurt the self-respect of the Indian people.

I sincerely hope that those who have broken from the Congress, because they have ceased to believe in Congress methods and in constitutional agitation, will consider dispassionately what I have said above and revert to their older faith. But in addition to such men, there is, I understand, a considerable number of old Congressmen, whose attachment to Congress principles is intact, but who are not now to be found in the ranks of the Congress, because they are not satisfied about the necessity of the steps taken by the leaders of the constitutional party, after the unhappy split at Surat, to preserve the Congress from extinction. These friends of ours obviously stand on a different footing from those who profess extremist views, and I would venture to appeal to their patriotism and ask them not to be overcritical in their judgment on a situation, admitted by every body to be extraordinary, which could only be met by extraordinary measures. I would at the same time appeal to you, gentlemen of the Congress, to consider if you cannot, without compromising the principles for which you stand, make it in some way easier for these old colleagues of yours to return to the fold. Remember that the interests at stake are of the highest importance, and no attempt that can reasonably be made to close your divisions ought to be spared.

"UNITED EFFORT."

We now come to a very practical part of our business: Supposing we obtain agreement on the principles above indicated and secure co-operation among the forces of progress, in what directions can our efforts be most usefully exerted? Hitherto Congress work has come mostly under three headings: (1) Constructive work in India, educating and organising public opinion; (2) Representations to the Government of India regarding proposed reforms; and (3) Propaganda in England. The expansion of the Legislative Councils and the admission of Indians into the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and Local Governments has vastly extended the scope of the work under the first heading. Independent Indians will now be in a position to take the initiative in many important matters, and press forward reforms, which hitherto have only been the subject of representations to the Government. In order to promote co-ordination and united action in this most important work, might I suggest that, in consultation with independent Members of the Legislative Councils, the Congress might draw up a programme of the reform measures most desired, for which, in their opinion, the country is ripe, and on which they think the Members should concentrate till success has been attained. As regards the second heading, no doubt the Congress resolutions will, as usual, be forwarded to the Government of India and the Secretary of State. But it would, I think, be desirable to bring your views specially to the notice of His Excellency the Viceroy. This might be done by a deputation presenting a short address, showing the measures to which the Congress attaches the most immediate importance. Among these might be included such matters as the Separation of the Executive and Judicial, the reduction of military expenditure, larger grants for education, and the economic village inquiry asked for by the Indian Famine Union. It would be very useful to know the general views on such topics held by the head of the Government, and the sympathetic replies, given by Lord Hardinge to addresses from other public bodies, make it certain that we should receive a courteous hearing. In our representation we might include a petition for an amnesty or a remission of sentences to political offenders, as also a prayer for a relaxation of the repressive legislation of the last few years. Personally I should also like to ask for a modification of the Bengal Partition. But at the present moment, on the first arrival of a new Viceroy, such a move would, in my opinion, not be judicious. I have always held that this most unhappy mistake must ultimately be rectified; a modification will be made more practicable for the Government, if, in friendly conference, all those concerned can come to an agreement on the subject, and satisfy the Government that the best administrative arrangement would be a Governor in Council for the whole of the old Bengal Lieut.-Governorship, with Chief Commissioners under him for the component provinces.

PROPAGANDA IN ENGLAND.

There remains the third heading,—Propaganda in England. Will you bear with me when I say that you never seem sufficiently to realise the necessity of this work, the supreme importance of making the British people understand the needs of India, and securing for your cause the support of this all-powerful ally. I pressed this upon you in 1889, when I came with Mr. Bradlaugh, and again in 1904 with Sir Henry Cotton. Once more, in 1910, I entreat you to give your attention to this vital matter. Let me remind you of the two-fold character of the Congress work. There is first the work in India: the political education of the people, having for its object to create solidarity of Indian public opinion, founded on the widest experience and the wisest counsels available. This part of the work has been in great measure accomplished. During the last 25 years the Congress programme, stated in the form of definite resolutions, has been gradually matured, and is now practically accepted as expressing independent

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public opinion throughout India. The Congress resolutions contain the case for India; the brief for the appellant is complete; and what is now wanted is a vigorous propaganda in England, in order to bring the appeal effectively before the High Court of the British Nation. The work to be done is of a missionary kind, and must be mainly directed to influencing the British people, in whom the ultimate power is vested; and any one who, on behalf of India, has been in the habit of addressing large audiences in England, and especially audiences of working men and women, can bear testimony to the ready sympathy shown by the hearers, and their manifest desire that justice should be done. It must be borne in mind that in England public opinion guides the Parliamentary electors; the votes of the electors decide what manner of men shall compose the majority in the House of Commons; the majority in the House of Commons places in power the Government of which it approves; and the Government appoints the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy, who, between them, exercise the supreme power at Whitehall and Calcutta. If Indians are wise, they will keep these facts in view and follow the line of least resistance. Instead of knocking their heads against a stone wall, they should take the key which lies within their grasp. Those of the older generation will remember what striking success attended the labours of Messrs. Manmohan Ghose, Chandavarkar and Mudeliar, when they came to England in 1885. And only those who understand the true inwardness of things can realize what India owes to men like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Mr. Lalmohan Ghose, Mr. A. M. Bose, Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee, Mr. Wacha, Mr. Mudholkar and Mr. Gokhale, for the work they have done in England, by addressing public meetings, and by personal interviews with influential statesmen. But the visits of these gentlemen have been at long intervals. What is wanted is a systematic, continuous, and sustained effort, to bring before the English public the Indian view of Indian affairs. (*hear, hear.*)

In India there is a new-born spirit of self-reliance. That is good; but do not let it degenerate into dislike for the people of other lands. Race prejudice is the palladium of your opponents. Do not let any such feeling hinder you from cultivating brotherhood with friends of freedom all over the world, and especially in England. It is only by the goodwill of the British people that India can attain what is the best attainable future—the “United States of India” under the ægis of the British Empire, a step towards the poet’s ideal of a Federation of the world. In his eager desire for self-government, let not the “impatient idealist” forget the solid advantages of being a member of the British Empire; the *Pax Britannica* within India’s borders; the protection from foreign aggression by sea and land; the partnership with the freest and most progressive nation of the World. No one supposes that under present conditions India could stand alone. She possesses all the materials for self-government; an ancient civilisation; reverence for authority; an industrious and law-abiding population; abundant intelligence among the ruling classes. But she lacks training and organisation. A period of apprenticeship is necessary; but that period need not be very long, if the leaders of the people set themselves to work together in harmony—hand in hand with the British people, India can most safely take her first steps on the new path of progress.* (*cheers.*)

MR. D. E. WACHA [Bombay, No. 123 in the list] then read telegrams from several gentlemen expressing regret at their inability to attend the Congress but wishing it all success. The telegrams from Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Dr. Rash Behari Ghose were received amidst cheers.

* Sir William Wedderburn delivered the first portion of his address himself and, at his request, the latter portion was read out by the Hon’ble Mr. Gokhale.

Fl
 1st day.
 Pre-lection of
 Subjects Commit-
 tee.

MR. D. A. KHARE [Bombay, No. 155 in the list] next mentioned that under Article XIV of the Constitution, the delegates attending the Congress from various provinces were to elect their representatives as members of the Subjects Committee and requested the Secretaries of the various Congress Committees to send to him the names of those whom they may elect under that Article.* He then announced that the Subjects Committee would meet at 4-30 p.m. at the Rajah Hotel where Sir William resided.

The Congress, then, adjourned till noon of the following day.

*The names of the members of the Subjects Committee, elected by the delegates, are to be found in Appendix. C.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Tuesday, the 27th December 1910.

Second da
Resolution
Demise of E
Edward the

The Congress resumed its session at 12 noon to-day. The President was conducted to his seat amidst cheers, the audience standing. On taking his seat the President said :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—We will first take the resolution expressing our profound grief at the loss of the late King-Emperor. It is a loss to India, a loss to the Empire and a loss to the whole world. What was remarkable about his late Majesty was his wonderful personality so that as a constitutional sovereign he exercised a larger and more beneficent influence than all the autocratic sovereigns of the world. Ladies and Gentlemen, I will ask you to pass this sad resolution in reverential silence standing up. (The whole audience stood up). I declare the resolution passed. I will read this resolution which has been already in your hands :—

Resolution I.—Demise of King Edward the Seventh.

“This Congress desires to give expression to its profound grief at the sudden and untimely demise of His Most Gracious Majesty King Edward VII, whose beneficent reign will ever be memorable in the annals of India for the steps taken to obliterate race distinctions in making appointments to high office and for the measures of constitutional reform adopted with a view to associate the people of this country with the administration of their affairs.”

THE PRESIDENT :—Ladies and Gentlemen,—The next resolution has reference to the accession of King George V ;

Resolution II.—Accession of King George the Fifth.

“This Congress offers its humble homage and duty to King-Emperor George V on his accession and begs to tender to His Majesty an assurance of its profound loyalty and attachment to his august throne and person. This Congress expresses its deep and heartfelt joy at the announcement of the proposed visit of Their Most Gracious Majesties King George and Queen Mary to India in 1911.”

Resolution I
Accession
King Geor
the Fifth

THE PRESIDENT :—I will ask you to pass this resolution by acclamation.

The resolution was carried amidst cheers.

THE PRESIDENT :—It is with peculiar pleasure that I have to move the third resolution. It is one of welcome to the new Viceroy and an Address and Deputation to His Excellency. I have said that I move this resolution personally with peculiar pleasure, because it is the first time that the Congress, the representatives of the Congress itself, will be received in friendly personal recognition by a Viceroy. (*hear, hear and cheers*). As I said yesterday, Gentlemen, I want by-gones to be by-gones, so I will not refer to an unfortunate incident which happened six years ago. But as a precedent,—an unhappy precedent was then established,—I was rather anxious upon this subject and I thought it right to write to His Excellency the Viceroy and ask whether he would receive a deputation and an Address. I am glad to say that I received an answer, most kind and courteous (*cheers*) and he is willing to receive both the deputation and the Address. We are, therefore, to make the arrangements accordingly and I congratulate the whole Indian people on this evidence that we have got a really sympathetic Viceroy. (*cheers*). I should mention that it is proposed to appoint a Sub-Committee in order to draw up the Address and I am sure when I have read the names you will feel confident that the preparation will be in good

cond day.
 Resolution III.—
 Welcome to the
 Viceroy and
 Address and
 Deputation to
 Excellency.

hands and when it has been prepared it will be submitted to you for your approval.
 The resolution is as follows :—

Resolution III.—Welcome to the new Viceroy and Address and Deputation to His Excellency.

- (a) “This Congress in offering its warm and respectful welcome to His Excellency Lord Hardinge, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, begs to convey to His Excellency an earnest assurance of its desire to co-operate loyally with the Government in promoting the welfare of the people of the country.”
- (b) “This Congress resolves that a Sub-Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to prepare an address to be presented to His Excellency in the name of the Congress by a deputation headed by the President :—

The President,
 The Ex-Presidents present,
 The General Secretaries,

Then, representatives of the great divisions :—

The Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Bose (United Bengal), [No. 293 in the list],
 Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar (United Bengal), [No. 323 in the list],
 The Hon'ble Mr. N. Subba Rao (Madras), [No. 78 in the list],
 The Hon'ble Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, B.A., B.L. (Madras), [No. 27 in the list],
 The Hon'ble Mr. M. H. Jinnah (Bombay), [No. 126 in the list],
 Mr. N. M. Samarth (Bombay), [No. 157 in the list],
 Pandit Bishan Narain Dhar (United Provinces), [No. 488 in the list],
 Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan (United Provinces), [No. 493 in the list],
 Mr. Syed Hasan Imam (Behar), [No. 590 in the list],
 Dr. H. S. Gour (Central Provinces), [No. 584 in the list],
 The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar (Berar), No. 590 in the list],
 The Hon'ble Mr. Harikisen Lal (The Panjab), [No. 547 in the list], and
 Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhri (The Panjab) [No. 555 in the list”].

I beg to submit this for your approval. This does not require to be seconded and I will ask you to show your approval by holding up your hands.

The whole audience lifted their hands.

THE PRESIDENT :—Any one against ?

THE AUDIENCE :—None.

THE PRESIDENT :—I declare it unanimously carried.

THE PRESIDENT then said :—Ladies and Gentlemen, we have a very heavy programme before us. Though we should be glad to hear every gentleman at full length, I am afraid we will not have the time to do so and I should, therefore, ask you as a rule to agree to this arrangement, that a mover of a resolution should not speak for more than 10 minutes and that others should not speak for more than 5 minutes. I think some one wrote a long letter saying that he had no time to write a short one and I think writing requires some trouble and I hope you will give this important matter some amount of trouble.

The next resolution on the paper headed “Council Reform Regulations” is a very important one and we have still some consideration to give to it. Therefore it has been agreed on all sides to postpone that till to-morrow. The Resolution on the Law Membership I will ask the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha [Allahabad, No. 349 in the list] to be good enough to propose.

MR. YUSUFF HUSAIN [Lucknow, No. 509, in the list] interrupting said :—

It is a very important resolution and I do not know who are the persons who have agreed to postpone it. I mean to say.....

THE PRESIDENT :—I think, Sir, I mentioned that it has been the wish of many but I believe it is within the discretion of the President to do so (several cries of “hear, hear”).

Second day
Resolution IV
Law
Memberships

THE HON'BLE MR. S. SINHA, [Allahabad, No. 349 in the list] in moving the resolution said :—Brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—the Resolution which I have the honour to submit to you runs in the following terms :—

Resolution IV.—Law Membership.

“In view of the fact that section III of the Indian Councils Act of 1861 is understood in practice to limit appointment to the Office of Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council to members of the English Bar, thereby greatly restricting the field from which a selection may be made, this Congress urges that the said section be so amended as to allow of Advocates and Vakils of Indian High Courts being appointed to that office.”

I do not suppose, Gentlemen, this resolution requires a long speech to commend it to you. I think the proposition is self-evident. In the matter of selection to such a high and exalted office as that of the membership of the Viceroy's Council, the larger the field of selection the better, the chance of the appointment being the best and, therefore, on the face of it the rule now in force so operates as to exclude a large number of eligible people who are qualified by their capacity and character and legal knowledge to work as Law Member. I think on the face of it, it is a hardship on that large class to exclude them by the operation of the law. You will see from the wording of the resolution, we say that section III is understood to limit the appointment to Barristers alone, but as a matter of fact the statute lays down that in the Viceroy's Council there shall be a Barrister of not less than five years standing. That necessarily does not mean that there should not be a Vakil or Advocate or Attorney-at-law as Law Member. So, even now, it is quite open to the King-Emperor, if he so chooses, to appoint a Vakil, Advocate or Attorney as Law Member. But for all practical purposes it is taken to be that the Law Member can be only a Member of the English or Irish Bar or a Scotch Advocate. Therefore, we say the matter should be made clear by the amendment of the statute in such a way that there may be no difficulty hereafter. I will say one word more. At the time when the statute itself was enacted the only class of lawyers known in India and England as legal practitioners of any standing were the Barristers. The large Vakil community which has now given the phrase “the Vakil-Raj” was then an unknown quantity. In the last fifty years, however, the Vakils in this country and the Advocates have come into great prominence. They have distinguished themselves as very worthy competitors with Barristers in all fields of legal activity. I need not recall to you the names of distinguished Vakils in the different High Courts; Dr. Rash Behari Ghose (*cheers*) whose legal erudition, knowledge, subtlety of intellect and forensic eloquence are well known to the whole country; and a large number of other distinguished Vakils in other Provinces have all proved satisfactorily that they are in no way wanting in capacity, character and qualifications as compared with Barristers. And because the innate sense of modesty of our Vakil friends will not allow them to come forward, the privilege has been conferred upon me, as a member of the English Bar, to do so and I do so most unselfishly and most altruistically and I say the Vakils should certainly be given a chance. With these words I commend the resolution. (*cheers*).

RAO BAHADUR B. N. SARMA, [Vizagapatam, No. 41 in the list] in seconding the resolution said :—Mr. President and brother-delegates, after the exhaustive and lucid speech of the gentleman who preceded me I do not think very many words would be required from me to commend this proposition to your acceptance. When I was asked last evening to second this proposition I quite naturally hesitated a little, because I belong to that much abused and maligned class, “the Vakil-Raj.” But then I said

second day.

Resolution IV.—
Law
Membership.

to myself I only come from the mofussil. Therefore the personal equation has been carefully eliminated, for except under rare and exceptional circumstances there is not much danger of any gentleman from the mofussil bar being elevated by the executive to the supreme position of Member of the Viceroy's Council. Then again, Gentlemen, who would suppose that any one would stand here to uphold class privileges, class distinctions in this august assemblage in the holy city of Prayag, or Allahabad? Who would suppose that the Vakils would come forward to have their privileges established, their disabilities or supposed disabilities removed? I do not stand here to ask you to remove any disabilities under which the Vakils may be supposed to be labouring. I do not ask you to uphold their privileges, because the Vakils as a class can very well take care of themselves, because they are trusted by others to take care of them and their properties. I would ask you to consider this proposition purely and wholly from the standpoint of efficiency of the Law Membership,—wholly and purely from the standpoint of the vast millions whose interests have to be protected by the Government of India and purely and wholly from the point of view of good government in the country. It may be said that there was no need to have a separate resolution merely for one appointment,—that of the Law Membership. But remember, Gentlemen, it may be one office but it is the most important office under the Crown and a good deal depends upon the selection that may be made for that office. From the point of view of efficiency, Gentlemen, for which every one of us is struggling, we are asking that the field of selection should be as large and as wide as possible. As has been pointed out to you, at the time when the Act was passed, Vakils were nowhere. But take the instance of Madras, at the present moment. The two most prominent Judges who sit there are from the Vakils. The learned Advocate-General is a Vakil of the High Court. The Advocate-General who preceded him, was a Vakil. Sir Bashyam Aiyangar was a Vakil. I need hardly recount to you names to convince you that Vakils as a body are as efficient as Barristers themselves. I do not for a moment contend that we cannot find suitable men from amongst the English Bar. I do not mean for a moment to say any such thing, but at any particular moment it may so happen that a member of the English Bar cannot be had for this high office; it may be he is reluctant to accept the office, it may be that a Vakil who is much more efficient than he can be found for the office. It is undesirable, therefore, Gentlemen, that there should be any such restriction even in theory. Therefore, for all these reasons I say that the field of selection should be as wide and unrestricted as possible and if there be any doubt as to the construction of the statute, that doubt should be removed and the Act so amended as to enable the Government of India to select the best man possible under the circumstances for that high office of Law Member. (*cheers*).

THE PRESIDENT:—This resolution has been duly moved and seconded. An amendment has been received proposing that in the last line but one the words "Attorneys-at-Law" should be added after the word "Vakils." It will then read " * * * This Congress urges that the said section be so amended as to allow of Advocates, Vakils and Attorneys-at-Law of Indian High Courts being appointed to that office." This amendment has been accepted by the mover and the seconder and, therefore, I will place it before you in the amended form.

The proposition so amended was put to the Congress by the President and carried unanimously.

As the mover of the resolution, on "Executive Council for the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and the Panjab" had not then arrived, the President asked Mr. G. A. Natesan [Madras, No. 12 in the list] to move the Resolution on "Indians in the Colonies."

In moving the resolution, Mr. G. A. NATESAN [Madras, No. 12 in the list] said:—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I take it that the

cheers which you have accorded to me are a visible indication of the warm, the great, and abiding interest you take in the cause of our oppressed countrymen in South Africa. The Resolution that I have been asked to move runs as follows:—

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Resolution V,
Indians in the
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Resolution V.—Indians in the Colonies.

(a) "This Congress expresses its great admiration of the intense patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice of the Indians in the Transvaal—Mahomedan and Hindu, Zoroastrian and Christian—who, heroically suffering persecution in the interests of their countrymen, are carrying on their peaceful and self-less struggle for elementary civil rights against heavy and overwhelming odds, and urges the Imperial Government to adopt a firm and decisive attitude on the question so as to remove a great source of discontent amongst the people of India."

(b) "This Congress begs earnestly to press upon the Government of India the necessity of prohibiting the recruitment of indentured Indian labour for any portion of the South Africa Union, and of dealing with the authorities there in the same manner as the latter deal with Indian interests, so long as they adhere to the selfish and one-sided policy which they proclaim and practise and persist in their present course of denying to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire."

(c) "This Congress protests against the declaration of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing the self-governing colonies in the British Empire to monopolize vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlement and deems it its duty to point out that the policy of shutting the door in these territories against and denying the rights of full British citizenship to, all Asiatic subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy of the open door in Asia, is fraught with grave mischief to the Empire and is as unwise as it is unrighteous."

Gentlemen, the story of the sufferings of our countrymen in South Africa and of the cause for which they have been struggling for so many years past is one well known to all of you. It is nevertheless a story which may be narrated by a million tongues and on a million occasions. I do not propose, however, on this occasion to detain you with anything like a statement of their trials and troubles. I will only content myself with pointing out that our countrymen in South Africa have been fighting against a law which classes them with destitutes, prostitutes and swindlers. They have been protesting against a legislation which has been meanly and mischievously designed "to brand them with the bar sinister of inferiority," to use a phrase of Lord Morley. They have been refusing from the very beginning to submit to a legislation which marks out Asiatics as inferior races. (*cheers*). Gentlemen, our countrymen in South Africa who are persisting in refusing to obey a lawless law, have every right to do so because any white man from any part of Europe might enter South Africa but our best men—even the highest of our countrymen—cannot enter it except under the most humiliating conditions. You are aware, gentlemen, that the Transvaal Indians have been for years past making numerous peaceful representations to the authorities to remove this unjust and unjustifiable legislation. Their protests, their agitation, their peaceful representation, proved of no avail and in the end they resorted to passive resistance. During these three years, thousands and thousands of Indians have been sent to the Transvaal jails, but I have never known nor heard of any instance in which any one Indian in South Africa was accused of disobeying even a petty police constable. They have refused to obey the law and are suffering in their own persons, the consequences of disobeying the law and thus have given us a magnificent example of self-denial, of suffering in their own persons for the sake of a peaceful and orderly agitation. Sir, it is impossible for me to contemplate, to speak or write upon the South African Indian question without being overwhelmed with indignation. I honestly feel that

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this great Imperial scandal might have been put a stop to if only the Imperial Government had done at an early stage its most elementary duty towards India—the brightest jewel in the British Crown. Because the Imperial Government have from the beginning mismanaged this affair, thousands of our countrymen in the Transvaal are to-day undergoing sorrows and sufferings almost indescribable. The Imperial Government had an opportunity in 1906 to make terms with the Transvaal people to treat us well when it gave them self-government. A year later the House of Commons—rather the British Parliament—gave a loan of five million pounds and they could have come to terms then and told them “Look here, you should treat our British Indian subjects well before we can give you any financial help.” Only last year they gave South Africa self-government by the Union Act. They could have availed themselves of that opportunity at least. They did not choose to do so and they have let our countrymen suffer all these four years. When South Africa was almost seething with rebellion, when the Boers were shooting down Englishmen after Englishmen, our own countrymen, Mr. Gandhi and others, risked their lives, threw themselves into the thick of the battle and did even menial service as stretcher-bearers. To-day loyalty in South Africa has been penalised. (*shame*). A greater scandal than this cannot be conceived. Verily, every Indian might ask in the words of Sir William Hunter :

“Does or does not an Indian carry the rights of British Indian citizenship wherever the British flag flies?”

The argument of the Imperial Government that they are powerless as against a self-governing colony is, in my opinion, a disgraceful and humiliating confession because it means that Great Britain tells us: “If a neighbour—any Frenchman, or German, or Russian were to ill-treat you, we are willing to draw our sword if necessary; but if our South African brother-subjects, who are white men, were to ill-treat you we shall not do anything but we shall try all arts of persuasion.” This confession is most humiliating to the British Empire. It is on this aspect of the question that I feel most strongly. I will point out an instance or two of firmer and juster statesmanship than this. Only two years ago there was in America a recrudescence of racial prejudice. There was a cry echoed by the yellow press that the Japanese should not be allowed there. President Roosevelt made a thundering pronouncement. He said that if they did not behave themselves properly he would do all in his power to see that the scandal was forthwith put an end to. Listen to what President Roosevelt said in his message to the Congress in 1908 :

“Not only must we treat all nations fairly, but we must treat with justice and good will all immigrants who come here under the law. Whether they are Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile, whether they come from England or Germany, Russia, Japan, or Italy, matters nothing. All we have a right to question is a man’s conduct. If he is honest and upright in his dealings with his neighbour and with the State, then he is entitled to respect and good treatment. Especially do we need to remember our duty to the stranger within our gates. It is the sure mark of a low civilisation, a low morality, to abuse or discriminate against or in any way humiliate such a stranger, who has come here lawfully and who is conducting himself properly. To remember this is incumbent on every Government official, whether of the nation or of the several States.....To shut them out from the public schools is a wicked absurdity, when there are no first class colleges in the land, including the universities and colleges of California, which do not gladly welcome Japanese students and on which Japanese students do not reflect credit. We have as much to learn from the Japanese as Japan has to learn from us; and no nation is fit to teach unless it is also willing to learn. Throughout Japan, Americans are well treated, and any failure on the part of Americans at home to treat the Japanese with a like courtesy and consideration is by just so much a confession of inferiority

in our civilisation. It is unthinkable that we should continue a policy under which a given locality may be allowed to commit a crime against a friendly nation, and the United States Government limited not to preventing the commission of the crime, but in the last resort, to defending the people who have committed it against the consequences of their own wrong-doing."

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I will give you a much more recent instance and point out how a great British statesman acquitted himself honorably. I daresay, you remember that only a few months ago there was a great uproar in Vancouver against the landing of Indians there. The inhabitants of Vancouver tried to raise a hue and cry and created a storm of indignation against these people, and Sir Wilfred Laurier, promptly spoke out :

"The men who came here now were of the Hindu race : they were subjects of His Majesty the King. The same economic reasons which militated against the Asiatic labor coming into this country in the first place, applied to them as well. How were they to be treated ? Were they to be driven back ignominiously and told that they had no right to land in this country—a part of the same Empire ? Sir, I did not conceive, for my part, that that was the position to be taken towards men who are members of the same Empire and who are entitled to be treated as British subjects as well as we are. Could it be said that these men were to be turned back and to be treated with contumely, or with contempt—these men who, though they have not the same color of skin as we have, are British subjects, the same as we are and some of them having had the honor of wearing the British uniform and of fighting in the British army."

I leave this most unpleasant subject and pass on to what is after all, in my opinion, a pleasing aspect of this most tragic struggle. It is the character and significance of the great struggle which Mr. Gandhi and his brave comrades in South Africa are carrying on. I cannot easily describe to you nor am I the person competent to describe the significance of the great movement in South Africa. A most thoughtful Indian, writing in the columns of the *Times of India*, very appropriately pointed out that the problem of Indian nationality was being hammered out in South Africa. That observation is full of profound wisdom. There is a wealth of meaning in it which I would ask every one of you to correctly comprehend. The marvellous heroism that the thousands have displayed there and their self-denial are almost beyond praise. Their struggle knows no caste or creed. They are not B. A.'s or M. A.'s of our Universities nor Advocates of our High Courts. They know nothing of the liberalism of Lord Morley, or the radicalism of John Stuart Mill or of the advanced socialism of Lloyd George, and yet these men, brave men, poor men, born of the people, bred up among the people, pursuing their peaceful and humble avocations as barbers, traders, as washermen, as hawkers, have shown a heroism and a fortitude which make the proudest amongst us blush. (*cheers*). What is it that they are fighting for ? I consider that they are there fighting for the honour of India. What is the principle at stake ? You all know very well that to-day the South African Government will give them any number of baits if they will only yield and surrender the principle for which they are fighting tooth and nail to-day. Gentlemen, they are men made of the stuff of true heroes and real patriots and they will on no account sell their birthright for a mess of pottage. I have heard it said by men who have been deported, by men who have realised the full force of the struggle, that if to-day they yield in South Africa this question will, no doubt, come up in some form or other in all the other colonies. We have Indians in Fiji, we have Indians in Australia and in other parts of the world. If to-day our countrymen in South Africa should yield, the consequences will be most disastrous and the name and honour of India will be imperilled. It is for these that they are fighting. I have heard it said by many people, good and kindly

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people, who do not bestow a thought upon this matter “you are engaged in a useless enterprise and you are fighting against tremendous odds.” Against this I enter my most emphatic protest, because it means that these people have begun to despair, that they will not get justice at the hands of the British Government—a doctrine I do not myself hold for one moment as I firmly believe that the heart of the British people is sound, that the most thoughtful English people will do us justice, and because I see also some evidence that after all South African Indians have not been hoping against hope. We now hear talks of compromise and there is some prospect that some good will be achieved. Granting that no compromise will be arrived at, may I ask what right have we to counsel people who are pursuing a great struggle to its bitter end in a heroic manner? It seems to me most cowardly advice to ask them to yield, or to tell them they are struggling in vain. Therefore, I feel that none of us have any business to advise in this matter because there are very few of us competent to do so—to advise people who have shown by their unique conduct that they can give a thousand lessons to us. The other day our venerable President pointed out, very rightly, that one of the mottoes of Sir Wilfred Lawson was “Hope all things but do not expect anything.” I was reminded of this singularly beautiful motto when I was recalling the thought that our countrymen in the Transvaal are fighting against desperate odds. They have not given up their cause in despair. I know that there are among the deportees whom it was my privilege to serve in Madras, men who will stand to their guns and perish rather than budge one inch and yield. But I will ask you to remember this. We talk of the *Gita*. In South Africa they do not know Sanskrit nor can they even read an English translation of the *Bhagavat Gita*, and yet they have realised the true significance of the great teaching of Bhagavan Sri Krishna: “Do thy duty but do not care about the result.”

I feel I cannot close my speech without giving my humble meed of tribute to the heroic men and women who are struggling bravely in South Africa. I should not forget to ask you to give your tribute to Mr. Gandhi, the indomitable, brave and saintly man (*cheers*) who has by his own example, shown us what a true type of patriot he is. I cannot forget my friend Mr. Polak, only twenty-eight years old, himself a Jew, belonging to an oppressed nationality, who has for the last four years, at least for one year to my knowledge, given all his time, trouble and talent to promote the cause of our countrymen. I can not forget also the great, noble and valiant services which Lord Ampthill has been rendering us in the House of Lords. It is the example of that great Englishman that often makes us not to lose heart in the struggle in which we are engaged.

You must have heard that within the last few days there have been proposals of a compromise and cables to that effect have been received here. I will warn you first against putting much faith in this cable. You recollect very well that in the course of this struggle, the year before the last, there was a talk of compromise. General Smuts broke faith and Mr. Gandhi was deceived. I use very strong language but use it advisedly and deliberately and I use it with a solemn sense of my responsibility. A compromise may be arrived at, but, it will be a *compromise* after all. What is a compromise? When you ask for a full loaf of bread they give you half a loaf. It is simply a cable and we know nothing of the terms. It may be that we shall never have anything. But I think I have some idea of this compromise. They will not be given all that they want. And a great deal of the battle remains to be fought and the soldiers have yet to come and the sinews of war have yet to be supplied by us. May I point out what I consider a most shameful piece of conduct on our part? Last year we gave but one lakh of rupees to South Africa. We are three hundred millions, thirty crores. They are only a handful of our countrymen, only fifteen thousand people struggling for the honour

of India with rare heroism. I know one man at least who has himself spent over two lakhs of money, I refer to Mr. Gandhi. (*cheers.*) I know traders and hawkers who have given two hundred pounds. Is it not shameful, a sorry reflection on our patriotism that we should have contributed but one lakh for the whole of India? I make bold to appeal to you. I talk deliberately and talk in the strain in which I do, because I know a compromise may not be arrived at after all. Even if this compromise be arrived at, you must remember there are thousands of desolate homes which are to start life afresh, thousands of traders and hawkers who have again to begin business and any little sum sent to them will enable them to set up life again. It is all very good for us to talk eloquently, but we must show that we feel for our countrymen by subscribing liberally. I cannot forget the almost wild and frantic scene on the occasion of the last Congress when Babu Surendranath Bannerjee made a powerful appeal for funds. The cause is in as bad need of funds as ever. I appeal to you to contribute liberally and make our brethren in South Africa believe that we are sincere and genuine in our endeavours to see their grievances removed.

There is another aspect of the question on which I wish to dwell before resuming my seat. They talk of unrest in India. So many have talked about it and attributed it to various causes. In my opinion, Sir, the cause of this unrest lies in two things. First, there is a feeling prevalent, rightly or wrongly, that British rule in India, at any rate, British statesmen and administrators do not allow Indians to grow to the full height of their manhood and that, in matters in which the interests of the Indians and the interests of the Europeans are at conflict, the Indians suffer. I should be sorry if that idea should get mere widely circulated, and yet I feel that this question of the treatment of Indians in South Africa brings out sharply that aspect of the matter. Mr. Syed Hussain Bilgrami—late of the India Council—himself said that the consequences of the ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa would “prove more dangerous than the unrest.” That is a significant warning. My time is up, but I beg of you to remember that the proceedings of this Congress would be watched with almost unprecedented anxiety by our countrymen in South Africa. The deportees told me that when last year the cable that the Congress had voted nearly a lakh of rupees reached South Africa the authorities in South Africa took a most serious view of the question. I would ask you to make the authorities in South Africa believe that we are earnest and that we take a most serious view of the situation. In struggling for the honour of India, in fighting for her good name and self-respect, Indians in South Africa are at the same time fighting for the honour of England and its fair name. And I know that until this question is satisfactorily solved the struggle is not going to cease. (*cheers.*)

MR. MANILAL M. DOCTOR, [Bombay, No. 139 in the list] in seconding the resolution, said :—

There is a colossal ignorance prevalent in this country regarding the condition of Indians in Mauritius. Men of education and even honourable members of Legislative Councils—I mean some of them—and at least one High Court Judge were under the impression that Mauritius is a colony governed by the French and that therefore the Congress or its leaders may be able to do nothing in the direction of helping the sons or the sons of the sons of Mother India. This ignorance has its counterpart in the gross darkness that exists in the minds of the white and semi-white Franco-Mauritian planters of Mauritius regarding the greatness, the civilisation, and the national dignity of our great country. If, to some of our educated men, Mauritius is a colony governed by the French in which they had practically no concern, to the average French or pseudo-French exploiter of Indian labour in Mauritius, India is nothing but a poor uncivilised country for whose people Mauritius finds work and wages and that without the help of Mauritian planters many Indians may have to starve.

It is useless to refute any theories that may prevail in certain quarters as to whether the Congress and its leaders should at this stage take up the question of the problem of Mauritius or not. As we have noted above there is perhaps an inexcusable lack of knowledge regarding Mauritius or rather the relations of India with Mauritius and that it is, in our humble opinion, high time that our people should be enlightened upon the position and interests of our countrymen in that old key of the Indian Ocean called Mauritius.

In the first place we shall say that the island was uninhabited before its occupation by the Portuguese in the early years of the sixteenth century, who were succeeded by the Dutch in 1644 who abandoned it in 1712. In 1715 the French took possession of this island and called it "L'ilede France." In 1735 Mahe de Labourdonnais (known to the students of the history of India as one of the French generals who contested with the English East India Company the supremacy in Southern India) arrived as Governor-General of Bourbon and L'ilede France (Mauritius).

In July 1810, the British attacked Mauritius with a view to prevent immense damage being done to British trade by the French from this base of piratical operations. After several unsuccessful or half successful efforts, the British landed 10,000 men without opposition in the north of the island and marched on Port Louis. On the 3rd of December, after some not very serious fighting, the local French capitulated on condition that among other things their private property be respected and that the inhabitants should preserve their religion, laws and customs. After the capitulation slavery was abolished and the planters had to implore the British Government to obtain indentured Indian labour for cultivating their estates.

About the year 1868 there was felt the necessity of inquiring into the condition of Indian labourers and a Royal Commission that was appointed for the purpose found that the condition of Indian labourers was very bad indeed and accordingly a new Labour Ordinance was passed about the year 1872.

Some of the Indians who came as labourers have been able by dint of their frugality and hard work to save enough money to buy land and become small Indian planters. The Protector of Immigrants values the land possessed by the Indians at about 18 millions.

Of these small Indian planters the Royal Commissioners who came to Mauritius last year to enquire into the administrative and financial condition of the colony say that the future of the colony must largely depend upon the prosperity and the progress of the small Indian planters. As regards trade, it is noteworthy that many hawkers and carters are Indians, while the so-called Arab merchants, most of whom are merchants from Bombay, form a very important section of the commercial community.

According to the Blue Book the population of Mauritius can be estimated at 379,186 souls of which 260,107 are Indians. Of these over 206,131 profess Hinduism and over 41,208 are Mahomedans.

On page 13 of the Report, the Mauritius Royal Commission of 1909 say that one of the most important causes of the lack of capital is the combination in Mauritius of extremely large families with French law and French ideas concerning succession to property. Among the creoles of French descent, families of 10 to 15 males and females are common and as the French Civil Code, in such cases, required that three-fourths of the property left by the parents should be divided equally among the children, legitimate or otherwise it is almost impossible for any one son to receive enough to enable him to become the sole and unencumbered owner of his father's estate or to find the money to purchase another.

On page 52 of the Report the Royal Commissioners propose to free Hindus and Mussalmans from the incidence of the French law of marriage and succession which tends to hamper the evolution of the sugar manufacturing industry and to produce among the Indian small planters an undue and uneconomic sub-division of their holdings.

The Royal Commissioners do not however propose that the Mahomedan and Hindu laws of succession be recognised and enforced by the Mauritius courts in the case of the estates of deceased Indians because they believe that the real grievance which the Indians feel can be remedied by simple means; their proposal is that the limitations imposed by French law on the power of disposing of property should be done away with under certain conditions.

Another matter on which the Royal Commissioners are satisfied that relief should be granted to the Indian people, is the existing law of marriage. By Mauritian law no marriage entered into in the colony is valid except after a civil ceremony performed by a duly authorised Government officer of the Civil Status Department. A large proportion of the Indians marry according to the rites of their own faith but do not care to incur the trouble and expense of a ceremony—to them meaningless—before the Civil Status officer. As a result while such unions are regarded as perfectly regular by all persons of the same race, their offsprings are subject to all the legal disabilities of illegitimacy.

On page 41 of the Report there is a proposal to give Indian children simple instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic and gardening through the medium of their mother tongue and technical and agricultural training and this, rather than a smattering of English and French, is strongly recommended.

As regards the importance of the small Indian planters we have already noted that the official report goes the length of saying that the future of the colony must largely depend upon the progress and prosperity of these small Indian planters. As regards the constitution of the Government of Mauritius, the Royal Commissioners used the following language:—“No council can legitimately claim to speak authoritatively for Mauritians as a whole which does not contain a substantial proportion of members who represent that hitherto unrepresented community of Asiatic descent, which plays such an important part in the life of the colony and comprises more than two-thirds of its population.”

So far with regards to the desire of the Royal Commission to see justice done to the Indian population of Mauritius. The local Franco-Mauritian planters do not approve of any of the above recommendations and they argue that the Indians of Mauritius or their ancestors came to Mauritius of their own will and must therefore accept the conditions, the law, the custom and the constitution as they exist. In other words, Franco-Mauritian planters claim that as their forefathers had colonised the island historically prior to the Indian settlement, they or theirs should permanently have the upper hand in the social, political and commercial life of the colony. To this the Indians reply, that the above argument is not at all conclusive against the aspirations of British Indian subjects who have bought up a considerable area of land from the white planters, who outnumber the rest of the inhabitants by more than two to one and who play so important a part in the industrial life of the colony.

As regards labour conditions it must be noticed that, according to the Report of the Royal Commission as well as that of the Immigration Committee which sat in London last year, labour in Mauritius is plentiful, cheap and efficient and the supply of it is satisfactory. In view of frequent charges of ill-treatment against the Franco-Mauritian planters who import indentured labourers from India only to cut down the wages of local Indian labourers, it is high time that the Government

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of India should at once cut off the supply of men and women who are recruited in the district of Arrah and elsewhere, by designing touts who practically abduct these unfortunate men and women to the Immigration Depôt in Calcutta where these ignorant people are made to sign away their liberty, castes, scruples and family integrity under conditions that would do no credit even to cattle-breeders.

Mr. RAGHUNANDAN PRASAD, [Basti, No. 482 in the list] in supporting the resolution, said:—

Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—The time is very limited and I think I need not recapitulate the incidents and the iniquities which are caused by the Immigration Restriction Law and the Asiatic Law Amendment Act passed by the Transvaal Government. But, Gentlemen, this I want to tell you, that unless this question of Transvaal Indians is satisfactorily solved by the British Government, the integrity and justice of British Government will go down to posterity sullied and stained. As long as the grievances of the Transvaal Indians are not properly redressed, I can say that the British Government cannot claim those things as the custodian of rights and citizenship. I shall only tell you, gentlemen, that since March 1909, 257 Indians have been deported from the Transvaal and 60 of them have been deported to India because deportation is the order of the day. They always find it very cheap to deport a certain person from one country to another. There is another thing, Gentlemen, the Transvaal Indians memorialised the Transvaal Government and even laid their grievances before the British public, the last tribunal which they can approach but all was in vain; and this powerless attitude of the Imperial Government recalls to you an incident of the reign of Mahmud of Ghazni. An old and infirm woman complained to the Afghan Ruler that her son was murdered by ruffians and his property was looted to which he replied that the scene of occurrence was far distant from his seat of Government and that therefore he could not redress the grievances of the poor woman. The same case, with certain adaptations, may be applied to the case of the Transvaal Indians when the Imperial Government turns round and says that they cannot redress their grievances. But I tell you, Gentlemen, that this was one of the causes of the great Boer War;—the ill-treatment of Indians in the Transvaal was one of the causes of the great war—and if England has conquered the Transvaal in order to relieve the Indians of their troubles, if they have conquered with a sincerity of purpose, I should say that England must go and redress the grievances of Indians even at the cost of a second Boer War. If they will not do that, British integrity and British justice and British citizenship will remain sullied and with these words, I beg to support this resolution.

Mr. DEBI PRASAD [Cawnpore, No. 433 in the list] further supported the resolution in an Urdu speech.

The resolution was then put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

The President then called upon Mr. C. Y. CHINTAMANI [Allahabad, No. 361 in the list] to move the next resolution.

Mr. C. Y. CHINTAMANI, [Allahabad No. 361 in the list] in moving the resolution, said:—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which has been entrusted to my care runs as follows:—

Resolution VI.—The Swadeshi Movement.

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

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Gentlemen, there has been during the last four or five years a great deal of enthusiasm for what is popularly known as the Swadeshi movement. There has also been a great deal of controversy in regard to certain aspects of it and there is a great deal of difference of opinion whether the Swadeshi movement, as it has been understood in some provinces, should be supported or not. So far as this Congress is concerned, I think I am correct in stating that we understand the Swadeshi movement to mean preference for Indian goods and not necessarily exclusion of foreign goods. There may be differences of opinion amongst us in regard to the expediency and the practicability of supporting a movement for the total exclusion of foreign goods, but I am sure I represent your feelings correctly when I say that we are all unanimous in holding that preference should be given to Indian goods wherever practicable (*cheers*) and that we are willing to extend that preference to them even when we have to be satisfied with inferior articles and may have to pay a little more for them than for foreign goods. I think when we place the Swadeshi movement on this non-controversial basis, preference not exclusion, all element of difference is eliminated and we can go forth and work for it with enthusiasm and a determination to succeed. There may possibly be a difference of opinion even when it is put upon this basis among those learned in political economy, whether it is of any advantage to the country to support a movement which has in it an element of protection while a policy of free trade is most advantageous to the country. Now, gentlemen, I am not going to take up your time by making any remarks in regard to the relative merits of the two policies of protection and free trade. Here again, I think I can carry with me the largest amount of assent when I say that even when we accept free trade in the abstract as the policy which is most suited to countries in fiscal matters, there are exceptions recognised by free-trade economists and in the case of India there may be certain industries which are capable of development here but which cannot succeed unless a temporary measure of protection is accorded to them. There is no man living who is a more convinced adherent of the policy of free trade than our late Secretary of State, Lord Morley. Well, Lord Morley speaking on Mr. Chamberlain's proposals for preference, has said this, that he is not amongst those who hold that free trade would suit every industry and every country at all times and under all circumstances. We know very well that it is futile for us to engage ourselves in an agitation for protection for the Industries of this country owing to political conditions. But if we agree to this, that there are certain industries which require a certain amount of protection which they cannot get from the Government for political reasons and if at the same time we, by a determination of the national will, accord that protection to them by patronising those particular indigeneous industries, even at a sacrifice, then those industries can be made to succeed.

Gentlemen, there is absolute necessity in the present economic condition of the country for us, educated people, who may be supposed to understand some of these things, to make up our minds for a certain amount of self-sacrifice to patronise these indigenous industries. Of all sources of national wealth agriculture is the principal one in India. It is the foremost industry of India, but we all know that agriculture in India is carried on, not according to modern methods but according to primitive methods in which there is no doubt a great deal that is good and suitable but which require considerable improvement if Indian agriculture is to succeed and be profitable to the people of India in the same degree as the agricultural industry of the advanced countries of the West is profitable to them. At the same time, owing to the illiteracy and poverty of the people, it will be a long time before agricultural improvements can be introduced, and further it will be a long time before we can succeed in our efforts to induce the Govern-

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them of agricultural indebtedness, to supply them with cheap capital without which no improvements can be effected. Therefore, so far as this particular source of national wealth goes, it will not do for us to rely mainly upon it. Foreign trade is another source of national wealth, but to India it does not bring any such addition of wealth as it does to other countries. As our revered Grand Old Man has pointed out all his life, there is an excess of exports over imports which is a considerable economic drain upon the country. Besides, the exports are all agricultural and raw produce and the imports are manufactured goods, goods manufactured mostly out of this very raw produce, and thus the trade is carried on with a maximum of profit to the foreigner and a maximum of disadvantage to our own people. Manufacturing industries are another great source of national wealth, but as I have just said the exports almost entirely comprise raw produce and there are very few manufacturing industries in Indian hands. In fact the cotton industry of Western India is the one large really Indian industry. Other industries and trades there are, the figures of which go to swell the figures which enable Anglo-Indian publicists to say that the prosperity of the country is increasing; but those industries and those trades are Indian only in a geographical sense of the term—they are not Indian in the sense that they are in Indian hands; the profits go to others, mostly to England. I do not mention this as a reproach against foreigners doing business in India, but only refer to it to point out that we do not derive that advantage which the Anglo-Indian publicists tell us that we do from the growth of foreign trade. These considerations absolutely point to the necessity of Indians devoting themselves to the development of manufacturing industries in their country.

Gentlemen, during the last four or five years our people have interested themselves in matters of industrial development to a much larger extent than they did in previous years. The time has come to review our position, to see how far our efforts have been attended with success, and in the light of the experience of these last four or five years to determine what plan of action we should adopt so that a greater measure of success may attend our efforts in the future. If you will bear with me, gentlemen, for a minute or two I will place before you a few figures relevant to the discussion. The number of joint stock companies formed in India has been more during the last four or five years than in the previous years. It is true that a larger amount of capital has been invested in industries than was the case before 1905. A larger number of banks has been started during these five years than perhaps was started within the previous fifteen years, and a larger addition has been made to the looms and spindles in the cotton mills of Western India—we need not speak of the cotton mills of other parts of the country—than during the previous decade or fifteen years. These facts are no doubt encouraging. But we have also to see the other side of the shield. According to the annual review of the foreign trade of India, within the space of twelve months the imports of foreign boots and shoes have increased by 22·3 % in value. The imports of building materials have increased by 5·5 % in value, of carriages and vehicles by 26·7, particularly due, as the writer of the review says, to the imports of motor cars. Clocks and watches have increased by 8·6 %, earthenware and porcelain by 8·3, glass and glassware by 19·3; musical Instruments increased in value in one year by 118 %, and the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence ascribes this to the larger imports of gramophones, and he adds the increase is particularly in the province of Bengal. Leather and the manufactures of leather increased in value by 17·6 %, matches by 16·8 %, paints and colours and printers' materials by 9·9 %, paper and paste-board by 23·9 %, soaps by 29·2 %, stationery by 9·8 %, toys and requisites for games by 22·4 %, umbrellas by 5·8 %, umbrella fittings by 9·6 %; shawls, for which Northern India was so famous in former days, in one year increased in number from 790,118 to 1,203,372; chemical dyes from Germany

increased by 13%, and, gentlemen, worst of all, cane sugar increased by 65·3 %. (Cries of "Shame.") There has been also an increase from year to year in the imports of biscuits and of liquors.

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Gentlemen, if this is the case after five years of our Swadeshi movement, it is time for us to review the position, to consider whether the methods so far adopted are exactly the most suitable for our purposes, and whether we may not think of other measures to arrest these yearly increasing imports of foreign goods—of articles of necessity as well as of luxury. I think the mistake that has been committed is that greater importance has been given to consumption than to production. I believe, gentlemen, in the whole country there are not many men so wicked as to go in for foreign articles simply for the love of them. If it is made easy for them to procure Indian articles for approximately the same prices and without their having to get them from remote corners of the country and thus to lose much time, then they will assuredly go in for the indigenous instead of the foreign ones. For this purpose, Swadeshi stores are a great want. Well, they were in great evidence before and they were in great favour, and they are even now in existence in many places, but I have seen many of these and they are straggling little stores where you can get almost nothing that you want. There is very little of technical education in this country. In the single city of London there is a greater number of technical institutions than in the whole of India. If you consult the "Directory of Technical Institutions in India" you will find that in all there are less than 200 institutions out of which about 180 impart instruction only in carpentry and one or two other trades, and even these not very well. Government have not responded to the enthusiasm of the people in the matter of establishing technical institutions to the extent that we had a right to expect; and though here and there wealthy people have done something in that direction, they have not done as much as they might have done. At the present moment, as our great countryman the late Mr. Ranade said, "This country has come to be regarded as a plantation of England growing raw produce to be shipped by British agents in British ships to be worked into fabrics by British skill and capital and to be re-exported to India by British merchants to their corresponding British firms in India through their British agents." We are nowhere, and if we want this process of ruralisation of India to be arrested we should bring moral pressure to bear upon the Government to spend much more of the public revenue on technical education and to pioneer new industries. In this connection, gentlemen, I wish to lodge a protest against the policy laid down by Lord Morley that the State ought to do nothing in the matter of pioneering industries. But we should ourselves do a great deal more than we have done in the past to increase the production of indigenous goods and to provide education, general and technical. There is nothing wrong in the Swadeshi movement even from the point of view of political economy, for as the late Lord Acton said, "The doctrine of self-reliance and self-denial is the foundation of political economy." (Loud cheers.)

MR. JITENDRA LAL BANERJI [Calcutta, No. 297 in list] in seconding the resolution said :—

Before going on to my speech on the resolution I should like to refer to one point in the eloquent speech of Mr. Chintamani which provoked laughter at the expense of my province, a laughter which rather wounded, not my personal pride but the pride which I legitimately feel in the good name and honour of Bengal. Mr. Chintamani mentioned the fact that there has been an increase in the import of certain things and that Bengal accounted for them. I have not got figures to contradict him, but if there has been an increase in that respect we should consider also the decrease in other respects. In Bengal the import of textile British goods and foreign shoes has been wiped out from the markets of

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Calcutta. Consider these things. They have to be taken into consideration. Then again I say, this movement would have made more headway, if Bengal had been allowed to follow its own lead. In 1905, we effected much in the direction of Swadeshi, but since that time the question has provoked a certain amount of controversy. Swadeshi has been mixed up with boycott and boycott has been tabooed by the Congress. I suppose the spirit of Swadeshi has therefore suffered a check. But if you will once more lend your sanction to the scheme of boycott, see if Swadeshi will not make any progress. So far about what Mr. Chintanni said.

In spite of my insignificance, I have specially wanted to speak on this resolution on account of the fact that the Swadeshi movement first originated in Bengal and had originated there only so recently as some five years ago. I know that claims will be made in favour of other provinces. I know also it will be said that Swadeshi originated long before the Partition of Bengal. Gentlemen, I do not wish to go into obscure historical precedents. But I still contend that as a speaking, articulate, national movement, as a force and a power the Swadeshi movement originated in Bengal (*hear, hear*) and mark this carefully, it originated there as a protest against the most iniquitous and odious measure that has ever defaced the records of British statesmanship. The Partition of Bengal, intended to undermine the solidarity of our national strength, has thus proved the most potent means of swelling the strength and volume of that national life. Thus, in the marvellous dispensation of God, good still grows out of evil to the rejoicing of the friends of our country and to the eternal confusion of the enemies of the land. I have said that Swadeshi originated as a measure of protest against the Partition of Bengal. In other words, notwithstanding it originated as a political movement, that political character has now been dissociated from it, wisely or unwisely, prudently or imprudently, it is not for me to say. Wiser heads than mine, greyer heads than mine have settled that question. I should not like to revive it now, it would be reviving unpleasant memories but the fact remains that the Swadeshi movement as the result shows itself has lost the hard, dominant, aggressive, masterful note which gave it life and impetus in those early days and which sped it on like some prairie fire roaring and blazing from end to end of the continent of India. That hard, dominant, masterful note has gone out of it, wisely or unwisely it is not for me to say. (*hear, hear*). As the resolution stands before you, Swadeshi has become a very harmless affair and like all harmless affairs it has become an excellent thing fit to receive the benedictions of even the most discreet of our politicians. It asks you to do two things. In the first place it asks you to promote the industries of your country, no one can quarrel with such a virtuous proposition. It has been very well said that India is mainly an agricultural country. My opinion may seem heterodox but I think it ought to be mainly an agricultural country. To be the granary of the world is a fine thing, that India was in the past, and God willing that it again will be in the future. But in the meantime though it is an agricultural country there is no reason why it should not be an industrial and manufacturing country as well. Year by year the population increases slowly, very slowly, much more slowly than it ought to have done, yet it increases year by year. Also the wants of our country are being multiplied. The increase of population, and the increase of wants, require increase of wealth and that increase of wealth you can get if only you stimulate the industries of your country; that is the first thing the resolution requires. In the second place, the resolution asks you to purchase the things of your country wherever possible even at a sacrifice. Gentlemen, I sincerely believe, I fervently hope that you will convert this "wherever" into "everywhere" and that "even at a sacrifice" will disappear and that "everywhere," "at all times," "at all sacrifices," you will use the goods of your country. You must stick to

Swadeshi and hold its glorious banner before you and flaunt it in the face of your enemy and under its broad and benignant shade march on to the far-shining goal of national salvation.

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BABU DWARKA NATH [Muzafferpur No. 612 in list] supported the resolution in an eloquent speech in Urdu.

MR. D. V. KRISHNA RAO [Rajahmandry, No. 69 in list] in further supporting the resolution said :—

Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—It is a great disadvantage to me that I should come after a succession of able and spirited speakers and I, therefore, beseech you to extend to me a few minutes of indulgence. It is melancholy to contemplate upon the industrial superiority of our mother country in the past and the subsequent steady decline of her industries. Time was when the products of India found their way into Europe and Africa and even now the Taj Mahal at Agra is the abiding monument of the industrial superiority of India. But alas! times have changed, and in spite of the fact that India can boast of the most fertile soil, in spite of the fact that India can boast of by far the best of Governments, still we find that all her industries have been crushed and now agriculture is the mainstay of the people. It does not redound to the glory of England, a land of freedom, that the interests of Lancashire and Manchester have been preferred to the interests of India. Gentlemen, now nearly four-fifths of the population of India live on agriculture and even that sole industry, you may say, is carried on old and primitive lines. What has been the result? The result has been that poverty has been stalking through the land. We find now that India has been in the throes of a great and grinding poverty. It is Sir William Hunter that said that forty millions of people in India have been going through life on insufficient food. It is again Sir Charles Elliot that said that half the agricultural population of India do not know what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied, and coming to our own venerable President, he said, some time ago, that the ryots in India possessed nothing, much less than nothing, for they are hopelessly indebted to the money-lenders. That has been the state of our country and now, gentlemen, so long as this is our lot it is not possible for us to rise in the scale of nations. India was once a premier country and, if we are bent upon rebuilding again her economic greatness, we must put our shoulders to the wheel and work hand in hand and bring about the industrial revival. Gentlemen, those ideals of life which, no doubt, are sublime when they are applied to individuals are not so when applied to the corporate life of the nation. Our ascetic ideal, the ideal that advocates the minimum of wants, the ideal that is completely satisfied with what we have, however sublime it may be in the case of individual life, does not conduce to the growth of national life. Therefore, gentlemen, it is necessary that all of us should shake off all these old world ideas and try to build up the economic future of the country. Gentlemen, therefore, I beseech you that all of us should work hand in hand for the purpose of advancing the Swadeshi movement. This Swadeshi has come to stay and it will increase and develop in intensity and strength and all of us will do well to give the strongest possible impetus to this nascent Swadeshi movement so that the economic greatness of India may be once more restored.

MR. SACHINDRA PRASAD BASU, [Calcutta, No. 276 in list] in supporting the resolution said :—

Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I had no mind to inflict a speech upon you at this time of the day. But my friend Mr. Chintamani has referred to the controversial aspect of the question, and though my friend Babu Jitendra Lal Banerji has, I think, successfully met the charge brought against Bengal by Mr. Chintamani, I would like to refer to the three principal objections which are

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generally raised in respect to the Swadeshi movement started all over India. There are many who want us to be honest Swadeshites; there are again some, who say, that if you give preference to Swadeshi goods over imported commodities you bring in the question of exclusion, hatred of the foreigner and so on. Well, as regards this honest Swadeshism I tell you frankly, gentlemen, I do not quite understand what it means. I am a plain man and have attached a very plain meaning to it; it is this; whenever and wherever I get an article of Indian manufacture, I get it to the exclusion of all foreign goods,—and I get it even at a sacrifice (*cheers*). Well, Gentlemen, before the Swadeshi movement, that is before 1905, I used—I speak it to my shame and to the shame of my countrymen—to purchase Dawson's Boots; I used to purchase Birmingham socks, Manchester dhoties, and English suiting cloth; but since 1905,—since the birth of the Swadeshi movement, my shoes come from the Swadeshi leather works in Bengal; my socks come from Bombay or the Basel Mission; my dhotis come from the Mobini Cotton Mills of Bengal; and my suiting cloth comes from the Punjab; and every penny I spend on these items, I spend for my country, and that penny goes straight to the pockets of my countrymen. (*cheers*). Ladies and gentlemen, if to do this is to be an honest Swadeshite, well, every one of us is an honest Swadeshite. But if it is otherwise, I am afraid, Ladies and Gentlemen, all these big men whom I see around me like the Hon. Mr. Gokhale and Babu Surendra Nath Banerji and Pandit Madan Mohun Malaviya, every one of them is not an honest Swadeshite (*cheers*).

Then I come to the question of exclusion which my friend has referred to. Well, if you give preference to Swadeshi articles necessarily you shall have to exclude articles of foreign manufacture (*hear, hear*); because, gentlemen, you cannot support, at the same time, both foreign manufactures and Swadeshi articles.

If you give your support to indigenous articles you must take away your support from articles of foreign manufacture. It is no good denying the fact because it is useless to deny it; for a rose will smell as sweet as ever, call it by any name you please; and I think it is manliness to speak out our minds, and have plain dealings with others. Then comes, gentlemen, the question of hatred of the foreigner. Well, gentlemen, here is our venerable President hoary with his years who is a living and emphatic protest against the calumny which the Anglo-Indian Press have hurled upon our heads. We cannot afford to hate anybody; we cannot hate the foreigners; we can never hate persons like Sir William Wedderburn, Hume, Cotton, and others. On the other hand, they are names respected, loved, worshipped and almost deified in every Indian home. Go to the drawing room of an Indian gentleman and you will find the portraits of these great benefactors of mankind hanging on their walls; and is this hatred of foreigners? (no, no). But, gentlemen, we cannot afford to love men like Mr. Valentine Chirol and others of his inkling. If you hate us, malign us, misrepresent us, tantalise us, and laugh at our aims and aspirations, we cannot afford to love you. It was Jesus Christ who used to turn his left cheek when the right was slapped, but we are not angels. Putting aside these questions, gentlemen, we are living in stirring times. On all sides of us there are indications clear and signs unmistakable, that we are on the eve of a great birth. Mighty influences are abroad, surging and heaving the world as if by earthquake; Europe is progressing, America is progressing, Japan is progressing; Japan—that tiny small island no bigger than a dot on the Map of Asia,—that little industrious Japan, the rising sun of the East is progressing; shall we put an end to our career and go back to the dark days of the past? India must grow, India must rise, India must prosper. There might be differences among us; there might be party spirit among us; there might be petty jealousies among us;—But as the President has well said,—close up your ranks, come and join with us and spread the banner of Swadeshi all over India. (*cheers*). Gentlemen, the glorious dawn of national regeneration you have seen; work hard,

and as Sir William has said, wait patiently, and you will see the glorious sun that will come here in its meridian. Gentlemen, our life is very short-lived on the Congress platform, in fact we cannot out-live the Presidential gong; so with these words I beg to support the resolution.

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Mr. Lokamal Chellaram [Karachi, No. 221 in list] supported the resolution in a speech delivered in *Hindi*.

The resolution was then put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

BABU JOGENDRA NATH MUKERJEE [Dinajpur, No. 311 in the list] in moving the next resolution, said:—

Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in proposing the resolution which has been entrusted to me. The resolution runs thus:—

Resolution VII.—Judicial Reform.

Resolution VI
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“(a) This Congress places on record its sense of regret that notwithstanding the hopes held out by the Government that the Executive and Judicial functions were soon to be separated, no effective steps have been taken in that direction, and concurring with previous Congresses, urges a complete separation of the two functions without further delay.”

“(b) This Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, urges that the Judicial service in all parts of the country should be recruited mainly from the legal profession.”

The subject of the separation of the Judicial and Executive functions has had a rather chequered career during the last quarter of a century during which the Congress has been considering it. During the earlier sessions of the Congress, the Congressmen were busy making out a case in order to offer it for consideration of Government in a presentable shape. I say “presentable” not because the question was one of weak merit, for the official mind itself, ever since the close of the eighteenth century, has been recognising, at times, the importance of the measure which we, in the Congress, have been advocating year after year, but because the continuation of the combination, I may say, of the Judicial and Executive functions in the same person having existed in the country for many years past, it required a persistent effort to dislodge it from the position it had managed to occupy. During the earlier sessions of the Congress the matter under consideration took the shape of independent resolutions on the subject, but for some years it became an inside passenger in the Congress omnibus. However, during the last few years it has emerged out of its undemonstrative though very safe position, safe because you must remember that while the resolutions on the subject were riding in the omnibus, the reins were always in the trusted hands of our Presidents. During these years—the last few years I may say—it has been riding its own charger, if I may use the expression. Some of us may be wondering why the subject has been following this rather irregular course. The reason is that at important junctures it has been found necessary to give the subject a separate treatment. The present question has now entered upon a very important stage. The first important stage of its existence within the last half a century was when the recommendation of the Police Commission of 1863 to the effect that there should be a complete severance of the two functions, Judicial and Executive, came into existence. I suppose the question of prestige stood in the way of Government in giving effect to the recommendation. The next stage into which it entered was when a memorial was submitted in 1889 to the Secretary of State for India over the signatures of eminent and experienced judges and statesmen like Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garth, Sir Charles Sergeant, Sir William Markby, Sir William Scott and Sir Roland Wilson, advocating an early separation of Judicial and Executive functions. We then thought that we were

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within a measurable distance of success, and it was at this juncture again that the Congress thought that the subject should receive a separate treatment in this, our assembly, and it was then decided that to the eminent statesmen and judges who had taken up the cause of separation, cordial thanks of the Congress should be conveyed. After that event it again took an inside seat in the omnibus and travelled on its journey till 1893 in this wise. After that year the circumstances and the political conditions of the country required that the matter should come out of the omnibus again. Ever since then it has been riding its own horse, so to say, and it has been doing so for obvious reasons. Lord Curzon, during his Viceroyalty, put this question down among the twelve that he proposed to consider but he could not make up his mind in the matter and put off his decision until he left the country. The Congress was obliged in these circumstances to give special prominence to this question and urge that a decision ought not to be deferred any longer and went on passing separate resolutions regarding this very important question. The last and most important stage into which this question entered was when, in March 1908, Lord Morley gave sanction to an introduction of the reform. Government then came forward with the proposal to introduce a tentative measure of reform only in two or three districts and that again in Bengal alone. Although the principle of this resolution was officially recognised and some slight administrative changes were proposed, yet things looked as if they had stuck somewhere and had ceased to show all signs of vitality. It is, therefore, extremely necessary that this question should continue to be in evidence outside the Congress omnibus. It is not a moment too soon that we proceed to-day to place on record our sense of regret that, notwithstanding the hopes held out by the Government, no effective steps have been taken in the direction of separating the Judicial and Executive functions. We urge that a complete separation of the two functions should be effected without delay. At the same time we cannot forget that our main object is to procure pure and unadulterated justice, and in doing so we must try and secure the best system that is possible under the situation. Gentlemen, the constitution of our High Courts is a living testimony to the fact that lawyers, trained lawyers, when well selected, make very good Judges, and, therefore, we have no hesitation in recording the resolution to the effect that Government should proceed to put into Judicial service in all parts of the country as many recruits as possible from the legal profession. With these words I beg to place the resolution before you and commend it to your acceptance. (*cheers*).

The HON'BLE BABU BRAJ KISHORE PRASAD [Dhurbanga, No. 624 in list] in seconding the resolution said :—“ It is with much pleasure that I beg to second the resolution which has been so ably moved by Babu Jogendra Nath Mukerjee. Gentlemen, the resolution asks the Government to introduce a much-needed reform in the system of administering justice in this country, seeing the Government has held out many a time hopes but as yet has done nothing ; however I would advise you, gentlemen, not to lose courage but press on, till the day arrives when this reform will be granted to us. Looking at the question from the Government point of view also, I think that this reform should have been introduced long, long before. For, gentlemen, I think you will agree with me when I say that if there is anything in the British Government which has appealed to the masses even, it is the administration of justice, and the Government should do all in its power to maintain unsullied the fair name of British justice in India. Gentlemen, every day instances are occurring almost in every part of the country, especially in the backward tracts which bring discredit upon the Government and which, I think, must put to shame all Englishmen. I cannot do better, gentlemen, than relate a simple incident of my own district and from that you will judge what mischief is being done by a combination of these two functions in the same officer. A certain Mahant owns a

temple and, as is usual with Hindus, bells are rung in it on the occasion of the morning puja almost every day. This very much annoyed a Magistrate and he thought he must put an end to this practice and asked his own orderly to lodge a complaint of public nuisance before him against the Pujari of that temple. He tried the case himself and convicted the accused; he went further and out of the fines imposed on the accused he awarded a portion to the orderly. Now such instances, gentlemen, exasperate the people and have already exasperated the people and sooner this reform is given to us the better it will be for us and for the English people and for the British Government.

With these few words I commend the first part of this resolution to your acceptance. As regards the second part, I think, experience will tell you that Judicial officers, if they are recruited from the legal profession, prove to be most competent, and therefore, it is all the more necessary that Government should give effect to this resolution. With these few words I commend it to you.

MR. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYER, [Madras, No. 30 in list] in supporting the resolution, said :—Mr. President brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—It is superfluous to speak very much upon the proposition which has been moved just now. It ought to be needless to speak anything at all about such a proposition situated, as we are under the sovereignty of the British nation. For, gentlemen, you will notice that in the administration of their laws the British have always been jealous, resentfully jealous of any executive interference. (*hear, hear*). Notice, gentlemen, their jury system is essentially a protest, a living protest against executive interference in any shape. The system of trial by jury under which every trial in England is conducted is a trial of a man by his peers and it is a system calculated at the same time to give the benefit of the legal acumen of the presiding Judge and the judgment of his peers who come uninfluenced by any other considerations than of seeing justice meted out to their fellowman. It would have been unnecessary to have pleaded and agitated for the reform if it were not for that pernicious craving for prestige which is at the bottom of much of the administration of this country. But for the theory of the man on the spot, but for the theory that the Collector ought to be responsible for law and order, that he ought, at the same time, to dispense justice according to his lights, it would have been unnecessary now under the British Crown to plead for a reform of this kind. Gentlemen, it might very well be that in times of unrest, that in countries where law and order have not progressed, where ideas of rebellion are still stirring the minds of the people,—it might well be that—centralisation might be the motto of the rulers, but after fifty years of law-abiding citizenship and after centuries of civilisation it is due to us to say that we do not wish that law and order ought to be maintained by the same person who metes out justice to us. Gentlemen, you will notice that when the Collector of a District tries the case of the offender he is in the position both of prosecutor and of Judge. He is apt to put to himself the question, why should the man be before me unless he be guilty. It is unnecessary for me to dilate upon the essential mischievousness of the theory that the man who is to find out the offender is also to punish him. It is sufficient for me to have said this to commend the first part of the proposition to your acceptance.

As regards the second I need say very little more. It is only in filling up the office of Judge that it seems to be thought that no special training is necessary. Picture to yourself whether any person would be allowed to masquerade as a doctor treating patients without any training whatever, picture to yourself whether any engineer would be given the control of a locomotive unless he had some mechanical training, but somehow the idea seems to be dominant that to administer justice the one *sine qua non* is that nothing need be known of the principles of law. It is sufficient to observe that while in England where the legal system has attained

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perfection, recruitment to the judicial service is always and entirely from the legal profession and the independence of the legal profession is so maintained that even promotions are not allowed in that service, that rarely indeed has even a Lord Justice been made the Lord Chancellor, because it has been thought that when once a man is in a judicial position no hope of favour or rebuff should hamper him in the discharge of judicial duties. It is strange that the Government in consonance with these ideas has not yet thought that one essential for the administration of justice is to recruit the men who ought to administer it from the legal profession and keep them as absolutely independent as possible. With these words I beg to support the resolution.

The resolution was then put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

PANDIT GOKARAN NATH MISRA [Lucknow, No. 377 in list] in moving the resolution on this question, said:—Mr. President, ladies and brother-delegates,—The resolution you have entrusted to me runs as follows:—

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 Executive
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**Resolution VIII.—Executive Councils for the United Provinces of
 Agra and Oudh and the Punjab.**

“This Congress earnestly recommends that speedy action may be taken under the Indian Councils Act to establish Executive Councils in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and in the Punjab.”

Gentlemen, this is a resolution of vital importance to various provinces of India, specially to the United Provinces to which I have the honour to belong. Gentlemen, you are all familiar with the history of the creation of Executive Councils in the various Provinces of this country. I will only put briefly before you the various stages through which this measure has passed from time to time. So far back as 1833 an Act was passed called the “Charter Act” which provided that the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, Fort St. George, Bombay and Agra shall be administered by a Governor and three Councillors. The operation of this Act was suspended for some time, so far as the Province of Agra was concerned and it was provided that the Governor-General in Council should appoint a Lieutenant-Governor for the then North-West Province. This Act, as you will see, contemplated the creation of a Presidency called by the name of Agra; and it was to have the same rights and privileges, so far as the Executive Council was concerned, as the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras. The Act, we regret to say, has remained in suspension all along. The matter was taken up in 1868 and again in 1888 but with no result. The main reason why the operation of the Act was suspended, so far as the North-West Province was concerned, was alleged to be the creation of a bigger charge for the Presidency of Agra. As time has passed on, this objection, as you are well aware, has also lost its force, because more than twenty years ago the Province of Oudh was amalgamated to the North-West Province and two Provinces were put under one Lieutenant-Governor. When Lord Morley entered upon the office of the Secretary of State for India, he at once perceived the necessity of giving Executive Councils to the major provinces of India and a provision for that was made in the well-known clause III of the “Indian Councils Act.” The Act of 1833 provided that there was to be a Governor, selected directly from England, but Lord Morley looking to the claims of the members of the I. C. S., laid down that in the major provinces where there were no Executive Councils, the heads of the administration should be Lieutenant-Governors as hithertofore.

The history of the passage of clause III (clause 3 of Indian Councils Act) through the Parliament is known to us all. The bill containing this clause was passed by the House of Commons but when it reached the House of Lords, opposition came from two quarters. Lord Curzon, true to his instinct, opposed the measure as he always does and has done with regard to every measure dealing liberally with

the claims of Indians. The only reason, according to Lord Curzon, which had induced the people of India to clamour for this reform was that they wanted an Indian on the Executive Councils. This was, it is needless for me to say, a very legitimate desire on our part and the success of the British Administration depends to a very large extent upon including the Indians in the Government of their country. That the objection was an absurd one appears on the very face of it. The other quarter whence the opposition came was that of Lord Macdonnell. We never expected that a man of such broad views and of large sympathies should oppose the creation of an Executive Council in the Provinces over which he had the honour to rule with great credit and distinction. As fate would have it, Lord Macdonnell opposed the measure on the ground that the Provinces were not yet ripe for the change. That this position cannot be accepted, I will presently show. The measure was supported by Lord Minto's Government as well. Hindus and Muslims alike had joined hands in advocating the reform and in opposing the omission of the clause from the bill. It will be within your recollection that a meeting was held in Bengal presided over by no less a reactionary than the Nawab Salimullah Khan of Dacca. United protests went forth from all the people of this country on the proposed exclusion of the clause.

As is always the case, no regard was paid to our protests, and the clause was omitted in the teeth of the opposition of the people of this country. No greater injustice, I may say, has yet been done to the people of this country and specially to the people of these Provinces. A wrong has been done which must be remedied. If owing to no other reason, at least for the cause of the good administration in this country, I would ask you all to protest against this unfair treatment of the major provinces and specially of the United Provinces. I had promised you to discuss the various reasons which demand the creation of an Executive Council in these Provinces. The following are the salient grounds upon which I would like to dwell:—

The *first* objection regarding the charge of the head of these Provinces, as I have already pointed out to you, no longer exists. If Bombay with a population of 19 millions and Madras with that of 38 millions and Bengal with that of 51, have been given an Executive Council, there is no reason why these Provinces with a population of 48 millions should not be given a Council. You all know that before the Partition, in Bengal there were 47 Districts. In these Provinces we have 48 districts. Gentlemen, I ask whether this is not a sufficient charge. We have got a Legislative Council, quite as big as that of Bengal, a University and a High Court of our own. We contribute a larger share to the Imperial Revenue than any other Province. It is, therefore, preposterous to say that these Provinces do not constitute a sufficient charge or are not yet ripe for an Executive Council. If the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras are ahead of us in certain matters as Education, etc., it is due, I must say, to the good system of government prevailing therein and if for no other reason at least for this one, we are entitled to an Executive Council.

The next ground on which we claim the creation of an Executive Council in these Provinces is that of efficiency of administration; and on this point, I have got the opinion of no less a body than that of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation on our side. Mr. Hobhouse, the President of the Commission, said while discussing the India Councils Bill in the House of Commons that the Commission went very carefully and fully into the subject and with no previous bias. The Members of the Commission, he said, visited in the course of their journeys throughout India every single capital and every Government in India, and saw for themselves the official work of every Lieutenant-Governor and Governor in this great Continent. He asserted that it was impossible to avoid the conclusion that these men were overworked and over-weighted with the volume of official correspondence and the responsibility thrown upon them. The Lieutenant-Governor had to transact a

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volume of business in his province. He was responsible for famine, for irrigation, for the political relations maintained with other provinces and Native States for the whole judiciary of his Province, for the Police Force, for the conduct of Agriculture, for the whole system of Education, for the whole system of Commercial Industry, for medical relief and the hospital system of the Province and for the Municipal and the rural Government of the Province. The unanimous report of the Royal Commission said that "with a development of the administration in all its branches, the growth of important industrial interest, the spread of political and educational aspirations and the growing tendency of the public to criticise the administration and to appeal to the highest Executive tribunals, the Lieutenant-Governors of the larger provinces were clearly overburdened." Gentlemen, this should at once convince the opponents of the reform that the creation of the Executive Councils in these Provinces is necessary in the interest of the efficiency of the administration itself. I quote another high authority in support of my proposition. Sir George Chesney, the author of "Indian Polity," with regard to it says "that the amount of business to be transacted here is beyond the capacity of a single administrator to deal with properly, while the Province has arrived at a condition when the vigour and impulse to progress which the rule of one man can impart may be fitly replaced by the greater continuity of policy which would be secured under the administration of a Governor aided by a Council. He also says that so far from the head of the administration losing by the change, not to mention the relief from pressure of work now imposed upon a single man and that a great deal of business which has now to be disposed of in his name by irresponsible Secretaries would then fall to be dealt with by Members of the Government with recognised authority. It would be of great advantage to the Governor if all appointments and promotions in the public service of this Province, a much larger body than that in Madras and Bombay, were made in consultation with and on the joint responsibility of colleagues instead of at his sole pleasure." If this was true of these Provinces then when Sir George Chesney wrote his book, much more true it is now.

I now pass on to another ground on which I advocate the creation of an Executive Council in these provinces and it is the ground of the continuity of policy. You have seen that Sir George Chesney, whom I have quoted above, expressly makes it a ground for his advocating the change. The reality is that the policy of the Government at least in my provinces changes with the advent of every successive Lieutenant-Governor. I will now give you an instance so far as my Provinces are concerned. During the administration of Sir Auckland Colvin, it was for the first time perceived that direct appointments to the Provincial Executive service of these provinces should be made to some extent from among the graduates. The appointments were, however, made on no system. When Sir Charles Crosthwaite came to these provinces he made a rule that at least two graduates should be appointed every year to the executive service and with this view he gave the various Colleges in these provinces, a right to send up nominations in turns. This was in 1894. When Sir Antony Macdonnell assumed the reins, he, in a true liberal spirit, introduced a competitive examination for the direct recruitment into the provincial service. This was in 1898. The system worked most satisfactorily for a period of 5 years. In 1903 during Sir James La Touche's regime the competitive examination was abolished and a new system of recruitment from amongst the body of Taluquaders and large landed proprietors was introduced. A goby was given to the whole educated middle class community of these provinces. An impression was created in the minds of the people that the doors of the executive service had been finally shut against them. For six years together appointments were made from amongst the large landed proprietors alone with no definite rules

to guide them in making the appointments. They were made at the sweet will and pleasure of the Government. The whole system of recruitment was unjust to the entire educated community of these provinces. It is only last year in 1909 when Sir John Hewett, our present Lieutenant-Governor, saw the injustice of the system and threw open two posts every year to the distinguished graduates of the Allahabad University. The system of nomination pure and simple still prevails. No justice will be done until the old system of competitive examination is introduced. You will thus see, gentlemen, from what I have stated above, that during a period of 15 years rules have been changed no less than four times. Is this what you could call the continuity of policy ?

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Gentlemen, you will thus see that the establishment of an Executive Council in these provinces would tend to an efficient administration and to a continuity of policy. The administration would be efficient and more liberal than what it is now. The judgment of the Governor would be ? and strengthened by two or more competent advisers with an official and responsible share in his deliberations. The powers could not be expediently entrusted to one man however able or zealous. There is also this advantage that if you get Executive Council you will very likely get an Indian Member on the Council. This would at once be a distinct gain to the cause of good administration in this country. It will afford an effectual safeguard against serious administrative blunders being committed particularly in these times when the Government has to make itself acquainted with the non-official opinion on every subject of importance that comes before it.

In conclusion, gentlemen, I must ask you to point out to those in authority that this is not merely a sentimental grievance which you are asking them to remove but that the interest of the Government and of the people both require the introduction of this reform, and I am sure if you will earnestly and persistently continue agitating, the reform is bound to come to you sooner or later.

With these words, gentlemen, I commend this resolution to your kind acceptance.

MR. P. L. RAJPAL, [Amritsar, No. 571 in list] in seconding said :—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—There are three reasons for which every Indian desires an Executive Council. The first and foremost reason is that the good Government of Provinces, equal in size and population to the countries of Europe, should not rest in the hands of a single man who may prove an autocrat like Lord Curzon or a noble and benevolent ruler like Lord Ripon. The Government of a province hangs round the neck of a Governor or a Lieutenant-Governor like a heavy load which consists of many millstones named Law, Order, Revenue, Irrigation, Public Works, Medical Relief, Famine, Education, Commercial Industries, Native States, besides other minor names.

One single head bothered with so many cares and anxieties could not discharge his duties efficiently. Then why not give him Councillors who will share his drudgery and leave him a little free to supervise the several departments.

Now that he is practically in charge of all the departments, he cannot *supervise* but work them himself. A man cannot see a beam in his own eyes ; so he cannot be conscious of his own mistakes till it is too late to remedy the same. When the head of a province is given his Councillors with their portfolios, he can then act as a true *Governor* of the entire complex machinery.

The second reason is that unless we have an Executive Council, we do not have "continuity of policy" which changes with every Governor or a Lieutenant-Governor. Every one dreads sudden change and no one more than the components of a subject race. When the head of a Province or of the country is changed, we are very anxious what the new-comer will prove himself to be. If there were a Council

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to guide him and warn him against the mistakes of his predecessors, this anxiety should not be there to worry us and the Sovereign too would be in a better position to rely on the deputies he appoints. Now there are no safe guards and the deputy new to an Indian province and the various communities that inhabit it and their prejudices, makes mistakes that shake the very earth we stand on like the Partition of Bengal. I personally believe if we had Councils in every Province the chances of several communities being at war just now would have been considerably minimised.

The third reason is that Indians will be in touch with the Government and will share the responsibilities of the good or bad administration of their own provinces. This will safeguard the interests of a foreign Government on the one hand and give opportunities to the subject races to appreciate the difficulties of governing a vast province on the other. We of the Congress do demand this to make the British Government in India prove more beneficial to the country and her subjects.

When the Government of India, the Secretary of State and the Decentralisation Commission each and all admit the above reasons and give Councils to the Presidency Provinces and intended to give the same to other Provinces, I wonder how the same has not come to pass. Has the printers' devil dropped the line? (*laughter and cheers*), or are we to be taught the sweet uses of agitation by compelling us to make our grievances audible. (*cheers*). I do not despair that our grievances, just as they are, will not be attended to. They will be attended to and very soon. I believe the time of ignoring the claims of others for long has passed and I pray His Majesty the King-Emperor may inaugurate a new era by ordaining that we Indians should be treated like other subjects of the Crown. If small British Colonies like Singapore and Hongkong have the privilege of Executive Councils, why not provinces which are as big as European countries which have Parliaments and their Representative Assemblies. (*hear hear*).

Is not the Punjab sufficiently advanced? It is a big province consisting of 27 districts as big as the States forming the United States of America. It yields large revenues. We have a big University and an overworked Chief Court that cries for its status being raised to that of a High Court. Our Lieutenant-Governor who should be a Governor *but for settled facts that*, by the way, are very numerous, has to deal with many Native States which rank amongst the largest in the country. What more do you find wanting in us to entitle us to an Executive Council? You may say we require "Councillors" who have other qualifications besides the vast lands they own and who do not denounce their intellectual superiors and do not flaunt their blue blood only, who know how to address a "Council" that controls the destinies of the vast Indian Empire in a sober tone and do not *ply free lances* and who know fully well the springs of forces that run on the surface.

I assure you that we have our "Councillors" who will prove the best of guides, if their selection could be thrown open by removing the hedges that bar the same. Give us an elected element and a goodly number of Councillors to elect, to enable us to appoint our representatives from every class and we shall let you know how many and able Councillors we can return. Landed interests are not the only interests in our Province. We have many interests which are unrepresented just now and for which we, the Punjabis, had a separate resolution last year and would pray you to pass this year too.

With the above remarks, I beg to second the resolution, and I commend it to your favourable consideration.

The resolution was put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

At this stage the Congress adjourned till 11 A.M. to-morrow.

THIRD DAY.

Wednesday, the 28th December, 1910.

Third day.

Resolution IX
Local Self-
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The Congress re-assembled at 11-30 A.M. Sir William Wedderburn on taking his seat said :—

Gentlemen, I am sorry that I detained you so long. We were having some important discussion in order to simplify the proceedings. I will now call on Dr. H. S. Gour of Raipur to move the first resolution on the day's agenda.

DOCTOR H. S. GOUR [Raipur, No. 584 in list]:—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen: The resolution I am called upon to propose is in your hands but I shall read it to you for the purpose which you shall see presently. The resolution runs thus :—

Resolution IX.—Local Self-Government.

“This Congress expresses its satisfaction that the Secretary of State has recognised that the Local Self-Government scheme of 1882 has not had a fair trial and has pressed on the Government of India the necessity of an effectual advance in the direction of making local, urban, and rural bodies really self-governing, and it expresses the earnest hope that the Government will be pleased to take early steps to make all local bodies from village Panchayets upwards, elective with elected non-official chairmen and to support them with adequate financial aid.”

This resolution naturally divides itself into two parts. As you will observe, the first portion of the resolution merely records our satisfaction at the disapproval officially expressed by the official exponent of the policy of the Government of this country, by the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India in Council. That expression of view is in favour of the popular view which we have been expressing from time to time in the public print and on the public platforms for the last eight and twenty years. (*hear, hear*). When the scheme of 1882 was inaugurated by Lord Ripon it was then felt that we had at last turned the corner in favour of Local Self-Government and that the people of this country were to be entrusted with effective and effectual power for administering local affairs out of funds which they raise and which are known as the local cesses. The Local Self-Government Act of 1882 conferred large and plenary powers upon local bodies in matters of sanitation, communication such as roads and water-ways, hospitals, education, markets and all other matters of local concern and local importance. Local bodies were vested with absolute powers for the disposal of funds and for the administration of their local needs and necessities.

No scheme could have been launched under more favourable auspices. It was blessed by the Government, it was encouraged by the people, and the local officials for the time being were entirely in favour of giving what we know as local option to local officials, but as soon as the memorable Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon came to a close there was a swing of the pendulum in a re-actionary direction. Local officials who had till then been looking askance at the scheme were afraid to state their views in view of the expressed opinions of the paramount Government and began to scheme a plan for defeating the purpose for which this scheme had been so nobly launched and inaugurated by Lord Ripon, and, as it often happens, failing to obtain a direct control over the administration of the local affairs, it became a rule to appoint official chairmen to local bodies known as District Boards and Taluk Boards and the result was that the Collector of the district and the Sub-divisional

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officer, sometimes known as the Tahsildar, became the embodiment of the local bodies represented by the Local boards and the District Councils. All the local cesses, the rates and taxes that were levied from the people and out of lands, began to be disbursed at their sole discretion and under their sole guidance. This state of affairs continued and matters began to drift from bad to worse till about 6 or 7 years ago when Parliament appointed what is known as the Decentralisation Commission. That Commission was composed of eminent Liberal statesmen and was supported by equally liberal-minded members of the Committee. The Commission toured through the country and recorded their emphatic opinion that the Local Self-Government Scheme of 1882 had not had a fair trial and that the people were not responsible for its failure, and the result has been that the Secretary of State after twenty-eight years, has given once more specific directions for the purpose of achieving the object of its originators as enunciated in the preamble and in the statement of objects and reasons appended to the Act of 1882. It is therefore, I say, a matter of great satisfaction that popular opinion has triumphed though the scheme has been on trial for eight and twenty years. At the same time it shows one great fact and that fact, which permeates the Government of this country, is that though we have grievances, grievances of such an immense character, it takes years and years—more than a quarter of a century—before the Government could recognise its importance and its force. For that purpose the second part of the resolution becomes necessary, because whatever time we may have lost in the past, we should be careful that the public mind in the future is so educated that never again shall we lose the ground we have lost in the past, and for that purpose we desire that the people of this country should be given an effectual voice in the administration of local affairs and for the purpose of managing the distribution of funds which they themselves have raised. Therefore, I say that the second part of the resolution expresses an earnest hope that Government will be pleased to take early steps to make all local bodies from village panchayats upwards elective. Now some of you would perhaps ask, are not these local bodies elective? Are not all Rao Bahadurs members of these local bodies? Are not the Chairmen benevolent despots who have the interests of the people at their hearts? Are not the Sub-divisional officers, trained and experienced officers whom we could get, on the spot? That may be, but the desire of the promoters of the Local Self-Government scheme of 1882 was not that the people of the country should be little marionets who should work and move under the leading strings of the men from behind. The object of that scheme was to give an effective teaching, and for the purpose of teaching the people the real art of self-government. Now we say that unless you trust those bodies with elected chairmen and elected secretaries it is absolutely impossible for them to be independent of the official control which, we say, however benevolent, is not for the good of the people for whom these institutions were created with a view to their being educated in the art of self-government. We, therefore, say that the Government should now make it a rule that all secretaries and chairmen of the District Municipalities and the Local Boards should be non-officials and that these officers should invariably be elected and not nominated or appointed by Government. The present rule is that about one-third of the members of these local bodies are elected in a more or less formal manner and two-thirds of them are either nominated or appointed by Government. The chairmen in most of the provinces of this country are, I believe, nominated by Government, and where they are not nominated, they are elected by those mixed electorates in which the official majority is predominant. But the fact still remains that if the people desire a member of the local body to be their chairman, unless he meets with the approval of the district officer, the chances are that he has no likelihood of getting elected, and if perchance he is put into the position, the officials on the spot take very good care that the position is made as uncomfortable for him as possible. The result is that there is a collision between the officials and the

non-official chairmen. Now we wish to obviate all this. The plan that we propose laying before Government is a very simple one. Local Self-Government is now in its tutelage and we desire that the Member for Education in the Viceroy's Executive Council, recently appointed, should be put in direct and immediate charge of all these local bodies. The result would be that he—a high officer of Government—solely responsible to the Government of India—would take a deep and abiding interest in the promotion of these local institutions. We also desire that the official chairmen and secretaries of these local bodies should, as far as possible, be in direct touch with the Minister for Education. I, therefore, submit that this resolution which first expresses its satisfaction and secondly expresses a hope of future reforms will be carried by you with acclamation. (*cheers*).

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Resolution I
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THE HONOURABLE MR. G. RAGHAVA RAO of Berhampore [Ganjam, No. 32 in list] said:—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in seconding the proposition which has been so ably moved by my predecessor. The proposition says that the Local Self-Government scheme in this country has not had a fair trial. Lord Morley has even gone further in his despatch and indicated that whatever control of the executive Government is necessary should be exercised not from within but from outside; and he has also suggested that there should be an establishment like the Board of Control in England to exercise some authority from outside, over the various local bodies. He further suggested that the Decentralisation Commission might give details as to the establishment of this body. But unfortunately the Decentralisation Commission seems to have ignored this suggestion of Lord Morley and failed to make any recommendation as to the establishment of such a Board. On the other hand, though in the matter of municipalities and village unions the Commission has recommended the enlargement of the elective franchise, yet in the matter of District Boards and Taluk Boards it suggested that the president ought to be either the divisional officer or the sub-divisional officer. This is a retrograde step and the reason given by the Decentralisation Commission for this is not at all intelligible. It says that to deprive the District Collector of this post of presidentship is to dissociate him from all benevolent parts of administration such as sanitation, roads, hospitals, water and drainage systems and so on, and to make him a mere tax gatherer and repressor of crimes. This is only looking at the question from the point of view of the Collector and not from the point of view of the people. What we want is that the Government should recognise that this Local self-government is intended as a ground for training people in political administration and the real object of the Government should be that the people should look after their local affairs themselves. The Decentralisation Commission has not unfortunately dealt with this question in this aspect so far as the presidents of the District Boards and Local boards are concerned. This is a matter which ought to be brought to the notice of the Government and attempts should be made for the establishment of a Board which would control these district bodies from outside without having any inside control. Education has advanced rapidly and we can now count educated men in all provinces not by mere hundreds, but thousands and tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands in some of the provinces. Such being the case, it need not be feared that the elective principle will be abused. With these words I second the proposition.

THE HON'BLE MR. M. RAMACHANDRA RAO of Ellore [Madras, No. 80 in list] in supporting the resolution, said:—Mr. President, ladies, brother-delegates and gentlemen,—the resolution which has been proposed by Dr. Gaur deals with two aspects of the question. One is the desirability of enlarging the scope of election and the second point which has not been dealt with by the mover and the seconder deals with the financial aspect of the local bodies which are now managed by the people. We further go on to express satisfaction of this Congress that the Secretary

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of State has now made a great discovery and that is that we had not been given a fair trial in the management of these institutions. It has taken 28 years for the Secretary of State to discover that these bodies have not been properly constituted, that they have not been properly financed. It has taken the labours of a Royal Commission—the Decentralisation Commission—which has visited every province and which has recorded the evidence of several witnesses before this conclusion has been arrived at. All this is due because the official view is that we are incapable of managing the affairs of Municipalities and Local Boards which have been entrusted to us under the scheme of Lord Ripon in 1882. I should like to lay special stress upon the last six or seven words of this resolution and that is that these bodies should be supported with adequate financial aid. Gentlemen, Dr. Gaur has given you a graphic description of the way in which these bodies are constituted and it is extremely desirable that the scope of election should be enlarged both with reference to Municipalities, with reference to Taluk Boards, with reference to District Boards and possibly with reference to Village Panchayats. Whatever be the scope of election, none of these bodies can be a success unless and until they are properly financed. You know that so far as Municipalities in the United Provinces and the Punjab are concerned, the chief source of taxation is octroi and in Madras and Bengal the chief source of taxation is the tax on lands and houses. Of course there are supplementary taxes which go to swell local and municipal revenue. But with reference to the numerous duties which have been laid upon Local Boards and Municipalities the funds at their disposal have been very inadequate and they are unable to discharge their functions satisfactorily. Government itself have discovered this and so far as Madras is concerned with reference to Local Boards, there has been since 1905 a subvention in the shape of a grant of 25 per cent. of the cess on land. So far as Municipalities are concerned, there has been nothing. But I may say that during the course of ten years from 1895 to 1905 the Government of India have been pleased to grant a total sum of Rs. 1,58,00,000 for all the 762 Municipalities and about 200 and odd Local Boards in India and that notwithstanding that, all the time Military charges have been going up from 16 to 32 crores of rupees annually. This is the state of things in which we find ourselves with reference to the finance of these bodies. Whatever may be the scope and usefulness of these bodies and whatever may be the method of election adopted, unless these are properly financed, it is impossible to run these institutions satisfactorily. What is the remedy that suggests itself. We have to look back to similar institutions in England where a different system of finance prevails. In addition to the local sources of taxation, we have there certain taxes which are allocated to local bodies and which the Statute has ear-marked them to these bodies once for all and unless such a system is introduced into this country I should think it is absolutely hopeless to run these bodies in a satisfactory way (*hear, hear*). Of course, there, these bodies have been placed beyond the control of the executive because under the Local Government Act of 1888 the probate duties and a portion of what are known as local taxation license are set apart for these bodies and a special duty of three pence in the pound on beer has also been raised for the purpose of financing local institutions in England and unless such a system is introduced, it is impossible to run these institutions satisfactorily in this country. (*cheers*).

MUNSHI SANKATA PRASAD [Benares, No. 460 in list] further supported the resolution in a Hindi speech, after which the resolution was put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

The President then called upon BABU AMBICA CHARAN MAZUMDAR [Faridpur, No. 323 in list] to move the next resolution. In doing so Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar said :—Brother-delegates, the proposition which I have now to submit for your acceptance runs as follows :—

Resolution X.—The Partition of Bengal.

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- (a) "This Congress earnestly appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India not to treat the question of Partition of Bengal as incapable of reconsideration, but to take the earliest opportunity so to modify the said Partition as to keep the entire Bengali-speaking community under one and the same administration."
- (b) "This Congress humbly submits that the rectification of this admitted error will be an act of far-sighted statesmanship. It will restore contentment to the province of Bengal, give satisfaction to other provinces and enhance the prestige of His Majesty's Government throughout the country."

Gentlemen,—Although not a few of our complaints urged from year to year since the birth of this Congress have practically assumed the shape and form of chronic afflictions, the wound caused by the Partition of Bengal is yet too deep and rankling to pass out of its acute stage while the salt that is being continually rubbed on its broken edges certainly leaves no scope of its granulation. No doubt an incorporated "friend" of ours has with imperialistic hauteur and confidence declared the partition to be a dead issue. But he evidently forgets that even if the issue be dead the question is still as living as it was when it was first mooted over five years ago by the most obstinate, unsympathetic and reactionary Viceroy ever sent out to this country. Sir, the decision of an issue, as we eastern people understand it, implies two parties and a trial between them. But the partition of Bengal was discussed *in camera* and was decided entirely *ex-parte* and without an enquiry. Can such an issue be said to be dead or even fairly disposed of? "Dead issue" is a vile phrase, and an Anglo-Indian journalist who has practically abdicated the high function of the fourth estate may afford to ridicule and talk lightly about such a vital grievance of the people. He jests at scars that never felt a wound. The partition—a dead issue! On the contrary, it is not very difficult to foresee that if the partition stands on its present basis, the Bengalis are doomed to be at no distant date among the dead nations of the world. But, Sir, dead or alive, our friends and foes may take notice that the issue is going to be neither burnt nor buried. It is embalmed in our bitter memory of the past, and will be handed down from father to son as the emblem of our struggle for national existence, with the flaming torch of opposition, burning before it the incense of bleeding hearts until Lord Morley's "settled fact" itself is consigned to its merited grave. Gentlemen, smart phrases may be quite effective in club house debates and stage house rehearsals, but Government by smart phrases is as impolitic as it is sometimes fraught with the gravest blunder and injustice. Yet it is some of these jingling phrases more than any sound or settled principle that have come largely to determine the latter-day policy of the Indian administration. "Microscopic minority," "sentimental grievances," "settled fact," and "dead issue," are fine phrases indeed, to captivate the imagination and hoodwink the judgment. But what multitude of blunders, exploded theories, and uninvestigated wrongs do they cover! They may be the cants of political jugglery, but they are not the expressions of sound statesmanship.

If smart expressions could dispose of vital grievances why, the malaria, the plague, and the pestilence which are engaging from year to year so much anxious attention of Government could be quite as easily and conveniently stamped out by pronouncing them through the columns of some of our inspired Anglo-Indian journals, to be not only dead, but hopelessly rotten issues. Then the subtlety of some of these expressions is not without its humour. Take the case of the microscopic minority and its corresponding telescopic majority. As applied to one province the minority comes on for a very careful and sympathetic consideration. But in the case of

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another the minority quietly goes to the wall and the majority of course determines the question. It is the old story, gentlemen, "head I win, tail you lose." Gentlemen, Lord Morley has so far shut out all discussion about the partition by euphemistically declaring it to be a settled fact, but has His Lordship's declaration settled the question, or removed the grievances or improved the situation? It is Lord Morley himself who has somewhere bitterly complained of the "tyranny of settled fact," though of course, his Lordship is perfectly free to maintain that as between principle and practice there need not be much of consistency in practical politics. But, gentlemen, can there be any settled fact in politics or for the matter of that in any human affair? Free trade was damned by Lord Beaconsfield when he was in power; but free trade has survived his lordship's denunciation long enough, and now Protection in the disguise of Tariff reform is again looming large in the British political horizon. The House of Lords to which Lord Morley has been recently translated and for whose burial His Lordship has taken such a firm stand in the front rank of grave-diggers, is as old as the British Constitution; but is not that hoary house to-day shaking to its very foundation and have not the hereditary legislators been now driven to their death-bed repentance? Settled fact is a meaningless jingle. It has no reason or argument behind it and can carry no conviction with it.

Gentlemen, there are those who either blinded by self-interest or being unable to grasp the situation would conveniently dispose of the question of partition as being based upon merely sentimental considerations, as if when that is said, all is said in justification of a measure which is admittedly responsible for all the unrest which has thrown a peaceful country into a boiling cauldron. But is the disintegration of a nation united by common ties of blood, religion, customs and manners and so long enjoying the same political status, rights and privileges a sentimental grievance? Is there no tangible grievance in the creation of two unequal planes of political existence for two sections of the same people involving a wide divergence in their administrative methods, education and political development? And then is the stirring up of bad blood between different communities, letting loose all the forces of disorder and unrest in the country and producing a most deplorable tension between the rulers and the ruled, necessitating the forging of half a dozen repressive measures within eighteen months practically abrogating the freedom of public meetings and of free press—are all these no more than sentimental grievances? One must be devoid of sentiments if not of reason to characterize these as sentimental grievances. And last of all what about the all-absorbing question of pound, shilling and pence? Is that too a sentimental question? I devoutly wish it were, as in that case we would be free to adopt the Joga system under which both the people and the Government would have nothing of the present strife and struggle, but simply contemplate the beauties of creation and enjoy the beatific vision of political "Nirvana."

Gentlemen, Sir Lancelot Hare has no doubt pathetically urged that a paternal Government should not attire some of its children in silk and satin while allow others to go in rags and tatters. Quite true, but is there any justice or generosity in robbing Peter to pay Paul and is it fair to appropriate the earnings of other children for providing silk and satin to the "Empire's fattest prodigal son?" And then are not too many children in an already embarrassed family sometimes a curse instead of a blessing? Gentlemen, the financial embarrassment has revealed the utter hollowness of the Partition Scheme and how long can you afford to play the game of blind man's buff in this sorry business?

Gentlemen, the widespread unrest, admittedly created by the Partition of Bengal, affords the strongest condemnation of this unpopular measure. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in his book "The Awakening of India"—Sir, I presume the book

has not yet been proscribed and I am free to quote from it—Mr. Ramsay Macdonald said—“As for Bengal the root of all mischief lies in the partition. It was not only a blunder but an indictable offence. It was accompanied by a series of administrative and judicial acts which definitely ranged the Government against the Hindu and taught him that our administration declined to do justice to him?” Gentlemen, it is to be deeply regretted that a short-sighted, unpatriotic deputation of a particular community improvised for the occasion, taking advantage of the situation made an adroit, but a suicidal movement and like the famous Chinese Amban in the court of the mysterious Dalai Lama, concluded a favoured treaty for the Indian celestials and now the supposed or real opposition of these celestials is urged as a difficulty in the way of any modification of the partition. Gentlemen, this is adding serious insult to injury. For, who engineered this opposition? Were not the Hindus and Mahomedans equally opposed to the partition at the beginning, and are not the better minds of the Mahomedan community even now equally opposed to it? (*cheers*). Besides, where is the difficulty of meeting the just demands and the legitimate interests of the Mahomedans even without the partition? Was Mahomedan interest a “dead issue” until 1905? We are not in the least opposed to Mahomedan interests; but we are Indians first, and Hindus and Mahomedans afterwards. We are, therefore, curious to know how a United Bengal presented such an insuperable difficulty in the way of developing a gushing love for the Mahomedan community. Gentlemen, people are not wanting, both among Hindus and Mahomedans, who honestly believe that the real difficulty for a modification of the partition does not lie with the Mahomedans but in some other quarter and in the vested interests of the heaven-born services (*hear, hear*).

Gentlemen, we have been roundly charged with sedition. We stoutly deny the charge. But supposing there has been an appearance of real sedition in the country, may we not ask what this sudden and monstrous development is due to? Sedition is not like mushroom that can grow spontaneously in a night, it must be sown and cultivated. When there is a rupture between a settled Government and its people, the presumption is generally against the former and in the present case the presumption is all the more violent, because the rupture has taken place suddenly after 150 years of beneficent rule of peace and progress. “True remedy for anarchy,” says Burke, “is concession and not coercion” and yet all that has been done up to date to restore peace and order, has been a series of repressive measures culminating in indiscriminate and exasperating house-searches, suppression of the freedom of speech and the muzzling of a free press. Is not this *ex-parte* demonstration of force another form of anarchy? Who denies that the Government is strong enough to sit on the safety-valves, and who does not feel that the Government can well afford to ignore discontent going underground? But is it wise, is it dignified, or does it add to its prestige for any government, however strong, to have continually to sit tight on the steaming valve, to dig perpetually to drive discontent underground? Is it good government to persist in the use of force when a slight modification of a single measure admitted on all hands to be a grave blunder can disperse all the black clouds and restore smiling sunshine? “Force,” says the greatest of political philosophers of England, “may subdue, but does not remove the necessity of subduing again. A nation is not governed when it has perpetually to be conquered.” With a slight alteration in facts and circumstances the great principle here enunciated is on all fours with the present case. Coercion may suppress the agitation against partition, but cannot and will not remove the necessity of suppressing again. The Bengalis, at all events, cannot be said to be well governed if they have to be continually repressed. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof and let the Government in its wisdom yet relent. Lord Hardinge is said to have come with an open mind. It is to be hoped that he has come

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also with a strong hand. The first rush of the tremendous wave of reaction has nearly spent its force and God grant, His Lordship may open a new era, not indeed by perpetuating the policy of repression, but by removing the grievances of the people, by rectifying past blunders and restoring peace, order and contentment among the people. With these observations I leave the proposition in your hands. (*cheers*).

DEWAN BAHADUR C. KARUNAKARA MENON [Madras, No. 21 in list] in seconding the resolution said :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen: It is my most pleasing duty and privilege to second this resolution which has been moved with such powerful eloquence and feeling that I don't think, gentlemen, that anything I can say will create a greater impression than has been produced by the speech of the mover of the resolution. The first part of the resolution makes a prayer to the authorities that they may not regard the partition as incapable of modification, and the second part expresses what this Congress believes will be the beneficial results of granting that prayer. Gentlemen, we believe that in the best interests of the country, and for the satisfaction and contentment of millions of people, it is imperative that the Government should relax their conviction that the partition is a final arrangement. They must come to recognise the necessity of making some modification that will give satisfaction to the people of Bengal. There may be people who may tell us that there is no use of bothering ourselves further about this matter when the highest authorities have given their final judgment, and have repeatedly declared that the judgment is final. But while the authorities have settled their minds, the mind of Bengal remains unsettled, and to a certain extent also the mind of other parts of India (*hear hear*). Gentlemen, the Bengal people did not accept the arrangement as final and the other parts of India feel that the people of Bengal have a very just ground of complaint, a very serious grievance, something which they rightly consider as a national misfortune (*hear, hear*). In no other part of India is there a people, so many millions of them, speaking the same language, cherishing the same social ideals, and connected together by so many social ties, as in Bengal. To them, therefore, the partition of their province means a great deal more than a similar partition would mean to people of any other province in India. Gentlemen, the ties which unite them are far more strong and numerous than the ties which mere administrative arrangement can create or destroy. To such a people, therefore, the partition of their province means a great deal more than a similar partition would mean to people of any other province in India. To such a people, therefore, the partition of their province causes a great and violent shock, and we all know that in causing that violence no regard was shown to their feelings; not only no regard was shown, but things were said and done calculated to wound their feelings (*hear hear*). Their heart was sore when the partition was effected; it is very sore to-day; and I am sure, gentlemen, that it will remain sore until the soothing balm is applied (*hear hear*). What we suggest is that the soothing balm may be applied, not exactly in the form of an entire repeal of the partition, but that it may be applied in some form that will soothe Bengal. Gentlemen, there are no people anywhere in India more intellectual, more resourceful, more imaginative, and more sensitive than the people of Bengal, and their efforts and their example have had great influence and great results in the national regeneration of India (*hear, hear*). Therefore, gentlemen, it is natural that when they are discontented we sympathise with them, and to a certain extent share their discontent, and we must also realise that when Bengal is discontented there cannot be perfect contentment in other parts of India, because the discontent in Bengal is bound to re-act on other provinces. Therefore, gentlemen, it is imperative not only in the interests of Bengal, but for the sake of our national contentment, that this grievance, which they rightly regard as a great national grievance, should be redressed. Gentlemen, the resolution says that the modification

will restore contentment to Bengal and give satisfaction to the other parts of India. More than that, it says that it will enhance the prestige of the Government throughout the country. Gentlemen, it may look somewhat paradoxical that we should say that, by modifying the partition, the prestige of the Government will be enhanced, because the whole ground for maintaining the partition, the whole argument for it, is based on prestige. But I contend, gentlemen, that that is no prestige which is sought to be maintained by persisting in what is admitted to be wrong. (*hear, hear*). Prestige lies in having the courage to do what is right (*hear, hear*). I am sure prestige will not suffer, but on the other hand will be considerably enhanced by responding to the earnest and respectful appeal of the whole people of Bengal and of this Congress in particular, so as to remove the grievance which is complained of. It will create satisfaction not only in Bengal, but throughout India, and one standing grievance, one standing cause of discontent will be removed by such an act of wise statesmanship. Gentlemen, by allowing this grievance to remain, the Government is in a certain degree helping to impair the general satisfaction which has been derived from the great constructive policy of conciliation and contentment reflected in the Reform scheme. And we cannot expect Bengal to act with that sincerity and heartiness which is expected of the people of India, in co-operating with the Government in carrying out the reforms (*cheers*). Conciliation is necessary before there can be co-operation, and I cannot expect, and you do not expect, that hearty co-operation from the people of Bengal unless what they regard as a great national grievance is removed. (*hear, hear*). As I have told you, there is no harm in responding in a high minded and generous spirit to the appeal made on behalf of Bengal and by showing such highmindedness and generosity, the Government will be producing a most wonderful effect. I submit, gentlemen, that this is the best opportunity for showing such highmindedness and generosity, and we may, therefore, with hope appeal to His Excellency Lord Hardinge who has already inspired us with such confidence in his high-minded aims of beneficence and feel confident that he will pay early attention to this matter and devise such modification as will, while satisfying administrative requirements, give contentment to Bengal, and satisfaction to the rest of the country to feel and rejoice that Bengal is contented (*cheers*).

MR. NIBARAN CHANDRA DASS GUPTA [Bengal, No. 271 *in list*] said :—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—After the brilliant oration of my leader, Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar who has voiced the feelings and sentiments of the people of both East and West Bengal regarding the partition, I do not think that any words of mine, much less a speech, are needed to commend the resolution to your acceptance. But I consider it a duty, and a plain duty on my part, as an inhabitant of the portion of the country which has been so ruthlessly severed, to add my testimony to the intense feeling of grief under which the people are still mourning. But, gentlemen, it is all the more necessary to consider the present state of feeling inasmuch as it has been said in certain quarters that the people of Bengal—that the people of Eastern Bengal—have been reconciled to the partition. (*Voices of "No," "No."*) Gentlemen, nothing can be farther from the truth. You remember distinctly how hundreds of thousands of meetings were held in Bengal, how millions of resolutions were passed, how millions of men clamoured for a reversal of the partition but the Government paid no heed to their cry and resorted to the doctrine of "settled fact." Even then people were loud in giving expression to their sorrows but the Government did not like it. The people were muzzled and repressive measures were adopted. Now you don't hear of meetings protesting against the partition. But remove the muzzle, remove the repressive legislation, you will hear with as much clearness as before that the Bengalis are wailing. (*A voice :—"we are still wailing."*) Thank you, we say we are

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still wailing. From the Congress platform year after year you are passing a resolution for the reversal of the partition. I hope this Congress will never give up the idea of passing this resolution and expressing this hope till the partition is reversed. Now, gentlemen, you know full well that this partition has been declared to be a blunder by the greatest authorities, and by the biggest statesmen in England. One of them has said that it was one of the greatest blunders since Plassey. Even Lord Morley said that it was a measure which went wholly against the wishes of the people. Yet the partition remains unreversed. It seems that the days of British statesmanship have not come when a statesman will rise to rectify the blunder. Is there any harm in rectifying the blunder? It has been said and even Lord Morley remarked that unless new facts were brought to his notice he would not reconsider the question of partition. New facts were actually brought to the notice of his Lordship. You remember the speech of the financial member of the Viceroy's Council stating what a tremendous burden this partition has been on the State and what financial reforms are at a dead stop on account of this partition, on account of the money that is being spent in Eastern Bengal in erecting a palatial Government House, in erecting Secretariat offices and in doing other things in order to maintain the dignity of the new Government. Where was the necessity for all these? Cannot rate-payers, poor people, ask where was the necessity? Were we not comfortable and happy under the administration of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal? Instead of a Lieutenant-Governor we have now a Lieutenant-Governor in Council. Formerly, one Lieutenant-Governor could rule over the United Provinces of Bengal. Now one Lieutenant-Governor with an Executive Council only rules over certain parts of Bengal and there is another Lieutenant-Governor. What does it mean? I think that is only to be explained in the way in which my leader has explained; it is for the benefit of the heaven-born service that this partition has been effected. If it is so, will you not try your best so long as you think of the good of your country to go on agitating for a reversal of the partition? As my revered leader has also said, we shall transmit from generation to generation this idea of the wrong done to a wailing people. We will hand it on to our sons and grandsons that they may go on agitating for a removal of this wrong. It is a great wrong. People say that it is a sentimental wrong. It was sentimental in the beginning but from the region of sentiment we have come to the real facts. We have now to spend more money. Is that sentiment? Money has never been considered to be a sentiment. The question of cost and finances is not sentiment. These are real, living questions and so our objection to the partition is certainly not sentimental. I have one word more and I will finish. Another point which has been brought out very eloquently by the last speaker is that there is unrest in this country and that the Government is very anxious to remove that unrest, and it is said that there is a section of the people in this country who are opposed to constitutional Government. Who are they? The greatest shock that has been ever given to constitutionalism has been given by the government itself. We agitated constitutionally. We are prepared to agitate constitutionally. Is the Government prepared constitutionally to listen to us? Let the Government be prepared to listen constitutionally to us, and I submit to the Government and to you, Sir, Mr. President, that the unconstitutional part of the agitation will disappear in no time. My time is up and I beg to commend this resolution to your acceptance. (*cheers*).

The resolution was then put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

Resolution XI.—Indians in the Medical Service.

The resolution on the employment of Indians in the Medical Service ran as follows:—

Resolution XI.—
 Indians in the
 Medical Service.

- (a) "This Congress thanks the Secretary of State for his despatch regarding the employment in the superior posts of the Civil Medical Service, and earnestly requests the Government of India to take early action in the direction pointed out by the Secretary of State for India."
- (b) "In the interests of the public, the medical service and the profession, as well as for the sake of economy in expenditure, this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, urges the constitution of a distinct Indian Civil Medical Service wholly independent of the Indian (Military) Medical Service."

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SIR BHALCHANDRA KRISHNA, KT., [Bombay, No. 140 in list] who was received with cheers in moving the proposition, said :—

Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentleman,—The eloquent speaker on the first resolution which has been previously passed, Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar, indicted the Secretary of State for considering the Partition of Bengal as a settled fact. I entirely agree with him there. But I come to you to ask you to pass a vote of thanks to the Secretary of State for India for doing a thing which, I think, has pleased the whole of India and that is he has issued a despatch in regard to a long standing grievance in connection with the medical profession. The Indian Medical Service has been a long preserve such as the Civil Service has been, and they did not wish that anybody should trespass upon their service that has been going on for a very long time. In the old days, rather in the fifties it was all right because there was no medical profession so to speak and colleges were established throughout the length and breadth of India for the purpose of imparting medical education to the people of this country. At that time it was necessary that men from the Indian Medical Service, rather the Military Service, should be called upon to take chairs in the colleges as professors. But the circumstances of those times are changed. Now we have amongst us men who have taken up medical education in England and have taken very high degrees. It is but fair that their claims should be recognised, and it is for that reason that many memorials have been submitted from different parts of India to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. Up to now it was a cry in the wilderness but since the time of Lord George Hamilton the attention of the Secretary of State has been drawn to this question and Lord Minto and Lord Morley took up the question in earnest, and Lord Morley brought forward a despatch in which he said that the time has now arrived when no further increase to the Civil Service will be allowed and a strong effort should be made to reduce the number of medical practitioners to be recruited for India. That is the basis of the despatch. And the Secretary of State with Lord Minto as Viceroy is agreed that a Civil Medical Service, an independent Medical Service, should be constituted and if this is constituted there will be sufficient field for those who have taken up education in India and in England and they can be appointed professors. In the old times, as I have said to you, these men from the Indian Medical Service were appointed professors and they were considered to be fit for any branch of the medical science. For instance, from my experience at the Grant Medical College I can tell you, that a professor was considered to be fit to take up the chair of Anatomy. Immediately afterwards he was considered to be fit to take the chair in Materia Medica. Then, a few months afterwards, he was considered to be fit to take the chair in Botany. Then, he was translated to the chair of Surgery. This man was considered to be fit to teach these sciences which required the study of a lifetime. In England, one professor is never transferred from one branch to another. This grievance has been brought to the notice of Government in several memorials but they took no notice of it. Now the time has come when we must thank the Secretary of State for taking up the question. I may mention that on the Bombay side in

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1889 when Lord Reay, one of the best Governors we have had in Bombay, brought forward a scheme in which he dealt with this question, he passed a resolution confining one man to one chair alone. The result of that resolution has been to a certain extent satisfactory, but, as we know, the Indian Medical Service was deadily opposed to this and even the Principal of the College at that time—Grant College—said that Lord Reay does not know anything about it, 'let him go out of these shores and we will see that this policy is reversed,' and to our greatest astonishment it has been reversed, but we hope that the action of the Secretary of State, Lord Morley, will be of an enduring character. There is still opposition to it in other parts of India. The "Pioneer" and others have taken up a different view. They think that Civil Surgeoncies will not be capably filled up by Indian Medical men. I hope they will prove false prophets and that our men will be found sufficiently capable to occupy those chairs. From another point of view, I may mention that, in regard to expenditure, the Bombay Medical profession submitted to Lord Morley a memorial on the subject in which they have given these figures. Military Medical Service, at present, the Medical Service in which men from the Military Service have been transferred to the Civil Service, cost the whole of India Rs. 46 lakhs, whereas if a purely Medical Service is constituted the expenditure will be only Rs. 20 lakhs, that is, there will be a saving to the Indian Exchequer of Rs. 25 lakhs annually. I suppose that will be a real gain to the country. Then the Assistant Civil Surgeons who are employed by Government are considered to be fit to occupy Civil Surgeoncies in the district. But in certain cases there is an anomaly. Military Assistant Surgeons who are not graduates, who are simply apothecaries, are considered to be capable of occupying high Civil Surgeoncies, whereas Civil Assistant Surgeons who have passed University Examinations and who are experienced men are not considered to be fit to occupy them. That anomaly is also sought to be redressed. Therefore, I hope you will accord thanks to the Secretary of State and pass this resolution unanimously.

DR. RANJIT SINGH [Allahabad, No. 357 in list] said:—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—The resolution has been so ably put before you by my illustrious predecessor, Sir Bhalchandra Krishna of Bombay, that I find it difficult to add many words to what he has already said. I must tell you that I am not an orator. I belong to the Medical profession which is a quiet profession and always likes quietness. In fact, it was because we have been quiet so long that our grievances have remained unredressed; otherwise, if time has come when one of our Indian brothers can sit in the Viceroy's Council and in the India Council, surely our cries in the wilderness evoked a response too. Here are our brethren who are called I.S.M.D.s to whom my predecessor has just referred. If you look to the existing state of things you will find that the present establishment of Medical Service is managed by four kinds of servants. One is called the I.M.S.—that is recruited by a competitive examination held in England to which Indians are also allowed, and the only handicap to this examination is that many of our people cannot go to England. That is, the same difficulty as exists in the case of I.C.S. Next, after I.M.S., comes the Assistant Surgeon, which class is divided into two branches; one called Civil Assistant Surgeon and the other Military Assistant Surgeon. The students belonging to the Military Assistant Surgeon class must only be Christians—Europeans or Eurasians—and no other is allowed. Now, in the first place, it is so glaringly opposed to the views promulgated in our Magna Charta wherein it is said that in no department of State a distinction will be made on account of caste or creed. I wonder whether it has struck any of our leaders that this department is one entirely closed to any one who is not a Christian, European or Eurasian. When we come to look into the grounds on which these people are entitled to promotion, we will see a great deal more of the injustice done to us. A Civil Assistant Surgeon must be a graduate or at least an under-graduate of an Indian University. Then he must

have put in five long years of study and labour in the wards where he runs the risk, sometimes, of life too, and passes out from a very stiff examination where the percentage of pass marks is almost three times as much as that prescribed for Military Assistant Surgeon candidates. A Military Assistant Surgeon need only have the name of a Eurasian and need not even be a Matriculate—a qualification which is good enough for our Hospital Assistants. They have to pass no University examinations. They undergo an examination held by one of their professors similar to the weekly examination of a class in a medical college. A Civil Assistant Surgeon is already, before joining the medical college, a graduate or at least an under-graduate of a University and then becomes a graduate of one of the Medical Colleges. Till 8 years ago, his starting salary was Rs. 100 a month rising up to Rs. 200. Now it may rise, say, up to Rs. 350. A Military Assistant Surgeon who starts from about Rs. 100 goes up to Rs. 700 for no rhyme or reason. After 10 years he is entitled to Civil Surgeonship and in ten chances out of twelve, one of these Military Surgeons rules over the Civil Assistant Surgeon who is quite fit to teach him for five years. The other point is that, in the interests of the public, the Medical Service and the profession, as well as for the sake of economy in expenditure, the constitution of a distinct I.M.S. wholly independent of Indian Military Medical Service is absolutely necessary. Now the saving in money, as has been pointed out by my predecessor, Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, is as much as twenty to twenty-five lakhs of rupees a year. That is a very big item in the present state of affairs of the country. That is a sum which can be usefully employed in sanitary improvements or other medical relief. Besides, I do not understand why this ante-diluvian system of mixing up the Civil and Military should be allowed to hold good in the Medical Department. Time was when Colonels and Majors were Collectors of districts but that time has changed. Every other department is manned by its own men whereas the Medical Department alone is still manned by Military men. I really wonder whether we would prefer a sympathetic doctor sitting by the side of a patient, a doctor who is one of our own kith and kin, to a Civil Surgeon who puts one foot on the bed and asks "khaisa lai" and then goes away putting his fees in his pocket. To these men we prefer our own men. With these words, I support the resolution (*cheers*).

DR. H. D. PANT [Lucknow, No. 379 in list] supported the proposition. In doing so he said:—Mr. President and gentlemen,—I rise to support the resolution that has just been so ably put before you by Sir Bhalchandra. If I had the power, as I have the will, I would separate the Civil Medical Service altogether from the Military Medical Service. The combination of the two has had its day. It was necessary then just as they had military men in all the high civil posts. As the civil service better equipped for the civil work came into existence, Military civil officers had to make room for the civil servants till finally they have disappeared from even the non-regulated provinces of Oudh and Kumaun, the two strongholds of administrative anomalies. Justice backed by this analogy demands that a distinct Civil Medical Service should now be created. I have every respect and admiration for the Indian Medical Service as a whole. Its members have put in excellent work and it is they who have brought the critics into existence. I speak against the system, and my contention is that the time has come when the Civil Medical Department should be made quite independent of the I.M.S., and it should be recruited from an open field. As practical men, we must recognise that this wholesale change cannot be effected at once. To begin with, the professorships of the Medical Colleges should be recruited from highly qualified medical men irrespective of the race or country to which they belong. Under the present system exigencies of the military service oftentimes put a round man into a square hole. I have myself seen an I.M.S. professor within three years occupying chairs of Botany, Chemistry, Materia Medica and Anatomy, then

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running to the frontier and finally settling as professor of surgery in which post he continued till he retired. Such kaleidoscopic changes neither do credit to the college nor to the students. Why should the sanitary department and district civil Surgeoncies be close monopolies of the I.M.S.? Let every district be in charge of a whole-time non-I.M.S. man with good pay, not the wretched pittance that is allowed to the Civil Assistant Surgeon when he is raised to the dignity of a Civil Surgeon. The sight of a Civil Assistant Surgeon with one foot in the grave and a dignity to maintain on Rs. 350 to Rs. 500 per mensem and vegetating as Civil Surgeon in the penal settlements of Jalaon, Hamirpur and Ballia is pitiable indeed. There is no need to have a Military Medical man in the Civil Sanitary Department. The Sanitary Officer has to know the habits and customs of the people and has to move on slowly in carrying out the needful measures. The bulky sanitary reports are not infrequently pigeon-holed. A highly paid Civil Sanitary Service is, therefore, a luxury in India. I know it is very hard to give up power. The I.M.S. and its backers will fight tooth and nail against any suggestion affecting their cadre or gains. It is as natural for them to do so as it is for us, in this Congress assembled, to fight for our own rights and for the betterment of an economy in the Civil Medical Service of our country. The greatest misfortune is that the Government has to refer all these questions to its medical advisers who are all I.M.S. men. You might as reasonably ask some one to commit suicide as expect an I.M.S. man to say that any one outside that circle is fit to replace him. Nothing short of a thorough enquiry by a public commission composed of officials and non-officials will ever settle this point and we demand such an enquiry. As a sop to the Secretary of State, the Professorship of Anatomy in the Calcutta Medical College is going a-begging. But do you know the conditions attached to this concession? No pension and no private practice. Some wag had said that the Government wanted mediocres in its service. They are welcome, but I hope it will not be said later on that the Indians are not fitted for professorships, for fit people will not care for these posts and the unfit will not do credit to them. In either case, it will be a toss up in favour of the I.M.S., 'Heads you lose, tails I win.'

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

The President, then, called upon Mr. J. Choudhri to move the next resolution.

MR. J. CHOUDHRI [Calcutta, No. 261 in list] in moving the resolution said:—
 Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—The resolution which I have been asked to move runs as follows:—

Resolution XII.—Repressive Legislation.

"Having regard to the state of the country since the passing of the Seditious Meetings Act and the Indian Press Act, this Congress earnestly prays that the former be not re-enacted at the expiry of its term and that the latter be removed from the Statute Book without delay."

So much has been said regarding these two measures of coercion, both in the Legislative Council and in the public press, that I have little desire to detain you with any lengthy observations of my own. I need only say that the reasons which have been assigned by the authors of these measures seem to us to be spurious. It has been said that these measures have been found necessary to cope with anarchy. But who ever heard of conspirators and anarchists holding public meetings and meeting in conferences and congresses for maturing their deliberations (*laughter*)? But as a matter of fact, let us see how these measures have been used. I shall give you only a few instances from my own province. It originated in the form of an ordinance for our special benefit and the special benefit of Eastern Bengal to which I belong. This Ordinance was put in operation in Barisal and since then the benefit of this measure was extended to all Indians throughout the length and breadth of the

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country. How has the Seditious Meetings Act been used by Government? Under the Seditious Meetings Act a district conference at Mymensingh, two district conferences at Faridpur and one at Barisal have been proscribed. What are those conferences? The conferences are but the offsprings of this Indian National Congress, and nobody has ever dared to call the Indian National Congress and the Provincial and District Conferences, which are but a part and parcel of the Indian National Congress organisation, seditious meetings. Whatever the Government might have alleged to have been the necessity for these measures, they were really designed for suppressing the protests and the agitation against the partition of Bengal. For it was in the partitioned province that this measure, the Seditious Meetings Act, has practically been put into operation every now and then. Even now in districts where it is not in operation, whenever any conferences are organised or a public meeting is proposed, the officials interfere and tell you that either you should discard this resolution or that this measure is held *in terrorem* over us and we are told that unless we comply, the district will be declared under the Act. So, practically, whether it is put in operation or not, the Act is always held *in terrorem* over us and there is the apprehension that a district or province may at any moment be declared. Public meetings and public speeches are becoming a thing of the past. Thus, it is a measure of first-rate coercion for suppressing the expression of public opinion. You have heard all the argument that has been advanced against it in Council, and to my mind, the officials have not been able to rebut that argument. Since the last full-dress debate in Simla, we know, the country is as quiet as it could be. There can be no justification for the re-enactment of this measure after the present term of its life expires, and we hope and have every confidence in Lord Hardinge, who is a man who has risen from the ranks, who has been ambassador in the most anarchical country in the world, who kept a watch over the constitutional movements amongst different people in different climes and who is a man who ascertains for himself the necessity of any particular measure and whether that measure will or will not be found out of place in India. We have every confidence in His Excellency that he will not put it down on the programme of legislation for the coming year. With regard to the other measure, *i.e.*, the Indian Press Act, you all know that the press has been a most potent agency for the spread of learning and civilisation throughout the length and breadth of the world. It is a shame and a scandal that the British Government should not only curtail the liberty of the press but frame a law which will interfere with the setting up of new printing presses and thus indirectly check the spread of knowledge in this benighted country. As a matter of fact now-a-days it is most difficult even to sell or transfer a press from one proprietor to another. A number of cases have come to our knowledge where if a press proprietor is anxious to part with his press he gets for it not even one-fourth of its value because of the difficulty of the getting of a license. That worthy body, the C.I.D., are asked to report, and it is always an *ex-parte* report upon which the magistrate passes his executive order. If the report is adverse in any way no end of difficulties are put in the way of the seller and the purchaser. The Press law is operating to deprive many poor literary men and honourable publishers of an honorable means of earning their livelihood. I know of a recent instance where a Bengalee gentleman who owned a press at Brindaban and who used to publish works of Sri Chaitanya and other Vaishnava texts, who was being harassed by the police for intending to transfer his press and publication business to Calcutta. I think *Vairagya* is a much more potent measure for combating sedition than even the Seditious Meetings Act or the Press Act. The sentiment of *Vairagya*, if I may so term it, is the most potent anti-seditious serum with which if you can inoculate anybody, he becomes the quietest of citizens. Now it has been said in justification of these measures that they are intended to meet cases of doubtful legality. But the

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law of sedition in this country is elastic enough. If the law would go any greater length, then all our liberties—individual, personal and communal—will be at an end. I know of no other criminal law in the world which is more comprehensive than the Indian Penal Code. You cannot even stare hard at a man without coming within its scope and the sedition section itself says that any sort of disaffection is sedition. An eminent and veteran member of the Calcutta Bar, Mr. Jackson, once argued that disaffection meant want of affection according to certain decisions, apparently because 'dis' signifies 'absence'; it would follow that, distension would signify absence of tension. But the law of sedition has outlived this ridicule, and only, recently, it was argued before the Calcutta High Court that to speak ill of a policeman or not to love him may amount to sedition. In this view of sedition you must not only love the Government but love every official and positively love every policeman. If you do not do that, then you may come within the scope of section 124A of the Penal Code, but fortunately when only lately the Crown Counsel sought to stretch the law of sedition to that length, the Hon'ble Judges of the Calcutta High Court set their foot down on it. Be that as it may it is said of the Government prosecutions for sedition which have been started of late years, 98 per cent. have succeeded. If that be so, what is the good of having either the Seditious Meetings Act or the Indian Press Act? We find thus there is no necessity for perpetuating either of these Acts in the Statute books. I think I express the sentiment and the deliberate opinion of the whole assembly when I say that not only should the Seditious Meetings Act not be renewed but that the Indian Press Act should not be allowed to disfigure our Statute book a day longer. We know that there is profound peace prevailing over the length and breadth of this country. We shall appeal to His Excellency Lord Hardinge to take a broad view of the situation and judge for himself whether these coercive measures should continue to find place on the Statute book in the present state of the country. Let us hope that, at the next Congress, we may meet and thank our new Governor-General from the bottom of our hearts for removing these incubi on the awakening self-consciousness of a people who have been more wronged than wronging (*cheers*).

A. S. KRISHNA ROW [Nellore, No. 89 *in list*], in seconding the resolution said :—

Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—The resolution which I have been called upon to second, deals with two repressive measures which are now upon our Statute book. The scope of the resolution, as you all see, is very limited. It does not propose to discuss the desirability or otherwise of these provisions having been passed. It refers to the state of the country since the passing of the Seditious Meetings Act and the Indian Press Act and requests that in view of the change in the times, that in view of the state of quiet and tranquillity that has been restored, the former, the Seditious Meetings Act, ought not to be renewed and the latter, the Indian Press Act, ought to be removed from the Statute book. It is unnecessary to refer at any length to the circumstances and events which we all deplore and which led to the passing of these repressive measures. Gentlemen, you all remember that when the Seditious Meetings Act was originally passed, responsible officials of Government admitted and stated in unmistakable terms that the provisions of the Act would not be extended to all the provinces but only to such of them where there was urgent and imperative demand for any resort to such extraordinary measures. Originally it was confined to one province but you all know that gradually these provisions were extended to all provinces, even to those where there has been complete tranquillity and peace and to those where there is absolutely no room or justification to apprehend any danger or trouble. We have all seen that peace and contentment have been restored in our country and we all thought that there would have been no necessity for extending the provisions of the Act to other provinces or for giving it a longer duration of life. But to our bitter

disappointment and to our dissatisfaction, we found not only that the provisions were extended to all the provinces but that a longer lease of life was given to the Seditious Meetings Act. We find from the recent papers that the Bombay Government was pleased to recommend to the Government of India that the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act ought not to be extended to that province. I am in this connection reminded about an incident which took place in my own province, the province of Madras. My hon'ble friend, Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, asked a question in the Local Legislative Council about the extension of the Seditious Meetings Act and a further supplementary question was asked, whether the Government of Madras would recommend to the Viceroy's Government that this Act ought not to be extended to Madras. The member in charge, the Hon'ble Mr. Hammick, replied that they were not prepared to do so. We all know, gentlemen, that nothing extraordinary, nothing strange, nothing serious has happened in the province of Madras to induce the local Government to take a harsh view of things and to induce them not to extend to us that kindness, not to extend to us that generosity which was shown by the Government of Bombay in dealing with that province.

Now, regarding the Indian Press Act which was passed on the 9th February last, you all remember under what peculiar circumstances this Act was passed and became law. There is a salutary provision in the rules of business that a select committee to whom a Bill is referred, shall not make its report sooner than three months from the date of publication of the Bill in *The Gazette of India* unless the Council otherwise orders; and there is also a provision therein that the select committee shall state whether a bill has undergone alterations necessary for its re-publication and that in cases where the select committee does not consider it necessary to order its re-publication, it shall state its reasons. These provisions clearly indicate that it was expected when the rules were originally drafted that matters would be placed before the public, that matters would be duly published and that the public would have ample opportunity of expressing their views regarding the nature and importance of the problems involved. But look at the Press Act, look at the hurry and haste with which that Act was passed; it was published on the 5th February in the *Gazette*, it was at once referred to the select committee and the committee's report was presented on the 8th—only three days and not three months later—and on the 9th it was passed into law. Such being the emergent circumstances under which this Act was passed, let us see whether its existence or the continuance of its provisions can be justified according to the present state of the country. My time is limited and I would refer to only one point. There is provision in section 8 of the Press Act that whenever the publisher of a newspaper offers to make a declaration under the Press and Registration of Books Act, he shall deposit security to the extent of not less than Rs. 500 and not more than Rs. 2,000 as the Magistrate directs. There is also a proviso there, however, that a Magistrate may, for special reasons recorded by him, dispense with the security. Though we may thank the Government for having reduced the amount of security from Rs. 5,000 as originally suggested to Rs. 2,000, still you will see that in the principle involved therein, tables have been wrongly turned against the publishers of newspapers. Instead of innocence, guilt is presumed; instead of assuming that there is nothing obnoxious or objectionable in the publication of a newspaper something wrong is assumed to start with. It is also assumed that it violates the provisions of the law and that some objectionable matter defined in section 4 of the Act is published therein. Brother-delegates and gentlemen, it would have been more satisfactory if the provisions were so altered as to make the taking of security an exception rather than a rule. Gentlemen, you also remember that the hon'ble representatives in the Imperial Legislative Council fought hard to have this Indian Press Act limited to a period of three years, but they fought hard in vain. It is a misfortune that their labours were not crowned with success.

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Even if we go a step further and take an example from the Irish Crimes Act and Irish Coercion Act wherefrom an example was probably drawn, you will find that those measures were temporary. The Crimes Act was, I believe, passed for a period of three years and the Coercion Act for a period of six months. You remember, gentlemen, that the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 was passed during the viceroyalty of Lord Lytton, during a period when the Conservative ministry was in power; and you also remember how soon after that, that measure was repealed when the Liberal ministry came to power. I mention this circumstance only for showing that there is absolutely no justification for making the Indian Press Act permanent on the Statute book as it has been made to be; and seeing that there has been complete tranquillity and peace in the country it ought to be erased from the Statute book as early as possible (*cheers*).

MR. DWARKANATH [Muzaffarpore, No. 612 in list] in supporting the resolution said:—

Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—It is with great diffidence that I rise here to-day to support this resolution. Gentlemen, I want to tell you, at the very outset, that I come from the province of Behar. The repressive measures coming one after another in quick succession have completely unnerved the people and paralysed all public activity throughout India. The only meetings which are held nowadays are to congratulate officers, Lieutenant-Governors, District Officers and District Judges (*laughter and cheers*). It is really refreshing to find that once a year we assemble at the meetings of the Indian National Congress and hear some plain speaking and some independent public speeches. If you leave the Congress aside, I tell you, you will hardly find any place where any independent public speaking goes on, or even if you turn to the writings of any periodical you will find that people only speak half of what they feel and the reason is plain. They are very much afraid of the authorities and not so much of the Government as they are afraid of the police, not so much of the police as of the elastic meaning of the word sedition. The word sedition has got different meanings. Recently you have heard it argued in a case in the Calcutta High Court that the state of the public feeling in the country is to be considered when you attach a particular meaning to a particular word when you are discussing the laws of sedition. Well, gentlemen, I do not know what is the state of your feeling at this time or whether I am going to be prosecuted under section 124 A., Indian Penal Code. I do not know either how far I have succeeded in rousing your public indignation against this particular measure of the Government. I want to tell you, however, that after the full-dress debate that we had at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, it is not very proper on my part to speak at length for this proposition. On your behalf and in your name I want to congratulate those members of the Council who under the leadership—the distinguished leadership—of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale led the opposition. Gentlemen, at the same time I want to tell you that it is impossible for any one to read without blush the speeches of those who not only supported the measure but said that they were so much enamoured of it that they appealed to Lord Minto to place it permanently on the Statute books (*cries of "shame"*). Two things come out very distinctly out of all these debates of the Imperial Council. They are these. Those who have gone into ecstasy over the reforms inaugurated by Lord Minto and Lord Morley must see that even after the inauguration of reforms Government can carry out any measure, however re-actionary and retrograde, and the voice of the people in the Imperial Council is still as impotent for all practical purposes as it was before the inauguration of these reforms. The second thing which comes out most distinctly is this: that the members of the special electorates, our Muhammadan brethren and our zemindar friends, have thought it fit to constitute themselves into a sort of permanent opposition against the representatives of the people sitting

in the Imperial Council (*shame*). They think it their duty to support Government on all occasions, even when the Government does not think it necessary to need their support—(*a voice* :—"not all") but, gentlemen, in this connection, I must say that there is a notable exception and that exception was the Hon'ble Mr. Haque. (*cheers*). It is a matter of very great pride to me that he comes from Behar. If there is any place in Bengal where the feelings between Hindus and Muhammadans are cordial it is Behar. Gentlemen, permit me to tell you that I do not so much care for the prosecution under the Act as I care for the effect which has been produced on the public mind after the passing of this Act. In Behar, public life is only of a recent origin. Within the last ten years there has been a growing public life in Behar but I assure you that after the passing of this Act although Behar received good certificates at the hands of Mr. Earle and others I tell you that after the passing of this Act, all public life has been, to a great extent, paralyzed in the province of Behar. If you ask people to join the Indian National Congress or if you ask people to hold public meetings to discuss public measures you find that people are actually afraid of joining any public movement at all. They think, gentlemen, that silence is golden and that it is better to be silent rather than run the risk of being reported by the C.I.D. This C.I.D., gentlemen, is a real terror to the people and it is bound to be a terror because its proceedings and reports are secret and they cannot see the light of the day and even counsels are not allowed to see its reports and our public men are always at the mercy of the members of the C.I.D. So you see, gentlemen, that it is impossible not to feel the very great loss which the country has suffered from the passing of these measures. Gentlemen, one word more and I have done. Lord Hardinge is now the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. We know, gentlemen, what mischief was done to the interests of the people of this country under the most brilliant Viceroy, the most brilliant that England could send to this country. At the same time I hope and let us pray to God that Lord Hardinge will do what Lord Ripon had the courage to do. Lord Ripon repealed the Vernacular Press Act. Let us earnestly hope and pray that Lord Hardinge will also do what Lord Ripon did, *viz.*, that he will repeal these Acts and remove them from the statute book and not allow them to permanently disfigure the statute book. We value, more than anything else, freedom of speech and liberty of action under British rule. These are our most valuable and cherished rights. We are very jealous of them and we do not want anything should be done to deprive us of these valued and cherished rights; and if there is anything which deprives us of these valuable rights it is the Seditious Meetings and the Indian Press Acts, and the sooner they are removed from the statute book, the better (*cheers*).

MR. YUSUF HUSAIN [U. P., No. 509 *in list*].—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—I am a Muhammadan. I should not be supposed to be not supporting you and we extend a hearty support to this resolution. Especially I am a man of this province.] The Lieutenant-Governor of this province has admitted and expressed that there is no sedition here and yet the Seditious Meetings Act has been extended to this province too and I say it is a shame. So I give my hearty support and I assure you that these Provinces support this resolution (*cheers*).

The resolution was unanimously carried.

MR. V. V. JOGIA PANTULU of Berhampur [Ganjam, No. 29 *in list*] in moving the next resolution said :—

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—The resolution entrusted to my care runs as follows :—

Resolution XIII.—Elementary Education.

"In the opinion of this Congress, the time has arrived when a substantial beginning should be made in the matter of elementary education—free and compulsory—throughout the country."

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Ladies and gentlemen, this is a resolution the need and justice of which have been recognised long ago by the Government of our country and a brief history of the educational movement of this country will bear me out in what I say. The first great step in the history of Education of this country was taken in 1854. That year the Directors of the East India Company issued the celebrated Despatch on Education popularly known as the Educational Charter of India. In it they declared as follows:—

“It is one of our most sacred duties to be the means as far as in us lies, of conferring on the Natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general effusion of useful knowledge and which India may under Providence derive from her connection with England.”

“Our attention should now be directed to a consideration, if possible, still more important and one which has hitherto, we are bound to admit, been too much neglected, viz.: how useful and practical knowledge suited to every station in life should be best conveyed to the great mass of the people who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their unaided efforts, and we desire to see the active measures of the Government more specially directed for the future to this object for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable increase in expenditure.”

The second step was taken in the year 1882 during the Viceroyalty of that great and good statesman, Lord Ripon, whose memory we so very lovingly cherish. He appointed the Education Commission of 1882, the object of which was to enquire into the state of education at the time and to find out how far the policy laid down by the Despatch of 1854 had been carried out. It was found that, at the time, this Commission was sitting, there were about 85,000 elementary schools with a school-going population of about 25 lakhs therein.

To-day after a lapse of 25 years we find the 85,000 schools increased to 113,000 and the number of pupils therein rose from 25 lakhs to 45 lakhs. This, surely, cannot be characterised as encouraging in any measure. On the other hand, it is sad and discouraging. This is due to the small amount spent on Education during these years. While the expenditure in other departments of Government increased by leaps and bounds that on Education has continued to be miserably low. The increase, within the last quarter of a century, in Military Expenditure was 13 crores, in Railways 11 crores, in Civil and Revenue Departments each 8 crores, while on Education it was only 57 lakhs.

The Government of India spends on General education $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees or $1\frac{1}{2}$ anna per head, and on Elementary education about $1\frac{1}{3}$ crores or 9 pies per head of population; while on General education, England spends 6s. per head, France 5s. 4d., Germany 4s. and Austria 2s. In the neighbouring island of Ceylon, a Crown Colony, the Government spends 10 lakhs of rupees annually on a population of $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions. If we are to take this proportion into consideration, the Government of India has to spend at least $7\frac{1}{2}$ crores on Education. England with a revenue of $88\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling spends $17\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling on all Departments of Education; while India, with a revenue of $75\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling expends less than two million sterling. The same sad tale is told if we compare India with other countries of the world with respect to the percentage of literacy to the population. In other countries, it ranges from 5 to 21 per cent. while in India alone the percentage is so low as 1.9 per cent. Even in the Philippine Islands that have come but lately under the influence of America, the percentage is now as high as 5 per cent. In this connection we must not omit to mention Baroda where, thanks to the enlightened statesmanship of His Highness the Gaekwar, elementary education is made both free and compulsory and the percentage to the population is already 5 per cent.

Coming again to the history of education in this country, the next pronouncement thereon was made by Lord Curzon in 1904. He, while admitting the need of elementary education to the masses, said as follows:—"What is the great danger to India? What is the source of suspicion, superstition and outbreaks of crimes and also of much of the agrarian discontent and suffering among the masses? It is ignorance. And what is the only antidote to ignorance?—Knowledge. In proportion as we teach the masses, we shall make their lot happier and in proportion they are happier so they become more useful members of the body politic." Two years afterwards in the year 1906 Sir Edward Baker, the then Foreign Secretary and now the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, said: "the extension of Primary education and the making of it free is worthy of the foremost place in our policy." He addressed a circular to local Governments on this subject and Sir Frederick Lely in his book said of this circular that Government committed itself to free primary education.

These pronouncements raised very high hopes in the minds of the educated people and they were in high expectations of education being made free very soon. But the statement of Sir H. Risley damped their enthusiasm. He, while reiterating the noble sentiments of his predecessors said that free education was in the nature of reduction of taxation and cannot be undertaken except in times of prosperity. With due deference to this view of his I beg to differ from it. Free education is in the nature of administrative reform and not in the nature of reduction of taxation. In exceptional and rare circumstances, taxes may be increased to introduce free education. It cannot, therefore, be said that increase in taxation is in the nature of reduction of taxation. Reduction of taxation is welcomed as a relief but education becomes unpopular especially when it touches the pocket. It is said that money is required for making education free. It is true, but money must somehow be found for it. All civilised countries have been making rapid advances, and we cannot afford to lag behind. Retrenchment, if the Government so desires, can be made in several departments such as the Military, Judicial and Medical. So we pray that the Government will be pleased to make education free at once though it may make it compulsory by and by. We are glad to find that the Government has created a separate portfolio for education and appointed a member to be in charge of it. This is surely an indication of the good and substantial work which the Government intends to do in the matter of making Primary education free at an early date.

With these few words I beg to propose this resolution.

MR. GANPATI KRISHNA CHITALE [Ahmednagar, No. 242 in list] in seconding the resolution said:—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I have the privilege to put before you the resolution which relates to Elementary education which is equivalent to Primary education, and the resolution is short. It states the deliberate opinion of this assembly, viz.:—

That in the opinion of this Congress, the time has arrived when a substantial beginning should be made in the matter of Elementary education—free and compulsory—throughout the country.

It means and accentuates that now in the year 1910 Elementary education still is in such a bad state that it needs the fostering care of freedom and also compulsion. Gentlemen, you will remember that we had a full-dress debate on the 18th March of this year in the Viceregal Council on a resolution brought forward by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. Therein the principles and aims of this resolution, (not precisely these, but similar to these), were considered on both sides and ultimately the resolution was withdrawn. Now after six or nine months we meet in the Congress and we want to reiterate our deliberate opinion that in the opinion of the educated classes of this country a free, or if you prefer, compulsory first and then free Primary education

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afterwards is necessary, because in the first place, it is necessary to look into facts as they stand. In that debate—I am quoting from the official figures—Mr. Orange, who occupied the place of Director-General of Education then, has said that out of school-going male population of India there is only one boy in every five that is now getting this sort of Elementary education which is styled as the three R's and the state of girls education or female education was much worse inasmuch as their number showed that one girl in every twenty-five was being so educated.

He also frankly admitted that this was not a very desirable state of things. The principle is conceded both on behalf of Government and on behalf of the people and the resolution therefore is not of a contentious character. What we want therefore is to say and to have the underlying principle reiterated in this assembly, *viz.*, that in our opinion the time has come when elementary and primary education should be made gradually compulsory first and free afterwards. You will remember that in the debate that then went on in the Council all the non-official members were ranged on one side with a few exceptions but the official version or the official side of it was put also in a very weighty manner by the responsible councillors. You will find that Mr. Orange put it in the best way possible. He has admitted in the Council and the whole Council and the officials who represented Government also conceded the principle, but they pleaded want of funds. They found from enquiries made from several local Governments that if this resolution were to be given full effect to, then the financial burden would be two hundred and thirty-one lakhs annually and a non-recurring expenditure of about two-hundred and fifty lakhs. The Government or the officials very rightly stated that it is not possible to carry out this reform and they ask when you say that the time has now come for this compulsory and free education of this elementary character "Whence are we to find the necessary funds?" The answer is rather difficult to give, we must admit, but as reasonable persons what we say and say emphatically is you please admit the underlying principle, the question of funds and other necessary details will be left to future deliberation and what we say in this resolution is that a substantial beginning should be made. You know that we are not so very unreasonable in our demand, especially when we say that the time has arrived for making a substantial beginning and now I will tell you, that much has been and is being already done. You will remember—my Bombay friends will remember—how the financial difficulty was proposed to be met. I may say this, that even the Bombay Government had prepared a bill to authorise certain local bodies to levy cesses of, say, one anna in the rupee and those cesses are to be spent on Elementary education, but that is a minor detail which I am not going to consider here. As a matter of fact, gentlemen, when we are speaking of compulsion on the one hand it is absolutely necessary to remember that our country is very poor indeed when compared with other countries and therefore compulsion and payment of fees cannot go hand in hand. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that before any compulsion is resorted to in such a desirable matter of education in order that compulsion may not press harshly on people it is absolutely necessary that compulsion should be accompanied also by a remission of fees. You will also find that we are not moving towards an imaginary goal. What we say is that a substantial beginning need not be made all over the country at the same time but that a substantial beginning should be made whenever circumstances and the conditions of the people may be found in those places favourable. This underlying principle may be resorted to *in certain selected areas* and then we can see how far we can proceed. With this short speech I will second this resolution and I commend it to your acceptance (*cheers*).

PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU [Agra, No. 417 *in list*] in supporting said:—
 Mr. Chairman and gentlemen,—Although it was first in 1823 that a statutory

provision was made for the support of education, the Government did not recognise its duty towards Elementary education, i.e., the education of helpless and poverty-stricken people who are unable by their own unaided efforts to secure any education worth the name, till the year 1854. It was in that year that a memorable despatch was received which in its own words definitely accepted mass education as a State duty. Since that time various orders have been passed bearing on the same subject, but the progress made for a quarter of a century under these rules was not very encouraging. The second landmark in the history of education is the Education Commission of 1882. It expressed dissatisfaction with the extremely slow progress made in education and it urged that if education was to make progress rapidly and systematically it must be based on some sort of legislation. The Government, however, did not give effect to that recommendation, and the result of setting it aside may be judged from the resolutions of Lord Curzon's Government and from the quinquennial report of Mr. Orange. Both the resolutions and the reports concur in deploring the present slow rate of progress and express clearly and explicitly that up to this time the intentions expressed by the Directors in the despatch of 1854 have not been properly given effect to. The Education Commission found that up to that time the proportion of pupils receiving Elementary education in the schools was about 1·2 per cent. of the whole population, and the quinquennial report tells us that that percentage during twenty-five years has increased from 1·2 to 1·9. You will bear with me, I hope, if I give you a few comparative figures in order to show what the state of education is in other countries. In England the percentage of pupils in elementary schools to the total population is 18 while the expenditure per head is 10s. For Scotland the corresponding figures are 16·4 and 9½s.; in Prussia the percentage is about 16·6 while the expenditure per head is 9½s. In America the percentage is 20 and the expenditure per head is 16s. In Japan it is 11 per cent. while the expenditure is 14 annas. Even in Russia which is comparable both in population and in point of area to those of India, the percentage of pupils is 5; and in the Philippines which passed recently to the possession of America the percentage is over 5·14. In India the expenditure per head of population is about an anna and the percentage of the school-going population is 1·9. These figures, gentlemen, tell a grievous tale to those who can make them speak. The contrast is sufficiently depressing and humiliating. I have thus shown to you first that it is admitted by the authorities that the existing rate of progress is extremely unsatisfactory and secondly, that if any systematic progress is to be achieved, it can only be achieved in one way, viz., by making education compulsory and therefore free. For these reasons, gentlemen, I have the greatest pleasure in supporting the resolution which urges that education be made compulsory and free throughout the country (*cheers*).

The resolution was put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

The Congress adjourned at about 1-30 P.M., to re-assemble at 3-30 P.M.; the Subjects Committee met in the meanwhile at 2-30 P.M.

The Congress resumed its sittings at 3-30 P.M. when resolution XIV was taken up.

MR. N. M. SAMARTH [Bombay, No. 157 in list] in moving this resolution said:—

Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I have the honour to move the resolution No. XIV on to-day's agenda. It runs thus:—

Resolution XIV.—Public Expenditure.

“Having regard to the enormous growth that has taken place in the public expenditure of the country, this Congress urges that a mixed commission of inquiry composed of officials and non-officials be appointed to enquire into the causes which have led to this increase and to suggest remedies.”

Gentlemen, this question has been of late prominently brought to the notice of those who have been studying Indian Finance. When the Finance Member attempted

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to justify increased taxation in this year's Budget, he gave two reasons. As you know, it was a normal year and there would apparently be no necessity for increasing taxation; yet he gave two reasons for the increase. The two reasons were, first, that there was a shortage to provide for, due to a falling off of opium revenue having regard to the policy which has been accepted by the Chinese Government and the Government of India in that behalf and secondly, the cost of administration which had increased on account of Eastern Bengal and Assam Province as the result of the Partition of Bengal. As to the latter, I for one do not know exactly how many lakhs it is. I do not know if it is a big bite or a flea bite. There is no reason why the whole of India should be made to suffer for what has been condemned as a blunder. If this duplication of administrative machinery is needed, I should think that the province which wants it should bear the burden. At any rate, those who are supposed or declared to have developed a fondness for it should in fairness be required to provide for it and bear the burden of it and not the general tax-payers throughout the country. Beyond that I do not want to deal with that part of the matter. The real question is about the opium revenue. Three years ago, the Secretary of State and the Finance Member also—I believe Sir Edward Baker—gave an assurance that the Government of India were prepared to reduce the whole of this revenue at the rate of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds per annum in ten years' time and that, without any addition of taxation. Well, now this year the Finance Member says that on account of this loss of revenue he is required to levy additional taxation. Thus we have two distinct pronouncements which are not quite consistent with each other and the explanation that is suggested therefore can hardly be accepted as satisfactory. If three years ago the Finance Member could do without additional taxation, so far as this cause is concerned, one fails to see any justification for additional taxation on this score. The real thing would seem to be is that there has been, as has been suspected by many for so many years, an increase in the growth of expenditure out of proportion to the increase in the net receipts; that is to say, the Government of India has not been parsimonious but, on the contrary, extravagant. In Lord Curzon's time there were surpluses and on account of Lord Curzon's doctrine of efficiency, his precious gospel of efficiency, he pushed up expenditure in all departments in various ways, and so long as there were those surpluses this increase which was steadily going on was not marked. Now that increase is found to be a permanent and recurring incident but the receipts have not been growing in proportion and have not kept pace with it. I will detain you just a minute and give you some figures which may justify my contention that there has been an inordinate and disproportionate growth of expenditure. The figures, boiled down, are briefly these:—During the 11 years from 1898-99 to 1908-09 the growth of net revenue amounted to £ 5·98 millions which works out at an average of £ 1·37 millions per annum. Now as to the expenditure, we find that during these 11 years the net expenditure has increased by £ 12·34 millions which means an average of £ 3·02 millions per annum. Thus the expenditure has increased at double the rate at which the net revenue has increased. This cannot go on much longer, and there are various causes suggested by those who have devoted attention to the subject as to why this is going on, and some of you who may have read the valuable contribution to the subject made by our esteemed friend Mr. Wacha know that he has analysed, almost vivisected the subject and come to the conclusion that on account of the Civil and Military charges having mounted up and on account of interest on railways having increased, you find expenditure going up beyond all expectation and calculation, and the result is that if this is allowed to go on the Government of India will be in a quandary very soon and consequently we suggest that a Commission of officials and non-officials should be appointed to inquire into the subject and to suggest remedies including, if I may add, the providing of an agency for seeing that these remedies are carried out by

Government. As a matter of fact, the Government of India is hardly responsible in practice, so far as expenditure is concerned, to anybody except itself. The Provincial Governments no doubt are responsible to the Supreme Government and subject to its control with the curious result, however, that the Provincial Governments sometimes find themselves handicapped by the demands the Government of India make upon them, but so far as the supreme Government is concerned, there is absolutely nobody who constantly and effectively controls its financial policy. There is no statutory check imposed by which the expenditure of the Supreme Government could be autited, controlled or brought within reasonable limits, and until that is done or at least until an effective control is exercised by a vigilant Secretary of State and by a still more vigilant House of Commons over the financial policy of the Government of India, I for one do not think that a lasting and a satisfactory solution of the difficulty can be arrived at. Therefore, we suggest that a commission may be appointed to go thoroughly into the question of increased expenditure and suggest remedies. (*cheers*).

Mr. N. A. DRAVID [Poona, No. 251 *in list*] in seconding the resolution said :—Mr. President and fellow-delegates,—I will add only a few remarks by way of supplementing what, my friend, Mr. Samarth of Bombay, has said on this resolution. There seem to me to be three very cogent reasons why the inquiry such as we have asked for in this resolution is imperatively and immediately necessary. First—there is the phenomenal growth of expenditure itself, during the last decade for which the final figures are now available. If we take the Civil expenditure alone and see how it went on increasing from time to time, it will disclose some startling features, not very much noticed hitherto. Let us take the figures for 1881-1885, the period covered by Lord Ripon's *regime*. During this period there was an increase in Civil expenditure alone of two crores and-a-quarter. This increase was so considerable at the time that soon after Lord Dufferin's accession an influential Finance Committee was appointed to inquire into public expenditure. Then again if we take the period from 1888-1898, the increase in Civil expenditure will be seen to be about 5 crores for the whole decade. Now, if we take the last decades, that is, 1898-1908, and compare the figures for the first years with those of the last we see that the increase in Civil expenditure is 16 crores. We will from this figure deduct one crore, that being approximately the cost of the Berar administration which the Indian Government had not to bear in the first. Even then the increase is 15 crores in these ten years. During the same period the army expenditure has grown by 5 crores per year, so the total increase in the last decade is 20 crores, *i.e.*, at the rate of 2 crores per annum. Sir Edward Baker, our late Finance Minister, has calculated that our normal growth of revenue is one crore and thirty lakhs per annum. It is a matter of simple calculation, gentlemen, that if revenue increases at the latter rate and expenditure goes on increasing at 2 crores per annum, the state of our finances is bound to come to grief at no distant date. Here is a *prima facie* case why the inquiry into expenditure ought to be undertaken at once. The insidious growth was not noticed on account of huge surpluses which occurred year after year from 1898 onward. There is another reason also and it is this: Our opium revenue is pledged to disappear altogether in seven years. If we do not take timely steps to balance our expenditure with revenue by finding out where economies could be legitimately introduced, fresh extra taxation would necessarily have to be resorted to even for our daily administrative wants, which is not a very happy contingency to contemplate. There is also a third and, to my mind, the most important reason why the inquiry such as we have asked for in this resolution is most urgently necessary. Though we complain of a general growth of expenditure, anomalous as it may seem, we want increased public expenditure on objects which will promote the real well-being of the people such as education—elementary and

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technical—sanitation, relief of agricultural indebtedness. For these objects, if the present resources are insufficient many of us will even vote for extra taxation, if necessary. But we must first be sure that the resources of retrenchment have been exhausted before we think of imposing new taxes. For this purpose also, the inquiry we ask for is necessary. But, gentlemen, I need not detain you very long over this question. Our Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, has officially admitted the fact of the growth of expenditure and has himself suggested the need of a general inquiry into the scale of our public charges; nothing more need be urged to commend this resolution.

The resolution was then put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

DR. SATISH CHANDRA BANERJI [Allahabad, No. 355 in list] next moved the following resolution:—

Resolution XV.—Council Reform Regulations.

Resolution XV.—
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“While recognising the necessity of providing for a fair and adequate representation in the Legislative Councils for the Muhammadan and other communities where they are in a minority, this Congress disapproves the Regulations promulgated last year to carry out this object by means of separate electorates, and in particular it urges upon the Government the justice and expediency of modifying the regulations framed under the Indian Councils Act of 1909, before another election comes on, so as to remove anomalous distinctions between different sections of His Majesty's subjects in the matter of franchise and the qualifications of candidates and the arbitrary disqualifications and restrictions for candidates seeking election to the Council. The Congress also urges the modification of the regulations, where necessary, relating to the composition of non-official majority in the Provincial Councils, so as to render them effective for practical purposes.”

Mr. President, my sisters, and my brothers,—Not many words are needed from me, I believe, to commend to your acceptance the proposition I have the privilege of placing before you. You are all familiar with the history of Lord Morley's reform scheme. It was a measure of constitutional reform conceived in the catholic spirit of true statesmanship, and confessedly devised to allay discontent in the country, to promote good-will between the rulers and the ruled. It was an earnest endeavour to redeem the pledges given by Queen Victoria of blessed memory fifty-two years ago, and a genuine attempt to grant to the children of the soil an effective voice in the administration of their motherland. The country hailed the promised reforms with delight, and my illustrious countryman who presided two years ago over the deliberations of this body at Madras thought that the words of the poet had come true—

“The clouds you so much dread
 Are big with mercy and shall break
 In blessings on your head.” (*cheers*).

But even then there was an apprehension in the minds of many of us that there were forces yet to be reckoned with, and our jubinations might, therefore, prove to be premature. It was felt that the rules and regulations which had to be yet framed by the men on the spot must make or mar the scheme. Subsequent experience has justified these fears, and even the sceptic must now be convinced of the terrible power that the man on the spot wields. (*cheers*). Bitter was the disappointment caused by the rules and regulations which were eventually framed. The scheme, it was felt, had been wrecked by prejudices which obscure the issue, and which incapacitate even honest and honourable men from comprehending in all their bearings the large principles which may be at stake. I have said that bitter was the disappointment caused by the rules and regulations actually framed. The vision

of the promised land was found to be of no more substance than dreams are made of, and the most optimistic amongst us realised with a pang that it was fading and might possibly leave not a rack behind. At the Lahore Congress an earnest appeal was made by the President for a re-consideration of the rules and regulations, and a resolution was adopted unanimously giving expression in strong language to the profound grief at blasted hopes which weighed upon the minds of the delegates assembled there. To-day we find the situation in no way altered, and I have no doubt you will agree with me in thinking that it is our duty as responsible citizens of the Empire, who realise the blessings of the *Pax Britannica* and consider the well-being of the motherland to be a concern of supreme importance, to urge upon the Government, with all the fervour and solemnity we can command, the imperative necessity of revising and remodelling the rules and regulations in the same liberal spirit in which the original scheme was conceived.

These rules and regulations were acutely discussed at the Lahore Congress by men who were and are in a position to speak, and they have been ably criticised in the press and elsewhere. I, therefore, do not propose to take up your time by attempting a detailed examination of these rules and regulations. I desire only to say a word or two about some of the principles which underlie these rules and regulations, principles which we deem to be not only erroneous but mischievous, and which we must repudiate. One of these principles is that of representation based on religious differences. In our Magna Charta Her Gracious Majesty solemnly promised to abjure the consideration of any difference in race, colour, caste or creed. We hold fast to that pledge, and we believe that neither communal representation nor separate electorates can do any of us any good. As has been repeatedly said on this platform and elsewhere, we are Indians first and Hindus or Mahomedans or anything else that you please only afterwards. Sir Syed Ahmed said, speaking of the two great communities, Hindus and Mahomedans, only, that they were like the two eyes of a fair maiden, "if you injure the one you injure the other." (*cheers*). As the offspring of the same mother our interests are identical, and "united we stand, divided we fall." Anything that is calculated to accentuate our differences and to divide us from one another can but bring about a disruption of the national unity which is our ideal,—the goal after which this Congress has been striving for a quarter of a century. (*cheers*). Every thoughtful child of the soil must, therefore, condemn this principle in unmeasured and unequivocal terms. The general electorate in the United Provinces has time after time returned Mahomedan candidates in the past, and there is absolutely no ground for believing that they will not do so in future. ('*Hear, hear*').

Another vicious principle is that of property qualification. In this historic land of ancient civilisation the true aristocracy has always been of intellectual and moral worth, and not of wealth. (*cheers*). 'Plain living and high thinking' is the motto our forefathers have believed in, and we, degenerate descendants though we are, still refuse to believe in the so-called virtues of sordid pelf or dirt. Regulations which do not permit the election to the Councils of men who lead the public opinion in the country, simply because they do not own and possess broad acres or belong to a favoured community, or are not members of small bodies like municipal and district boards, no thinking man can accept (*cheers*). A regulation that limits the field of choice in this way or by such restrictions is vicious at its root, inasmuch as it does not permit the return to the Councils of the best men, of the men who will be able to do real work and effectively help the Government in the administration of the country.

I do not for one moment suggest that minorities should not be adequately represented, that their interests should not be carefully protected and safeguarded. It is not only right and fair, it is absolutely necessary, that this should be done. But has this been done? That is a straight question which admits but of one answer.

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All the minorities in the country have not been either fairly or adequately represented in the Councils, and the grievance is that some have been accorded a preferential and differential treatment. Fine phrases cannot alter facts.

Brothers and sisters, I should like to put another straight question. Lord Morley proposed that there should be a non-official majority in the Provincial Councils. Has this end been really achieved in all the Provincial Councils? (*Cries of 'no'*) Figures merely on paper are apt to mislead.

I do not propose to discuss the rules and regulations any further. I have mentioned by way of illustration a few matters as to which I believe among men, who can think and who do think and who have the true good of the country at heart, there can be no difference of opinion. We are deeply grateful to Lord Morley and Lord Minto for the epoch-making measure of constitutional reform which they did so much to inaugurate. But in so far as this measure was intended to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the natives of the country and to associate them closely and effectively in the practical everyday work of administration, the rules and regulations which have been framed by the men on the spot have effectually defeated that noble intention, that glorious object. The practical result of these rules and regulations has been to give effect to the very features of Sir Harold Stuart's scheme which were so widely condemned. In some respects these rules and regulations have gone back even upon those framed under the Indian Councils Act of 1892. The educated classes in the country, those who are in a position to find out by personal experience or intercourse the tender spot where the shoe pinches, and to voice the genuine grievances of the inarticulate masses, have received a most unmerited, a most impolitic, set-back. On the contrary, the rules have made it possible for councillors to be returned, who in point of ignorance may possibly be said to represent the large illiterate classes, (*laughter*), but who, not being able to follow the deliberations in the Councils, cannot possibly assist the Government in either the practical or the theoretical work of administration.

My sisters and my brothers, the Government resolution accompanying these rules and regulations said that they would be modified in the light of the experience that would be gained in their working. My faith is implicit in the dispensations of Providence. My faith is large in the sense of justice and honesty of purpose which inspire the British people. I, therefore, believe that, upon a proper representation of our cause, errors are bound to be mended sooner or later, and in that belief I commend this proposition to your acceptance.

DR. TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU [Allahabad, No. 354 in list] in seconding the resolution said:—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I don't propose to make a long speech on the resolution. So far as this question is concerned my position, at any rate, so far as delegates of this Province are concerned, is quite clear. I have never thought that separate electorates are a blessing. On the contrary, I have always maintained and I do still maintain that it would be to the best interest of the country if we could so arrange our affairs that joint electorates were to become possible and even probable. But taking things as they are and remembering, as we do, the attitude which has been taken on this question by one section of the community, the question which now arises is, are we going, as practical men, to recognise the necessity of some steps being taken which would satisfy the two important sections of the community or not? The resolution which has now been put forward does nothing more than recognise the necessity of such steps being taken. In order that there may not be any misconception about the resolution and what it implies, I consider it necessary that I should draw your attention to some words of the resolution. Before I do so, I may tell you that the intention of those who are responsible for the framing of this resolution is that so far as political representation is concerned, there should be absolutely perfect

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equality between the various sections of the community. Now, gentlemen, you will remember what a lot of mischief has been created in this country by some fictitious theories of political importance which have been advanced from a certain platform. Now we, as Congressmen, deem it our duty to enter a strong and emphatic protest against such theories of political importance. What we maintain is that we, Hindus and Mahomedans, Christians and Parsees, are all equal subjects of the King. Being equal subjects of the King, we claim it as our birthright that each one of us for political purposes be considered equal. If there is any individual or section of individuals which claims for itself any fictitious political importance either upon this ground or political or historical grounds we, as Congressmen, are not prepared to recognise such an assumption. That being the position, the resolution says nothing more than this that all such fictitious considerations shall be eliminated from the consideration of political representation. Now I shall invite your attention to these few words—‘while recognising the necessity for providing a fair and adequate representation.’ When we here use the words ‘a fair and adequate representation,’ we mean nothing more than that each community should get what is its due, without any regard to any political importance or any religious consideration. You will remember that one of the most mischievous effects of the regulations has been that the minorities of the Hindus in the Punjab and Eastern Bengal and Assam have not obtained that protection which the Mahomedan community has obtained by reason of the regulations. We desire to point out this to the Government, and say that so far as the Hindu minorities in Eastern Bengal and Assam and the Punjab are concerned they should be placed on the same level as the Mahomedans in other places are (*hear, hear*). That is to say, they too are entitled to the same protection which Mahomedans all over the country have obtained for themselves. The injustice of the regulations will appear to you most clearly when you remember that although in the Punjab, the Mahomedans are in a majority and the Hindu community is in a minority, the Hindu minority has not obtained any such protection. Therefore, the underlying principle is nothing more than this that after eliminating all extraneous considerations so far as political representation is concerned, the Government should so modify and alter the regulations that there may be no grievance felt by any particular community and that there should not be any feeling that it has been unduly and unjustly dealt with. I will add one word more and then be done with this resolution. Gentlemen, I don’t propose to enter into the larger question as to whether we should have a joint electorate. What we, as practical men, ask Government is to do this, to move the sting from the regulations as they have been framed. It seems to me that a great deal of heart burning and strong feeling in this country has been created not so much by reason of there being separate electorates as by reason of over-representation having been granted to one particular community. That is all that we say. We say, by all means let the Mahomedan community and let every other community have as much as is their due, but not at the expense of any other community. Therefore, we again ask the Government to modify and alter the regulations so as to remove the sting. With these few words, I second the resolution.

RAO BAHADUR M. ADINARAYANA IYAH [Madras, No. 7 in list] in seconding the resolution said:—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—The one point which I should like to put prominently before you in connection with this proposition is that we are not prompted by any spirit of hostility to any community in the land. Considerable trouble has been taken in the Subjects Committee to reduce and attenuate and modify the resolution so as to remove all reasonable grounds for offence. At the same time, we cannot ignore the defects in the present regulations and franchise or abstain from giving expression to what appears to be radically wrong in those regulations. There are three points which

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strike one as being not conducive to the general peaceful progress of the country. One is the introduction of the religious question into the formation of electorates. Next is the restriction of the opportunities for educated people to obtain seats in the full measure they are entitled to. The separate compartment idea which pervades the scheme in the formation of electorates is the third objectionable feature. Gentlemen, our historical memory is not so short that we have forgotten the baneful effects of the *Jezia* taxation of Aurangzeb's time. I don't mean to say that there is a perfect analogy between the *Jezia* taxation and the present form of regulations for election. But so long as we continue to allow on the statutes, regulations which give importance to religious distinctions and belittle the privileges of one community as compared with those of another, there will always be ground for uneasiness and I think the cumulative effect of persistent adherence to such principles will be disastrous. In the present resolution we do not urge our objections to their full extent. What was said on the last occasion at Lahore is a sufficient record on that matter. At the same time all that we want is that we should go back to the golden rule laid down in the Proclamation of the late Queen Victoria and reiterated in the Proclamation of King Edward VII and of our present Gracious Sovereign George V, that all the subjects of the Emperor should receive equal treatment. That is the one point, and wherever possible and wherever conditions admit of it, we desire that the erection of barriers through official interference should be abandoned (*hear, hear*). Here our worthy President has brought to us the message of conciliation. Everyone of us now earnestly hopes that all causes of discord between the several communities in the country may be removed and that the path for progress may be cleared and straightened. It is in that spirit,—gentlemen—I will not dilate further because you have much work before you—it is in that spirit that I commend the proposition now before you for your acceptance.

THE HON'BLE MR. HARCHANDRAI VISHANDAS [Karachi, No. 146 in list] in supporting the resolution said :—Mr. President and gentlemen,—It strikes me in connection with this subject that one community is greatly to be congratulated upon their astuteness and the other community is to be condoled with at their indifference and apathy at the proper time. You remember how this mischief came about and has resulted in all this trouble and all this agitation we had to undergo. In the beginning, one community was very keen upon obtaining a large measure of reform in the legislative councils and was agitating for it tooth and nail, whereas the other community was discouraging and throwing cold water upon this and calling that first community a community of agitators and sedition-mongers but when the time came and they found that reforms were going to be conceded by Government, they seized the right moment, were quite vigilant, stole a march over the other community and opened their claws, grabbed at the dish and tried to swallow a big morsel, whereas the other community was apathetic and silent, and they are now suffering the consequence. What happened was this. At the time when this Reform Scheme was about to come into existence, the Moslem League waited in deputation upon the Secretary of State and prayed for a large measure of concession to the Muhammadans, and there being no such movement on the part of Hindus to wait either upon the Viceroy or the Secretary of State, the result was that both the Secretary of State and the Viceroy thought that justice was entirely on the side of Muhammadans and they, therefore, have been granted a larger measure of concession in preference to Hindus, so that now you have to meet with a situation that as a matter of fact an excessive and over-representation has been given to Muhammadans and it is found very necessary that the Congress assembly should pass a resolution of this nature. To show you how that over-representation comes in I will give you a few facts and figures, but I think that the Moslem community have very wisely followed the advice of the poet "Twice armed is he who has his quarrel just, but trebly is he who gets his blow in feet." They

got there first ; and you are lamenting. How this over-representation has come about will be apparent to you from the following figures of population and representation on the Legislative Councils. You know very well that the ratio of the Hindus to Muhammadans in population in the whole of British India is as 4 to 1. Still in the Imperial Council you have got actually 13 Hindus to 11 Muhammadans. The ratio of population in the different provinces is 78 per cent. Hindus to 18 per cent. Muhammadans. In the Bombay Presidency, whereas the members of Council are 10 Hindus to 7 Muhammadans. Likewise, in Madras there are 89 per cent. Hindus and only 6 per cent. Muhammadans, whereas the representation is 20 to 3. In the Punjab there are 50 per cent. Muhammadans and 43 per cent. Hindus. Still, the ratio is 3 Hindus to 7 Muhammadans, whereas not a single Punjabi Hindu can get a seat on the Imperial Council, and so on. The only place where the Hindus are in a minority over Muhammadans is Eastern Bengal and Assam. It is quite unnecessary for me to give you other figures, but you may take it that in all places, in all provinces, the Muhammadans have got an over-representation. As has been said by the previous speaker, it is not my intention to, in any way, say a word of discord, especially as we have before us these proposals of peace, a mission on which our President has so nobly embarked. At the same time, I say it will be a sheer hypocrisy to deny the facts as they now stand. I do not think that reasonable Muhammadans who have themselves from time to time expressed in no uncertain voice their disapproval of sectarian elements being introduced into the representations in the Councils will in any way grudge me these remarks or make any uncharitable comments that I have intended to sow discord.

As a matter of fact, let it be said to the credit of several Muhammadan gentlemen who represent the Muhammadan community at the Congress that they entirely agree with the conclusion of the Congress which says that it is entirely detrimental to the interests of the nation that any sectarian element in the Legislative Council or for the matter of that in any representative assembly should be introduced. They deplore this no less than ourselves. That being the case, I say it is the bounden duty of all of us assembled in this Congress to pass the resolution that has been presented to you for your acceptance. There are certain features of the Reform Scheme which were brought to the notice of the delegates at the Lahore Congress and which it is necessary to bring again to your notice in brief: that is, that the Government of India have been inconsistent in the framing of the regulations with the professions which they made while introducing these reforms. Apart from the fact that this sectarian element has been introduced resulting in over-representation of one party, there are other features which are these: that the educated classes have been greatly neglected, and the classes which should not have been given much prominence have been unduly recognised and that what was pretended to be a very desirable object in the beginning, *viz.*, a non-official majority has turned out to be a delusion and a snare. As regards the educated class, I will have to take too much of your time to show you how they have not been properly treated, but as regards the landed and other classes being over-represented, I need only give you one instance of one of such members who recently called Mr. Keir Hardie a Sardar of White coolies. With what amount of ridicule that remark was treated by the press and even by some of the Anglo-Indians that caused it, I need not dwell upon here. If they have that class of representatives on the Council it is quite obvious that the Government do not carry out what they have first pledged themselves to. Gentlemen, there is another aspect of the question which I want to place before you, and that is this, that it should not in the least be considered that by placing before you this resolution it is intended in any way to run counter to the proposals that are coming before the Conciliation Conference. What we say is that this Congress assembled here places on record their approval of the proposition that they have on a former occasion

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legislations.

passed, and they put forward their own opinion on this occasion leaving it to the Conference to come to any decision subject to any criticism that may arise at that Conference and that this resolution does not tie the hands of the Congress and that we take our chance of the ultimate result of the Conference (*cheers*).

NAWAB SADIQ ALI KHAN [Lucknow, No. 493 in list] in further supporting said :—
Gentlemen, I wish to say a few words in support of the resolution which is now before you, not because I have anything new to add to what has just been said upon it, but because as a Mahomedan, I wish to join my Hindu friends in their just protest against the separatist policy that pervades the Reform Scheme under which our new Legislative Councils have been framed. For whatever its apologists may say, be they Moslem-Leaguers or Lieutenant-Governors or the chartered libertines of the Anglo-Indian Press, the scheme as it has been forged by the artists of the Government of India is based upon a policy which is undoubtedly a departure from the traditional policy of just and equal treatment of all classes of His Majesty's subjects and sets up for the first time in the history of British India, religious and racial distinctions as important elements in the extension of political privileges to the people. It cannot be denied that, as our new Viceroy so justly observed at Bombay, the grant of special privileges to one community means disabilities to other communities and that in this respect in my humble opinion the Government of Lord Minto went on a wrong track in safeguarding the so-called Mahomedan interests in a manner which has excited the just resentment of the Hindus, and which I am sure is regretted even by a section of sensible and fair-minded Mahomedans. Separate electorate for Mahomedans, seats in the Councils reserved for Mahomedans in excess of their numerical strength are no doubt great allurements, for they bring immediate gain to a certain number of Mahomedan gentlemen, but in reality they are calculated to do no good to the community at large, for they are sure to alienate the Hindu sympathies from it, and, therefore as long as the two communities remain divided from each other by sectarian jealousies and animosities, the larger and wider interests of the whole Indian nation are bound to suffer (*loud cheers*). I know it is said that separate electorates and special seat for Mahomedans are not inconsistent with the ideal of a united nation, but that each community by perfecting its own organisation separately will be able to unite with other communities all the better in the fulness of time. I do not agree with this view (*hear, hear*). I cannot believe that the best way to unite two communities is to divide them. I am glad to see some influential Mahomedan delegates in this Congress, and I hope that they will agree when I say that we are face to face with a political situation in this country which urgently demands that the two great communities must sink their class and religious differences and stand shoulder to shoulder if they want to obtain certain privileges which no Government will ever grant to a divided people (*loud and prolonged cheers*). Mr. Blunt's name is well-known to you all. His regard for Islam and its followers is equally well-known. What is his advice to his Mahomedan friends on this occasion? This is what he said in the letter he wrote on the occasion of the banquet given to our worthy President in London on the 23rd November last. 'I should have liked to have added my voice to those who seek to awaken the Mahomedans of India to a sense of the necessity there is for them, if they would share the full advantages of the coming self-government of their country, to hold aloof no longer from the Congress Movement. Their abstention twenty years ago may have been excusable in view of the attitude of their fellow-Moslems in Turkey, Persia and Egypt, who have all declared in favour of free institutions; a persistence in that abstention can hardly be other than unworthy and unwise.' Now I believe that if my Mahomedan friends hitherto held aloof from the Congress and advocated separate electorate for themselves owing to the very natural fear that as a minority their interests, if not specially protected, may suffer at the hands of the Hindu majority, it is possible

to remove this apprehension if by way of compromise both parties agree to this, that while the electorate may be one and the same for both, a certain number of seats may be fixed for Mahomedan members alone though such Members shall be elected by the general electorate. I have no doubt that the Hindus will be perfectly willing to concede their claim for any fair and equitable proportion of their Members (*hear, hear*). The Hindus must see that if the Mahomedans give up their separate electorate they must to some extent be compensated for it in the fixing of the number of their members. I know it will be said that by accepting this compromise though the proportion of Mahomedan members may remain unaffected or may even become larger, yet all the same they will be mere mandatories of the Hindu majority, and thus the Mahomedan interests will suffer. Now, gentlemen, I have never yet been able to find out what are Hindu interests and what are peculiarly Mahomedan interests. Anyhow a pound of experience is better than a ton of theories, and, therefore, confining myself to the work of the Legislative Councils during this first year of their existence I ask, was there one single measure in any Council which affected the interests of any particular community? Has there been any measure in any Council which but for the presence of the Mahomedan members would have affected their community injuriously? Again, there are Mahomedan members in the Councils who have been returned by mixed electorates: have they acted as mandatories of the Hindu majority? On the other hand, it is not without some feeling of sorrow and pain that I have to say that it was a Mahomedan Member of our own provincial council, elected by the special Mahomedan electorate who in the Imperial Council opposed the resolution on free primary education for India on the ground that it would deprive the well-to-do classes of the services of menial servants and labourers and would interfere with Mahomedan children's study of the Koran. I should have thought that if primary education was likely to be of special good or special advantage to any community, it was the Mahomedan community. But here is a shining light of the Allahabad Bar, a representative of the Mahomedan electorate, who by his foolish and thoughtless speech did some mischief to his own community. If he had been amenable to a wider public opinion he would have been more careful.

Our distinguished President has come out to India with the noble object of bringing about a reconciliation between the Hindu and the Mahomedan communities. Every true well-wisher of India must wish him success in his great and noble enterprise. But one thing I may be permitted to say, and I say it with great humility, but in all sincerity, that if the Mahomedan leaders are not able to persuade their co-religionists to give up communal representation, then, knowing as I do the state of Hindu feeling in the matter, our distinguished President will find his laudable enterprise an extremely tough work.

(So in conclusion, to my Mahomedan friends I say, be wise and be wise in time. Viceroy and Governors will come and will go, but India and the Indian people will endure (*cheers*). Be united therefore, be patriotic. Be loyal to the national cause which is the cause of all the communities living in this great land, and for the sake of certain paltry gains in the services or in the Councils do not sacrifice the larger hopes of an ampler day (*loud and continued cheers*).)

The speaker then resumed his seat amidst vociferous and enthusiastic cheers.

SHAIK FAIZ ALI [Lucknow, No. 514 in list] next addressed the Congress in Urdu.

MR. YUSUF HUSAIN [Lucknow, No. 509 in list] said:—Gentlemen, I call it unfair and dishonest on the part of a man or a body to demand a thing which is not his. It is not honest on the part of the Moslem League to demand an unfair portion of representation (*cheers*). If you owe me Rs. 100 and if I ask you for Rs. 200, is it honest? That is not honest.

Third day, Third day.

Resolution X.
Council Reform
Regulations.

Resolution XV.
Council Reform
Regulations.

The President (*addressing the speaker*): "You are not in order."

MR. YUSUF HUSAIN :—There will be no honest consideration of the question, if you don't allow me to tell the truth about class representation. I believe, and I admit as others do, that there should be a class representation and the minority should be there to speak out their minds but they must be elected. Why should there be a separate electorate? You send up Muhammadans from separate electorates and they are neither nominated members nor elected by the Hindus. But they can vote there in Hindu affairs. What is this nonsense? I tell you the object of the Moslem League which is absolutely full of one class is to exclude the Shiah sect from representation on the Council (*loud hisses and expressions of disapproval from leading delegates*). I know I am going to be stopped and I stop. In my province—I come from an unfortunate Province—for which you see the Congress leaders have no regard whatsoever. I come from Oudh province. Here, we have 4 seats allotted to the Muhammadans and not a single person holding my views—I do not go any further—has been elected. As far as you gentlemen from Bengal and all persons, specially Bengali gentlemen are concerned, you know how you are feeling the partition of Bengal. The partition of Bengal is not more dangerous to the interests of the land than these separate electorates, for while the partition of Bengal only means a division of land, here in these separate electorates, you see every house in India has been separated from every other house, and you ought to take it more seriously than the partition of Bengal or any other measure (*cheers*).

BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJEA (Calcutta, No. 260 *in list*) said :—Ladies and Gentlemen—My voice is now so bad that I cannot make a speech, and I am not on this platform to-day with a view to make a speech. But as the President has told you, I have a word of explanation to offer, but before I do so it seems to me that it is my duty on your behalf as well as of my own to dissociate myself and yourselves from the observations regarding the Moslem League which fell from the speaker who preceded me (*cheers*). The Moslem League and this Congress may differ in their political principles. The members of the Moslem League and the members of this Congress may not worship in the same temple (*hear, hear*). But, Sir, this Congress has always been distinguished by tolerance, by charity, by large-hearted magnanimity towards opponents (*cheers*). In the darkest days of the Congress when we were under official displeasure (a cry of 'we were not, Sir'), we were I say, when we were under official displeasure, when a distinguished leader of the Congress movement—the illustrious founder of the Congress movement—Mr. Hume—(*cheers*)—in those dark days when he entered into a controversy with the head of the Government of this province, what charity, what forbearance, what large-heartedness, what tolerance did he not display in carrying out that controversy, in taking his part in that discussion. The traditions of Mr. Hume are the traditions of the Congress (*hear, hear*), and, therefore, I appeal to you to declare with an emphatic "yes" that you as a body dissociate yourselves from the reflections which have just been made upon the Moslem League (*cries of "yes"*). I rejoice to find that that is the judgment—the pronounced judgment of this Congress. Well, Sir, I did not come to make this preliminary statement. I have a word or two of explanation to offer with regard to the resolution which is before you. In the first place, you will have noticed that the resolution may not meet with my support and although it is a resolution which I fear has not the whole-hearted approval of our colleagues, much more do I delight to honour the first part of the resolution which insists upon a very fair and adequate representation of all minorities not merely of Mahomedan minorities but of Hindu minorities wherever such minorities exist. We have such a minority in East Bengal. We have such a minority in the Punjab. I understand that there is such a minority in Sindh. This resolution which you are called upon

to accept, insists that where there is a Hindu minority that minority shall be fairly and fully represented on the Legislative Council. We demand equal justice for minorities irrespective of race, colour or creed (*cheers*). Here we stand upon the gracious word of the Queen's Proclamation. That is the first part of the explanation which I have to offer. In the next place, the Congress reiterates the disapproval which we recorded last year at Lahore in regard to special electorates. Why do we object to special electorates? We object to them for the sake of Hindus? We object to them on the very high ground of the creation of a united nationality (*cheers*). We know—the Congress knows—that the advance of this country depends upon the growing solidarity and friendliness between the two great communities which inhabit this great continent. Hindus and Mahomedans, in the words of Sir Syed Ahmed, are the eyes of a fair maiden. Injure the one and you injure the other. We take our stand upon the pronouncement; we recognise that the downfall of this country is due to our division. We are anxious to cure these divisions. We are anxious to promote and foster a spirit of united nationality. We hope and believe that these separate electorates will do a lot of mischief. Therefore if we, in the name of a united nationality, in the interests of Hindus and Mahomedans, set our faces against these special electorates, not for the sake of Hindus, not for the sake of Mahomedans, not for the sake of Jains or of Christians, but for the sake of that divinity—our motherland (*cheers*). One word more and I have done. There will be a resolution placed before you by Mr. Jinnah, a Congress leader, and seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. Haque, another Congress leader, and this resolution will deprecate the introduction of the communal principle into the local bodies such as Municipalities and District Boards. This is a great danger which threatens the United Provinces. This is a danger which threatens the other Provinces. What is good for the United Provinces will be found good for the rest of India. Therefore, we must nip the mischief in the bud and with the great Mahomedan leaders representing such a volume of Mahomedan opinion and sentiment, we hope to knock on the head this mischievous principle fraught with disaster to this country. That is all the statement that I have been called upon to make and I thank you for the patience with which you have heard me make it (*loud cheers*).

The President then put the resolution to the Congress and declared it carried, when Pandit Ram Bhoj Dut Choudhuri [Lahore, No. 555 in list] said that he had hoped that he and others would be permitted to move amendments.

THE HONOURABLE MR. GOKHALE [Bombay, No. 125 in list]:—Mr. Choudhuri sent a notice saying that he was going to move an amendment but the terms of the amendments were not sent with the notice and so no amendment could be accepted now.

MR. CHOUDHURI:—I have to appeal to the President (*cries of order, order*) and Mr. Choudhuri resumed his seat under protest.

THE HON'BLE MR. M. A. JINNAH [Bombay, No. 126 in list] said:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I am not prepared to make a long speech on this resolution as I did not intend to speak at all but in response to the wishes of a great many leaders of the Congress, I have agreed to move this resolution before you. Gentlemen, I wish it to be made quite clear that I do not represent the Muhammadan community here nor have I any mandate from the Muhammadan community. I only express my personal views here and nothing more. As far as my personal views are concerned, they are well-known to many of you, and these are embodied in this resolution. The resolution runs:—

Resolution XVI.—Separate Electorates for Local Bodies.

“This Congress strongly deprecates the extension or application of the principle of separate communal electorates to Municipalities, district boards or other local bodies.”

Resolution X
—Separate
Electorates
Local Bodie

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Resolution XVI.
- Separate
electorates for
all Bodies.

With these few remarks, I beg to propose this resolution (*cheers*).

THE HONOURABLE MR. MAZHAR-UL-HAQUE, [Behar, No. 590 in list] said:—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I have been asked to second the resolution which has just now been moved by my hon'ble friend Mr. Jinnah, and I do so gladly and whole-heartedly (*cheers*). Of course my friend Mr. Banerjea has taken me quite unawares, and I must say, I do not think that I subscribe to all he has said to you. I do not want to be misunderstood but I must say one thing, gentlemen, that I have very great pleasure in thanking him for the expression of his views as regards the Moslem League. You may call it misfortune or good fortune but I am a Moslem Leaguer as well, because I believe in the Unity of India (*hear, hear*). I believe that it is the duty of every Muhammadan to join the League as well as the Congress (*cheers and hear, hear*). [Mr. Yusuf Husain:—Except myself]. (*laughter*). Gentlemen, in this resolution one principle is involved and that is to say whether the different communities of India should be separately represented by their separate electorates. I have not the least hesitation here before all of you to say that I personally believe that the principle of separate representation is an unsound one (*hear, hear*) but at the same time, gentlemen, you must remember that politics is a game of expediency. There is such a thing as riding a principle to death. To my mind the question of questions for the present in India is to bring the two communities together (*hear, hear*) in order that they may work shoulder to shoulder for the regeneration of our motherland (*cries of Bande Mataram*). Gentlemen, for this object you have to give in a little bit, chance a little and shake hands with your Muhammadan brethren. You are the elder brother, and you can afford to be generous, and you can afford to be large-hearted, and if your Muhammadan brethren ask you to give a little more, you should not say no to them. Open your hearts to them, take them in your open arms and be brothers to them. I tell you this is the solution of the problem. Gentlemen, they have got special electorates for themselves in the Imperial and Local councils. Well, they have got them. The fact is there. It is no use opening up old sores, absolutely no use, I tell you. If you will do it you will ruin the cause of India, because you will never bring Muhammadans to your fold. I say, stop it for heaven's sake. I go further and say let Muhammadans stop where they have gone so far and no further. We shall not have these separate representations in the local municipalities and boards. So far and no further. You have got it. Time will come when Muhammadans and Hindus will join together and then there will be no room for separate electorates even for the Imperial and Provincial Councils. I assure you I feel like this, but I am a new-comer and this is how I have gauged the present situation in the country and I ask you to be a little generous now. His Highness the Aga Khan,—look at his generosity and large-heartedness, has come all the way in a special train from Nagpur with fifty Muhammadan leaders. They are coming to you, you are not going to them. Theirs is the first hand to be extended to you. For heaven's sake, in the name of your country, in the name of our motherland, grasp it and do not reject it. The regeneration of your country demands it. Think for a moment, do not be carried away by sentiments. Sentiments are all right, principles are all right, but I tell you for myself, I shall sacrifice ten thousand principles and ten thousand separate electorates simply with one object, namely, to bring the two communities together in order that they may work hand in hand. Gentlemen, with these few words I ask you to accept this resolution (*cheers*).

MR. SYED HASAN IMAM [Bankipur, No. 591 in list] said:—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I had thought that after this resolution had been moved by my hon'ble friends, Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Huque, there was in reality no further occasion for any support. I consider that the names of these two gentlemen in themselves represent the support of all enlightened and

thoughtful men in the country. I have in deference to the wishes of the President responded to the call made on me. You are perhaps already acquainted with the views that I personally entertain on the question of communal representations and separate electorates. In having this resolution separately, we are merely emphasising the principle of protest against the separate electorates that have already been established concerning the Imperial and the Provincial Councils. It is quite apparent that when a few thoughtful men of this country at the time that the reforms were inaugurated raised their voices of protest against all schemes of separate electorates, they fully realised the consequent effect of such a scheme. When in the year 1908, before we went to Madras, the question of the reforms of the Council formed the main topic of absorbing interest in all our conversations, every thoughtful man in the land realised, and justly realised, that this pernicious scheme would travel down from the chamber of the Viceroy's Council to the chamber of the District and Taluk Boards. It was then that we considered that our voice ought to be raised against all institutions that might create a division between the various classes that inhabit this vast land. Gentlemen, that apprehension entertained more than a year now has come to be realised in the form of actual proposals being made either in these distracted provinces or the other provinces. That apprehension has come to be realised, as actual proposals are made for the scheme which has found its place in the reforms concerning the Councils to equally find a place in reforms governing the constitution of local bodies in the form of District Boards and Municipalities. This is not merely an objection on the ground of sentiment. Sentiment accounts for a great deal undoubtedly, but looking at it from a more practical point of view one can have no hesitation in declaring that the method of separate representation on the local bodies will introduce great complications that will subsequently get into the homes of every Indian, be he a Hindu, or Muhammadan, Parsi, or Jain, Christian, or Sikh or any body else. Gentlemen, I do not feel that I would be justified in discussing in connection with this resolution the reforms and the separate electorates formed under the reforms, though the temptation is very great, inasmuch as, I have felt most strongly on the subject and I feel still more strongly on the subject of this resolution, for, if we come down with these principles from the Imperial and the Provincial Councils to the District Boards and Municipalities, we do not know where we shall stop. Gentlemen, with these few words I commend this resolution to your notice, and I support it (*cheers*).

The resolution was carried unanimously.

MR. G. K. DEVADHAR [Poona, No. 246 in list] in moving the resolution on this subject said :—Mr. President, brother-delegates, and ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in moving the resolution which is entrusted to my care, which runs as follows :—

Resolution XVII.—Conciliation Boards.

“In view of the disturbances that have occurred from time to time in this country on occasions of religious celebrations, this Congress urges the Government to form Conciliation Boards at places where disturbances are apprehended and to take timely and adequate measures for the prevention of such disturbances.”

Gentlemen, this resolution deals with the most unfortunate disturbances with which you are all familiar. They have recently developed a very serious tendency and thus have engaged the anxious thought of the well-wishers of our country. They have caused a considerable loss to both life and property as noticed in the case of the recent Calcutta riots. What is more sad is that they have done incalculable harm to our national progress by provoking bitterest feelings among the important sections of the Indian community and have largely retarded the peaceful advancement of our

Third day
Resolution X
—Separate
Electorates of
Local Bodies

Resolution X
—Conciliation
Boards.

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 Third day.
 Resolution XVII.
 Conciliation
 Boards.

Motherland. They are, thus, becoming every day a source of grave anxiety to those that have the best interests of the country at heart. It is, therefore, high time that the Congress, as the spokesman of the people, should come forth to respectfully urge on the attention of the Government the necessity of giving their earnest thought to this question and of organising, first at places that have made themselves notorious by deplorable occurrences, Conciliation Boards, framing a constitution for them so as to effectively prevent them in the future and by resorting to measures at once prompt and strong with the consent and assistance of the people.

This resolution is worded in general terms because these disturbances do not take place between the Hindus and Mahomedans only, but they occur between caste and caste, between creed and creed and between race and race. Regarding their extent, it must be said that they are not confined to one place, or, for the matter of that, to any particular province; but they are spread over most of the provinces. There have been feuds in the Punjab between the Hindus and Muhammadans and latterly between the Sikhs and the Hindus. In the United Provinces such occurrences take place between the Hindus and Mahomedans and, strange to say, between the Sheas and the Sunnis. In Bengal, they are very frequent between the Hindus and Mahomedans and down in Madras, the Hindus and Christians are sometimes at daggers drawn. And in Tinnevely some of the sections of the lowest classes fight with each other. In Bombay, these communal embroilments have frequently disturbed the peace existing between the Hindus and Mahomedans at places such as Belgaum, Bombay, Poona and Dhulia; and latterly the relations between the Hindus on the one hand and the Jains and Lingayats on the other hand have become very strained and would have resulted in serious troubles at places like Athni, but for the prompt action of the authorities. Thus you will clearly see, ladies and gentlemen, that they have a long enough tradition behind them: they are of frequent occurrence and they are not merely local or provincial, but they are spread over a large area.

The cause that is responsible for all this trouble is, in my opinion, two-fold. The first is the deep-rooted bigotry which, being based upon the being of traditional antagonism, breaks out aggressively on some occasions; and the second is the machinations of some evil-doers that quicken the slumbering animosity, kindle race-hatred and disturb public tranquillity. It is worth noting, however, that men of good breeding and respectability in all communities do not countenance, but try to hold back, these mischief-mongers who have their axes to grind. These enemies of society, of no substance and no stake, always find it convenient to rouse the rougher elements in the community by appealing to their baser feeling. It is, therefore, the most sacred duty of those who recognise the responsibility of promoting the well-being of these 'warring communities' not only to lend them no support, but to nip in the bud their evil tendencies. The remedy that has been successfully tried in one or two places is the establishment, by mutual agreement, of Boards of Conciliation consisting of members from all the communities between which bad blood is likely to be caused. A Panchayat or a Committee was formed six or seven years ago in Songir, a town in the district of West Khandesh, where it has been working satisfactorily. Last year, a similar committee was formed at Lucknow and it has done very useful work. If, therefore, Government adopts this method, proved to be practicable and promising of success by the experience of these and other places, and organises Conciliation Boards, as contemplated by the resolution with the approval of the people, a beginning will be made in the right direction.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, let me ask you one simple question before I conclude. Can India to-day afford to be disturbed by those petty quarrels, at a time when a true brotherly spirit ought to govern the relations between one section and another, and when we should be trained in the habit of working in perfect

harmony and unison for the common good? No, certainly not. India needs every thought and feeling of her patriotic sons and daughters to be directed to the furtherance of her best interests. Let every patriotic person, therefore, try his or her utmost to secure that peace and good-will which are so essential for our advancement as *United India* (cheers.)

Third day
Resolution XI
—Conciliatic
Boards.

MR. RAMKUMAR GOENKA [Calcutta, No. 294 in list] seconded the resolution speaking in Hindi and referred to the bakr-id riots in Calcutta.

The resolution was put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT.—The next resolution will be put from the Chair; it is a formal matter and there will be no difference of opinion about it. The resolution runs as follows:—

Resolution XVIII.—Reforms in the Central Provinces and Berar.

“This Congress is of opinion that the time has come for the establishment of a Provincial Legislative Council for the Central Provinces and Berar, and for according to Berar, which is now held by the British Government on a permanent tenure, the status and privileges which are accorded to the provinces included in British India.”

Resolution XVI
—Reforms in
Central
Provinces and
Berar.

You are probably aware that in the Central Provinces there is no Legislative Council while every other province has one. Therefore, it is a matter of first importance that this resolution should be adopted. It is part of the Reform Scheme that the Central Provinces should be provided with a Legislative Council, and Berar which has just been included within British jurisdiction should be raised to the status of a British Province. I think that there can be absolutely no difference of opinion about this proposition and I hope you will carry it unanimously.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT.—The next resolution is also to be put from the Chair. That represents similar views in regard to the Punjab. It runs as follows:—

Resolution XIX.—Reform Scheme in the Punjab.

“This Congress records its opinion that the Regulations framed for the Punjab under the Reform Scheme fail to give satisfaction for the following reasons, namely:—

Resolution XI
—Reform Scheme
in the Punjab

“(a) that the numerical strength of the Council provided for in the Regulations is not sufficient to allow an adequate representation to all classes and interests of the population, nor is it commensurate with the progress made by that Province in matters social, educational, industrial and economical;

“(b) that the elected element prescribed by the Regulations for the Local Legislative Council is unduly small and altogether insufficient to meet the needs and requirements of that Province and compares unfavourably with those accorded to other Provinces;

“(c) that the proportion of nominated members of the Punjab Legislative Council is inequitable and out of proportion to the ratio of the different sections of the population; and

“(d) that the regulations as framed tend practically to keep out non-Mahomedans from the Imperial Legislative Council.”

The resolution was put from the Chair and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT.—There is another resolution to be put from the Chair, in regard to which there can be no difference of opinion. It is the following resolution about the reduction of Cable rates:—

FOURTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.
Thursday, 29th December, 1910.

Fourth day

The Congress assembled at 9-15 A.M.

THE PRESIDENT, on taking his chair, said:—Gentlemen as our time is short and as most of the resolutions to-day are not of a contentious character I will ask the speakers to be rather brief in their remarks. I will call upon Mr. A. P. Patro of Berhampore [*No. 35 in list*] to move the resolution on education.

MR. A. P. PATRO [*Berhampore, No. 35 in list*] said:—“Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—The proposition I have to place before you runs as follows:—

Resolution XXI.—Education.

Resolution X
— Educatio

“This Congress is of opinion that the Government should take early steps:—

- (a) to assign larger sums of money to secondary and higher education (especial encouragement being given, where necessary, to educate all backward classes);
- (b) to make adequate provision for imparting industrial and technical education in the different provinces, having regard to local requirements; and
- (c) to give effective voice to the leaders of Indian public opinion in shaping the policy and system of education in this country.

“In the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for people, all over the country, to take up earnestly the question of supplementing existing institutions and the efforts of Government by organising for themselves an independent system of literary, scientific, technical and industrial education, suited to the conditions of the different provinces in the country.”

Ladies and gentlemen,—The beneficent policy of Lord Curzon in the resolution of 1904 dealt an effective blow on the progress of higher education. In the name of efficiency, the Government of India remodelled the educational policy and substantially went back over the policy inaugurated by the illustrious statesman, Lord Ripon. In three ways the path of progress was hindered. The University Regulations including the rules of affiliation, the rules as to fees and recognition and the formation of Model Schools tended to destroy the growth of higher education and discourage private enterprise altogether. The educational policy of 1882 insisted on increased reliance on private effort and encouragement of indigenous institutions. As a result of this policy, large numbers of schools came into existence and if to-day you find any increase in the proportion of educated Indians or any rise in the percentage of the same, it is solely due to the wise and useful policy of Lord Ripon.

The rules of affiliation impose very severe restrictions on the eligibility to earn grant-in-aid. The whole system of education is brought under Government control and the cost of education was made very heavy and the State aid was correspondingly reduced. As a result of these rules, in Madras about six colleges out of 36 went out of existence and there was a fall of about 500 students in College classes. The rules state that a grant of half the difference between the income and expenditure will be given. Suppose, for instance, the expenditure on a school is about Rs. 20,000 and the calculated income according to standard rate of fees is Rs. 10,000, Government will grant a sum of Rs. 5,000 provided the Institution has a guaranteed income of Rs. 5000 from endowments and public subscriptions. Now is this just and fair in the circumstances of the country? In a poor country like ours, where a beginning has just now been made for public

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men to combine together and support education, these rules cut the ground out by their feet. The regulations also increased school fees at an enormously high rate. There is an increase of 33 per cent. in the B.A. class, and a proportionate increase from 20 to 46 per cent. in the secondary school classes. Unless the standard rate of fees is raised in the schools and colleges, grant will not be given. The vigorous application of the fee regulations resulted in the fall in the number of students. In a certain High school in the Northern Circars, the Inspecting officers from time to time observed that the school has been working satisfactorily and in the Northern Circars many such important schools could be numbered. Yet the new rules require that unless the school is equipped with a cost of Rs. 20,000 in the shape of buildings, furniture, etc., the school will be disaffiliated. I shall give you another instance. In Calcutta, I had the pleasure of visiting a First Grade College which has the reputation of possessing a Laboratory for the B.Sc., second only to the Presidency College. At one time, the Inspecting officers required an equipment at a cost of Rs. 2,000, and now again a few months later, the Inspecting officer requires equipment at a cost of Rs. 10,000. Thus, the whole machinery of higher education is placed at the mercy of the Government and its officials and the cost is so prohibitive that a large number of useful institutions have to be wiped out of existence. In Madras, we have yet a further obstacle for private enterprise. If a committee refuses to conform to the departmental rules and refuses grant-in-aid also, the students therein will not be admitted to other recognised schools and into the University Entrance Examination.

Out of a total expenditure of Rs. 400 lakhs on Education, Provincial and Imperial revenues contribute only 104 lakhs. A few years back the expenditure per head in respect of higher education was Rs. 7.6 but now there is a fall of about 18 per cent. under the rules now worked out. From another aspect of the case you will also see the very inadequate expenditure on higher education. In all, the cost of education is said to be Rs. 0.4-6 per head in proportion to population while in other countries the cost has been at the average of Rs. 7 to Rs. 10, per head.

The financial difficulty is not very great because in Madras from the re-settlement there was an increase in Land revenue from 17 to 21 per cent. over the last demand. This is a recurring income and an expenditure on higher education is a just contribution to the people's cause.

Representatives of the people have no voice in shaping the policy of Government. The Resolution of 1904 was the product of a conference of departmental heads. The old policy was brought under several restrictions. The voice of the people is not felt—while the people demand the expansion of higher education, while increased expenditure on education is urged and while private enterprise is required to be encouraged the present policy of the Government completely neglected public opinion, the leaders of Indian thought ought to be consulted in shaping the policy. Resolutions could be moved in the Legislative Councils but we know with what confidence of success. It is a noble and safe policy to associate the people with the Government of the country and to listen to the voice of the people's representatives in shaping its policy. There will then be no complaint or grievance, peace and contentment is bound to prevail.

On industrial education, the Government admittedly spends very little. The Resolution of 1904 acknowledges it and promises to make an experiment in starting industrial schools. Industrial education should be given to those artizans and foremen who can, by training in useful industry, work for the expansion of local industries. At present the Government has a few Schools of Art wherein a few art industries only are taught. The time has come when a substantial improvement should be made.

Private enterprise must come into play. Unless there is self-sacrifice and self-reliance, progress is impossible. The Andhra Kalisilā in the Northern Circars is an example of self-sacrifice and patriotism and national progress is impossible unless we combine and work together in peace and harmony.

Fourth da
Resolution X
—Educatlo

MR. PULIN CHANDRA DASS [Chittagong, No. 339 in list] in seconding the resolution said:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution and in my opinion this is one of the most important resolutions. A portion of this resolution forms one of the four resolutions which found its place in the Calcutta Congress presided over by the Grand Old Man of India. You all, perhaps, will remember that like some others of these resolutions it has not been altogether eliminated. I need hardly remind you the need of an independent system of education was felt long before the introduction of the educational reforms by that great Viceroy whose name I need not mention here but to whom proper justice has been done by Mr. Llyod George (*cheers*). After the introduction of those reforms in education, followed by the partition of Bengal, the leaders of Bengal inaugurated a movement of national education that was quite independent of the system of education and what success has been achieved by the National College of Bengal you all, gentlemen, know. Several institutions have been formed in the different districts of Bengal, but unfortunately the authorities look with bitter eyes on those institutions. So you see, gentlemen, that the imparting of education is a most important function of the State. That function, as we all know, the State is not fully able to discharge and yet when the leaders inaugurate a movement for such an independent system of education, they are thwarted and looked upon with suspicious eyes; those institutions are naturally not thriving. Who is responsible for this? Our resolution is that an independent system of education should be established and that the leaders of public opinion should work for its promotion, and disabuse the mind of the Government specially when the authorities look upon these institutions with suspicion. I think, gentlemen, you are all impatient and I heartily second this resolution with these few words (*cheers*).

MR. DAVI PRASAD SUKLA [Cawnpore, No. 433 in list] supported the resolution in Hindi.

MR. V. R. DIXIT [Nagpur, No. 576 in list] in supporting the resolution, said:—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I have to confine my remarks to five minutes. There have been speakers before me in support of this resolution. It is the one aspect of the resolution that I desire to speak on and it is this:—I think that the Government should take early steps for imparting higher and secondary education, especially industrial and technical education, having regard to local requirements. Further the Government should consider effectively the voice of the public opinion on the subject and the same should have due weight and effect in shaping the policy and system of education in this country. In our province, we have the Victoria Technical Institute, which though in its infancy at present, we hope in course of time, will supply the need of our province. Our old arts and industries are fast vanishing away and we are fast losing ground. We specially want industrial and technical education: but for this kind of education no place would be found for us in any of the European countries that we see before us flourishing. Leaving out primary education which is not the subject of this resolution, I strongly urge in favour of and support the fact that we are in need of and do want higher education in the shape of industrial and technical education to revive our dying arts and industries. Gentlemen, I hear the President's call and I must wish you good bye. But one thing I desire to impress upon your mind, and that you will agree with me, and it is this that the necessity for the industrial and technical education is very great indeed and that the Government will see its way in the immediate

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future to look to this side of the question and help us in our interest and give this higher secondary education which is of the utmost importance (*cheers*).

MR. RAMAKANT MALAVIYA [Allahabad, No. 359 in list] further supported the resolution in a speech in Hindi.

The resolution was put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—I will now place before you the remaining resolutions which have to be put from the Chair. Resolution 22 runs as follows:—

olution XXII.
 Simultaneous
 examinations.

Resolution XXII.—Simultaneous Examinations.

“This Congress is of opinion that the examination held in England for the Indian Civil Service should be simultaneously held in India and in England and that all higher appointments which are made in India should be made by competitive examinations only.”

This is a favourite resolution of your Grand Old Man. I am sure you will carry it with acclamation.

The resolution was carried amidst acclamation.

THE PRESIDENT:—Resolution 23 which relates to Police Reforms, Permanent Settlement and Military Expenditure, runs as follows:—

olution XXIII.
 Omnibus Resolu-
 tion.

Resolution XXIII.—Omnibus Resolution.

1.—Police Reforms.

“(a) Competitive examinations for the recruitment of the Police Service in the higher grades should be thrown open to all classes of British subjects instead of being confined to candidates of British birth and such examinations should be held simultaneously in England and in India;

“(b) Educated Indians should be largely employed in the higher grades in order to secure efficiency in work;

“(c) Enlistment in the Provincial Service should be by competitive examination; and, lastly

“(d) The District Officers who are the heads of the Police should be relieved of Judicial work and all control over the Magistrates of the Districts.

2.—Permanent Settlement.

“A reasonable and definite limitation to the State demand on land and the introduction of a permanent settlement or a settlement for a period of not less than 60 years in those provinces where short periodical settlements or revisions prevail, are, in the opinion of the Congress, the only means of ameliorating the present unsatisfactory condition of the agricultural population.

3.—Military Expenditure.

“In the opinion of the Congress, a reduction is urgently needed of the annually growing Military Expenditure which now absorbs nearly one-third of the Empire's revenue leaving an inadequate portion only of the balance available for many objects of public utility, especially education and sanitation, which are yet greatly starved.”

I put this resolution also from the Chair.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The President, then, put from the Chair the following resolutions:—

olution XXIV.
 — Political
 Prisoners.

Resolution XXIV.—Political Prisoners.

“Having regard to the great improvement which has taken place in the general situation of the country as recognised by the late Viceroy and other high authorities, this Congress respectfully appeals to His Excellency Lord Hardinge to signalize the

commencement of a new administration by an act of clemency to those who are undergoing imprisonment for purely political offences. In the opinion of this Congress, such an act of clemency will have the undoubted effect of facilitating the return of the country to normal conditions and will lead to a further improvement in the relations between the Government and the people."

Fourth day
Resolution XX
—Political
Prisoners.

Resolution XXV.—Amendments in the Constitution.

Resolution XX
—Amendmen
in the
Constitutor

"That the amendments suggested by the United Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and such other amendments as may be suggested by other Committees be referred to a Sub-Committee consisting of the members of the All-India Congress Committee and two members elected by each of the Provincial Congress Committee, who are members of a Congress organization, for consideration and report before the end of October, the Sub-Committee to meet at Allahabad, and that their report should be laid before the next Congress for consideration."

These resolutions were carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—I have received a protest from some of the Punjab delegates against the manner in which Resolution 15 (Council Reform Regulations) was disposed of yesterday. They protest that they did not receive an opportunity of moving their amendment. I am perfectly willing to record their protest in the proceedings of the Congress, and I desire to point out that the amendment was not handed in and I do not know if any was at all given. Rule 12 provides that no motion or amendment is to be allowed to be moved unless timely notice of the same is given with the names of the proposer and seconder. It is, thus, clear that the amendment could not be moved. We should strictly adhere to the Rules, and I was compelled to disallow the amendment.*

The next resolution, gentlemen, relates to the All-India Congress Committee. It is:—

Resolution XXVI.—All-India Congress Committee.

Resolution XX
—All-India Co
gress Commit

"The following gentlemen are nominated to constitute the All-India Congress Committee for 1911:—

Members.

Madras—

1. The Hon'ble Mr. Nawab Syed Mahomed Bahadur.
2. The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
3. Mr. P. R. Sundara Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
4. The Hon'ble Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.
5. Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon, B.A.
6. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, B.A., L.T.
7. The Hon'ble Mr. P. Kesava Pillai.
8. Mr. K. R. Guruswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
9. Mr. W. L. Venkataramiah, B.A., B.L. (Berhampore Ganjam).
10. The Hon'ble Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
11. Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
12. Mr. G. A. Natesan, B.A.
13. Mr. P. N. Raman Pillai, B.A.
14. The Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Row, B.A., B.L. (Ellore)
15. Mr. V. V. Jogiah Pantulu Garu, (Berhampore).

EX-OFFICIO:—

Bombay—

1. Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq.
2. Hon. Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta, M.A., K.C.I.E.
3. Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, B.A., C.I.E.
4. D. E. Wacha, Esq.
5. Daji Abaji Khare, Esq., B.A., LL.B.

* See Appendix F.

fourth day.

Resolution XXVI.
All-India Congress Committee.

ELECTED :—

1. Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt., L.M.
2. Hon. Mr. Gokul Das Kahan Das Parekh, B.A., LL.B.
3. Hon. Mr. Chimanlal H. Sitalvad, B.A., LL.B.
4. Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah.
5. Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal Desai, M.A., LL.B.
6. Hon. Mr. Harchandrai Vishandas, B.A., LL.B.
7. Rao Bahadur Khandebhai Gulabbhai Desai, I.C.E.
8. Abbas S. Tyabji, Esq.
9. Hormusji A. Wadya, Esq.
10. Vishnu Krishna Bhatavadekar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
11. Narayan Madhav Samarth, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
12. Mathra Das Ramchand Javahari, Esq., B.A.
13. Hari Sitaram Dixit, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
14. Narayan Vishnu Gokhale, B.A., LL.B.
15. Damodar Ganesh Padhye, Esq., M.A.

EX-OFFICIO :—

Bengal—

1. Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea.
2. Dr. Rashbehary Ghosh, C.I.E.

ELECTED :—

1. Hon'ble Babu Baikunthanath Sen (Berhampore).
2. Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar (Faridpur).
3. „ Ananda Chandra Roy (Dacca).
4. „ Aswini Kumar Dutt (Barisal).
5. „ Bishnupada Chatterji (Hoeghly).
6. „ Kishorimohan Chowdhuri (Rajshahye).
7. „ Krishna Kumar Mitra.
8. Mr. A. Choudhri.
9. Mr. J. Ghosal.
10. Babu Prithwish Chandra Roy.
11. „ Jatimohan Sen (Chittagong).
12. Mr. J. Choudhri.
13. Babu Heramba Chandra Maitra.
14. „ Jogendra Nath Mukerjee.
15. Maulvi Abdul Kasim.
16. Maulvi Dedar Bux.
17. Dr. Nilratan Sircar.
18. Babu Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta.
19. Hon'ble Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu.
20. Babu Satyananda Bose.

EX-OFFICIO :—

United Provinces—

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

ELECTED :—

1. The Hon'ble Pandit Moti Lal Nehru (Allahabad).
2. The Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha (Allahabad).
3. The Hon'ble Babu Ganga Prashad Verma Varma (Lucknow).
4. Dr. Satish Chandra Banerji (Allahabad).
5. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru (Allahabad).
6. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (Allahabad).
7. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra (Lucknow).

8. Pandit Iqbal Narain Masaldan (Lucknow).
9. Babu Ram Chandra (Lucknow).
10. Mr. Mushir Husain Qidwai (Lucknow).
11. Nawab M. M. Sadiq Ali Khan (Lucknow).
12. Mr. A. P. Sen (Lucknow).
13. Babu Iswar Saran (Allahabad).
14. Babu Preo Nath Banerjee (Bareilly).
15. Munshi Narain Prashad Asthana (Agra).

Central Provinces—

1. The Hon'ble Mr. G. M. Chitnavis, C.I.E., Member of the Viceregal Council.
2. R. B. D. N. Choudhri, B.A., LL.B., Pleader, (Raipur).
3. R. B. Vaman Rao Kolhatkar (Retired Sessions Judge).
4. R. B. Bapurao Dada, M.A., B.L., Advocate.
5. R. B. V. R. Pandit, M.A., Bar-at-Law.
6. V. R. Dixit, Esq., Bar-at-Law.
7. M. K. Padhye, Esq., B.A., LL.B.

The Punjab—

1. Hon. Lala Harkishan Lal.
2. L. Dhanpat Rai.
3. L. Sangam Lal.
4. L. Dharam Das Suri.
5. Pandit Ram Bhuj Dutt Choudhri.
6. Mr. S. S. Bhatia.
7. Mr. Gunpat Rai.
8. Mr. Duni Chand.
9. Mr. N. Gupta.
10. Ringada Bhagat Ram.
11. L. Bhana Ram.
12. S. Gucharan Singh.
13. R. S. Gordhan Lal.

Behar—

1. M. Syed Hasan Imam.
2. The Hon'ble Mr. Muzhar-ul Haque.
3. The Hon'ble Mr. Deep Narain Singh.
4. Mr. Parmeshwar Lal.
5. Hon'ble Mr. Braj Kishore Lal.

Berar—

1. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar.
2. Rao Bahadur Deorao Vinayak.
3. Mr. M. V. Joshi.
4. Mr. R. G. Mundle.
5. Gulam Mohamad Khan, Esq.

Burma—

1. Mr. V. G. Bijapurkur, M.A., LL.B.
2. Mr. Somasundaram Mudaliar."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJEA [Calcutta, No. 260 in list] was then called upon to move the next resolution. He rose amidst loud cheers and said :—

Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I have the honour to move the following resolution :—

Resolution XXVII.—Thanks for Services.

Fourth day.
Resolution
XXVII.—
Thanks for
Services.

“This Congress desires to convey to Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. A. O. Hume, Sir Henry Cotton and other members of the British Committee its grateful thanks for their disinterested and strenuous services, and it takes this opportunity to make an earnest appeal to the Indian public to place adequate funds at the disposal of the Committee to enable it to carry on its work with vigour.”

Sir, to me it is a matter of peculiar gratification to be associated with this resolution. For, it affords me the opportunity of expressing on your behalf, as well as on my own, the sense of our deep gratitude to the British Committee and the three distinguished gentlemen who constitute the pillars and props of that Committee, namely, our worthy president, Sir William Wedderburn (*hear, hear*), Mr. Hume (*hear, hear*) and Sir Henry Cotton (*hear, hear*). Sir, I am not guilty of the slightest exaggeration when I say that it will be difficult to find in the ranks of our public men three workers of such unexampled devotion and of such self-sacrificing zeal. In the evening of their lives, they have given up their well-earned rest and have dedicated themselves to the service of our motherland. Theirs is a thankless task in England. It is in England a dreary work without any recognition, without any appreciation and I am afraid it is at times to be conducted, as in the case of Mr. Mackarness, amidst obloquy and wilful and persistent misrepresentation. The least that we can do in recognition of this service is to offer the obeisance of our hearts to the British Committee and these gentlemen, and seek to emulate the example of their noble lives. Sir, in the remarks which I had the honour to address to this Congress on the occasion of proposing you as our President, I said that sometimes—I am afraid too frequently—uncharitable criticism has been levelled against the British Committee and its organ ‘India.’ Sir, I don’t object to criticism at all (*hear, hear*). I think criticism, honest,—healthy criticism—has a beneficial effect upon us. It makes us straight, it is calculated to improve institutions and even men and manners. But, Sir, there are criticisms, and criticisms, and when an attack is levelled upon the Indian National Congress and on its work based upon gratuitous assumptions and wilful misrepresentations and animated by open and avowed hostility, it awakens in our minds the sense of indignation not unmixed with contempt (*hear, hear*). I refer to the criticisms which have appeared in a local paper (*shame*) which aspires and affects to represent the opinion of the Government of this province. The *Pioneer* (*shame*)—never mind, let us not indulge in these demonstrations for the present—the *Pioneer*—I hope its representatives are within the sound of my voice and if they are not, I come close to them so that they may listen and note down every word of what I say—the *Pioneer* has done us the honour of giving us a two-column leader. Its leaders are never less than two columns. And in the course of that two-column leader, the world has been told, that we are a number of loquacious orators. And that,—now mark the words, I am quoting the exact words of the *Pioneer*—‘we in our hundreds have descended upon the city of Allahabad.’ Descended upon the city of Allahabad! The terms are perfectly innocuous; but the implication is significant. Are we so many locusts that we have descended upon this beautiful city (*voices of no, no*) or are we the representatives of some frontier tribes who have descended upon the fair streets of Allahabad sweeping and carrying desolation all around? But, the journal is pleased to tell its readers that we are not really so mischievous, for all the weapon of offence and defence which we are carrying about us is nothing more than endless talk (*a voice, harmless talk*) in which we are apt to indulge. And then, my Mahomedan friends over there, Mr. Haque, Mr. Jinnah, you are all warned not to join hands with that body whose antecedents are of a doubtful character. You are in very bad company (*laughter*). Sir, antecedents of a doubtful character! Antecedents of the Congress of a questionable character and complexion! Why, Sir, we have a record of service

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extending over a period now covering the lifetime of a generation (*hear, hear*) as useful, as brilliant, as splendid as can be said of any public body in any part of the world (*hear, hear*). We are a body with questionable antecedents! Why, Sir, when the history of these times comes to be written, the Congress will be reckoned as a potent factor in the evolution of national life and of progressive government. Questionable antecedents so far as this body is concerned! Why, the representative of his Majesty, his Excellency the Viceroy, has condescended to receive a deputation of this body with questionable antecedents. But all this is puerile, futile. It pleases the *Pioneer* and it does us no harm (*laughter*). Therefore, we can afford to treat it, so I say in the presence of the representative of the *Pioneer*, with the contempt which it deserves (*laughter*). But then, Sir, something more follows. It is said of some venomous reptiles that the sting is in the tail. The sting of the article lies in the concluding portion of it. We are invited—now it is a piece of advice, first contempt then comes advice—we are invited not to carry on propaganda work in England. And why? Because we are told by the sapient logician that it is inconsistent with that attitude of co-operation with the Government which we have declared from the platform and which has been the consistent creed of the Congress. I fail to see—I am sure you fail to see also—the cogency of this argument, because we have resolved and I have always been willing to co-operate with Government,—Is that the reason why we should not differ from the Government? Do we not differ from our most trusted colleagues,—even if the Government be regarded as our most trusted colleague? And if we do differ from our most trusted colleagues—are we not at liberty to carry our appeal to the highest tribunal, the bar of British public opinion? And then further, if the Government is not moving fast enough, are we not at liberty to bring pressure on the Government by appealing to the democracy of England which, after all, are the masters of our masters.

Well, gentlemen, Cobden used to say that whenever the *Times* approved, he knew that he was in the wrong and whenever the *Times* blamed, he knew that he was in the right. Well, now, here is an advice given not to carry our propaganda work in England. Therefore, following that dictum, it is all the greater reason why we should continue with greater zeal our propaganda work in England. We rejoice that the *Pioneer* has disclosed its hand and also the secrets of its heart. We are thankful for that revelation. It will stimulate us, deepen our determination to carry on with renewed energy (turning to the President)—and under your guidance, Sir,— the great propaganda work upon which we are engaged at the present moment. Well, Sir, I don't know that I need trouble myself any further with the *Pioneer* and its work. I only hope that a full and accurate report of what I said, not to extenuate aught or set down in malice, will appear in the columns of that journal, when the time for publication of my speech arrives, which I hope will not be deferred till doomsday (*laughter*). Sir, I have referred to the British Committee. I know that Committee. I know it in all its strength and in all its weakness. Its strength lies in the devotion, the splendid energy of men like Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Hume and Sir Henry Cotton. Its weakness lies in the indifference of the British public—and you will permit me to add—and in our own apathy and the pressure of financial difficulties owing to that apathy. Do you or do you not want to keep the British Committee of the Congress and '*India*' in England for the protection of your interests. If we do, then, I say it is bad economy to keep them up on starvation rations. It is worse logic to keep them in a state of chronic inefficiency and then turn round and complain about their shortcomings. Our work, public work, may be looked at from two points of views. In the first place, we have our work here—very important work. In the second place, we have our work in England. The work in England is supplementary to the work in India. But none the less, in the present state of circumstances, it is a work of the utmost utility. Gentlemen,

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our work here is done for the National Congress by political bodies scattered over the length and breadth of this great country. It consists in the formulation of our programme of political work from year to year and in the dissemination of our political ideas specially amongst the masses of the people. I attach the utmost importance to the diffusion of those political aspirations which animate us among the great body of the people. In this connection I cannot but advert for a moment to the splendid achievement of the Swadeshi movement. If the Congress provides a platform for the educated classes to meet all over the country, the Swadeshi movement has supplied a common meeting ground for the masses as well as the educated classes. The agriculturist in the Deccan and the peasant in Bengal is not always able to grasp the complexities of the issues involved in the Council Reform Scheme or in the Council regulations or in the question of the separation of judicial from administrative functions. But when you tell him that the wealth of the country is to be kept in the country and that for that purpose, he must purchase home-made goods in preference to foreign articles, he opens wide his ears (*hear, hear*) and salutes you as its deliverer. I rejoice to find that you have adopted the Swadeshi resolution. I appeal to you to stick to that resolution and to embody that pledge in your lives and in your everyday conduct (*cheers*). Gentlemen, I have said that we must carry on the propaganda work in England. At the present moment it is a matter of supreme importance (*hear, hear*) for through various causes, some of which are of a somewhat unpleasant character, India looms largely upon the public view in England. Englishmen are beginning to feel an interest in Indian affairs. They are waking up slowly and gradually. John Bull is very slow to move. Englishmen are waking up to the solemn sense of their great responsibilities in regard to the Indian Empire. This is exactly the time to capture the English mind. The Englishman is open to the reception of impressions and ideas about Indian matters. If you will not capture his mind, Valentine Chirol will. His mind cannot be left blank; either it must be filled with ideas helpful to our interests or with conceptions inimical to them. Therefore, I say, it is a matter of the greatest importance that we should continue at the present moment our work in England with redoubled energy. It takes a long time to move the Englishman. But bear in mind, he is possessed of a great fund of commonsense and has an innate sense of justice, and if you can impress upon his mind and upon his convictions that the Government of India is capable of improving on the lines of justice and righteousness, he will stand by you and resolutely defend your interests and then in the course of time, as democratic conceptions widen and increase, you will get the boon of Self-government within the Empire (*hear, hear*). Therefore, I again ask you to continue with redoubled energy the great work of propagandism in England. Sir William Wedderburn has come to us for the purpose of asking your help, pecuniary help in the matter of the British Committee and of 'India.' He wants Rs. 60,000. Don't be alarmed at that figure. It is nothing, a bagatelle, a mite, when compared to the vast interests at stake; when compared to the immense population that is to be benefited, when compared to the splendid examples of self-sacrifice that you yourselves have set. Do you remember that at the Bombay Congress in response to an appeal which I had the honour to make from the Congress platform, you voted amidst a scene of wild enthusiasm a sum of Rs. 60,000 on the spot? Do you also remember that on that occasion more than half the sum that was voted was collected on the spot? Do you remember also in the city of Allahabad—I don't know at what particular spot—I made the appeal for Congress funds and you voted a sum and paid it down on the spot amounting to nearly Rs. 20,000? Sir William wants Rs. 60,000 extending over a period of three years, that is to say, Rs. 20,000 a year, and he wants us each in his individual capacity or such of us as are in a position to do so to give a guarantee of Rs. 100 a year for three years, and already he has made considerable progress in that work. He has

been able to obtain guarantees to the extent of Rs. 7,000 a year or Rs. 21,000 in three years. And he wants Rs. 39,000 more to complete the sum of Rs. 60,000 and here I cannot but advert for a moment to the princely and splendid liberality of Mr. Bomanjee of Bombay (*cheers*), a Parsee gentleman whose purse is a sort of public purse. You and I can make a demand upon him. With the princely liberality that distinguishes the great Parsee community of Bombay, he has subscribed Rs. 5,000. A Madrassé friend, Mr. C. P. Ramasami Iyer—is he an Honourable? (*a voice—no*) then we will make him one (*laughter*)—has subscribed Rs. 500 in aid of this fund (*hear, hear*). And, gentlemen, I ask you on this occasion to come forward with your contributions or with your guarantees. Do you love the Congress and appreciate its work? Are you filled with genuine admiration for the life-work of our distinguished President? If you are, I say, come forward with your contributions in aid of this great, this noble, this enduring work which will benefit you and your children's children even unto remote generations. You have recorded or you are about to record a resolution expressive of thanks to the British Committee. That resolution, to my mind, is absolutely meaningless. It is as empty as the sound of brass tingling cymbal, if it is not accompanied by a practical proof of that gratitude which you profess to feel. Gentlemen, I know of no investment more profitable, more remunerative than investment in public works. It may not bring you dividends in the shape of pounds, shillings and pence, but it will confer upon generations yet unborn added rights, cherished privileges which are worth more than the worth of all the gold that you can accumulate together. Look at the Irish, observe the sacrifice which they have made, millions of dollars have been voted for the Home Rule Agitation. We don't want millions of dollars. We want a few thousands of rupees. Are you not prepared to emulate the example of the Irish, which is the example of all nations struggling for civic rights. Therefore, gentlemen, as a political mendicant, as a supplicant, as a beggar if you like, as a Brahmin mendicant if you please, in the excellent company of Sir William Wedderburn, I stretch out my hands for you to give your gifts, gifts in aid of the worship of our motherland to which we are all attached. And, as example is better than precept, I stand guarantee for a hundred rupees a year for three years. I ask you, therefore, in the name of our motherland and as a practical recognition of the immense services of our distinguished President, to come forward with your contributions now if ever. Let us not delay a moment. Pay, pay, pay, that is the watchword of the hour. I hope a flood of silver will be poured into the table of the President. With these few words, I move the resolution which I have proposed.

As the proposition contained a vote of thanks to the President, it was put to the vote by the mover himself, Babu Surendranath Banerjea, and carried un-animously and by acclamation.

As a result of the powerful appeal a large number of subscriptions were announced from several leading congressmen. The writing up of the subscription list took nearly half an hour at the conclusion of which Mr. Banerjea announced that about Rs. 40,000 had been guaranteed and that more subscriptions would be collected by the Committee.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, I propose that we should send a message of sympathy to Indians in the Transvaal to the following effect:—

“To Mr. Gandhi—Congress in 25th session pays its tribute of admiration to those heroic fellow countrymen in their struggle for equal citizenship and prays providence will give them strength to carry them to a noble issue.”

Gentlemen, you will carry that by acclamation.

The resolution was carried amidst loud and prolonged cheers.

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THE PRESIDENT.—With your approval I also propose to send a message of affection to Mr. A. O. Hume and to your Grand Old Man, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

The announcement was received amidst enthusiastic cheers.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, I will now ask to pass the following resolution regarding the General Secretaries :

Resolution XXVIII.—General Secretaries.

“Mr. D. E. Wacha and Mr. Daji Abaji Khare be appointed General Secretaries for the ensuing year.”

The resolution was carried amidst acclamation.

THE PRESIDENT.—The next business is to appoint the place of meeting for the Congress next year, and I will call upon the Honourable B. N. Basu to move the resolution.

THE HON. BABU BHUPENDRANTH BASU [Calcutta, No. 293 in list] made the following speech in moving the

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“The next year’s Congress be held in Calcutta.”

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Gentlemen,—You will excuse me if I feel somewhat nervous on this occasion. When we came to the Congress it had been decided by our friends in Behar that the next Congress will meet at Behar, most probably in the city of Bankipore. Behar, as you know, has been an integral part of Bengal from the remote times of the great Emperor Asoka and we in Bengal rejoice that Behar—my friends in Behar will excuse me—was shaking off lethargy of centuries and rousing to fit itself for the proper position in the Congress of all India. It is to my friends in Behar a keen disappointment that they are unable this year to invite the Congress to their part of the Province, for unhappily the Moharrum celebrations come in exactly at the time that is fixed for the holding of the Congress. Gentlemen, Behar has presented to India the unique spectacle of Hindus and Moslems working together hand in hand in the common cause, and be it said to the lasting glory of my Mahomedan friends in Behar that they have come forward as readily as their Hindu brethren in welcoming the Congress to their part of the Province. The Hindus and Moslems of Behar both feel that this difficulty about the Moharrum during which the Mahomedans will not be able to take an active part in the organisation of the work of the Congress will be a great difficulty in their way, and they are naturally anxious that in the first Congress which they want to hold in their part of the Province they should not be confronted with a difficulty so insurmountable. Therefore, gentlemen, as a part of the same province and as their elder brethren in the Congress Camp we, as delegates from Bengal proper, have taken upon ourselves the burden—I hope it will not be a burden but a pleasure, and honour and a glory—to hold the next Congress in our city of Calcutta (*cheers*). Gentlemen, I am here on behalf of Bengal to invite you to that session of the Congress. You will remember the difficulty with which we, Bengalees, are confronted. You will remember that the greatest blow that has ever been delivered against any population in India since the days of the British rule in this country, has been upon my unhappy Province. You will remember that whatever may be said elsewhere, Bengal is still quivering in every fibre of its body and soul under that blow. You will remember that our difficulties are very great. They have been very great in the past, and we are probably not yet out of the wood. I, therefore, appeal to you, brother-delegates from the South and from the West and from these Provinces and from the Punjab, to come to our assistance in making the Calcutta session of the Congress the greatest success of all the Congresses that have been held hitherto. I will remind you that in the Congress of 1889 when Sir William Wedderburn presided (*cheers*), we had 1,889 delegates. Then, may I not

appeal to you, brother-delegates here, that in the Congress of 1911 we shall have in Calcutta 1,911 delegates. I can tell you that anything less than that will not please us, Bengalees, for we have come to you at a moment of great difficulty in Bengal. We have come to you to ask the Congress to hold its sessions in Calcutta when we are altogether unprepared for extending to you that invitation on this occasion. If we have succeeded in arranging to get over our difficulty I may appeal to you with all confidence, brethren and comrades, that you should also come to our help and make that Congress as I have said, one of the greatest if not the biggest that has been ever held since the Congress began. I hope I shall not be disappointed in that expectation. Gentlemen, I have but little more to add. My city in the month of December is one of the pleasantest spots in all India. To me and my brethren in Bengal, the land of rivers and of green vegetation is always pleasant. But to all India, I say with confidence, it is one of the pleasantest spots in December. There probably our august Emperor will hold a great *levee* to which he will invite all the great personages of India. There, I am sure, on that occasion will meet the representative houses from all corners and all directions in India. Therefore, I am quite confident the great representative men of the middle classes and the educated communities will come in hundreds, if not in thousands, to offer their homage to the house which, for the first time in the history of India since its connection with the British administration, is having its coronation celebrated in the ancient soil of Hindustan. There will be gathered together the representatives of wealth, of learning, of culture, of valour, and of all that is good and noble in this our ancient land. To them we of the Congress must present the spectacle that in our folds are also gathered if not the representatives of wealth and of ancient lineage—I am glad to see on this platform to-day—many who would adorn any Government or any country by reason of birth or of race or of wealth. We shall present to them the spectacle that in our Congress Camp are gathered the representatives of all that is highest, of all that is noblest, of all that is greatest in the national life of India (*cheers*). Let that be our aim and let that be our object, and if that is fulfilled, then, gentlemen, the invitation that I have extended to you this morning shall not have been in vain. Then, gentlemen, we shall be able to demonstrate to all India—and probably many foreign noblemen will also be with us on that occasion—we shall be able to demonstrate to the whole of the civilised world that notwithstanding its seeming insurmountable barriers of religion and of caste, the Indians of to-day under the benign influence of British rule have been able to organise themselves into a national unit and are justified in claiming the privilege of Self-government under British rule. These are the words, gentlemen, with which I again tender to you my cordial invitation on behalf of all Bengal to meet at the next Congress at Calcutta (*loud cheers*).

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in moving this resolution and I am sure I may, on your behalf, tender our most hearty thanks to our Bengal friends for their hospitable invitation. The resolution is as follows:—

“The next Congress be held at Calcutta.”

The resolution was adopted amidst loud applause.

Vote of thanks to the President.

THE HON'BLE MR. G. K. GOKHALE [Bombay, No. 125 *in list*] moved the resolution of votes of thanks to the President. Mr. Gokhale, who was received amid scenes of great enthusiasm, said:—Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my privilege now to move that our most cordial thanks be accorded to our President, Sir William Wedderburn (*cheers*) for the great trouble he has taken in coming to India to preside over this Assembly and for his devoted labours in guiding aright the deliberations of the Congress. Gentlemen, on the opening day of this Congress installing Sir William in the

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chair as also to-day in moving a vote of thanks to the British Committee, our distinguished countryman, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea (*cheers*) has spoken of Sir William's lifelong services to India with an eloquence and a felicity of expression all his own; and to what he has said, several prominent members of this Congress have also already added their own tributes. I will not, therefore, occupy you for more than a very few minutes. And as a matter of fact, it is really unnecessary for me or for anybody else to say anything to commend this resolution to your enthusiastic and unanimous approval. Gentlemen, we are bound to feel that any acknowledgment of the services which Sir William has rendered to this country, no matter from whom it comes, or no matter how it is made, is bound to be a most inadequate expression of the feelings which rise uppermost in our hearts at the mere thought of all that we owe to him, for all that he has felt for us, for all that he has hoped for us, for all that he has done for us, for all that he has borne and braved for us. That being so, I really think that I need not occupy much of your time; but there are two or three things which I hope you will permit me to say. Sir William before he left England, mentioned, at the gathering which had assembled to do him honour, that on the 25th November he was to complete the 50th year of his service in the cause of the people of this country. It is almost a coincidence that this period of fifty years is divided into almost two equal parts, the first half being his period of service as an official and the second half being his period of work as our trusted leader in England (*cheers*). Now even when Sir William was serving in this country as an official he was doing more than any other official of his time on our side to bring the two races closer together. I remember the words of my great master, Mr. Ranade (*cheers*), once telling me that among all the Englishmen whom he had known there was none to be put on the side of Sir William. That was while he was an official, but after his retirement, he has thrown himself heart and soul into our work and India has held his whole heart to the exclusion of every other subject; and for the last 25 years he has laboured for us in England, he has watched for us in England, he has fought for us in England, as no other man of our time has done. During these 25 years everything that he has undertaken has been entirely for the sake of India. For our sake he went into Parliament, for our sake he left Parliament, for our sake he made friends, for our sake he entered into hostilities, for our sake he undertook the most menial service and the lasting work that can be undertaken. Nothing was too small or too laborious for him to undertake if only it was for the good of India. If this has been his work during 50 years, was it any wonder that when Sir William came to know that it was the wish of the United Provinces that he should come over to preside at this Congress that he readily assented to do so? That he undertook this mission in spite of the dissuasions of those dearest and nearest to him, in spite of the advice of his doctor, in spite of the grave anxiety of his friends, was not to be wondered at. It was sufficient for him to see that his coming out to India would be of use to India and even at his great advanced age and his impaired health, he undertook this voyage in order to preside over our deliberations here (*cheers*). Well, that in itself would entitle him to our enduring gratitude, but the manner in which he has guided us during these stormy days, the manner in which he has given every moment of his time and thought to our work from the moment he landed up to the present, has filled every one of us with the utmost admiration and gratitude. I have had special opportunities of watching him during these days and I may tell you that from the moment he landed, his one thought has been how to bring these proceedings to a harmonious and successful close. Sir William has guided our deliberations with wisdom and insight that are altogether his own, his wisdom born of long experience and insight that is his by nature; and in addition to the wisdom and insight he has also brought to bear on his task,

great tact, great patience and great gentleness and if the proceedings have proved to be so successful, as I am sure everybody will agree that they have, the credit is mainly due to Sir William's presence in the chair. I will say one thing more and conclude. Why is it that Sir William has done all this for us? Why is it that he has come all this distance? Why is it that he has been taking all this trouble for the last 25 years, if we exclude his official career? Well, the answer to this is twofold. Part of the answer is that he could not help it, that it was in his very composition, that he was so made; this would be part of the answer. The other part of the answer is based on this, namely, that by temperament, by nature, Sir William is one of the most fair-minded men that exist anywhere. His strong stern absolute sense of justice has been responsible for making him do all this work. He saw that the present arrangements were not just to the people of this country and he has thrown himself heart and soul to make them more just and to set right the injustice done to the people of this country. Then again, we all know how deep, how passionate is his attachment to the cause of humanity in general. Wherever there is wrong, Sir William's sympathy goes straight to that place. His deep attachment to the cause of humanity—it is that that has also sent him in this direction. These two are general grounds. That is his composition and that is how he is made; but in addition to these two there have been two other causes. The first is his deep, his abounding love for the people of this country, love that has stood all tests, such tests that even Indians themselves will not be able to stand. Certainly, his love for India was more than that of most Indians and certainly more than that of any Englishman. He has loved us in spite of our defects. He has always been ready to overlook our faults and he has been always anxious to make most of any good point in us and he has always asked us to go on, cheering us forward, encouraging us when we have done well and always standing by us whether we have done well or ill. That is one source of the work that he has done for us and the other one is his faith in the people of India. His faith in the people of India is indeed a part of his great personality. He has believed in us in spite of the obloquy of his own countrymen. He has believed in us in spite of appearances. He has believed in us in spite of ourselves. It is because he has so believed in us that he has been able to work through sunshine and storm, and through good report and evil report in England all these 25 years and having done this work we find him now at his great age coming to help us in our difficulties, trying to smooth matters for us; and I am sure that among the many services he has rendered to the people of India, this will be regarded as the greatest and most crowning achievement. I really do not wish to say anything more and I should not have said even so much as this. The picture of this great venerable *rishi* of modern times who has done this work for us is a picture that is too ennobling, too beautiful, too inspiring for words: it is a picture to dwell upon lovingly and reverentially and it is a picture to contemplate in silence. I commend, therefore, that this proposition which I have moved should be carried amidst acclamation.

THE HON'BLE PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU [Allahabad, No. 347 in list] in seconding the resolution, spoke as follows:—Ladies and gentleman,—It is hardly necessary for any one to support the resolution put before you by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, but the Allahabad members of the Reception Committee feel that they would be wanting in their duty if they did not participate in the honour of associating themselves with Mr. Gokhale in this particular resolution. It has often been said, gentlemen, and with great truth, that the greatest honour that we, as Congressmen, can do to any man is to elect him as President of the Indian National Congress (*cheers*). But in the case of Sir William Wedderburn I can say without fear of contradiction that it is the Congress which has been honoured by his acceptance of its Presidentship. Gentlemen, it is not merely

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to the President.

to do you that honour, great as it is, that at his age and in his state of health he has run the risk of a long voyage and come to you. He has come to you with a mission, with a duty to perform. He has come to you, gentlemen, to add one more valuable service to the long list of invaluable services he has already rendered to you and to your country. His mission, gentlemen, is a noble one. It is a mission of peace and of goodwill. The two eyes of the fair maiden of the famous aphorism of Sir Syed Ahmed had so far lost their brilliancy and their power of vision that they took the maiden to the brink of an awful precipice. Sir William came at this juncture to restore the blessing of sight to both the affected eyes, to save the fair maiden from falling headlong over the precipice. This is a high mission and a noble mission. What success will crown his efforts has yet to be seen, and I confess we are not without misgivings, as to it. But whatever the final result may be, it is satisfactory to note that a beginning, full of happy augury, has already been made in this Congress hall.

We have expressly declared what indeed was never denied and in clear language freely conceded to our Mahomedan brethren all that they are entitled to. Now, gentlemen, the resolution that we have passed relating to the Council Reform is a resolution which carries with it the reminiscences of at least a quarter of a century. It was the very first resolution which was placed before the first Congress;—no, I think it was the third resolution—but at any rate it was placed at the very first Congress. And ever since we have been working upon national lines for the good of the motherland and not on sectarian lines for the good of this or that community. Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees and all others have always been welcome to join in the common service, to the common mother, but, gentlemen, is there one in this vast gathering who is not painfully aware that the co-operation and sympathy of any very considerable number of Mahomedans has not been with us. True it is that we have had with us a noble though a small band of Mahomedan gentlemen who have the best interests of the country at large at heart. We must do all honour to these gentlemen, but at the same time we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the great bulk of the Mahomedan community has so far stood aloof from us and has recently given birth to what is known as the Moslem League. Now, gentlemen, the propaganda of this League do not tally with ours and the conflict which has risen, threatens, if it is continued, to sap the very root of the noble tree which was planted by the Congress twenty-five years ago and which has since been tended with care—loving care—by Congressmen in all parts of India. There can be no question, gentlemen, that you can have no place among the nations of the world if these differences between the Hindus and the Mahomedans are not made a thing of the past. Sir William Wedderburn, by the sacrifices he has made, and those sacrifices have been most ably laid before you by my friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, has shown to you that there is no price too dear to purchase national unity between these two great communities (*cheers*). Gentlemen, Sir William Wedderburn has taught you a lesson, has taught all of us a lesson and that lesson is 'fix your eyes steadfastly on the goal of your ambition and do not allow yourselves to be led away by paltry and temporary advantages gained by one community over the other' (*hear, hear*). That I take, gentlemen, is the lesson he has given us by presiding over this Congress. It is difficult for me to express the sentiments of the Reception Committee, especially of the Allahabad Members of that Committee after the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. It is difficult for any one to find words after speeches like those of Babu Surendranath Banerjea and Mr. Gokhale and therefore I will not detain you any further but will conclude my remarks requesting you to join in my prayer that Sir William Wedderburn may be spared to us for many a long year to come (*cheers*) to

continue his useful career (*cheers*). As the President cannot put this proposition to vote, I ask you to carry it with acclamation.

Fourth day

The vote of thanks was carried amidst great acclamation.

A scene of the utmost enthusiasm prevailed when the resolution was carried by long continued cheering. Sir William Wedderburn was then garlanded by the Hon'ble Pandit Sunder Lal, C.I.E., Chairman of the Reception Committee, and he rose to make his concluding speech amid a perfect storm of applause.

The President's concluding speech.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN said :—Ladies and gentlemen,—I find it difficult to express my feelings in acknowledging your kind vote, and the very friendly things said of me by my friends, Mr. Gokhale and Pandit Motilal Nehru. When the celebrated Dr. Johnson paid a visit to the King, the King said some very flattering things to him. Dr. Johnson said nothing in reply. And when he was afterwards reproached for this, he said, "Sir, was I to bandy compliments with my King?" I feel a similar embarrassment when I stand before you now. But however much inclined, like Dr. Johnson, I might feel to a grateful silence, I must find a few words to say how deeply I appreciate the warmth of your welcome, the affectionate solicitude for my comfort, and the kindly readiness with which you have listened to the advice which I have ventured to offer (*cheers*). It is a lovable trait of Indian character that they find it difficult to refuse the request of a person for whom they have regard, even when to grant the request is against their better judgment. Gentlemen, I most fervently trust that profit, and not loss, will result to our cause from those matters in which your friendship has led you to be guided by my advice (*cheers*).

**President's
concluding
speech.**

May I further, on behalf of the delegates and myself, tender to the Reception Committee our best thanks for all the hospitable arrangements you have made for our comfort? We are aware of the special difficulties to be surmounted at a time when the great Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition was putting such a strain on the resources of Allahabad, and we, therefore, value all the more what you have accomplished on our behalf. It is difficult to make a selection among so many kind friends but, perhaps, I may offer our special thanks to the Secretaries, Pandit Baldev Ram Dave and Babu Ishwar Saran, to Mr. Ram Chandra Rao of the Servants of India Society, and to Rai Braj Narayan Gurtu, Captain of the Volunteers, who so gallantly protected us when we might have been swept away by the surging crowd which welcomed our arrival. Our thanks are also due to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (*cheers*), Pandit Motilal Nehru (*cheers*), Mr. Durga Charan Banerjea, Dr. Desraj Ranjit Singh, Dr. Suresh Chander Banerjea, and Mr. Sarat Chandra Choudhri. Among Government officials, we are specially indebted to Major Robertson (*cheers*), the Sanitary Commissioner, and Mr. Warner, the Superintendent of Police (*cheers*).

In saying good-bye to this Congress, I must express my admiration for the public spirit, the knowledge, and the restraint which have characterised your deliberations, and I gladly tender to you my best thanks for the order and attention which was a marked demeanour of this great Assembly, and has made the duty of President an easy and a pleasant task.

In my opening address I pleaded for a better understanding between officials and the independent Indian public, and I feel that an important step has been taken in this direction when His Excellency the Viceroy graciously agreed to receive a deputation and an address from the Congress. This is the first time in its history that the Congress has received friendly personal recognition from the head of the Government, and this courteous act will be a great encouragement to the Congress in its desire to support the Government in its measures for the peace, progress and

Fourth day,
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welfare of the people. I, further, ask you to do your utmost for reconciliation between Hindus and Mahomedans, and between the various groups of Indian Reformers. And I must congratulate you on the statesmanlike way in which you have dealt with the questions which have arisen in these two matters. You have given long and earnest consideration to these questions and the decisions at which you have arrived show a broad-minded desire for friendly compromise, a consideration for the feelings of others, and a willingness to make sacrifices for the cause of national unity out of love for mother India.

The one weapon that is used effectively against Indian Reformers by those opposed to India's aspirations, is to be found in the charge that the great Hindu and Mahomedan communities are opposed to each other, that Indians are hopelessly divided among themselves, and thereby show themselves unfit for self-government. I ask you to show to the world that this charge is unfounded and that Indians are prepared to go forward shoulder to shoulder in their march towards a happier future. After all, the only solid basis for any real co-operation between the different parties is to be found in fairness to all, and if you will keep this constantly in view, all difficulties whether between official and non-official, or between Hindus and Mahomedans, must tend gradually to disappear.

Ladies and gentlemen, I bid you farewell. May India prosper and may her people be happy.

The Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress was then dissolved with cheers for the King-Emperor and His Excellency the Viceroy, Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. A. O. Hume and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

Finis.

APPENDIX A.

Constitution of the Indian National Congress Organisation.

Adopted at the Meeting of the Convention Committee held at Allahabad on the 18th and 19th of April 1908.

Objects.

ARTICLE I.

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

ARTICLE II.

Every Delegate to the Indian National Congress shall express in writing his acceptance of the Objects of the Congress as laid down in Article I of this Constitution and his willingness to abide by this Constitution and by the Rules of the Congress hereto appended.

Sessions of the Congress.

ARTICLE III.

- (a) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during Christmas holidays at such 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 or Associations affiliated to the Provincial Congress Committees ;
- (d) Sub-divisional or Taluka Congress Committees affiliated to the District Congress Committees or Associations ;
- (e) Political Associations or Public Bodies recognised as Electorates in accordance with clause (3) of Article XX ;
- (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 or Associations or Bodies mentioned in clauses (b), (c), (d),

and (h) of Article IV 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 Province); (vi) Central Provinces; (vii) Behar; (viii) Berar; and (ix) Burma.
- (b) The Provincial Sub-Committees of the Convention shall, in the first instance, form themselves into Provincial Congress Committees.
- (c) The Secretaries of the Convention Committee shall take steps to form separate Provincial Congress Committees for the Central Provinces, Behar and Burma.

ARTICLE VII.

Every Provincial Congress Committee so formed will add to its number—

- (a) Representatives elected in accordance with its terms of affiliation by every affiliated District Congress Committee or Association referred to in clause (c) of Article IV;
- (b) 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.
- (c) Such other 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.
- (d) All such ex-Presidents of the Congress or ex-Chairmen of Reception Committees of the Congress as ordinarily reside within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Congress Committee and may not have been enrolled as members of the said Committee in accordance with clause (b) of Article VI or by virtue of the provisions contained in any of the foregoing clauses of this Article.
- (e) The Joint Secretary or Secretaries of the Congress ordinarily residing within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Congress Committee, such Joint 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 a District Congress Committee or Association to act for the District in Congress matters with the co-operation of any Sub-divisional or Taluka Congress Committees which may be organised and affiliated to it, subject in all cases to the general control and approval of the Provincial Congress Committee.

ARTICLE X.

Every member of the District Congress Committee or Association shall either be a resident of the District or shall have a substantial interest in the District and shall pay an annual subscription of not less than one Rupee.

ARTICLE XI.

No District Congress Committee or Association or Public Body referred to in clauses (c) and (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 Rules of the Congress. No District or other Congress Committee or Association mentioned in Article IX shall frame any Rules inconsistent with those framed by the Provincial Congress Committee to which it is affiliated.

The All-India Congress Committee.**ARTICLE XIII.**

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

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

Provided, as far as possible, that one-fifth of the total number of representatives shall be Mahomedans.

All *ex-Présidents* of the Congress, residing or present in India, and the General Secretaries of the Congress, who shall also be *ex-officio* General Secretaries of the All-India Congress Committee, shall be *ex-officio* members in addition.

ARTICLE XIV.

The representatives of each Province shall be elected by its Provincial Congress Committee at a meeting held, as far as possible, before the 30th of November for each year. If any Provincial Congress Committee fail to elect its representatives, the said representatives shall be elected by the Delegates for that Province present at the ensuing Congress. In either case, the representatives of each Province shall be elected from among the members of its Provincial Congress Committee, and the election shall be made, as far as possible, with due regard to the proviso in Article XIII.

ARTICLE XV.

The names of the representatives so elected by the different Provinces shall be communicated to the General Secretaries. These together with the names of the *ex-officio* members shall be announced at the Congress.

ARTICLE XVI.

The President of the Congress at which the All-India Congress Committee comes into existence shall, if he ordinarily resides in India, be *ex-officio* President of the All-India Congress Committee. In his absence the members of the All-India Congress Committee may elect their own President.

ARTICLE XVII.

(a) The All-India Congress Committee so constituted shall hold office from the dissolution of the Congress at which it comes into existence till the dissolution of the following Congress.

(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.

Electoralates and Delegates.

ARTICLE XX.

The right of electing Delegates to the Indian National Congress shall vest exclusively in (1) the British Committee of the Congress; (2) Provincial or District or other Congress Committees or Associations formed or affiliated as hereinabove laid down; and (3) such Political Associations or Public Bodies of more than three years' standing as may be recognised in that behalf by the Provincial Congress Committee of the Province to which the Political Association or Public Body belongs, provided that no such Political Association or Public Body shall be so recognised unless the said Political Association or Public Body, by a Resolution at a general meeting of its members, expresses its acceptance of the principles embodied in Article I of this Constitution and makes the acceptance of the same a condition precedent to new membership.

ARTICLE XXI.

All delegates to the Indian National Congress shall pay a fee of Rs. 20 each and shall be not less than 21 years of age at the date of election.

Reception Committee of the Congress.

ARTICLE XXII.

(a) The Provincial Congress Committee of the Province in which the Congress is to be held shall take steps to form a Reception Committee for the Congress. Every one, who ordinarily resides in the Province, fulfils the conditions laid down in Article V of this Constitution and pays a minimum contribution of Rs. 25, shall be eligible as 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) In the month of June, the Reception Committee shall consult the several Provincial Congress Committees as to the selection of the President for the year's Congress. The Provincial Congress Committees shall make their recommendations by the end of July; and in the month of August the Reception Committee shall meet to consider the 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 elect the President in the manner mentioned above, the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India Congress Committee, whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September. In either case, the election shall be final.

Provided that in no case shall the person elected President belong to the Province in which the Congress is to be held.

(b) There shall be no formal *election* of the President by or in the Congress, but merely the adoption (in accordance with the provisions in that behalf laid down in Rule

3, clause (b) of the "Rules" hereto appended) of a formal resolution requesting the President, already elected in the manner hereinabove laid down, to take the chair.

Subjects Committee.

ARTICLE XXIV.

The Subjects Committee to be appointed at each session of the Congress to settle its programme of business to be transacted shall, as far as possible, consist of :—

Not more than 15 representatives of Madras ;			
"	15	"	" Bombay ;
"	20	"	" United Bengal ;
"	15	"	" United provinces ;
"	13	"	" Punjab (including N.-W. F. Province) ;
"	7	"	" Central Provinces ;
"	5	"	" Behar ;
"	5	"	" Berar ;
"	2	"	" Burma ;
"	5	"	" British Committee of the Congress ;
and additional 10 " " the province in which the Congress is held.			

All the above-mentioned representatives being elected in accordance with Rule 9 of the "Rules" hereto appended, by the Delegates attending the Congress from the respective Provinces.

The President of the Congress for the year, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the year, all *ex*-Presidents and *ex*-Chairman 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 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.

Contentious Subjects and Interest of Minorities.

ARTICLE XXVI.

(a) No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mahomedan Delegates, as a body, object by a majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of their number; and if, after the discussion of any subject, which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mahomedan Delegates, as a body, are, by a majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of their number, opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such resolution shall be dropped.

(b) The President of the Congress for the year may nominate 5 Delegates to the Subjects Committee to represent minorities or to make up such deficiencies as he may think necessary.

(c) In any representations which the Congress may make or in any demands which it may put forward for the larger association of the people of India with the administration of the country, the interests of minorities shall be duly safeguarded.

Voting at the Congress.

ARTICLE XXVII.

Ordinarily, all questions shall be decided by a majority of votes as laid down in Rule 21 of the "Rules" hereto appended, but in cases falling under Article XXX of this Constitution or whenever a division is duly asked for in accordance with Rule 22 of the "Rules" hereto appended, the voting at the Congress shall be by Provinces only. In cases falling under clause (1) of Article XXX, each Province shall have one vote, to be given as determined by a majority of its Delegates present at the Congress. In all other cases of voting by Provinces, the vote of each Province, determined as aforesaid, shall be equivalent to the number of representatives assigned to the province in constituting the All-India Congress Committee.

The British Committee of the Congress.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

The Reception Committee of the Province in which the Congress is held shall remit to the British Committee of the Congress, through the General Secretaries of the Congress, half the amount of the fees received by it from Delegates.

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. They shall also be responsible for the preparation and circulation of Draft Resolutions of the Congress, which they must send to the Provincial Congress Committee at the latest in the first week of December.

(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 contribution 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 (i) in Article I of this Constitution except by an unanimous vote of all the Provinces, and (ii) in the rest of this Constitution or in the "Rule" 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.

Transitory Provisions.**ARTICLE XXXI.**

- (a) The Committee appointed by the Convention at Surat on 28th December, 1907, for drawing up a constitution for the Congress shall exercise all the powers of the All-India Congress Committee till the formation of the latter at the next session of the Congress.
- (b) The Secretaries of the said Convention Committee shall discharge the duties of the General Secretaries of the Congress till the dissolution of the next session of the Congress.
- (c) The President and Secretaries of the Convention Committee should, in consultation with the Secretaries of the several Provincial Sub-Committees, arrange for the holding of a meeting of the Congress during Christmas next in accordance with this Constitution.
- (d) For the year 1908, the Reception Committee may, in electing the President, consult the Provincial Congress Committees in the beginning of October, before the end of which month, the Provincial Congress Committees, on being so consulted, shall make their recommendations, and the rest of the procedure prescribed in Article XXIII should be followed and completed, as far as possible, before the end of November.

RASHBEHARY GHOSE,

President, Convention Committee.

DINSHA EDULJI WACHA,

DAJI ABAJI KHARE,

Hon'y. Secretaries, Convention Committee.

Rules for the Conduct and Regulation

OF

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS MEETINGS.

Adopted at the Meeting of the Convention Committee held at Allahabad on the 18th and 19th of April 1908.

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 of each Congress session shall, as far as possible, consist of:—

- (a) The Chairman of the Reception Committee's inaugural address of welcome to the Delegates.
- (b) The adoption of a formal resolution, to be moved, seconded and supported by such Delegates as the Chairman of the Reception Committee invites or permits, requesting the President elected by the Reception Committee, or the All-India Congress Committee, as the case may be, to take the chair. No opposition by way of a motion for amendment, adjournment or otherwise being allowed to postpone or prevent the carrying out of the said resolution.
- (c) The President's taking the Chair and his inaugural address.
- (d) Reading or distribution of the Report, if any, of the All-India Congress Committee and any statement that the General Secretaries may have to make.
- (e) Any formal motions of thanks, congratulations, condolences, &c., as the President of the Congress may choose to move from the Chair.
- (f) The adjournment of the Congress for the appointment of the Subjects Committee and the announcement by the President of the time and place of the meetings of the Delegates of the different Provinces for the election of the members of the Subjects Committee and also of the first meeting of the Subjects Committee.

4. No other business or motions in any form shall be allowed at the opening sitting of the Congress session.

5. The Chairman of the Reception Committee shall preside over the assembly at the first sitting until the President takes the chair. The President of the Congress shall preside at all sittings of the Congress session as well as at all meetings of the Subjects Committee. In case of his absence and during such absence, any *ex-President* of the Congress present, who may be nominated by the President, and in case no *ex-President* is available, the Chairman of the Reception Committee shall preside at the Congress sitting; provided that the Subjects Committee may in such cases choose its own Chairman.

6. The President or the Chairman shall have, at all votings, one vote in his individual capacity and also a casting vote in case of equality of votes.

7. The President or Chairman shall decide all points of order and procedure summarily and his decision shall be final and binding.

8. The President or Chairman shall have the power, in cases of grave disorder or for any other legitimate reason, to adjourn the Congress either to a definite time or *sine die*.

9. The election of the members of the Subjects Committee shall take place at meetings of the Delegates of the different Provinces held at such place and time as may be announced by the President. Each such meeting, in case of contest, shall have a Chairman who will first receive nominations, each nomination being made by at least five 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 Resolution mentioned in Rule 11 (a), or from himself moving from the Chair formal motion 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 to that 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 fail. 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 places in turn to have the number counted.

22. In cases not falling under Article XXX of the "Constitution," any twenty members of a Congress sitting may demand a division within 5 minutes of the declaration of the result of the voting by the President and such division shall be granted. Thereupon the Delegates of each Province shall meet at such time and place as the President may direct and the Chairman of each such meeting shall notify to the President the vote of the Province within the time specified by the President.

23. Every member of a sitting of the Congress or of the Subjects Committee shall be bound (a) to occupy a seat in the block allotted to his province, save as provided for in rule 30, (b) to maintain silence when the President rises to speak or when another member is in possession of the House, (c) to refrain from hisses or interruptions of any kind or indulgence in improper and un-Parliamentary language, (d) to obey the Chair, (e) to withdraw when his own conduct is under debate after he has heard the charge and been heard thereon, and (f) generally to conduct himself with propriety and decorum.

24. No member shall have the right at a Congress sitting to speak more than once on any motion except for a personal explanation or for raising a point of order. But the mover of a substantive motion (not one for amendment or adjournment) shall have the right of reply. A person who has taken part in a debate may speak upon an amendment or motion for adjournment moved after he had spoken. The President or Chairman shall have the right to fix a time-limit upon all speakers, as also to call to order or stop any speaker from further continuing his speech even before the time-limit expires, if he is guilty of tedious repetitions, improper expressions, irrelevant remarks, &c., and persists in them in spite of the warning from the President.

25. If a person does not obey the President's or the Chairman's orders or if he is guilty of disorderly conduct, the President shall have the right, with a warning in the first instance, and without a warning in case of contumacious disregard of his authority, to ask such member to leave the precincts of the House and on such requisition the member so ordered shall be bound to withdraw and shall be suspended from his functions as a member during the day's sitting.

26. If the President considers that the punishment he can inflict according to the foregoing sections 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 any wise disorderly in their behaviour.

29. The meetings of the Subjects Committee shall be open only to the members of that Committee and the meeting 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 and (4) Ladies, whether delegates or visitors.

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."

RASBEHARI GHOSE,
President,
Convention Committee.

DINSHA EDULJI WACHA,
DAJI ABAJI KHARE,
Hony. Secretaries,
Convention Committee.

APPENDIX B.

The Indian National Congress Organisation, 1910-1911.

President—Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., Meredith, Gloucester.

General Secretaries—(1) D. E. Wacha, Esq., 84, Hornby Road, Bombay.

(2) Daji Abaji Khare, Esq., Belasis Road, Byculla, Bombay.

1. British Committee of the Indian National Congress.

Secretary—Douglas Hall, Esq., 84 and 85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, London.

2. All-India Congress Committee (Article XIII.)

Secretaries—General Secretaries of the Congress *Ex-Officio*.

3. Provincial Congress Committees (Article VI.)

(i) MADRAS PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

President.—The Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahomed Sahib Bahadur "Humayun Manzil," Royapettah, Madras.

Secretaries.—(1) Mr. V. Ryzu Nambiar, B.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Egmore, Madras.

(2) The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur L. A., Govindaraghavier, B.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Mylapore, Madras.

(3) Mr. T. V. Muthu Krishna Ayar, B.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Madras.

(ii) BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Secretary.—Mr. N. M. Samarth, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, High Court, Girgaon, Bombay.

(iii) UNITED BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Secretary.—Mr. Satyananda Bose, 62, Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta.

(iv) UNITED PROVINCES PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Secretary.—Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, M.A., LL.D., Advocate, High Court, N.-W. P. 18, Albert Road, Allahabad.

(v) THE PUNJAB (INCLUDING N.-W. FRONTIER PROVINCE.) PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE, LAHORE.

Secretaries.—(1) The Hon'ble Lala Harkissan Lal, B.A.

(2) Lala Dharmadas Suri, Vakil, Chief Court, Lahore.

(vi) CENTRAL PROVINCES PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

President.—Mr. G. M. Chitnavis, C.I.E., Nagpore.

Secretaries.—(1) Mr. V. R. Dixit, Barrister-at-law, Nagpore.

(2) Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit, M.A., Nagpore.

(vii) BEHAR PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Secretary.—Mr. Deep Narayan Singh, Barrister-at-law, Bankipur.

(viii) BERAR PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Secretary.—The Hon'ble R. N. Mudholkar, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Amraoti.

(ix) BURMAH PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Secretary.—S. S. Halkar, Esq., Rangoon.

4. District or other Congress Committees or Associations [Art. IX.]

I.—MADRAS.

(i) UNDER THE MADRAS PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE, MADRAS.

1. Anantapur District Congress Committee.

President :—The Hon. Mr. P. Kesava Pillai.

Vice-Presidents :—Mr. P. Audimurthi Rao,
Mr. T. Sivasankaram Pillai.

Secretaries :—Mr. L. Balaji Rao, B.A., B.L.,
Mr. Y. Seshappa.

2. North Arcot District Congress Committee, Chittoor.
President :—Mr. T. T. Veera Raghavachariar.
Vice-President :—Mr. N. Srinivasavaradachariar.
Secretaries :—Mr. L. Venkataraghava Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
 Mr. T. K. Narasimachari, B.A., B.L.
3. South Arcot District Congress Committee, Cuddalore.
President :—Mr. A. Subrayalu Reddiar, B.A., B.L.
Vice-President :—Mr. S. Panduranga Mudaliar, B.A., B.L.
Secretary :—Mr. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, B.A.
4. Bellary District Congress Committee.
President :—Mr. K. Venkata Row.
Vice-President :—Rao Bahadur C. Hanumantha Gowd.
Secretary :—Mr. Sindigi Marisidappa.
5. Calicut District Congress Committee.
President :—The Hon. Mr. M. Krishnan Nair, B.A., B.L.
Secretaries :—Mr. K. A. Sivarama Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
 Mr. P. Narayana Menon, B.A., B.L.
6. South Canara District Congress Committee.
Secretaries :—Mr. S. E. Rego.
 Mr. Madhava Rao.
7. Coimbatore Peoples Association.
President :—Rao Bahadur A. Tiruvengadaswami Mudaliar.
Vice-President :—Rao Bahadur C. Nagoji Rao, B.A.
Secretaries :—Mr. T. V. Rangaswami Iyengar, B.A., B.L.
 Mr. N. Guruva Chettiar.
8. Cuddapah District Congress Committee.
Secretaries :—Mr. T. M. Munuswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
 Mr. K. Gundu Rao, B.A., B.L.
 Mr. V. Jagannatham Pantulu, B.A., B.L.
9. Chingleput District Congress Committee, Conjeevaram.
President :—Mr. Srirangachariar, B.A., B.L.
Secretary :—Mr. V. Venkatacharriar.
10. Nellore Divisional Association.
President :—Mr. Ramachandra Rao Garu, B.A., B.L.
Secretary :—Mr. P. Sambasiva Rao, B.A., B.L.
11. Ganjam District Association, Berhampore.
President :—Mr. G. Raghava Rao Pantulu, B.A., B.L.
Secretaries :—Mr. V. V. Jogiah Pantulu Garu,
 Mr. K. Babu Rao Naidu, B.A., B.L.
12. Guntur District Congress Committee.
President :—Mr. Kunda Venkatappayya Pantulu Garu.
Secretary :—Mr. P. V. Srinivasa Row Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.
13. Godavari District Congress Committee, Cocanada.
President :—Mr. K. Perraju Pantulu Garu, (deceased).
Secretary :—Mr. K. Kallanaswami, B.A., B.L.
14. Kumbakonam Congress Committee.
President :—Mr. N. Krishnaswami Iyengar, B.A., B.L.
Vice-President :—Mr. C. A. Mahadeva Sastriar.
Secretaries :—Mr. C. K. Srinivasa, B.A., B.L.
 Mr. T. Ramaswami Sastri.
15. Kurnool District Congress Association.
President :—Mr. T. Chidambara Rao Garu, B.A.
Secretaries :—Mr. S. Venkatanarasimha Rao Garu, B.A.
 Mr. N. Rangaswami Iyengar, B.A.
16. Kistna District Congress Committee, Masulipatam.
President :—Rao Bahadur Mr. P. Venkatappayya Pantulu Garu, B.A.
Secretary :—Mr. K. Chidambara Rao, B.A.

17. **Madura District Congress Committee.**
President :—Rao Bahadur G. Srinivasa Rao, B.A.
Secretaries :—Mr. C. Srinivasa Iyer, B.A., B.L.
 Mr. R. Narasimha Iyengar.
18. **Nellore District Congress Committee.**
President :—Mr. T. V. Venkatarama Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
 Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L.
Secretaries :—Mr. V. Krishnaswami Rao, B.A., B.L.
 Mr. Y. Venkatachallam Pantulu Garu.
19. **Negapatam Congress Committee.**
President :—Mr. V. P. Pakkiriswami Pillai.
Secretaries :—Mr. B. S. Nataraja Sastri, B.A., B.L.
 Mr. V. Vaidyanatha Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
20. **Palghat Divisional Congress Committee.**
Secretary :—Mr. K. P. Atchutha Menon.
21. **Parvatipur Divisional Congress Committee.**
President :—Mr. O. V. Jagannatha Sastri.
Secretary :—Mr. K. Appalannarasayya Pantulu Garu, B.A.
22. **Rajahmundry Divisional Association.**
President :—The Hon. Mr. N. Subba Row Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.
Vice-President :—Mr. A. Rama Raju, B.A.
Secretary :—Mr. S. Bhimasankar Rao, B.A.
23. **Salem District Association.**
Secretaries :—Mr. B. V. Narasimha Iyer, B.A., B.L.
 Mr. T. Audinarayana Chettiar.
24. **Saidapet Congress Committee.**
President :—Mr. P. N. Muthuswami Naidu, B.A.
Vice-President :—Bashika Charlu.
Secretary :—Mr. C. Venkatacharlu.
25. **Tanjore District Congress Committee.**
President :—Mr. P. Kothandarama Aiyengar, B.A., B.L.
Secretaries :—Mr. T. Sadasiva Rao, B.A., B.L.
 Mr. E. Suryanarayana Aiyer, B.A., B.L.
26. **Tellicherry District Congress Committee.**
President :—Mr. K. Koppuni Nair, B.A., B.L.
Secretary :—Mr. C. V. Gopalan Nair, B.A., B.L.
27. **Tinnevely District Congress Committee.**
President :—Mr. M. R. Ramakrishna Iyer., B.A., B.L.
Secretary :—Mr. T. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, B.A., B.L.
28. **Trichinopoly District Congress Committee.**
President :—Mr. T. Desikachariar, B.A., B.L.
Vice-President :—Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar.
Secretaries :—Mr. V. Subramania Iyer.
 Mr. T. K. Balasubramania Iyer.
29. **Vizagapatam District Congress Committee.**
President :—The Hon. Mr. B. Narasimheswara Sarma Garu, B.A., B.L.
Secretary :—Mr. B. Venkatapati Razu, B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil.

**List of Taluk Congress Committees affiliated to District
 Congress Committees, Madras.**

ANANTAPUR DISTRICT.

1. **Penukonda Taluq Congress Committee.**
Secretary :—Mr. H. Sankara Rau, B.A., Penukonda.
- Arcot (SOUTH) DISTRICT.**
2. **Tindivanam Taluq Congress Committee.**
Secretary :—Mr. T. E. Krishnamurthi Iyengar, 1st Grade Pleader,
 Tindivanam.

ARCOT (NORTH) DISTRICT.

3. Arni Taluk Congress Committee.
Secretary:—Mr. P. R. Sitarama Iyer, B.A., Arni.
4. Ranipet Taluk Congress Committee.
Secretary:—Mr. L. Srinivasa Raghava Iyer, Ranipet.

BELLARY DISTRICT.

5. Hospet Taluq Congress Committee.
Secretary:—Mr. Gopalachariar, B.A., Hospet.

GANJAM DISTRICT.

6. Aska Taluq Congress Committee.
Secretary:—Mr. M. Venkatachellam Pantulu Garu, Aska.
7. Ichapur Taluq Congress Committee.
Secretary:—Pullela Venkataramay Garu, Ichapur.
8. Sompeta Congress Committee.
Secretary:—Mr. Garimella Sitaramayya Garu, Sompeta.
9. Parlakimidi Taluq Congress Committee.
Secretary:—Mr. M. V. Reddi Sastri Garu, Parlakimidi.
10. Chicacole Divisional Association.
Secretary:—Mr. T. Visvanatha Sastri Garu, Chicacole.

KURNOOL DISTRICT.

11. Markapur Taluk Congress Committee.
Secretary:—Mr. K. J. Subramania Iyer, Markapur.
12. Nandyal Taulk Congress Committee.
Secretary:—Mr. K. Ekambara Iyer, B.A., Pleader, Nandyal.

NELLORE DISTRICT.

13. Gudur Taluk Congress Committee.
Secretary:—Mr. K. Narasimhachari, Gudur.
14. Kavali Taluk Congress Committee.
Secretary:—Mr. J. Adinarayanaiah, Kavali.

TANJORE DISTRICT.

15. Mayavaram Congress Committee.
Secretary:—Mr. M. S. Natesa Aiyar, B.A., Mayavaram.
16. Mannargudi Taluk Congress Committee.
Secretary:—The Secretary, Mannargudi.
17. Nannilam Taluk Congress Committee.
Secretary:—V. Mahadeva Iyer, Mudikondan.
18. Shiyali Taluk Congress Committee.
Secretary:—The Secretary, Shiyali.
19. Tirutaraipundi Taluk Congress Committee.
Secretary:—Mr. T. K. Atmanatha Sastri, Pleader, Tirutaraipundi.

TRICHINOPOLY DISTRICT.

20. Kulitatali Congress Committee.
Secretary:—Mr. P. T. Rangaswami Iyengar, Pleader, Kulitatali.

VIZAGAPATAM DISTRICT.

21. Anakapalle Taluk Congress Committee.
Secretary:—Mr. K. Narain Rao, Anakapalle.
22. Bimlipatam Taluk Congress Committee.
Secretary:—Mr. T. Seetarama Sastri Garu, Bimlipatam.
23. Chodavaram Congress Committee.
Secretary:—Mr. Manda Subba Rao, B.A., B.L., Chodavaram.
24. Palakonda Taluk Congress Committee.
Secretary:—Mr. Vellur Ramakrishna Raju Garu, Palakonda.
25. Rajam Taluk Congress Committee.
Secretary:—Mr. S. V. Narasimha Pantulu Garu, 1st Grade Pleader and Secretary, Rajam.
26. Vizianagram Taluk Congress Committee.
Secretary:—Mr. Mantha Suryanarayana Rao, Vizianagram.
27. Yellemanchelle Taluk Congress Committee.
Secretary:—Mr. P. V. Krishnayya Garu, Yellemanchelle.

II.—BOMBAY.

BOMBAY.

The Bombay Presidency Association.

Secretary.—D. E. Wacha, Esq., Apollo Bunder, Fort Bombay.

KOLABA.

Kolaba District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—C. S. Devale, Esq., B.A., Servants of India Society, Poona City.

THANA.

Thana District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—D. M. Gupte, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Thana.

SATARA.

Satara District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—L. K. Joshi, Esq., Satara.

POONA.

Poona District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—Natesh A. Dravid, Esq., M.A., Servants of India Society, Poona.
(City).

DHULIA.

Khandesh District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—The Hon'ble S. D. Gurud, B.A., Garud gardens, Dhulia, (West Khandesh).

AHMADNAGAR.

Ahmadnagar District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—G. K. Chitale, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Ahmadnagar.

SURAT.

Surat District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—Ohunnila M. Gandhi, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Kinari Bazaar, Surat.

BROACH.

The Broach District Association.

President.—Ambashankar U. Moji, Esq., Broach.

AHMEDABAD.

The Gujrat Sabha.

Secretary.—Gunidrao Appaji Patel, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Ahmedabad.

SUKKUR (INCLUDING UPPER SINDH FRONTIER).

Sukkur District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—Mulchand Pesumal Samtami, Esq., Sukkur (Sindh).

HYDERABAD (SINDH).

Hyderabad (Sindh) District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—Mathuradas Ramchand Javahri, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Hyderabad
(Sindh).

KARACHI.

Karachi District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—Rewachand Fatehchand, Esq., c/o The Hon'ble M. Harchandrai
Vishnudas, B.A., LL.B., Pleader, Suddar Court, Karachi (Sindh).

III.—UNITED BENGAL.

CALCUTTA.

Calcutta District Association.

Secretary.—B. Pramathanath Banerjee, 62, Bow Bazaar Street, Calcutta.

Indian Association, Calcutta.

Secretary.—Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, 62, Bow Bazaar Street, Calcutta.

TWENTY-FOUR PARGANAS.

24 Pargana Bar Association.

Secretary.—Babu Nrityalal Mukerji, Alipore.

NADIA.

Nadia District Association.

Secretary.—Babu Prasad Chatterji, Krishnagore (Nadia).

Chuadanga Bar Library.

Secretary.—Babu Abinash Chandra Mukerji, Chuadanga (Nadia).

Krishnagore Bar Association.

Secretary.—Babu Prasanna Coomar Basu, Krishnagore (Nadia).

MURSHIDABAD.

Berhampore District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—Babu Baikuntha Nath Sen, Berhampore (Murshidabad).

MANBHUM.

Manbhumi District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—Babu Nilkanta Chatterji, Manbhumi.

BURDWAN.

Burdwan Institute.

Secretaries.—1. Babu Jnanada Prasad Mukerji. } Burdwan.
2. Babu Amarnath Dutt.

Burdwan Bar Association.

Secretary.—Babu Kanai Lal Ghosh, Burdwan.

Burdwan District Association.

Secretary.—Babu Amar Nath Dutt, Burdwan.

BIRBHUM.

Birbhumi District Association.

Secretary.—Babu Rakhaldas Chandra, Birbhumi.

MIDNAPUR.

Kenchakpur Hitkarini Sabha.

Secretary.—Babu Nageshwar Prasad Sinha, Chandracona (Midnapur).

HOOGHLY.

Hooghly Howrah District Association.

Secretary.—Babu Bishnupada Chatterji, Hooghly.

CUTTACK.

Orissa Association.

Secretary.—Babu Ram Sankar Roy, Cuttack (Orissa).

DACCA.

Dacca People's Association.

Secretary.—Babu Rajani Nath Bose, Dacca.

MYMENSINGH.

Mymensingh District Association.

Secretary.—Babu Anath Bandhu Guha, Mymensingh.

Sakrail Hitsadhini Sabha.

Secretary.—Babu Upendra Narayan Neogi, Sakrail (Mymensingh).

FARIDPUR.

Faridpur District Association.

Secretary.—Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar, Faridpur.

Faridpur People's Association.

Secretary.—Babu Purna Chandra Maitra, Faridpur.

TIPPERAH.

Tipperah People's Association.

Secretary.—Babu Upendra Kumar Mitra, Comilla.

Tipperah Bar Association.

Secretary.—Babu Jagat Chander Nandi, Brahmanbaria (Comilla)

CHITTAGONG.

Chittagong District Association.

Secretary.—Babu Pulin Chandra Das, Chittagong.

RAJSHAHI.

Rajshahi District Congress Committee.

Secretary :—Babu Chandra Nath Choudhuri, Rajshahi.

DINAJPUR.

Dinajpur Association.

Secretary :—Babu Jogendra Chandra Chakravarty, Dinajpur.

RANGPUR.

Rangpur Association.

Secretary :—Babu Rajani Kanta Bhattacharji, Rangpur.

BOGRA.

Bogra District Congress Committee.

Secretary :—Babu Peary Sankar Das Gupta, Bogra.

PABNA.

Pabna District Association.

Secretary :—M. M. Lahiri, Esq., Pabna (Bengal).

DHUBRI.

Dhubri Bar Association.

Secretary :—Babu Upendra Nath Chatterji, Dhubri (Assam).

IV.—UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA & OUDH.

SAHARANPUR.

The Saharanpur District Congress Committee.

President :—Babu Banku Behari Chatterji, Pleader.

Secretaries :—1. Babu Jhamman Lal, M.A., LL.B., Vakil.
2. Babu Melaram, Pleader.

MEERUT.

The Meerut District Congress Committee.

President :—Babu Babu Lal, B.A., Vakil.

Secretary :—Babu Kuar Beharee Lal, B.A., LL.B., Vakil.

ALIGARH.

The Aligarh District Congress Committee.

President :—Hasiz Abdur Rahim, Pleader.

Secretary :—Dr. Manoliar Lal, Medical practitioner.

MUTTRA.

The Muttra District Congress Committee.

President :—Kuar Mahendra Pratap Singh.

Secretaries :—1. Babu Sadashiva Mittra.
2. P. Jagannath, M.A., LL.B., Vakil.

AGRA.

The Agra District Congress Committee.

President :—Pandit Kailash Nath Kunzru, Vakil.

Secretary :—B. Narain Prasad Asthana, B.A., LL.B., Vakil.

FARRUKHABAD.

The Farrukhabad District Congress Committee.

President :—B. Gaidan Lal, B.A., Vakil.

Secretaries :—1. Babu Raghubar Dial Mathur, B.A., LL.B., Vakil.
2. Chobe Makhan Lal, Pleader.

MAINPURI.

The Mainpuri District Congress Committee.

President :—Chobe Dammi Lal, B.A., Vakil.

Secretary :—Pandit Bansidhar Pande, Pleader.

ETAWAH.

The Etawah District Congress Committee.

Secretary :—Pandit Bahadur Prasad Misra, Banker.

BAREILLY.

The Bareilly District Congress Committee.

President :—Babu Lekhraj, B.A., Vakil.

Secretary :—Babu Raj Bahadur Singh, B.A., Pleader, Zakaih Mohalla.

MORADABAD.

The District Moradabad Congress Committee.

President :—The Hon'ble Babu Braj Nandan Prasad, M.A., LL.B., Vakil.

Secretaries :—1. Babu Braj Nath, B.A., LL.B., Vakil.

2. Babu Bishan Narayan, B.A., LL.B., Vakil.

3. Babu Raj Kumar Banerji, M.B., Medical practitioner.

SHAHJAHANPUR.

The Shahjahanpur District Congress Committee.

President :—Babu Harnath Singh, Pleader.

Secretaries :—1. Babu Keshorai, M.A., LL.B., Vakil.

2. Babu Maharaj Kumar, Talaya Ghuran.

CAWNPORE.

The Cawnpore District Congress Committee.

Secretaries :—1. Babu Debi Prasad, B.A., LL.B., Vakil.

2. Pandit Jai Narayan Bajpai.

ALLAHABAD.

The Allahabad District Congress Committee.

President :—Babu Charu Chander Mittra.

Secretary :—Pandit Ramakant Malavya, B.A., LL.B., Vakil

JHANSI.

The Jhansi District Congress Committee.

President :—Babu Sundarbhan, B.A., Vakil.

Secretary :—Babu Kanhaiya Lal, Pleader.

JALAOON (ORAI).

The Orai District Congress Committee.

President :—Babu Brajendranath De, M.A., LL.B., Vakil, Orai.

Secretary :—Pandit Gopal Das Sharma, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Orai.

BENARES.

The Benares District Congress Committee.

President :—Pandit Ohhannu Lal, Vakil.

Secretary :—Pandit Krishna Ram Mahta, B.A., LL.B., Vakil.

MIRZAPUR.

The Mirzapur District Congress Committee.

President :—Babu Sri Ram, Pleader.

Secretary :—Babu Chandra Kishore, B.A., Pleader.

GHAZIPUR.

The Ghazipur District Congress Committee.

President :—Dr. Priyanath Choudhari, Vakil.

Secretary :—Babu Ram Chander Prasad Varma, B.A., LL.B., Vakil.

BALLIA.

The Ballia District Congress Committee.

President :—Babu Mawalal, New Town Ballia.

Secretaries :—1. Babu Sri Ramlal, Pleader.

2. Pandit Ramdheen Pande, New Town Ballia.

GORUKHPORE.

The Gorukhpore District Congress Committee.

President :—Babu Ajudhya Das, B.A., Barrister-at-law.

Secretary :—Qazi Tajjam-mul Husain, Vakil.

BASTI.

The Basti District Congress Committee.

President:—Babu Kedarnath Verma, Pleader.

Secretaries:—1. Babu Sarju Prasad, B.A., LL.B., Vakil.
2. Babu Daulat Ram Asthana, B.A., LL.B., Vakil.

AZAMGURH.

The Azamgurh District Congress Committee.

President:—Babu Mukteswar Roy, Pleader.

Secretaries:—1. Babu Rajendra Nath Sen, M.A., LL.B., Pleader.
2. Pandit Baij Nath Misra, B.A., LL.B., Vakil.

LUCKNOW.

The Lucknow District Congress Committee.

President:—The Hon'ble B. Ganga Prasad Varma, Aminabad.

Secretaries:—1. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, M.A., LL.B.
2. Babu Ram Chander, M.A., LL.B.
3. Pandit Ikbal Narayan Masaldan, Barrister-at-law.

UNAO.

The Unao District Congress Committee.

President:—Pandit Beni Madhova Dube, Vakil.

Secretaries:—1. Pandit Bishambhar Nath Bajpai, B.A., LL.B.
2. Babu Salig Ram Singha, B.A., LL.B., Vakil.

RAI BAREILLY.

The Rai Bareilly District Congress Committee.

President:—Pandit Beharilal Nehru.

Secretary:—B. Sital Prasad, Pleader.

SITAPUR.

The Sitapur District Congress Committee.

President:—Munshi Murlidhar, Vakil.

Secretaries:—1. Babu Ohhail Beharilal, M.A., Vakil.
2. Babu Kalika Prasad Trivedi, Vakil.

HARDOI.

The Hardoi District Congress Committee.

President:—Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan, B.A.

Secretaries:—1. Babu Mannu Lal, M.A., LL.B., Pleader.
2. Babu Matu Prasad Sakhsena, Pleader.

KHERI (LAKHMIPUR).

The Kheri District Congress Committee.

President:—B. Mohan Lal, Vakil.

Secretary:—Pandit Suraj Narain Dikshit, M.A., LL.B. Vakil P. O Kheri
(Lakhmipur).

FYZABAD.

The Fyzabad District Congress Committee.

President:—M. Azmat Ali, B.A.

Secretary:—Thakur Mahadeva Singh, B.A., Vakil.

GONDA.

The Gonda District Congress Committee.

President:—B. Sant Buksh, B.A.

Secretary:—B. Bindeshwari Prasad, B.A.

PARTABGURH.

The Partabgurh District Congress Committee.

President:—Babu Raghubar Sahai, Pleader.

Secretary:—B. Awadbehari Lal, B.A., LL.B.

BARABANKI.

The Barabanki District Congress Committee.

President:—Raja Pirthipal Singh.

Secretaries:—1. B. Awad Behari Lal, B.A., LL.B., Pleader.
2. Babu Raghonath Singh, Pleader.

VI.—CENTRAL PROVINCES.**SAUGOR.**

The Saugor District Congress Committee.
Secretary.—Gopaldas Shri Khande, Esq., Saugor.

DAMOH.

The Damoh District Congress Committee.
Secretary.—Rai Bahadur Damodardas Shrikhande, Damoh.

JUBBULPORE.

The Jubbulpore District Congress Committee.
Secretary.—K. L. Sheode, Esq., Barrister-at-law, Jubbulpore.

MANDLA.

The Mandla District Congress Committee.
Secretary.—Vithaldas Kelkar, Esq., Pleader, Mandla.

NARSINGHPORE.

The Narsinghpur District Congress Committee.
Secretary.—Vinayak Rao Vaidya, Esq., Pleader, Narsinghpore.

HOSHANGABAD.

The Hoshangabad District Congress Committee.
Secretary.—Jagannath Prasada, Esq., Pleader, Narsinghpore.

BETUL.

The Betul District Congress Committee.
Secretary.—J. K. Pandey, Esq., Pleader, Betul.

CHHINDWARA.

The Chhindwara District Congress Committee.
Secretary.—H. Verma, Esq., Barrister-at-law, Chhindwara.

WARDHA.

The Wardah District Congress Committee.
Secretary.—D. N. Khare, Esq., Pleader, Wardha.

BHANDARA.

The Bhandara District Congress Committee.
Secretary.—V. M. Jakadar, Esq., Pleader, Bhandara.

BALAGHAT.

The Balaghat District Congress Committee.
Secretary.—Rao Bahadur Narayan Rao Kelkar, Pleader, Balaghat.

DENG.

The Deng District Congress Committee.
Secretary.—Dwarka Prasad Raizad, Esq., Pleader, Deng.

RAIPUR.

The Raipur District Congress Committee.
Secretary.—Rai Bahadur D. N. Choudhari, Pleader, Raipur.

BILASPUR.

The Bilaspur District Congress Committee.
Secretary.—Yadao Rao Dahabey, Esq., Pleader, Bilaspur.

KHANDWA.

The Khandwa District Congress Committee.
Secretary.—Manak Chand Jaini, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Pleader, Khandwa.

VII.—BEHAR.**BHAGALPUR.**

The Bhagalpore District Congress Committee.
Secretary.—Sri Krishna Prasad, Esq., B.L., Bhagalpore.

MONGHYR.

The Monghyr District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—

PURNEA.

The Purnea District Congress Committee.

Secretaries.—1. Ram Prasad, Esq., Purnea.

2. Babu Jyotis Quandar Bhattacharya, Purnea.

GAYA.

The Gaya District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—Bishan Prasad, Esq., Gaya.

SHAHABAD.

The Sahabad District Congress Committee.

President.—Syed Hasan Imam, Barrister-at-law, Bankipur.

SARAN.

The Saran District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—Madhava Sinha, Esq., Ohhapra.

MOTIHARI.

The Motihari District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—

MUZAFFARPUR.

The Muzaffarpur District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—B. Dwarkanath, B.A., LL.B., Muzaffarpur.

DARBHANGA.

The Darbhanga District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—Babu Bhuvaneshwar Misra, Misiatola, Darbhanga.

HAZARIBAGH.

The Hazaribagh District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—

RANCHI.

The Ranchi District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—Hon. Babu Balkrishna Sahai, Vakil, Ranchi.

DALTONGUNGE (PALAMAU).

The Daltongunge District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—

VIII.—BERAR.

AMRAOTI.

The Amraoti District Congress Committee.

Secretary.—R. A. Deshpande, Esq., Pleader, Amraoti.

APPENDIX C.

Names of the Members of the Subjects Committee.

(ARTICLE XXIV.)

Ex-Officio Members :

Sir William Wedderburn, Bart	...	...	... <i>Chairman.</i>
The Hon'ble Rai Pandit Sundar Lal Bahadur, C. I. E.	...	...	... <i>Chairman, Reception Committee.</i>
Babu Surendranath Banerji	...	...	... <i>Ex-President.</i>
D. E. Wacha, Esq.	...	...	... <i>Do.</i>
The Hon'ble G. K. Gokhale	...	...	... <i>Do.</i>
The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya	...	...	... <i>Do.</i>
The Hon'ble Lala Harkishan Lal	...	...	... <i>Ex-Chairman, Reception Committee, Lahore Congress.</i>
Daji Abaji Khare, Esq.	...	...	... <i>General Secretary.</i>
Pandit Baldev Ram Dave	...	...	} <i>Local Secretaries.</i>
Dr. Desraj Ranjit Singh	...	...
Babu Lalit Mohan Banerji	...	...
Rai Braj Narain Gurtu	...	...

All Members of the All-India Congress Committee for the year, viz. :—

(a) From Madras—

Hon. Mr. N. Subba Rao,
 Hon. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar,
 G. A. Natesan, Esq.,
 B. V. Narasinha Aiyar, Esq.,
 Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakar Menon,
 C. P. Ramasami Aiyar, Esq.,
 V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Esq.,
 V. V. Jogiah Pantalu, Esq.

(b) From Bombay—

Sir Balchandra Krishna, Kt.,
 Hon'ble Gokul Das Kishandas Parekh,
 Hon'ble Ohiman Lal H. Sitalvad,
 Hon. M. A. Jinnah,
 Hon. Harichandrai Vishindas,
 N. M. Samarth, Esq.,
 Mathuradas Ramchand Javahri, Esq.,
 Hari Sitaram Dikshit, Esq.,
 Vishnu Krishna Bhatavadekar, Esq.

(c) From Bengal—

Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar,
 Babu Kishori Mohan Choudhuri,
 A. Choudhuri, Esq.,
 J. Choudhuri, Esq.,
 J. Ghoshal, Esq.,
 B. Prithvis Chandra Roy,
 Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra,
 Babu Jagendranath Mukerji,
 Moulvi Abul Kaseim,
 Babu Satyananda Bose.

(d) From The United Provinces—

The Hon'ble Pandit Moti Lal Nehru,
 The Hon'ble Babu Ganga Prasad Varma,
 The Hon'ble S. Sinha,
 Dr. Satish Chander Banerji,
 Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru,

Nawab M. M. Sadiq Ali Khan,
 Babu Iswar Saran,
 Pandit Ikbal Narain Masaldan,
 Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra,
 Mushir Husain Qidevai, Esq.,
 Babu Ram Chandra,
 A. P. Sen, Esq.,
 Babu Preonath Banerji,
 Babu Narayan Prasad Asthana,
 C. Y. Chintamani, Esq.

(e) From the Punjab—

Lala Sangam Lal,
 Lala Dharmadas Suri,
 Lala Dhanpat Rai,
 Pandit Rambhaji Dutt Choudhri,
 Lala Ganpat Rai.

(f) From Behar—

Syed Hasan Imam,
 Hon'ble Mazhar-ul-Haque,
 Hon'ble Deep Narayan Singh
 Babu Harihar Persad Singh
 Babu Parmeshwar Lal.

Elected Members:

I.--MADRAS.

1. M. R. Ry. Rao Bahadur M. Adinarayaniab,
2. " C. Vijiaraghavachariar,
3. " K. R. V. Krishna Rao Bahadur,
4. Hon. M. M. Ramchandra Rao,
5. Hon. G. Ragava Rao,
6. Hon. K. Venkatappayya,
7. M. R. Ry. A. S. Krishna Rao,
8. Hon. S. Venkata Narasimha Rao,
9. " K. V. Srinivasa Aiyar,
10. " Rao Bahadur G. Srinivasa Rao,
11. Mr. B. N. Sarma,
12. " A. P. Patro,
13. " C. Ram Chandra Rao,
14. " J. P. Kotlingam,
15. " T. V. Muttu Krishnam.

II.—BOMBAY.

1. Hon'ble Mr. S. D. Garud,
2. Mr. B. R. Kotwal,
3. " L. K. Joshi,
4. " T. R. Desi,
5. " D. M. Gupte,
6. " G. K. Chitale,
7. " C. M. Gandhi,
8. " Jahangir B. Petit,
9. " D. N. Bahadur Ji,
10. " H. N. Apte,
11. " N. A. Dravid,
12. " G. R. Abhyankar,
13. Rao Bahadur Hiranand Khem Singh,
14. Mr. Lal Chand Navabhai,
15. Dr. Hassaram Vishin Das.

III.—BENGAL.

1. Babu Jogendra Chandra Chakravati,
2. " Amulya Charan Dutt,

3. Babu Bijay Krishna Bose,
4. „ Surendra Nath Maitra,
5. „ Ram Chandra Saha,
6. „ Man Mohan Neogi,
7. „ Jitendra Lal Banerji,
8. „ Pulin Chandra Das,
9. „ Nand Lal Bhaduri,
10. „ Amar Nath Dutt,
11. „ Mohini Mohan Lahiri,
12. „ Kishori Mohan Roy,
13. „ Gouri Shankar Roy,
14. „ Baroda Prasad Talukdar,
15. „ Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta,
16. „ Lalit Mohan Das,
17. „ Hara Nath Ghose,
18. „ Sachindra Prasad Bose,
19. „ Parosh Chandra Das Gupta,
20. „ Hamendra Nath Sen.

IV.—THE UNITED PROVINCES.

1. Babu Durga Charan Banerji,
2. Hon'ble M. Narsingh Prasad,
3. Hon'ble B. Sukbbeer Singh,
4. Raja Prithvipal Singh,
5. Shiekh Yusuf Husain,
6. Hafiz Abdur Rahim,
7. Mirza Sami-ullah Beg,
8. Mr. Govind Sahai Sharma,
9. Babu Braj Nath,
10. Pundit Gopal Das Sharma,
11. Babu Gokul Chand,
12. Pundit Jwala Dutt Joshi,
13. Rai Krishnaji,
14. Babu Badri Prasad,
15. Babu Raghunandan Prasad,
16. Babu Bishessar Nath,
17. Pandit Jagat Narain,
18. Mr. A. K. Bose,
19. Babu Manni Lal,
20. Thakur Mahadeo Singh,
21. Babu Sundar Lal,
22. Pandit Parmeshwarnath Sapru,
23. Pandit Jai Narain Bajpai,
24. Pandit Debi Prasad Sukla,
25. Pandit Rama Kant Malviya.

V.—THE PUNJAB (INCLUDING N.-W. FRONTIER PROVINCE.)

1. Mr. Duni Chand,
2. Dr. Parmanand,
3. Mr. Dharm Chand,
4. Mr. N. Gupta,
5. Pandit Balak Ram Pandya,
6. Lala Brajraj Puri,
7. Lala Mohan Lal Seth,
8. Rai Sahib Girdhari Lal,
9. Lala Lal Chand,
10. Lala Fakir Chand,
11. Mr. P. L. Rajpal,
12. Mahta Bahadur Chand.

VI.—CENTRAL PROVINCES.

1. Rao Bahadur Bishan Datt Sukul,
2. K. Srinivas Nayadu, Esq.,
3. Kaluram Gangrade, Esq.,
4. Dr. A. S. Gour,
5. M. K. Padhye, Esq.,
6. V. R. Dixit, Esq.,
7. Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit.

VII.—BEHAR.

1. Mr. Dwarka Nath,
2. „ Harihar Prasad Singh,
3. „ Hardas Hosain,
4. Hon'ble Braj Keshore Lal,
5. Mr. Ras Behari Mundal.

VIII.—BERAR.

1. The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar,
2. Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle,
3. Mr. R. V. Mahajan,
4. Mr. L. R. Abhyankar,
5. Mr. G. N. Kane.

APPENDIX D.

List of members of the Reception Committee of the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, 1910, Allahabad.

Chairman :—

1. The Hon'ble Pandit Sundar Lal Bahadur, C.I.E., Allahabad.

Vice-Chairmen :—

2. Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Charan Das, Allahabad,
3. The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru, Allahabad,
4. The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Allahabad,
5. The Hon'ble Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma, Lucknow,
6. The Hon'ble Sachchidananda Sinha,
7. Pandit Bisban Narayan Dar, Lucknow,
8. Hafiz Abdul Rahim, Aligarh, and
9. Babu Durga Charan Banerji, Allahabad.

Secretaries :—

10. Pandit Baldev Ram Dave,
11. Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan,
12. Dr. Satish Chander Banerji,
13. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru,
14. Babu Iswar Saran,
15. Rai Braj Narain Gurtu,
16. Dr. Desraj Ranjit Singh, and
17. Babu Lalit Mohan Banerji.

Members :—

18. Babu Jogendronath Choudhri, Allahabad,
19. Dr. Mulchand Tandan, Allahabad,
20. Dr. Suresh Chander Banerji, Allahabad,
21. Mr. C. Y. Chintamoney, Allahabad,
22. Babu Jagabandhu Phani, Allahabad,
23. Babu Prag Narain Saigal, Allahabad,
24. Babu Sarat Chandra Choudhri, Allahabad,
25. Munshi Gulzari Lal, Allahabad,
26. Pandit Jagjivan Nath Takru, Allahabad,
27. Babu Bulram Chander Mukerji, Allahabad,
28. Pandit Ramakant Malaviya, Allahabad,
29. Pandit Shiva Ram Pande, Allahabad,
30. Babu Satya Chander Mukerji, Allahabad,
31. Babu Nehal Chand, Allahabad,
32. Pandit Ladliprashad Zutshi, Allahabad,
33. Rai Bahadur Munshi Gokul Prasad, Allahabad,
34. Babu Radhe Shyam, Allahabad,
35. Babu Haribans Sahai, Allahabad,
36. Babu Purusottam Das Tandan, Allahabad,
37. Syed Aga Haidar, Esq., Allahabad,
38. Babu Nawal Keshore, Allahabad,
39. Babu Nawab Bahadur, Allahabad,
40. Munshi Kalindi Prasad, Allahabad,
41. Lala Madho Prasad, Allahabad,
42. D. R. Sawhney, Esq., Allahabad,
43. Babu Shambhu Nath, Allahabad,
44. R. Khare, Esq., Cawnpore.
45. Babu Munna Lal, Cawnpore.
46. Babu Vikarmajit Singh, Cawnpore.
47. Lala Hazari Lal, Cawnpore.
48. Babu Nandan Prasad, Cawnpore.
49. Babu Birendra Nath Sen, Cawnpore,

50. Seth Ram Sanehi, Cawnpore,
51. Rai Debi Prasad, Cawnpore,
52. Mr. Anand Swarup, Cawnpore,
53. Pandit Durga Prasad Bajpaie, Cawnpore,
54. Babu Bansi Dhar, Cawnpore,
55. Lala Deena Nath, Cawnpore,
56. Lala Jugi Lal, Cawnpore,
57. Babu Ganga Narain, Cawnpore,
58. Lala Ram Lal, Cawnpore,
59. Lala Girdhari Lal, Cawnpore,
60. Lala Chuni Lal, Cawnpore,
61. Lala Moti Ram, Cawnpore,
62. Babu Jagan Nath, Cawnpore,
63. Babu Ram Narain, Cawnpore,
64. Lala Mahadeo Prasad, Cawnpore,
65. Lala Shiam Lal, Cawnpore,
66. Lala Baij Nath, Cawnpore,
67. Mr. Sen, Cawnpore,
68. Lala Devi Dass, Cawnpore,
69. Pandit Rama Dhin Avasthi, Cawnpore,
70. Babu Sheo Narain, Cawnpore,
71. Babu Kanhya Lal, Cawnpore,
72. Pandit Bishwa Nath Thohal, Cawnpore,
73. Babu Shankar Sahai, Jhansi.
74. Pandit Gopal Das Sharma, Orai, District Jalaun,
75. Mr. Narayan Prasad Asthana, Agra,
76. Mr. Govind Sahai Sharma, Agra,
77. Mr. Madho Prasad, Sharma, Agra,
78. Mr. Radha Kishen, Agra,
79. Mr. Madhoban Dass, Agra,
80. Mr. Koka Mal, Agra,
81. Pandit Jagan Nath, Agra,
82. Mr. Bankey Lal, Agra,
83. Mr. Shiam Lal, Agra,
84. Mr. Pribhu Dayal, Agra,
85. Mr. Ram Prasad, Agra,
86. Babu Kunwar Kanhi Singh, Agra,
87. Babu Kunwar Drigpall Singh, Agra,
88. Babu Kunwar Mahendra Pratap Singh Sahib, Brindaban,
89. Bal Kishen Ohaubay, Farrukhabad,
90. Pandit Dammi Lal Ohaubey, Mainpuri,
91. Mr. Baleshur Prasad Misra, Etawah,
92. Pandit Suraj Bal Dikshit, Meerut,
93. The Hon'ble Babu Ramanuja Dayal, Meerut,
94. Mr. Mansumarat Das Jaini, Meerut,
95. Mr. Kishore Lal, Meerut,
96. Babu Damodar Das, Meerut,
97. Babu Khusdil Prasad, Meerut,
98. Mr. Babu Lal, Meerut,
99. Babu Lachman Prasad, Meerut,
100. Lala Banarsi Das, Meerut,
101. Pandit Radha Lal Ohaubay, Meerut,
102. Babu Sita Ram, Meerut,
103. Mr. Pearey Lal, Meerut,
104. Mr. Bhagwan Dass, Meerut,
105. Mr. Avadh Behari Lal, Meerut,
106. Benarsi Das, Esq., Meerut,
107. Babu Ram, Esq., Meerut,
108. Babu Durga Prasad, Dehra Dun,
109. Pandit Anand Narain, Dehra Dun,
110. Pandit Mohan Lal, Saharanpur,
111. Babu Raj Rajeswar Sahai, Saharanpur,

112. Mr. Sukhbir Sinha, Muzaffernagar,
113. Mr. Shiva Dayal Singh, Aligarh,
114. Mr. Kedar Nath, Aligarh,
115. Mr. Kishore Lal, Aligarh,
116. Pandit Basdeo Sahai, Aligarh,
117. Mr. Preo Nath Banerjee, Bareilly,
118. Mr. Khunni Lal, Bareilly,
119. Mr. Nand Kishun Kacker, Bareilly,
120. Mr. Raj Bahadur Singhi, Bareilly,
121. Mr. Brij Mohan Lal, Bareilly,
122. Mr. Janki Prasad, Bareilly,
123. Mr. Baldeo Prasad, Bareilly,
124. Mr. Ram Krishna, Bareilly,
125. Mr. Jai Narain Chaudhri, Bareilly,
126. Mr. Saraswati Prasad, Bareilly,
127. Pandit Jagan Nath, Bareilly,
128. Babu Visheshwar Nath, Bareilly,
129. Babu Braj Nath, Moradabad,
130. Babu Brij Nandan Prasad, Moradabad,
131. Chaubey Budhi Prakash, Moradabad,
132. Babu Bisen Narain, Moradabad,
133. Dr. R. K. Banerjee, M.B., Moradabad,
134. Mr. Radha Kishen Das, Moradabad,
135. B. Jugul Kishore, Benares,
136. Babu Ravi Nandan Prasad, Benares,
137. Babu Girdhari Das, Benares,
138. Babu Rao Gopal Das Shahpuri, Benares,
139. Pandit Purushottam Joshi, Benares,
140. Choudhri Ram Prasad, Benares,
141. M. Mahadeo Prasad, Benares,
142. Joshi Damodarjee, Benares,
143. Babu Kesho Das, Benares,
144. Babu Gopal Das, Benares,
145. Babu Briudaban Bihari, Benares,
146. Goswami Ram Charan Purijee, Benares,
147. Rai Kishenjee Pathak, Benares,
148. Babu Brij Mohan Das, Benares,
149. Babu Vaishnava Das, Benares,
150. Babu Maharaj Kishore Khanna, Benares,
151. Babu Moti Ohand, Benares,
152. Babu Vaidya Nath Das, Benares,
153. Babu Hari Das, Benares,
154. Babu Madhu Sudhan Das, Benares,
155. Babu Parshotam Das, Benares,
156. Mr. Narotam Das, Benares,
157. Rai Shiva Prasad, Benares,
158. Babu Murli Manohar, Benares,
159. Babu Sri Ram, Mirzapur,
160. Babu Banke Lal, Jaunpur,
161. Babu Radhey Mohan, Jaunpur,
162. Mr. Kuber Nath, Ghazipur,
163. Babu Mahadeva Prasad, Ballia,
164. Babu Ram Garib, Gorakhpur,
165. Babu Ajodhya Das, Gorakhpur,
166. The Hon'ble Mr. Narsingh Prasad, Gorakhpur,
167. Rai Krishna Kishore Chandra, Gorakhpur,
168. Babu Jai Gopal Asthana, Gorakhpur,
169. Babu Ram Ratan Prasad, Gorakhpur,
170. Babu Auanda Charan Singh, Gorakhpur,
171. Babu Har Narain Singh, Gorakhpur,
172. Babu Sarasvati Prasad, Gorakhpur,
173. Babu Gorakh Prasad, Gorakhpur,

174. Babu Narsingh Sahai, Gorakhpur,
175. Babu Bhairu Prasad, Gorakhpur,
176. Babu Hari Har Datt, Gorakhpur,
177. Babu Oudh Narain Singh, Gorakhpur,
178. Kazi Firasat Husain, Gorakhpur,
179. Babu Abhay Charan Singh, Gorakhpur,
180. Babu Raghunandan Prasad, Basti,
181. Babu Kailaspati, Basti,
182. Babu Sarju Prasad Srivastava, Basti,
183. Babu Mukteshwar Roy, Azamgarh,
184. Babu Ganga Prasad Roy, Azamgarh,
185. Babu Gopal Das, Azamgarh,
186. Mr. Ram Chandra, Lucknow,
187. Mr. R. N. Supru, Lucknow,
188. Babu Bisheshur Nath Srivastava, Lucknow,
189. Pandit Braj Narain Taukha, Lucknow,
190. Mr. Usuf Hussain Khan, Lucknow,
191. Nawab Sajjad Ali Khan, Lucknow,
192. Pandit Janki Nath, Lucknow,
193. Pandit Sangam Lal Chak, Lucknow,
194. Pandit Jagat Narain, Lucknow,
195. Babu Basadeo Lal, Lucknow,
196. Pandit Ikbal Narain Masaldan, Lucknow,
197. Pandit Hari Datt Pant, Lucknow,
198. Nawab Kazim Ali Khan, Lucknow,
199. Mr. Sami Ullah Beg, Lucknow,
200. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, Lucknow,
201. Pandit Sheo Behari Lal Misra, Lucknow,
202. Dr. Parshotam Das Kacker, Lucknow,
203. Mr. Gopal Das Varma, Lucknow,
204. Mr. Ramapatti Ram, Lucknow,
205. Mr. A. P. Sen, Lucknow,
206. Babu Hari Kishen Dho, Lucknow,
207. Babu Ishwari Dayal, Lucknow,
208. Babu Kedar Nath, Lucknow,
209. Babu Gokul Prasad, Lucknow,
210. Babu Ram Raghubir, Lucknow,
211. Babu Ram Nath, Lucknow,
212. Babu Lachmi Narain, Unao,
213. Pandit Beni Madho Dube, Unao,
214. Chondhri Jagan Nath Prasad, Unao,
215. Pandit Gaya Prasad Shukla, Rai Bareilly,
216. Mr. Sital Prasad, Rai Bareilly,
217. Pandit Behari Lal Nehru, Rai Bareilly,
218. Babu Chote Lal, Sitapur,
219. Pandit Gaya Prasad Tiwari, Sitapur,
220. Mr. Muzaffer Hussain, Sitapur,
221. Mr. Murli Dhar, Sitapur,
222. Sardar Majibal Rahim Khan, Kheri,
223. Pandit Mohan Lal Tiwari, Kheri,
224. Babu Sita Ram Sett, Kheri,
225. Lala Mahabir Prasad, Fyzabad,
226. Lala Ram Raghubir Lal, Fyzabad,
227. Babu Manohar Lal, Fyzabad,
228. Babu Mahendra Deva Varma, Fyzabad,
229. Thakur Mahadeo Prasad Singh, Fyzabad,
230. Babu Baldeo Prasad, Fyzabad,
231. Babu Ladli Prasad Sinha, Bahraich,
232. Pandit Maharaj Narain Hangal, Bahraich,
233. Babu Avadh Bihari Lal, Partapgarh,
234. Pandit Parmeshwar Dayal Upadhya, Partapgarh,
235. Raja Pirthivi Pal Singh, Barabanki,

APPENDIX E.

List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910.

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
1	Madras ...	Madras Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. D. V. Neelamega Chariar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Vakil, High Court, Vellala Street, Parsewalkam.	At a meeting held on 14th December, 1910.	
2	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. V. Muthuvolu Pillai, L.M.S.	Hindu, non-Brahman	Medical Practitioner, Vellala Street, Parsewalkam.	Do.	
3	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. S. A. Rangasami Aiyar ...	Hindu, Brahman ...	2nd Grade Pleader, Madura ...	Do.	
4	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. G. C. Loganada Mudaliar...	Hindu, non-Brahman	Proprietor, Guardian Press, Mount Road, Madras.	Do.	
5	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. T. P. Namberumal Chettiar	Hindu, Vaisya ...	Proprietor, Messrs. Moses & Co., Mount Road, Madras.	Do.	
6	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. K. Sitarama Reddiar, B.A.	Hindu, non-Brahman,	Mirasdar, Vellala Street, Parsewalkam.	Do.	
7	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Rao Bahadur M. Audinarayanah Garu.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Retired Government servant, Tondearpet, Madras.	At a meeting held on 19th November, 1910.	
8	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. C. K. Mahadeva Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Vakil High Court, Rayapetta, Madras.	At a meeting held on 19th November, 1910 and at a meeting held on 21st November, 1910.	
9	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Auabami Devai Swami Iyer	Do. ...	Vakil, High Court, Madras ...	At a meeting held on 19th November, 1910	
10	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. E. S. W. Senathi Raja, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu ...	Barister-at-Law, Trivandrum...	Do.	
11	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar, B.A., L.T.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Member, Servant of India Society.	Do.	

12	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. G. A. Natesan, B.A., F.M.U.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Editor, "The Indian Review," Thumbuchetty Street, Madras.	At a meeting held on the 19th No- vember, 1910, and at a meet- ing held on 21st November, 1910.
13	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. V. Masilamani Pillai, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, non-Brahman	Vakil, High Court, Vella Street, Parsewalkum.	At a meeting held on 19th Novem- ber, 1910.
14	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. P. Rangaswami Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.	Brahman, Vaishnauti	Vakil, High Court, 79, Vella Street, Vepery, Madras.	Do.
15	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. T. V. Muthu Krishna Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Vakil, High Court, Purasawakam, Madras.	Do.
16	Do.	...	Do.	..	Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastriar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Vakil, High Court, Madras ...	At a meeting held on the 30th No- vember, 1910.
17	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. M. Krishnasami Aiyar, M.D.	Do.	Medical Practitioner, Hingachet- ty Street, Madras.	Do.
18	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. C. Arunachalam Mudaliar	Hindu	Zamindar, Chunampet <i>via</i> Acha- rapakkam, S. I. R.	Do.
19	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. S. Somasundram Pillay, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Pillay	Vakil, High Court, 159, Coral Merchant Street, Madras.	Do.
20	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. C. T. R. M. Ramasami Chetty	Hindu, Chetty	Dubash, Messrs. Shaw Wallace & Co., 148, Coral Merchant Street, Madras.	Do.
21	Do.	...	Do.	and the Mahajana Sabha.	Mr. Dewan Bahadur C. Karuna- kara Menon, B.A.	Hindu, Nair	Editor, 'The Indian Patriot' ...	Do.
22	Do.	...	Madras M a h a j a n a Sabha.		Mr. Jamjoor Krisnaswami Nayudu	Hindu, Nayudu	Merchant and Land-h older, Periamet, Madras.	At a meeting held on the 20th De- cember, 1910.

APPENDIX E.

List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued.)

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
23	Madras ...	The Madras Mahajana Sabha.	Mr. Coya Venkataranga Nayudu	Hindu, Nayudu ...	Merchant, Poriamet, Madras ...	At a meeting held on the 20th December, 1910.	
24	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. G. A. Vaidyarama Aiyar, B.A.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Retired Government servant and Generalist, No. 297, Thamboo-Chetty Street, Madras.	At a meeting held on the 21st December, 1910.	
25	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. C. Gopala Menon ...	Hindu, Malayalee ...	Dubash, Messrs. Wilson & Co., Madras.	Do.	
26	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. P. S. Subratmanya Sastriar	Hindu, Brahman ...	Carnatic Studis, Mount Road, Madras.	Do.	
27	Do. ...	Do. ...	The Hon'ble Mr. T. V. Seshagairi Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Vakil, High Court, Poonamallee Road, Egmore, Madras.	Do.	
28	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. V. Desika Chariar, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Proprietor, Messrs Ally Brothers, Mount Road, Madras	Do.	
29	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. V. V. Jagiah Pantulu Garu	Do. ...	Pleader, Berhampore ...	At a meeting held on the 21st November, 1910. Also at a meeting of	

								the Ganjam District Association, Berhampore, held on 16th November, 1910 and at a meeting of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee held on the 19th November, 1910.	
30	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. C. P. Ramasami Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	Vakil, High Court, Teynampet, Madras.	At a meeting held on the 21st November, 1910
31	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. C. Vijiaraghava Chariar, B.A.	Do.	...	Pleader, Salem ...	Do.
32	Do.	...	Ganjam District Association, Berhampur	...	The Hon'ble Mr. G. Raghava Rao Puntulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	Vaishnava Brahman...		Vakil, High Court, Ganjam, Berhampur.	At a meeting of the Ganjam District Association held on 16th November, 1910.
33	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. T. V. Narasingarao, B.A., B.L.	Brahman	...	Do.	Do.
34	Do.	..	Do.	...	Mr. N. Ramanujaswami Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
35	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. A. P. Patro, B.A., B.L., Municipal Councillor, Berhampore, Member, Ganjam District Board and Vice-President, Berhampore Taluq Board.	Mohiri Kalingae caste, Theist.		Vakil, High Court, Berhampore and Landholder.	Do.

APPENDIX E.

List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
36	Madras ...	Ganjam District Association, Berhampore.	Mr. Mandadi Bhaskara Ramadass Pantulu Garu.	Brahman ...	Landholder, Sompeta ...	At a meeting of the Ganjam District Association held on 16th November, 1910.	
37	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Degumarti Viswanadharow Pantulu Garu.	Do. ...	Landholder and Banker ...	Do.	
38	Do. ...	Divisional Association, Chicacole, Ganjam District.	Mr. Nyayapati Venkata Row Ganadharu Pantulu Garu.	Do. ...	1st Grade Pleader and Joint Proprietor, President, Bar Association, Chairman, Pali Boyes, Association Chicacole.	At a meeting held on the 25th November, 1910, of the Chicacole Association.	
39	Do. ...	Vizagapattam District Congress Committee.	Mr. Joganti Sreeramanirg Pantulu, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Pleader ...	At the District Congress Committee.	
40	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Hasainali Sahib, B.A., B.L.	Mohammadan ...	1st Grade Pleader ...	At a meeting held on the 9th November, 1910.	
41	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Bayya Narasimheswara Sarma, B.A., B.L., Rao Bahadur.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Vakil, High Court, Landholder, Vizagapatam.	At a meeting of the District Congress Committee, Vizagapatam, held	

							on the 9th November, 1910.	
42	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Chintalapati Venkata Surya Narasimha Raju Garu, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Kshatriya ...	1st Grade Pleader and Landholder, Vizagapatam.	Do.
43	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Prabhala Lakshmi Narasimhami Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Brahman ...	1st Grade Pleader, Vizagapatam.	Do.
44	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Bhupattiraju Venkatapathi Raju Garu, B.A., B.L.	Kshatriya ...	High Court Vakil ...	Do.
45	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Koza Purushottam Garu, M.A., B.L.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Pleader ...	Do.
46	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Alamury Appala Suryanarayanni, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
47	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Aratta Narayanaswami Naidu.	Hindu, Sudra ...	Branch Magistrate and Landholder, Vizagapatam.	At a meeting held on the 22nd November, 1910.
48	Do.	...	Divisional Congress Committee, Vizagapatam District.	...	Mr. O. V. Jagannadha Sastriar, B.A.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Pleader, Purnatipur, Vizagapatam.	At a meeting of the Divisional Congress Committee held on 22nd November, 1910.
49	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Jat Nimapathi Satyanarayana Murti, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Pleader, Vizagapatam ...	Do.
50	Do.	...	Taluq Association, Yellamanchili, District Vizagapatam.	...	Mr. M. Subha Rao Pantulu ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Yellamanchili, District Vizagapatam.	At a meeting of the Yellamanchili Association held on the 14th December, 1910.

APPENDIX E.

List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910.—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
51	Madras ...	Taluq Association, Yellamanchili, District Vizagapatam.	Mr. G. V. Subba Rao Pantulu	Hindu, Brahman ...	Pleader, Yellamanchili, District Vizagapatam.	At a meeting of the Yellamanchili Association held on the 14th December, 1910.	
52	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. K. Venkatanaranah Pantulu	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.	
53	Do. ...	Godavari District Congress Committee, Cocanada.	Mr. Sarala Gopala Sastriy, B.A.	Do. ...	First Grade Pleader, Anantapur	At a meeting of the Committee held on 26th November, 1910	
54	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Pullaya Venkata Sooryanarayana Dikshit.	Do. ...	Zamindar ...	Do.	
55	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Parupalli Venkata Namiah	Do. ...	Landholder ...	At a meeting of the Godavari District Congress Committee held on 6th December, 1910.	
56	Do. ...	Do. ...	Sri Rajah K. R. V. Krishna Rao Bahadur, B.A.	Do. ...	Zamindar of Palavarams ...	At a meeting of the Committee held on the 26th November, 1910, and	

							at a meeting held on 21st November, 1910, of the Mahajana Sabha.		
57	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Yellapryula Kamiswara Rao, B.A.	Do.	...	First Grade Pleader, Cocanada	At a meeting of the committee held on the 26th November, 1910.
58	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Chavati Rama Somaya Julu, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	Vakil, Cocanada	Do.
59	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Lakkaraju Subba Row, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	High Court Vakil, Cocanada ...	Do.
60	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Duggirala Lakshmi Deval Raju.	Do.	...	Landholder ...	Do.
61	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Kommireddy Suryanarayana Murty Naidu, Rao Bahadur.	Hindu, Shudra	...	Municipal Councillor, Member, Perv Conservancy Board, Merchant, Proprietor, Messrs. Muos & Co., Cocanada.	Do.
62	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Gautu Subbarayadu, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Brahman	...	Vakil, High Court, Cocanada...	Do.
63	Do.	...	Do.	..	Mr. Deoara Konda Subrahnyaur, Rao Sahib.	Do.	...	Pleader, Cocanada ...	Do.
64	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Rao Sahib Pydah Venkatachilapaty Garu.	Vaishya	...	Merchant, Banker, Cocanada ...	Do.
65	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Ganti Lakshmi Narasimham, B.A., B.C.E.	Hindu, Brahmo	...	Architect, 82, Tamarind Lane, Bombay.	Do.
66	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Kommireddy Bhaskara Ramamurty Naidu.	Hindu, Shudra	...	Honorary Magistrate, Merchant, Cocanada.	Do.

APPENDIX E.

List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
67	Madras ...	Rajahmundry Divisional Association.	Mr. Mote Rangayya Naidu Garu, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Shudra ...	Pleader ...	At a meeting of the Rajahmundry Association held on 27th November, 1910.	
68	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Sarangu Bhima Sankara Rao Garu, B.A.	Hindu, Brahman ...	First Grade Pleader ...	Do.	
69	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Dharawada Venkata Krishna Rao Garu, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Vakil, High Court ...	Do.	
70	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Velivela Atchutalingam Garu, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Pleader. ...	Do.	
71	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Somauchi Syamala Rao Garu, B.A.	Do. ...	First Grade Pleader ...	Do.	
72	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Alluri Venkata Suryanarayana Garu.	Kshatriya ...	Inamdar ...	At a meeting held on 7th December, 1910.	
73	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Alluri Venkata Subbarazu Garu.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.	
74	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Nyapati Kameswara Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Pleader ..	Do.	

75	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Rampalli Rama Chandruda Garu.	Do.	...	Inamdar	...	...	At a meeting held on the 29th December, 1910.
76	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Koovuri Chandra Reddi Garu	Shumauchi Reddi	...	Proprietor	...	...	Do.
77	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. N. V. Somayayuha	Brahman	...	First Grade Pleader, Landholder.	...	...	At a meeting of the Committee held on the 27th November, 1910.
78	Do	...	Do.	...	The Hon'ble Mr. Nyapati Subba Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Brahman	...	High Court Vakil	...	...	Do.
79	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Nalam Pattabhiramarao	Vaishya	...	Banker and Landlord	...	...	Do.
80	Do.	...	Krishna District Congress Committee.	...	The Honorable Mr. M. Rama Chandra Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Brahman	...	Member, Madras Legislative Council, Ellore, Vakil, High Court.	...	...	At a meeting of the Krishna District held on the 30th November, 1910.
81	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Inupuganti Vencata Rajah Gopala Raw Garu.	Hindu	...	Landholder, Nugird, Kistna District.	...	...	Do.
82	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Makarla Vencataswami Naidu Garu, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	Vakil, Muslipatam	...	...	Do.
80	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. K. Chidambura Row, B.A.	Hindu, Brahman	...	Pleader	...	...	Do.
84	Do.	...	Ellore Divisional Association.	...	Mr. Mulukutla Suria Prakasa Rao, B.A.	Do.	...	First Grade pleader, Ellore	...	...	At a meeting of the Divisional Association, Ellore on the 27th November, 1910.
85	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. P. Sambasiva Row Garu, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	High Court Vakil, Ellore	...	...	Do.

APPENDIX E.

List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinction.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
86	Madras ...	The Guntur Association.	Mr. Konda Venkatappaya Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Vakil, High Court, Guntur ...	At a meeting held on 4th December, 1910.	
87	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Kompalli Koti Lingam Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.	
88	Do. ...	Nellore District Congress Committee.	Mr. V. Krishna Swami Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Vakil, High Court, Nellore ...	At a Meeting of the Nellore District Congress Committee held on 29th November, 1910.	
89	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.	
90	Do. ...	Nellore District Congress Committee, Madras Provincial Congress Committee; and United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee.	Mr. Nandagiri Rama Chandra Rau, B.A.	Brahman ...	Member, Servants of India Society, Poona City.	At a meeting of the District Congress Committee, Nellore, held on 13-12-10; Madras Provincial Congress Committee, 30-11-10, and U. P. Provincial Congress Com-	

91	Do.	Nellore District Congress Committee.	Mr. Pejjayi Raghava Reddy Garu	Hindu, Kapu	Landowner, Chennugari palem Shreehankota Ranga Gudur Sahib, Nellore District.	At a meeting of the Nellore District held on the 13th December, 1910.
92	Do.	Do.	Mr. Katamreddy Adinarayana Reddy Garu.	Do.	Landowner, Nellore District	Do.
93	Do.	Do.	Mr. G. Venkata Ranga Rao Pantulu Garu, M.A.	Hindu, Brahman	Secretary, Landholders' Association.	At a meeting of the Congress Committee of District Nellore held on the 20th December, 1910.
94	Do.	Cuddappah District Congress Committee.	Mr. T. M. Narasimha Charlu, B.A., B.L.	Do.	First Grade Pleader, Chairman of the Municipal Council, Cuddappah.	At a meeting of the District Cuddappah Congress Committee held on the 11th December, 1910.
95	Do.	Do.	Mr. Virur Pichaiya, B.A.	Do.	First Grade Pleader and Municipal Councillor, Cuddappah.	Do.
96	Do.	Do.	Mr. Kurudi Gundu Rao, B.A., B.L.	Do.	High Court Vakil and Municipal Councillor, Cuddappah.	Do.
97	Do.	Do.	Mr Cowkur Rama Chandra Rao, B.A., B.L.	Do.	Vakil, High Court, Cuddappah	Do.
98	Do.	Do.	Mr. Cowkur Srinivasa Rao, B.A., B.L.	Do.	First Grade Pleader and Municipal Councillor, Cuddappah.	Do.

APPENDIX E.

List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARK
99	Madras ...	Kurnool District Congress Committee.	Mr. D. Subba Rao, B.A. ...	Hindu, Brahman ...	Landholder, Nandyal ...	At a meeting of the District Kurnool Association held on the 26th November, 1910.	
100	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. K. Dakshinamurti Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Pleader, Kurnool ...	Do.	
101	Do. ...	Kurnool District Congress Association.	Mr. C. Venkataranga Reddy, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Sudra ...	Vakil, High Court, and Landlord, Kurnool.	Do.	
102	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. S. Venkatanarasimha Rao, B.A.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Pleader and Landholder, Municipal Chairman, Kurnool.	Do.	
103	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. K. Ekambara Aiyar, B.A....	Do. ...	Pleader Nandyal, Vice-President, Taluk Board, and Member, District Board, Kurnool.	Do.	
104	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. K. Rama Chandra Rao ...	Do. ...	Landlord, Kurnool ...	At a meeting of the Association held on 16th December, 1910.	

105	Do.	...	District Congress Committee, Bellary.	Mr. I. P. Cotelingam, Esq., M.A.	Native Christian	...	Fellow of the Madras University and Principal, Ward-Law Institution, Bellary.	Public meeting held at Bellary on 11th December, 1910.
106	Do.	...	Anantapur District Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Mr. Pattu Kesava Pillai.	Hindu, non-Brahman,		Pleader and Additional Member of the Madras Legislative Council.	At a meeting of the Provincial Conference held on 22nd October, 1910.
107	Do.	...	Do.	Mr. Rupanagudi Naujunda Raw	Hindu, Brahman	...	Pleader, Gootys	At a meeting of the District Association held on 22nd October, 1910.
108	Do.	...	Do.	Mr. Yoggine Seshappa Garu	Do.	...	Pleader, Gootys	Do.
109	Do.	...	Nogapatam Congress Committee.	Mr. R. Krishna Sami Iyyangar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu	...	Pleader	At a meeting of the Negapatam Association held on 21st December, 1910.
110	Do.	...	Salem District Association.	Mr. T. Adinarayana Chettiar	Hindu, Vaishya	...	Banker, Honorary Magistrate and Taluk Board member, Salem.	At a meeting of the District Salem Association held on 14th December, 1910.
111	Do.	...	Do.	Mr. Narasimaniar Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Brahman	...	Vakil, High Court and Municipal Councillor, Salem.	Do.
112	Do.	...	Coimbatore People's Association.	Mr. K. V. Srinivasa Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Do.	...	Vakil, High Court, and Municipal Councillor.	At a public meeting of the People's Association held on 11th December 1910.

APPENDIX E.

List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(concluded).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
113	Madras ...	Madura District Congress Committee.	Mr. G. Somayaja Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Brahman ...	High Court Vakil, and Landholder, Madura.	At a meeting of the Madura District Association held on the 30th November, 1910.	
114	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. C. Srinivasa Rau Sahib, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Vakil, High Court, Madura ...	Do.	
115	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. T. C. Srinivasa Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Vakil, High Court and Landholder, Madura.	Do.	
116	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. C. Srinivasa Iyer, B.A., B. L.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.	
117	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. S. K. Tulasi Ram, B.A., B. L.	Hindu ...	Vakil, High Court, Member of the Madura Municipal Council and Merchant.	Do.	
118	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Rao Bahadur G. Srinivasa Row, B.A.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Vakil and Landholder, Madura	Do.	
119	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. R. Lakshmana Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.	

120	Do.	...	Mr. S. A. Anauthanaryanan Chethir.	Hindu, Vaishya	...	Merchant, and Member, Madura Municipal Council and Landholder.	At a meeting of the Madura District Congress Committee held on 30th November, 1910.			
121	Do	...	Tinnevelly District Congress Committee.	Mr. S. Gopala Aiyar	...	Smartha, Brahman	...	Pleader, Sri Vaikuntam	...	At a meeting of the Tinnevelly District Congress Committee held on 6th December, 1910.
122	Bombay	...	Bombay Presidency Association.	The Hon'ble Sir Vithal Das D. Kt. Thackersy.	Bhatia	...	Merchant, Bombay	...	At a meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association held on the 12th December, 1910.	
123	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. D. E. Wacha	...	Parsee	...	Merchant and Joint General Secretary of the Congress, Bombay.	Do.
124	Do.	...	Do.	...	The Hon'ble C. H. Sitalvad, B.A., LL.B.	Brahman	...	Advocate, High Court, Bombay	Do.	
125	Do.	...	Do.	...	The Hon'ble Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, C.I.E.	Brahman	...	Member of Imperial Council	Do.	
126	Do.	...	Do.	...	The Hon'ble Mr. M. A. Jinnah	Mohammadan	...	Member of the Supreme Legislative Council, Advocate, High Court, Bombay.	Do.	
127	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Vikaji Fardunji Pareeporewala.	Parsee	...	Barister-at-Law, Chowpatty, Bombay.	Do.	

APPENDIX E.

List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
128	Bombay ..	Bombay Presidency Association.	Mr. Ramdatt Withila Desai, B.A., LL. B.	Hindu, Porabhu ...	Pleader, High Court, Bombay.	At the meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association held on the 12th December, 1910.	
129	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Behramji C. Battliwala ...	Parsee ...	Assistant, Messrs. Ralli Bros., Mandvi, Bombay.	Do.	
130	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Savak. Ratanji Bomanji ...	Parsee ...	Merchant, Bombay ...	Do.	
131	Do. ...	Do. ...	Rao Bahadur Mr. Sundar Das Narain Das, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Bhatia ...	Attorney of High Court, Bombay.	Do.	
132	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Hormusji Sapurji Patuck ...	Parsee ...	Merchantile Line, Bombay ..	Do.	
133	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Manor Das Tribhuvan Das Varjeevan Das.	Kapole Bania ...	Merchant, Bombay ...	Do.	
134	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Govindji Madhanjee ...	Bhatia ...	Merchant, Bombay ...	Do.	
135	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. K. Natrajan, Esq. ...	Hindu ...	Journalist, Indian Social Reformer, Bombay.	Do.	
136	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Parshotam Vishram Mavji, J.P., M.R.A.S.	Hindu, Bhatia ...	Millowner and Merchant, Bombay.	Do.	

137	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Gulab Chand Dev Chand Javeri.	Jain	...	...	Merchant, Bombay	...	Do.
138	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Ratan Chand Talok Chand	Do.	...	...	Do.	...	Do.
139	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Mani Lal M. Doctor, M.A., LL.B.	Vaishnava Bania	...	...	Barrister-at-Law, Port Louis, Mauritius.	...	Do.
140	Do.	...	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	...	Sir Bhalchandra Krishna Bhatodekar, Kt., L.M.	Hindu Brahman	...	...	Medical Practitioner, Girgaon, Bombay.	...	At the meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held on 28th November, 1910.
141	Do.	...	Do.	...	The Hon'ble Mrs. Gokuldas Kahandas Parekh, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Vania	...	...	Vakil, High Court, Additional member of the Bombay Legislative Council, Hon. Secretary, Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, Elected representative of the Province of Bombay on the All-India Congress Committee.	...	Do.
142	Do.	...	Do.	...	Hari Sita Ram Dikshit, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Nagar Brahman.	...	...	Solicitor, High Court, Humum Street, Fort Bombay, Ordinary Fellow, Bombay University, Elected representative of the Province of Bombay on the All-India Congress Committee.	...	Do.
143	Do.	...	Do.	...	Jehangir Bomanji Petit, Esq. ...	Parsee	...	...	Morchant, Malabar Hill, Bombay	...	Do.
144	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Barjoorjee Neuroojee Apyakhtiar.	Parsee, Zoroastrian	...	...	Editor and Proprietor, "Hindu Punch," Bombay.	...	Do.
145	Do.	...	Do.	...	Ganesh Raghunath Abhyankar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Brahman	...	...	Pleader, Sangli S. M. C., Bombay.	...	Do. and at the meeting of the Poona District Committee held on 27th November, 1910.

APPENDIX E.

List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910.—(continued.)

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
146	Bombay	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Hon'ble Mr. Harchand Rai Vishindas Bharidani, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu	Pleader, Karachi, Chairman Karachi District Congress Committee, Member, Legislative Council, Bombay. Elected Representative of the Province of Bombay on the All-India Congress Committee.	At the meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held on 28th November, 1910.	
147	Do.	Do.	Gopal Das Jhamat Mal Advani, Esq.	Hindu	Pleader, Hyderabad, Sind	At a meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held on 28th November, 1910 and at a meeting of the District Hyderabad Congress Committee held on the 4th December, 1910.	
148	Do.	...	Vishna Krishna Bhatavader, Esq, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Brahman	Vakil, High Court, Girgaon, Bombay.	At a meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held on 28th November, 1910.	

149	Do. ...	Do. ...	Nanabhai Ghelabhai, Esq. ...	H i n d u, W a m a Khadinta.	Kalvadevi Road, Bombay ...	Do.
150	Do. ...	Do. ...	Trikan Lal R. Desai, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu ...	Vakil, High Court and the Editor, 'The Lawyer,' Bom- bay.	Do.
151	Do. ...	Do. ...	Hira Lal Dayabhai Nanaviti, Esq.	Hindu, Bania ...	Solicitor and Vkaill, High Court, 24, Esplanade Road, Bombay.	At a meeting of the Presidency Association held on 12th Decem- ber, 1910.
152	Do. ...	Do. ...	Balvantrao Tripurshanker, Esq.	Hindu ...	Pleader, Surat ...	At a meeting of the Bombay Pro- vincial Congress Committee held on 28th Novem- ber, 1910.
153	Do. ...	Do. ...	Vinayak Krishna Manikar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Pleader, Sangli, C.S.M.C. ...	Do.
154	Do. ...	Do. ...	D. N. Bahadurji, Esq. ...	Parsee ...	Barrister-at-Law, Middle Colaba Bombay.	Do.
155	Do. ...	Do. ...	Daji Abaji Khare, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Ordinary Fellow and Syndic, Bombay University.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Vakil, High Court, General Secretary of the Congress, <i>ex-</i> <i>officio</i> member of the All-India Congress Committee, Bellari Road, Byculla, Bombay.	Do.
156	Do ...	Do. ...	Sadashiv Ramchandra Bakhale, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Do. ...	Vakil, High Court, Inamdar, Kennedy Bridge, Grant Road, Bombay.	Do.

APPENDIX E.

List of delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full.</i>	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
157	Bombay ...	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Narayan Madhav Samarth, Esq., B.A., LL.B., ordinary Fellow of the Bombay University.	Hindu; Chandra Seniya Kayestha Prabhū.	Vakil, High Court, Hon. Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, elected representative of the Province of Bombay on the All-India Congress Committee, Girgaon, Bombay.	At a meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held on 28th November, 1910.	
158	Do. ...	Do. ...	Kashi Nath R. Nitra, Esq. ...	Hindu, Saraswat Brahman.	Editor, Nasik Manoranjan, Girgaon, Bombay.	Do.	
159	Do. ...	Do. ...	Balkrishna Narayan Bhajekar, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Vakil, High Court, Angre's Wadi, Girgaon, Bombay.	Do.	
160	Do. ...	Do. ...	Liladhar Kara, Esq. ...	Arya ...	Merchant, Choupati, Bombay ...	Do.	
161	Do. ...	Do. ...	Hiridas Kesharijee, Esq. ...	Hindu, Bhatia ...	Cloth Merchant, Cathedral Street, Bombay.	Do.	
162	Do. ...	Do. ...	Madhan Das Morariji, Esq. ...	Arya ...	Merchant, 59, 60, Warden Road, Bombay.	Do.	
163	Do. ...	Do. ...	Ranchhoddas Bhavan, Esq. ...	Do. ...	Flour Merchant, Girgaon, Bombay.	Do.	
164	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Bodaram Rochaldas ...	Hindu, Bazaz ...	General Merchant and Banker. Shikarpur, Sindh.	Do.	

165	Do.	...	Sukkar District Congress Committee.	Mr. Bal Chand Navarai	...	Hindu, Lahava	...	Pleader, Larkana (Sukkar District.)	At the meeting of the Sukkar Provincial Congress Committee held on the 12th December, 1910.
166	Do.	...	Do.	Mr. Lila Ram Bakhtraai	...	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
167	Do.	...	Do.	Mr. Lal Chand Navalrai	...	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
168	Do.	...	Do.	Mr. Chandiram	...	Do.	...	Pleader and Manager, Weaving factory, Rohri, Sukkar District.	Do.
169	Do.	...	Do.	Mr. Tulsidas Shiwandas Goswami,	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Rohri, Sukkar District.	Do.
170	Do.	...	Do.	Mr. Hemandas Hiranand Masand.	...	Hindu, Masand	...	Pleader Shikarpur Sukkar District.	Do.
171	Do.	...	Hyderabad Congress Committee.	Mr. Udharam Shewabram Malkani.	...	Hindu	...	Zamindar, Hyderabad Sind	At the meeting of the Hyderabad Congress Committee held on the 4th December, 1910.
172	Do.	...	Do.	Balchand Kundanmal, Esq.	...	Hindu, Khatra	...	Pleader, Hyderabad Sind	Do.
173	Do.	...	Do.	Wadhmal Balaram, Esq.	...	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
174	Do.	...	Do.	Bijasingh Lilaram, Esq.	...	Hindu	...	Pleader	Do.
175	Do.	...	Do.	Bhirumal Khat Chund, Esq.	...	Hindu, Lahava	...	Pleader and Merchant	Do.

APPENDIX E.

List of delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
176	Bombay ...	Hyderabad Sind Congress Committee.	Mr. Hiranand Khem Singh, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Kshatria ...	Pleader and Zamindar, Hyderabad Sind.	At the meeting of the Hyderabad Congress Committee held on the 4th December, 1910.	
177	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Tik Chand Vassamal, B.A., LL.B.	Do. ...	Pleader, Hyderabad Sind ...	Do.	
178	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Mathura Das Ram Chand Javeri, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Bhatia ...	Pleader and Zamindar, Hyderabad Sind,	Do.	
179	Do. ...	Do. ...	Karim Kasim Esq. ...	Mahomedan, Khoja ...	Merchant, Hyderabad Sind ...	Do.	
180	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Atmaram Khanverdus Advani	Hindu, Amil ...	Pleader, Hyderabad Sind ...	Do.	
181	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Kasamal Kalachand Primalani	Hindu, Lohana ...	Do. ...	Do.	
182	Do. ...	Do. ...	Tahibram Chatomal Esq. ...	Hindu, Lohana ...	Merchant, Hyderabad Sind ...	Do.	
183	Do. ...	Do. ...	Gogumal Dayaram Esq. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.	
184	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Udharan Virimal Kirpalani	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.	
185	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Aukumatrai Rochiram Gubrajani.	Hindu, Amil ...	Contractor, Hyderabad Sind ...	Do.	

186	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Tahibram Basarmal Aswani, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Lohans	...	Pleader, Hyderabad Sind, Municipal Councillor, Hyderabad.	Do.
187	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Jethanand Pritamdas Mukhi, Municipal Councillor, Hyderabad.	Hindu, Lohana	...	Merchant, Hyderabad Sind	Do.
188	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Kewalram Naraindas Mukhi	Hindu, Lohans	...	Do.	Do.
189	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Dholandas Nanoomal	Do.	...	Sind Work Merchant, Hyderabad	Do.
190	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Rewachand Watumal	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
191	Do.	...	District Congress Committee, Hyderabad, Sind.	...	Mr. Daulatram Balchand Advani, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Amil	...	Pleader, Hyderabad Sind	Do.
192	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Girdunjal Bhagechand Mirchandani.	Do.	...	Merchant, Hyderabad Sind	Do.
193	Do.	...	Karachi District Congress Committee.	...	Soth Dossa Kalyan	Hindu, Kertchi	...	Merchant and Landholder, Karachi.	At the meeting of the District Karachi Congress Committee held on the 5th December, 1910.
194	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Vishinji Dossa	Do.	...	Merchant, Karachi	Do.
195	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Hirdaram Mewaram	Hindu	...	Pleader, Karachi	Do.
196	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Thakurdas Lalchand	Hindu, Lohana	...	Merchant, Karachi	Do.
197	Do.	...	Do.	...	Seth Sundardas Valalidas Donessi.	Hindu, Bhatia	...	Do.	Do.
198	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Tarachand Hassamal	Hindu	...	Pleader, Karachi	Do.
199	Do.	...	Do.	...	Dr. Khemchand Shewabram Malkani.	Do.	...	Do.	Do.
200	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Chellaram Saligram, B.A.	Do.	...	Merchant	Do.

APPENDIX E.

List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910.—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
201	Bombay ...	Karachi Dt. Congress Committee.	Mr. Tolasing Khusalsing Advani. B.A., LL.B.	Hindu ...	Pleador, Karachi...	At the meeting of the Karachi Dt. Congress Committee held on the 5th December, 1910.	
202	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Narain Das Uttum Chand	Do. ...	Broker, Karachi ...	Do.	
203	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Isarsing Hazarising ...	Hindu, Sikh ...	Pleador, Karachi...	Do.	
204	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Isardas Assanmal ...	Hindu ...	Landlord and merchant, Karachi.	Do.	
205	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Tabilram Tebchand ...	Do. ...	Merchant, Karachi ...	Do.	
206	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Udhardas Vishindas ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.	
207	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Assanmal Bal Chand, B.A., L.L.B.	Do. ...	Pleador, Karachi...	Do.	
208	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Shewa Ram Chaturbhuj Ojha.	Do. ...	Physician, Karachi ...	Do.	
209	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Ram Ratan Goverdhan Das	Mundra, Bania ...	Rice goods merchant, Karachi.	Do.	
210	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Shiv Ratan Goverdhandas	Hindu ...	Do. ...	Do.	

211	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Ganga Das Shivdas	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
212	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Bilakidas Jagandas	...	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
213	Do.	..	Do.	...	Seth Srichand Vishindas, B.A.	...	Do.	...	Merchant and Landlord, Karachi.	...	Do.
214	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Achal Sing Maniksing Advani.	...	Hindu, Sikh	...	Pleader, Karachi	...	Do.
215	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Tarachand Ochiram	..	Hindu	...	Pleader, Nowshahro, Feroze, Sind.	...	Do.
216	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Chandiram Lalsing Malkini	...	Do.	...	Zamindar, Karachi	...	Do.
217	Do.	...	Do.	..	Seth Thakurdas Fateh Chand	..	Do.	...	Merchant and Landlord, Karachi	...	Do.
218	Do.	...	Do.	..	Dr. Hassaram Vishnudas, F.C., P.C.	...	Do.	...	Editor, 'Phoenix,' Karachi. Secretary, Sind Hindu Sabha and Secretary, Karachi District Congress Committee.	...	Do.
219	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Motiram Metharam Lalavani, M.E.	...	Do.	...	Mechanical Engineer	...	Do.
220	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Dipchand Tejbhandas Ojha	...	Hindu, Brahman	...	Pleader, Karachi, Municipal Councillor, Karachi.	...	Do.
221	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Lokamal Chellumall	...	Hindu	...	Merchant, Karachi	...	Do.
222	Do.	...	Ahmedabad Congress Committee.	...	Mr. Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkanth, B.A., LL.B.	...	Nagar Brahman	...	Pleader Ahmedabad, Honorary Secretary, Social Reform Association, Ahmedabad.	...	At a meeting of the Guzrat Sabha of Ahmedabad held on 13th December, 1910, and at a meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held on 28th November, 1910.

APPENDIX E.

List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
223	Bombay ...	Ahmedabad Congress Committee.	Mr. Shivabhai Motibhai Patol B.A., LL.B.	Patidar gentleman ...	Pleader, Richy Road, Ahmedabad.	At a meeting of the Guzrat Sabha of Ahmedabad held on 13th December, 1910.	
224	Do. ..	Do. ...	Mr. Bhaskarrao Motilal Medh, B.A., LL.B.	Nagar Brahman ...	Pleader, Ahmedabad ...	Do.	
225	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Gobindrao Apaji Patil, B.A., LL.B.	Maratha Brahman ...	Do. ...	Do.	
226	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Balabhai Jamnadas ...	Jain ...	Mill Agent, Richy Road, Ahmedabad.	Do.	
227	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Ambalal Sarabhai ...	Do. ...	Merchant and Mill's Agent, Ahmedabad.	Do.	
228	Do. ...	Do. ...	Miss Anusengabai Sarabhai ...	Do. ...	C/o Seth Ambalal Sarabhai, Shanti Sadan, Ahmedabad.	Do.	
229	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Purushottambhai Maganbhai Hathising.	Do. ...	Merchant and Landlord, Ahmedabad.	Do.	
230	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Krishna Lal Narsi Lal Desai, M. A., LL. B.	Bramha Khatriya ...	Pleader, High Court, Khadia, Ahmedabad.	Do.	
231	Do. ...	Surat District Congress Committee.	Chuni Lal Maneck Lal Gandhi, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu ...	High Court pleader, Surat, Honorary Secretary, District Surat Congress Committee.	At the meeting of the Surat Dt. Congress Com.	

							mittee held on the 12th December, 1910, and at a meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held on 28th November, 1910.
232	Do.	Do.	Mr. Mohan Lal Parvati Shankar Dave, M.A., LL.B.	Nagar Brahman ...	Landlord, Khapatia Chakla, Surat.		At a meeting of the Surat Dt. Congress Committee held on 12th December, 1910.
233	Do.	Do.	Chhota Lal Navel Chand Nagarseth, Esq.	Hindu ...	Landlord, Surat Municipal Councillor at Runder.		Do.
234	Do.	Do.	Chandra Shanker Bhimanand, Esq.	Do	Pensioner, Surat ...		Do.
235	Dc.	Khandesh District Congress Committee.	Mr. Balwant Anant Garud ...	Aryan Hindu, ...	Landlord, Dhulia, West Khandesh.		At a meeting of the Dt. Khandesh Congress Committee held on 14th December, 1910.
236	Do.	Do.	Hon'ble Mr. Siddhanath Dhonddev Garud, B.A.	Do.	Plender, Garud Garden, Dhulia, West Khandesh, Member of Council.		Do.
237	Do.	Do.	Mr. Kashinath Mulchand ...	Do.	Merchant, Dhulia, Honorary Bench Magistrate, Member of Municipality.		Do.

APPENDIX E.

List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
238	Bombay ...	Khandesh District Congress Committee.	Mr. Balkrishna Ramachandra Kotwal.	Aryan, Hindu ...	Pleader, Dhulia ...	At a meeting of the Dt. Khandesh Congress Committee held on 14th December, 1910.	
239	Do. ...	Do.	Mr. Baburao Ramchandra Ransingh, B.A., LL.B.	Do.	Pleader, Dhulia, West Khandesh	Do.	
240	Do. ...	Do.	Mr. Abaji Ragho Nihalas	Hindu, Brahman ...	Pleader, Khandesh ...	Do.	
241	Do. ...	Thana District Congress Committee.	Mr. Dattatraya Martand Gupte, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Kayestha Prabhhu.	Vakil, High Court, Thana ...	At a meeting of the Dt. Thana Congress Committee held on 22nd December, 1910.	
242	Do. ...	Ahmednagar District Congress Committee.	Ganpati Krishna Chitale, Esq. B.A., LL.B., President, Nagur Municipality.	Hindu ...	Pleader, High Court, Ahmednagar, President, Nagur Municipality.	At a meeting of the Nagur Dt. Congress Committee held on 2nd December, 1910, and at a meeting of the Bombay, Provincial Congress Committee held on 28th November, 1910.	

243	Bombay ...	Poona District Congress Committee.	Jaggannath R. Gharpure, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Vakil, High Court, Angris Wadi Girgaon, Bombay.	At the meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held on the 28th November, 1910, and at the meeting of the Poona District Con. Com. held on 27th November, 1910.
244	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Balkrishna Sitaram Kamat, B.A.	Hindu, Saraswat Brahman.	Merchant and Contractor, Poona	At the meeting of the Poona District Congress Committee held on the 27th November, 1910.
245	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. L. R. Gokhale ...	Hindu ...	Pleader, Poona ...	Do.
246	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. G. K. Deodhar, M.A. ...	Brahman, Arya ...	Member, Servants of India Society, Poona.	Do.
247	Do. ...	Do. ...	Professor V. G. Kale, Esq., M.A.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Professor, Ferguson College, Poona City.	Do.
248	Do. ...	Do. ...	Professor Hari Govind Tiniaye, Esq., M.A.	Do. ...	Professor, Ferguson College, Poona City.	At a meeting of the Poona District Congress Committee held on 27th November, 1910 and at a meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held on 28th November, 1910.

APPENDIX E.

List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
249	Bombay ...	Poona District Congress Committee.	Bapu Vasdeo Vidwans, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Bhagwat ...	High Court Pleader, Poona City	At a meeting of the Poona District Congress Committee held on 27th November, 1910.	
250	Do. ...	Do. ...	S. L. Chitins, Esq. ...	Hindu ...	Pleader, Poona, Secretary, District Congress Committee, Poona.	Do.	
251	Do. ...	Do. ...	N. A. Dravid, Esq., M.A. ...	Do. ...	Member, Servants of India Society, Poona.	Do.	
252	Do. ...	Do. ...	R. P. Paranjpye, Esq., M.A., B.Sc., Fellow of the University of Bombay, Late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Principal and Professor of Mathematics, Ferguson College, Poona.	Do.	
253	Do. ...	Do. ...	Hari Narayan Apte, Esq., Kaisari-Hind Medalist, 2nd Class, Fellow of the University of Bombay.	Aryan, Brahman ...	Journalist, Editor, Karamanuka, Anandashrama, Poona.	Do.	
254	Do. ...	Do. ...	Datto Vasdeo Valankar, Esq. ...	Hindu, Brahman ...	Assistant, Servants of India Society, Poona.	Do.	
255	Do. ...	Satara District Congress Committee.	Krishnaji Gopal Naik, Esq. ...	Brahman, Aryan ...	Contractor, Satara ...	At a meeting of the Satara District Congress	

									Committee held on 12th December, 1910.
256	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Ramakrishnaya ...	Hindu ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.	
257	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Keshava Rao Santuha Rao Koratker.	Brahman, Aryan ...	Pleader, Satara ...	Do. ...	Do.	
258	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Vainan Ramchandra Naik	Hindu, Brahman ...	Contractor and Banker ...	Do. ...	Do.	
259	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Lakshman Krishna Joshi...	Hindu ...	Agent, New York Life Insurance and Co.	Do. ...	Do.	
260	United Bengal.	Provincial Congress Committee.	Do. ...	Babu Surendranath Banerjea	Hindu, Bengalee Brahman.	Journalist, Calcutta ...	Do. ...	At a meeting of the United Bengal Provincial Congress Committee held on the 13th December, 1910.	
261	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. J. Chaudhari, B.A. (Oxon.), M.A. (Cal.)	Do. ...	Barristor-at-law, Calcutta ...	Do. ...	Do.	
262	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. J. Ghosal ...	Brahman ...	Zamindar, Hony. Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta.	Do. ...	Do.	
263	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. D. N. Basu ...	Hindu ...	Barristor-at-law, 14, Balaran Ghose's Street, Calcutta.	Do. ...	Do.	
264	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. J. N. Basu, M.A. ...	Hindu, Kayestha ...	Attorney-at-law, 14, Balaran Ghose's Street, Calcutta.	Do. ...	Do.	
265	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Surendranath Roy ...	Brahman ...	Zamindar and Vakil, Calcutta.	Do. ...	Do.	
266	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Prosono Churn Chaudhry	Mahishya, Hindu ...	Zamindar, 18/3, Corporation Street, Calcutta.	Do. ...	Do.	

APPENDIX E.

List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
267	United Bengal.	United Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.	Babu Gopi Krishna Mandal ...	Mahishya, Hindu ...	Zamindar, Bawali, 24 pergunas, Bengal.	At a meeting of the United Bengal Provincial Congress Committee held on the 13th December, 1910.	
268	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Amulya Kumar Basu ...	Bengalee Kayestha...	Servants of India Society, Poona.	Do.	
269	Do. ...	Do. ...	S. M. Bose, Esq., M.A., LL.B. ...	Hindu, Kayestha ...	Barrister-at-law, Calcutta ...	Do.	
270	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Deva Kumar Roy Chaudhary.	Hindu ...	...	Do.	
271	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta.	Hindu, Vaidya ...	Pleader, District Court, Barisal, East Bengal.	Do.	
272	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Sudhir Kumar Lahiri ...	Bengalee Brahman ...	Joint Editor, 'The Advocate' of Lucknow.	Do.	
273	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Satyananda Bose ...	Hindu, Kayestha ...	Vakil and Landholder, Calcutta.	Do.	
274	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Ramanimohan Das ...	Hindu ...	Pleader and Merchant, Karimgunge (Sylhet).	Do.	
275	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Nabin Chandra Das, B.L.	Do. ...	Pleader, Bhola, Barisal, Bengal.	Do.	

276	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Sachindra Prasad Bose ...	Do.	...	Landholder and Journalist, 71/19, Sitaram Ghose's Street, Calcutta.	Do.
277	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Ashutosh Chakravarti ...	Brahman	...	Private Service, Nimlita, Mur- shidabad.	Do.
278	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Abdul Karim, B.A. ...	Mussalman	...	Aimadar, Burdwan ...	Do.
279	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Jitendra Lal Banerjee, M.A., B.L.	Brahman	...	...	Do.
280	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Hemendranath Sen ...	Hindu ...	...	Vakil, Calcutta ...	Do.
281	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Kali Krishna Chakrabarti	Hindu, Brahman	...	Landholder, 80/1, Tollygunge Road, Calcutta.	Do.
282	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Hiran Kumar Sen ...	Hindu	...	...	Do.
283	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Promatha Nath Sen Gupta.	Do.	...	...	Do.
284	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Sudhansu Bikas Roy, B.A.	Bengalee Brahman	...	Chief Agent, Hindusthan Co- operative Insurance Society, 30, Dalhousie Square, Calcutta.	Do.
285	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Kshetra Nath Ganguly...	Brahman	...	...	Do.
286	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Nageshwar Prasad Singha	Hindu	...	...	Do.
287	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. S. C. Mukerjee ...	Bengalee Brahman	...	Bar-at-Law, High Court, Cal- cutta.	Do.
288	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Damodar Das Khandelwal	Vaishya	...	Landholder, of No. 2, Hans- pooker Lane, Calcutta.	Do.
289	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Jogindra Nath Mukerjee, M.A., B.L.	Bengalee Hindu.	Brahman,	Bar-at-Law, Calcutta.	Do.

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List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
290	United Bengal.	United Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.	Babu Harnath Ghosh, B.L. ...	Hindu ...	Pleader, Barisal ...	At a meeting of the United Bengal Provincial Congress Committee held on the 13th December, 1910.	
291	Do.	Do. ...	Babu Purna Chandra Saha ...	Hindu, Vaisya ...	Assistant Merchant, 18, Banamali Sircar's Street, Calcutta.	Do.	
292	Do.	Do. ...	Babu Brajendra Kumar Roy ...	Do. ...	Merchant, Secretary, Victoria High School, Serajgunj.	Do.	
293	Do.	Indian Association, Calcutta.	The Hon'ble Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu, M.A., B.L.	Bengalee Hindu, Kayestha.	Attorney-at-Law, High Court, 3, Hastings Street, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Indian Association, Calcutta, held on the 1st December, 1910, and at a meeting of the United Bengal Provincial Congress Committee held on the 13th December, 1910.	
294	Do.	Do. ...	Babu Ram Kumar Goenka ...	Hindu ...	Merchant, Calcutta ...	At a meeting of the Indian Asso-	

							ciation, Calcutta, held on the 1st December, 1910.
295	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Upendra Krishna Mondal	Hindu, Mahishya ...	Zamindar, Bawali, 24 Perganas, Bengal.		At a meeting of the Indian Association, Calcutta, held on the 1st December, 1910, and at a meeting of the United Bengal Provincial Congress Committee held on the 13th December, 1910.
296	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, B.A.	Bengalee ...	Journalist, Calcutta ...		At a meeting of the Indian Association, Calcutta, held on the 1st December, 1910.
297	Do. ..	Do. ...	Babu Lalit Mohan Das, M.A.	Bengalee, Brahma ...	Sub-Editor, 'Sanjivani,' 82/1, Harrison Road, Calcutta.		At a meeting of the Indian Association, Calcutta, held on the 1st December, 1910 and at a meeting of the United Bengal Provincial Congress Committee held on the 13th December, 1910.

APPENDIX E.

List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full.</i>	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
298	United Bengal.	24 Parganas Bar Association.	Gopi Krishna Kumar, Esq., M.A., B.L.	Bengalee, Hindu ...	Pleader, Judges Court, 24 Parganas District.	At a meeting of the 24 Parganas District Association held on the 17th December and at a meeting of the Indian Association, Calcutta, held on the 1st December, 1910.	
299	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Bijoy Krishna Bose, B.L.	Hindu, Bengalee, Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court, 28, Hazra Lane, Kalighat, Calcutta.	At a meeting of the 24 Parganas District Association held on the 17th December, 1910, and at a meeting of the Indian Association held on the 1st December, 1910; and at a meeting of the United Bengal Provincial Congress Committee held	

300	United Bengal.	Hooghly Howrah District Association.	Babu Asutosh Basu	... Bengalee, Hindu, Kayastha,	Zamindar, Khoopi, District Howrah.	on the 13th December, 1910.
301	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Sri Basu, B.A., B.L. ...	Do. ...	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta ...	Do.
302	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Manohar Chandra Sircar	Do. ...	Zamindar, Kulush, District Hooghly.	Do.
303	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Satis Basu ...	Do. ...	Zamindar, 36, Chandra Nath Chatterjee's Street, Bhawanipur, Calcutta.	Do.
304	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Amulya Chandra Datta, B.L.	Hindu, Kayastha ...	Pleader, Judges Court, Chinsurah.	Do.
305	Do. ...	Nadia District Association.	Babu Gagan Chandra Biswas	Hindu, Bengalee Mahisya.	Engineer and Zamindar, Badulla, Nadia.	At a meeting of the Nadia District Association held on the 27th November, 1910.
306	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Nando Gopal Bhaduri ...	Hindu, Bengalee Brahman.	Merchant, Landholder, Majdiah, Krishnagunj, Secretary, High English School, Member, Local and District Board.	At a meeting of the Nadia District Association held on the 22nd November, 1910.
307	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Devendra Nath Bagchi, M.A., B.L.	Do ...	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.	Do.

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List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
308	United Bengal.	Burdwan District Association.	Kazi Mohamed Wajeeb ...	Mussalman ...	Zamindar, Burdwan ...	At a meeting of the Burdwan District Association held on the 14th December, 1910.	
309	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Amarnath Dutt, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Kayestha ...	Vakil, High Court, Dockyard Proprietor and Landholder, Member, District Board, Chairman, Local Board, Secretary, Burdwan Institute, Rate-payers' Association, Assistant Secretary, District Association and Chairman, Co-operative Credit Society, Keshabpur, Burdwan.	Do.	
310	Do. ...	Manbhum District Association.	Babu Nilkanti Chattarjee, B.A., B.L.	Brahman ...	Vakil, High Court, Purulia, District Manbhum.	At a meeting of the Manbhum District Association held on the 19th December, 1910.	
311	Do. ...	Dinajpur District Association.	Babu Jogindra C. kravarti, M.A., BA	Brahman ...	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Member, District Board, Secretary, National School, Secretary, Dinajpur Association, Secretary, Dinajpur Nitya Dharma Bodhini Sabha.	At a meeting of the Dinajpur District Association held on the 22nd December, 1910.	

312	Do.	...	Bogra District Congress Committee.	Babu Barada Chandra Talukdar, B.L.	Hindu, Bengali Brahman.	Pleader and Landholder, Bogra	At a meeting of the Bogra District Association held on the 9th December, 1910.
313	Do.	...	Rajshahi District Standing Congress Committee.	Srijut Kisori Mohan Choudhuri, M.A., B.L.	Brahman	Pleader, P. O. Ghoramara, Rajshahi.	At a meeting of the Standing Congress Committee held on the 17th December, 1910.
314	Do.	...	Do.	Babu Surendra Mohan Maitra, B.L.	Do.	Pleader, P. O. Ghoramara, Rajshahi.	At a meeting of the Rajshahi Standing Congress Committee held on the 17th December, 1910.
315	Do.	...	Do.	Babu Ramani Mohan Choudhuri.	Do.	Zamindar, P. O. Ghoramara, Rajshahi.	Do.
316	Do.	...	Do.	Babu Akshaya Kumar Maitra, B.L.	Do.	Pleader, P. O. Ghoramara, Rajshahi.	Do.
317	Do.	...	Pabna District Association.	Babu Surendra Nath Mozumdar,	Hindu, Kayestha	Zamindar, Pabna	At a meeting of the Pabna District Association held on the 11th December, 1910.
318	Do.	...	Do.	Babu Mohini Mohan Lahiri, M.A., B.L.	Hindu, Brahman	Pleader, Pabna	Do.
319	Do.	...	Do.	Babu Kishori Mohan Ray	Hindu, Kayestha	Zamindar, Pabna	Do.
320	Do.	...	Do.	Babu Kunja Lal Shaha	Tili, Hindu	Medical Practitioner, Pabna	Do.
321	Do.	...	Do.	Babu Harish Chandra Majumdar.	Hindu, Kayestha	Do.	Do.

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List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
322	United Bengal.	People's Association, Dacca.	Babu Parosh Chandra Das Gupta.	Hindu, Baidya ...	Taluqdar, Dacca ...	At a meeting of the People's Association, Dacca, held on the 7th December, 1910.	
323	Do. ...	Faridpur District Association.	Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar, M.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Landholder and Pleader; ex Member, Bengal Council; Chairman, Faridpur Municipality; President, District Association.	At a meeting of the Faridpur District Association held on 11th December, 1910, and also at a meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on the 13th December, 1910	
324	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Prithvis Chandra Ray ...	Hindu, Kayestha ..	Journalist and Landholder, Editor, 'The Indian World,' Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Faridpur District Association held on the 11th December, 1910, and at a meeting of the Indian Association, Calcutta, on the 1st December, 1910, and at	

							a meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on 13th December, 1910.
325	Do.	Do.	...	Babu Kaishikiranjan Mukherjee	Hindu, Brahman ...	Mukhtar, Madaripur, District Faridpur.	At a meeting of the District Faridpur Association held on the 11th December, 1910.
326	Do.	Do.	...	Babu Binoda Lal Ghosh, B.L....	Hindu, Kayastha ...	Pleader, Madaripur (District Faridpur).	Do.
327	Do.	Do.	...	Babu Asutosh Ray	Hindu, Brahman ...	Landholder and Merchant, Faridpur.	Do.
328	Do.	Do.	...	Babu Harendra Kumar Saha ...	Hindu, Vaisya ...	Merchant, Panchuria, Faridpur	Do.
329	Do.	Do.	...	Babu Ram Chandra Saha, B.L.	Hindu, Vaisya, Saha	Pleader and Landholder, Faridpur.	Do.
330	Do.	Do.	...	Babu Krishna Das Roy	Hindu, Brahman ...	Zamindar and Merchant, Vice-President, District Association, Calcutta.	Do.
331	Do.	Do.	...	Babu Hira Lal Mallik	Hindu ...	Mukhtar, Madaripur, Faridpur	Do.
332	Do.	Mymensingh District Association.		Babu Homanga Mohan Ghosh,	Hindu, Kayastha ...	Mukhtar, Mymensingh ...	At a meeting of the Mymensingh District Association held on the 7th December, 1910.
333	Do.	Do.	...	Babu Surja Kumar Shom, B.L.	Bengaloe, Kaystha ...	Pleader, Mymensingh ...	Do.
334	Do.	Do.	...	Babu Manomohan Neyogi, B.L.	Baidya ...	Pleader and Taluqdar, Mymensingh.	Do.

APPENDIX E.

List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
335	United Bengal.	Mymensingh District Association.	Babu Jadab Govinda Roy Chaudhri, B.A.	Hindu, Vaisha ...	Merchant and Zamindar, Mymensingh.	At a meeting of the District Mymensingh Association held on the 7th December, 1910.	
336	Do.	Do. ...	Babu Basanta Kumar Roy Chaudhari.	Hindu, Vaishya ...	Do. do. ...	Do.	
337	Do.	Chittagong District Association.	Babu Dinesh Chandra Roy ...	Hindu, Vaidya ...	Zamindar, Chittagong ...	At a meeting of the Chittagong District Association held on the 30th November, 1910.	
338	Do.	Do. ...	Babu Sukhindu Bikash Roy ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Chittagong ...	Do. ...	
339	Do.	Do. ...	Babu Pulin Chandra Das ...	Hindu, Kayastha ...	Pleader, Secretary, Chittagong Association.	Do. ...	
340	Do.	Tipperah Peoples' Association.	Babu Sailaja Nath Chakravarti.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Landholder and Merchant, Comilla.	At a meeting of the Peoples' Association held on the 17th December, 1910.	
341	Do.	Do. ...	Babu Mohindra Chandra Karmakar.	Hindu ...	Merchant and Medical Practitioner, Comilla.	Do. ...	

342	Do.	Do	...	Babu Ambika Prasad Das, B.L.	Hindu, Kayastha	...	Pleader, Tipperah	...	Do.
343	Do.	Orissa Association	...	Babu Gowree Shankar Roy	Do.	...	Secretary, Cuttack Printing Company Limited, Cuttack.		At a meeting of the Orissa Association held on the 23rd November, 1910.
344	Do.	Do.	...	Babu Hurry Mohan Roy Chaudhri.	Hindu, Brahman	...	Mukhtar, Orissa	...	Do.
345	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Congress Committee, Allahabad.	...	Sir William Wedderburn	Englishman	...	...	...	At a meeting of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee held on the 18th December, 1909.
346	Do.	Do.	...	The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Pandit Sundar Lal, C.I.E.	Nagar Brahman	...	Advocate High Court, Allahabad		At a meeting of the United Provinces Congress Committee held on the 18th December, 1910.
347	Do.	Do.	...	The Hon'ble Pandit Moti Lal Nehru.	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
348	Do.	Do.	...	The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.	Do.	...	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad		Do.
349	Do.	Do.	...	The Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha	Kayastha	...	Bar-at-law, Allahabad	...	Do.
350	Do.	Do.	...	Pandit Baldev Ram Dave	Nagar Brahman	...	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad		Do.
351	Do.	Do.	...	Babu Iswar Saran	Kayastha	...	Do.	...	Do.
352	Do.	Do.	...	Babu Durga Charan Banerjee	Brahman	...	Advocate, High Court, Allahabad		Do.

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List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

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353	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Congress, Committee, Allahabad.	Mr. Sarat Chandra Chaudhari, M.A., LL.B.	Bengalee Kayastha...	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad	At a meeting of the United Provinces Congress Committee held on the 18th December, 1910.	
354	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, M.A., LL.D.	Kashmiri Brahman...	Advocate, High Court, Allahabad	Do.	
355	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dr. Satis Chandra Bannerjee M.A. LL.D., Prem Chand Rai Chand Scholar.	Bengalee Brahman...	Do. ...	Do.	
356	Do. ...	Do. ...	Rai Braj Narain Gurtu, Esq. ...	Hindu, Brahman ...	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad...	Do.	
357	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dr. Daisraj Ranjit Singh, L.M.S., K.I.N.A.N., B.E., M.R.T.A.	Hindu ...	Medical Practitioner, Municipal Commissioner and Honorary Magistrate, Allahabad.	Do.	
358	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Suresh Chandra Banerjee, L.M.S.	Brahman ...	Medical Practitioner, Allahabad	Do.	
359	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandit Rama Kant Malaviya, B.A., LL.B.	Do. ...	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad...	Do.	
360	Do. ...	Do. ...	Rai Indra Narain Chadha ...	Khatttri ...	Bar-at-law, Allahabad ...	Do.	
361	Do. ...	Do. ...	C. Y. Chintamani, Esq. ...	Brahman ...	Editor, 'Leader,' Allahabad ...	Do.	

362	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Lalit Mohan Bannerjee, M.A., LL.B.	Bongalee Brahman...	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad...	Do.
363	Do.	...	Do.	..	Pandit Jagannath Pachbhuj...	Brahman ...	Zamindar and Pragwal, Dara- ganj, Allahabad.	Do.
364	Do.	...	Do.	..	Ladli Prasad Zutshi, Esq. ...	Kasmiri Brahman ...	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad...	Do.
365	Do.	...	Do.	...	Munshi Gulzari Lal, B.A., LL.B.	Kayastha ...	Ditto ...	Do.
366	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Shamnath Musbran ...	Kashmiri Brahman...	Bar-at-law, Allahabad ...	Do.
367	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Parmeshwar Dayal ...	Kayastha ...	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad...	Do.
368	Do.	...	Do.	...	Rai Bahadur Munshi Gokul Prasad.	Do. ..	Do ...	Do.
369	Do.	...	Do.	...	Pandit Daya Narain Bajpaie ...	Kanya Kubja Brahman	Service, Allahabad ...	Do.
370	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Balram Chandra Mukerjee	Brahman ...	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad...	Do.
371	Do.	...	Do.	...	Pandit Madan Lal Pragwal ...	Do. ...	Panda, Daraganj, Allahabad ..	Do.
372	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Satya Chandra Mukerjee	Do. ...	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad...	Do.
373	Do.	...	Do.	...	Nihal Chand, Esq., M.A. ...	Vaishya ...	Barrister-at-Law, Allahabad ...	Do.
374	Do.	..	Do.	...	Munshi Kanhya Lal ...	Kayastha ...	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad	Do.
375	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Shambhunath ...	Khatri ...	Banker, Landlord, Allahabad...	Do.
376	Do.	...	Do.	..	Professor Ram Murti Naidu ...	Hindu ...	Champion Athlete and Me- dalist "The Indian Hercules."	At a meeting of the United Pro- vinces Provin- cial Congress Committee held on the 24th December, 1910.

APPENDIX E.

List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
377	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Provincial Congress Committee, Allahabad.	Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, M.A., LL.B.	Brahman ...	Vakil, Lucknow ...	At a meeting of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee held on the 18th December, 1910.	
378	Do.	Do. ...	Mr. Hari Krishna Dhaon ...	Khattri ...	Do. ...	Do.	
379	Do.	Do. ...	Dr. Hari Datt Pant, L.M.S. ...	Hindu, Brahman ...	Surgeon and Physician, Lucknow.	Do.	
380	Do.	Do. ...	Babu Jyotish Swaroop ...	Hindu, Kayastha ...	Pleader, Rais and Zamindar, Dehra Dun.	Do.	
381	Do.	Do. ...	Pandit Mohan Lal ...	Brahman ...	Barrister-at-Law, Saharanpur...	Do.	
382	Do.	Do. ...	Mr. Babu Lal, B.A. ...	Hindu ...	Vakil, Meerut ...	Do.	
383	Do.	Do. ...	Chaubay Chakkan Lal, Esq. ...	Brahman, Chaubay ...	Pleader, Meerut ...	Do.	
384	Do.	Do. ...	The Hon'ble Babu Sukhbeer Singh.	Vaish ...	Zamindar and Rais, Muzaffarnagar.	At a meeting of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee held on the 24th December, 1910.	

385	Do.	Do.	... Pandit Jwala Datt Joshi ...	Brahman	... Vakil, High Court, Nainital ...	At a meeting of the United Provinces, Provincial Congress Committee held on the 18th December 1910.
386	Do.	Do.	... Pandit Badri Datt Joshi, LL.B.	Do.	... Vakil, High Court, Chairman, Municipal Board and Member of the District Board, Almora.	Do.
387	Do.	Do.	... Munshi Baldeo Prasad ...	Kayastha	... Vakil, Bareilly ...	Do.
388	Do.	Do.	... Pandit Baleshwar Prasad Misra	Brahman	... Rais and Zamindar, Etawah ...	Do.
389	Do.	Do.	... Mr. Krishna Prasad Koul, B.A.	Do.	... Zamindar, Agra, Member, Servants of India Society, Poona City.	Do.
390	Do.	Do.	... Pandit Dammi Lal Chaube, B.A.	Do.	... Vakil, Municipal Commissioner, Mainpuri.	Do.
391	Do.	Do.	... Lala Debi Prasad...	Khatttri	... General Merchant, 6, Cawnpore Road, Allahabad.	Do.
392	Do.	Do.	... Mr. Zorawar Singh Nigam, B.A., S.C.	Kayastha	... Pleader, Meerut ...	Do.
393	Do.	Do.	... Pandit Venkatish Narain Tiwari, M.A.	Brahman	... Member, Servants of India Society, Poona city.	Do.
394	Do.	Do.	... Rai Krishnaji, Esq. ...	Hindu	... Rais and Zamindar, Benares city.	Do.
395	Do.	Do.	... Babu Krishna Baldeo Varma ...	Khatttri	... Rais and Zamindar of Kalpi, district Jalaun.	Do.
396	Do.	Do.	... Pandit Gopal Das Sharma ...	Brahman	... Vakil, Orai, district Jalaun ...	Do.
397	Do.	Do.	... Hafiz Abdur Rahim, Esq.	Mahomedan	... Pleader, Aligarh ...	Do.

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List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
398	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Provincial Congress Committee.	Babu Chandi Prasad ...	Kayastha ...	Zamindar, village Payagpur, P. O. Wazirgunj, Gonda.	At a meeting of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee held on the 24th December, 1910.	
399	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Awadh Bihari Lal ...	Do. ...	Vakil, Partapgarh ...	At a meeting of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee held on the 18th December, 1910.	
400	Do. ...	Saharanpur District Congress Committee.	Babu Benarsi Das, M.A., LL.B., M.R.A.S.	Jaini ...	Vakil, Saharanpur ..	At a meeting of the Saharanpur District Congress Committee held on the 17th December, 1910.	
401	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Radha Kishen ...	Hindu ...	Contractor, Saharanpur ...	Do.	
402	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Chanda Lal ...	Jaini ...	Vakil, Saharanpur ...	Do.	
403	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Raj Rajeshwar Sahai ...	Brahman ...	Do. ...	Do.	

404	Do. ...	Meerut District Congress Committee.	Babu Ghansham Das ...	Hindu, Vaish ...	Pleader and Zamindar, Meerut	At a meeting of the Meerut District Congress Committee held on the 19th December, 1910.
405	Do. ...	Do. ...	Lala Peare Lal ...	Hindu, Vaish Aggarwal.	Do. ...	Do.
406	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. R. K. Chatterjee ...	Brahman ...	Bar-at-Law, Meerut ...	Do.
407	Do. ...	Do. ...	Lala Peare Lal ...	Jain, Hindu ...	Advocate, High Court, Allahabad	Do.
408	Do. ...	Muttra District Congress Committee.	Mr. Radha Charan Goswami ...	Brahman ...	Honorary Magistrate, Meerut	At a meeting of the Muttra, District Congress Committee, held on the 23rd December, 1910.
409	Do. ...	Do. ...	Kunwar Mahendra Pratap Singh	Indian ...	Zamindar, Muttra, ...	Do. ...
410	Do. ...	Agra District Congress Committee.	Mr. Govind Sahai Sharma, B.A.	Brahman ...	Advocate, Agra ...	At a meeting of the Agra District Congress Committee hold on the 22nd November, 1910.
411	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Narayan Prasad Ashthana, M.A., LL.B.	Kayastha ...	Vakil, High Court Agra, Municipal Commissioner.	Do. ...
412	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandit Kailash Nath Kunzru, B.A., LL.B.	Brahman, Kashmiri ...	Vakil, High Court ...	Do. ...
413	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandit Kashi Nath Takru ...	Do. ...	Zamindar and Banker, Agra ...	Do. ...

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List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
414	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Agra District Congress Committee.	Pandit Shiam Krishna Dar, B.A., LL.B.	Brahman, Kashmiri...	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad ...	At a meeting of the Agra District Congress Committee held on the 22nd November, 1910.	
415	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandit Raj Nath Kunzru ...	Do. ...	Zamindar, Agra ...	Do.	
416	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandit Goswami Braja Nath Sharma.	Saraswata Brahman, Sanatan Dharmist.	Pandit 7827, Shitla Galee, Agra	Do.	
417	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandit Hirdayanath Kunzru, B.A.	Brahmin ...	Servants of India Society, Poona City.	Do.	
418	Do. ...	Farrukhabad District Congress Committee.	Babu Gaidan Lal, B.A., LL.B.	Kurmi ...	Vakil, High Court, Member of the District Board, Zamindar, Farrukhabad.	At a meeting of the Farrukhabad District Congress Committee held on the 12th December, 1910.	
419	Do. ...	Do. ...	Chaubey Radha Krishna, B.A., LL.B.	Chaturvedi Brahman	Vakil, High Court, Farrukhabad	Do.	
420	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Balmakund ...	Hindu, Vaishya ...	Mukhtar, Farrukhabad ...	Do.	

421	Do. ...	Bareilly District Congress Committee.	Preo Nath Banerjee, Esqr. ...	Bengalee Brahman ...	Vakil, High Court, Honorary Magistrate for life, Honorary Secretary, Bar Association, Bareilly.	At a meeting of the Bareilly District Congress Committee held on the 13th November, 1910, and a meeting of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee held on the 18th December, 1910.
422	Do. ...	Do. ...	Nand Kishore Kackar, Esqr. ...	Khatri ...	Bar-at-Law, Civil Lines, Bareilly.	At a meeting of the Bareilly District Congress Committee held on the 13th November, 1910.
423	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Raghunandan Prasad, M.A.	Vaish ...	Honorary Secretary to the Board of Trustees, Trade and Zamindari, Bareilly.	Do.
424	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Sarada Pado Mukerjee, B.A., LL.B.	Bengalee Brahman ..	Vakil, High Court, Bareilly ...	Do. ...
425	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Jwala Prasad ...	Kayastha ...	Pleader, Berhanpur, Bareilly ...	Do. ...
426	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Raj Bahadur Sanghi, B.A.	Vaishya ...	Pleader, Bareilly, U. P., Hony. Secretary, Congress Committee, Bareilly.	Do. ...
427	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Lalit Mohan Mukerjee ...	Bengalee Brahman ...	Pleader, Bareilly ...	Do. ...
428	Do. ...	Muradabad District Congress Committee.	Mr. Braj Nath, B.A., LL.B. ...	Gujrati ...	Vakil, Muradabad ...	Do. ...

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List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
429	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Shahjahanpur District Congress Committee.	Babu Kalka Prasad, B.A., LL.B.	Kayastha ...	Vakil, Tilhar, District Shahjahanpur.	At a meeting of the Shahjahanpur District Congress Committee held on the 1st December, 1910.	
430	Do. ...	Cawnpore People's Association.	Pandit Jagmohan Nath Chak, B.A. (Oxon.).	Hindu, Brahman ...	Bar-at-Law, Cawnpore ...	At a meeting of the Cawnpore People's Association held on the 13th December, 1910.	
431	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Bansi Dhar ...	Hindu, Mahushari ...	Zamindar, Cawnpore ...	Do. ...	
432	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandit Shiva Darshan Narain Pandey.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	
433	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandit Debi Prasad Sukla, B.A.	Do. ...	Professor, Christ Church College, Cawnpore.	At a meeting of the Cawnpore People's Association held on the 18th December, 1910 and at a meeting of the U. P. Provincial Congress Com-	

434	Do.	...	Do.	...	Pandit Jai Narain Prasad Bajpai.	Do.	...	Journalist, Secretary, Cawnpore People's Association and President to Cawnpore Temperance Association.	mittee held on the 18th December, 1910.
435	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Munna Lal	Hindu, Kayastha	...	Pleader, Cawnpore	At a meeting of the Cawnpore People's Association held on the 18th December, 1910.
436	Do.	...	Do.	...	Lala Ram Gopal	Hindu, Vaish	...	Do.	Do.
437	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Gyanendra Lal Moitra	Bongalee, Christian	...	Professor, Christ Church College, Cawnpore, Educationist and Journalist.	Do.
438	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Brijindra Swarup	Kayastha	...	Vakil, High Court, Civil Line, Cawnpore.	Do.
439	Do.	...	Jhansi District Congress Committee.	...	Mr. Kanhaiya Lal	Hindu, Khatri	...	Pleader, Jhansi	At a meeting of the Jhansi District Congress Committee held on the 16th December, 1910.
440	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Shankar Sahai	Kayastha	...	Vakil, Jhansi	Do.
441	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Sundar Bhan	Do.	...	Do.	Do.

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List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address in full.	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
442	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Benares District Congress Committee.	Pandit Chhannu Lal ...	Brahman. Bhatmewara ...	Pleader, No. 57, Nandan Saha Street, Benares ...	At a meeting of the Benares District Congress Committee held on the 27th November, 1910.	
443	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dr. J. P. Singh Mathur, Esq. ...	Hindu, Brahman ...	Medical Practitioner, Benares ...	Do. ...	
444	Do. ...	Do. ...	Munshi Mathura Prasad ...	Hindu, Kayastha ...	Pleader, Benares ...	Do. ...	
445	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mehta Krishna Ram, B.A., LL.B.	Brahman, Guzrati ...	Zamindar and Legal Practitioner	Do. ...	
446	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Gauri Shankar Prasad, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Agarwal Vaishya.	Vakil, High Court, and Hony. Secretary, Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares.	Do. ...	
447	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Rao Gopal Das Shahpuri ...	Hindu, Brahman Nagar	Zamindar and Banker ...	Do. ...	
448	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Jugul Kishore ...	Khatri ...	Rais and Zamindar, Gae Ghat, Benares.	At a meeting of the Benares District Congress Committee held on the 27th November, 1910 and at a meeting of the	

							United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee held on the 18th December, 1910.
449	Do.	Do.	... Babu Salig Ram Sinha ...	Hindu, Khatri ...	Glass Technician in the Kashi Glass Manufacturing Co., Ltd., Benares.		At a meeting of the Benares District Congress Committee held on the 27th November, 1910.
450	Do.	Do.	... Pandey Shankar Nath ...	Brahman, Guzrati ...	Zamindar and Jeweller, Benares		Do.
451	Do.	Do.	... Babu Nand Kishore ...	Hindu, Khatri ...	Zamindar and Banker, Benares		Do.
452	Do.	Do.	... Babu Gokul Chand ...	Hindu, Agarwal Vaishya.	Do. ...		Do.
453	Do.	Do.	... Pandit Vijyanand Tiwari ...	Hindu, Brahman ...	Zamindar, Benares ...		Do.
454	Do.	Do.	... Mr. Rao Vaj Nath Das Shahpuri.	Brahman, Guzrati ...	Zamindar, Banker, and Agriculturist, Benares.		Do.
455	Do.	Do.	... Pandit Ravi Ram Jain ...	Do. ...	Zamindar and Banker, Benares		Do.
456	Do.	Do.	... Pandit Lakshmi Kant Pandey	Brahman ...	Pleader, Benares ...		Do.
457	Do.	Do.	... Babu Nand Gopal ...	Hindu, Khatri ...	Zamindar and Banker, Benares		Do.
458	Do.	Do.	... Babu Kalyan Das ...	Hindu, Agarwal Vaishya.	Merchant, Benares ...		Do.
459	Do.	Do.	... Babu Durga Prasad, B.A. ...	Hindu, Khatri ..	Zamindar, Benares ...		Do.
460	Do.	Do.	... Munshi Sankta Prasad ...	Do. ...	Do. ...		Do.

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List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
461	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Benares District Congress Committee.	Babu Madhava Lal ...	Hindu, Gujrati Vaishya.	Zamindar, Banker, Benares ...	At a meeting of the Benares District Congress Committee held on the 27th November, 1910.	
462	Do.	Do. ...	Babu Badri Prasad Khatri ...	Hindu, Khatri ...	Service, Benares ...	Do.	
463	Do.	Mirzapur District Congress Committee	Babu Sri Ram ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Zamindar, Municipal Commissioner, and Member, District Board, Mirzapur.	At a meeting of the Mirzapur District Congress Committee held on the 20th December, 1910.	
464	Do.	Do. ...	Pandit Badri Narayan Chaudhari.	Brahman ...	Zamindar, mohalla Brij Raj Katra, Mirzapur.	Do.	
465	Do.	Do. ...	Babu Mahadeo Singh, B.A., LL.B.	Khattriya ...	Vakil, High Court, Member, District Board, and Zamindar, Mirzapur.	At a meeting of the Mirzapur District Congress Committee held on the 20th December, 1910, and at a	

							meeting of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee held on in 18th December, 1910.
466	Do.	Do.	... Babu Mahadeva Ram ...	Hindu, Sanatan Dharmi.	Shellac Merchant, and Banker, Laldiggi, Mirzapur.		At a meeting of the Mirzapur District Congress Committee held on the 20th December, 1910.
467	Do.	Do.	... Munshi Baij Nath Sahai, B.A.	Kayastha ...	Pleader ...		Do.
468	Do.	Do.	... Munshi Chandra Kishore, B.A.	Do. ..	Pleader, Wellesleygunj, Mirzapur		Do.
469	Do.	Do.	... Munshi Lakshmi Sahai ...	Do. ...	Do. ...		Do.
470	Do.	Do.	... Babu Ganga Prasad Jayaswal...	Hindu, Vedic ...	Teacher, Duncangunj, Mirzapur.		Do.
471	Do.	Do.	... Babu Madhava Prasad ...	Do. ...	Zamindar, Banker and Merchant, Mirzapur.		Do.
472	Do.	Do.	... Munshi Bhagwan Prasad, B.A.	Kayastha, Srivastava...	Vakil, High Court, Mirzapur...		Do.
473	Do.	Do.	... Pandit Mathura Prasad Chaudhari, B.A.	Brahman ...	Pleader and Zamindar, Mirzapur.		Do.
474	Do.	Do.	... Babu Jagat Narain Tandan ...	Khatri ...	Zamindar and Contractor, Mirzapur.		Do.
475	Do.	Do.	... Babu Shiva Saran Lal Jayaswal	Arya ...	Merchant, Nar Ghat, Mirzapur		Do.

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476	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Gorakhpur District Congress Committee.	Mr. Nar Singh Prasad, M.A., M.R.A.S.	Kayastha ...	Vakil, High Court, and Member of the United Provinces Legislative Council, Gorakhpur.	At a meeting of the Gorakhpur District Congress Committee held on the 23rd December, 1910.	
477	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Jugal Kishor, B.A. ...	Hindi ...	Vakil, High Court, and Member, District Board, Gorakhpur.	Do.	
478	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Jagannath Sahaya ...	Kayastha ...	Service, Gorakhpur ...	Do.	
479	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Ram Prasad ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Gorakhpur ...	Do.	
480	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Balmakunda Sahai ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Judge's Court, Gorakhpur.	Do.	
481	Do. ...	Basti District Congress Committee.	Mr. Daulat Ram Asthana, B.A., LL.B.	Kayastha, Ashthana	Vakil, Basti ...	At a meeting of the Basti District Congress Committee held on the 24th December, 1910.	
482	Do. ...	Do.	Mr. Raghunandan Prasad, B.A.	Kayastha ...	Do. ...	Do.	
483	Do. ...	Azamgarh District Congress Committee.	Babu Ganga Prasad Roy ...	Hindu, Brahman ...	Pleader, Honorary Secretary, Municipal Board, Zamindar, Azamgarh.	At a meeting of the Azamgarh	

						District Congress Committee held on the 19th December, 1910, and at a meeting of the United Provinces Congress Committee held on the 18th December, 1910.
484	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Vinayak Prasad Asthana, B.A.	Hindu, Kayastha ...	Plearder, and Zamindar Azamgarh.	Do.
485	Do. ...	Naini Tal District Congress Committee.	Mr. Mathura Data Pandey ...	Brahman, Pandey ...	Vakil, High Court, Naini Tal...	At a meeting of the Naini Tal District Congress Committee held on the 19th December, 1910.
486	Do. ...	Do. ...	Lala Jai Lal Shah ...	Hindu, Vaisha ...	Do. ...	Do.
487	Do. ...	Lucknow District Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Babu Ganga Prasad Varma.	Hindu, Khatri ...	Member, Legislative Council, United Provinces and Editor of the 'Advocate' and the 'Hindustan', Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board, Lucknow.	At a meeting of the Lucknow District Congress Committee held on the 4th December, 1910.
488	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandit Bishun Narain Dar ...	Hindu, Kashmiri Brahman,	Bar-at-Law, Lucknow ...	Do.
489	Do. ...	Do. ...	Nawab Syed Ali Khan, B.A....	Mohammadan ...	Landowner, Member, Municipal Board, Lucknow.	Do.

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490	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Lucknow District Congress Committee.	Pandit Iqbal Narain Masaldan	Hindu, Kashmiri Brahman.	Bar-at-Law, Lucknow ...	At a meeting of the Lucknow District Congress Committee held on the 4th December, 1910.	
491	Do. ...	Do. ...	Lala Mannu Lal ...	Khatri ...	Rais and Zamindar, Lucknow	Do.	
492	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Gokul Chand Rai, B.A., LL.B.	Vaish, Jain ...	Vakil, High Court, Banker and House Proprietor, Lucknow.	Do.	
493	Do. ...	Do. ...	Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan ...	Mohammadan ...	Bar-at-Law, Landowner, Lucknow.	Do.	
494	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandit Sheo Bihari Lal Misra	Hindu, Brahman ...	Pleader, Judicial Commissioner's Court, 2nd grade and Landowner, Lucknow.	Do.	
495	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandit Sangam Lal, B.A. ...	Hindu, Kashmiri Brahman.	Member, Municipal Board, Landholder, Lucknow.	Do.	
496	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Kedar Nath ...	Hindu, Khatri ...	Advocate, High Court, Allahabad, Municipal Commissioner, Lucknow.	Do.	
497	Do. ...	Do. ...	Sisira Kant Mitra, Esq., M.A.	Bengalee Kayastha	Broker, House Agent, 'Hyderbagh,' Victoria Street, Lucknow.	Do	

498	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandit Janki Nath Chak ...	Hindu, Kashmiri Brahman.	Pleader, Judicial Commissioner's Court, Lucknow.	Do.
499	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pundit Jagat Narayan, B.A. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.
500	Do. ...	Do. ...	Nawab Kazim Ali Khan ...	Mohammadan ...	Bar.-at-Law and Landowner, Lucknow.	At a meeting of the Lucknow District Congress Committee held on the 11th December, 1910.
501	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Ishwari Prasad, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Khatri ...	Vakil, High Court and Pleader, Judicial Commissioner's Court, Lucknow.	Do.
502	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Har Govind Das ...	Do ...	Do ...	Do.
503	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Ramchandra, M.A. ...	Hindu, Kayastha ...	Do. ...	At a meeting of the Lucknow District Congress Committee held on the 11th December, 1910 and at a meeting of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee held on the 18th December, 1910.
504	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava.	Kayastha, Hindu ...	Do. ...	Do.
505	Do. ...	Do. ...	Nawab Sajjad Ali Khan ...	Mohammadan ...	Landowner, Lucknow ...	At a meeting of the Lucknow District Congress Committee held on the 11th December, 1910.

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List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
506	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Lucknow District Congress Committee.	Dr. P. D. Kacker ...	Hindu, Khatri ...	Medical Practitioner and Mahajan, Lucknow.	At a meeting of the Lucknow District Congress Committee held on the 11th December, 1910.	
507	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Gopal Das Varma ...	Do. ...	Merchant and Contractor, Lucknow.	Do.	
508	Do. ...	Do. ..	Pandit Brij Narain Tankha, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Kashmiri Brahman.	Vakil, High Court and Pleader, Judicial Commissioner's Court and Landholder, Lucknow.	Do.	
509	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Usuf Husain Khan ...	Shia, Mohammadan	Zamindar and Bar-at-Law, Lucknow.	Do.	
510	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mirza Samiullah Beg, B.A., LL.B.	Mohammadan ...	Vakil, High Court and Pleader, Judicial Court, Lucknow.	Do.	
511	Do. ...	Do. ...	A. P. Sen, Esqr. ...	Brahmo ...	Bar-at-Law, Lucknow ...	Do.	
512	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandit Brij Narain Chakrast, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Kashmiri Brahman.	Vakil, High Court and Pleader, Judicial Commissioner's Court, Lucknow.	Do.	
513	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandit Triloki Nath Koul, B.A.	Do. ...	Vakil, Lucknow ...	Do.	
514	Do. ...	Do. ...	Munshi Fayaz Ali Khan of Sandila.	Mohammadan ...	Landowner and Editor, Lucknow.	Do.	

515	Do. ...	Unao District Congress Committee.	Babu Saligram Sinha, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Kayastha ...	Vakil, Unao ...	...	At a meeting of the Unao District Congress Committee held on the 27th October, 1910.
516	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandit Baldeo Bihari Misra ...	Hindu, Brahman ...	Pleader, Unao ...	...	Do.
517	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Lakshmi Narain, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Kayastha ...	Vakil, Unao ...	...	Do.
518	Do. ...	Rai Bareilly District Congress Committee.	Pandit Bihari Lal Nehru ...	Hindu, Kashmiri Brahman.	Pleader, Rai Bareilly	...	At a meeting of the Rai Bareilly District Congress Committee held on the 11th November, 1910, and at a meeting of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee held on the 18th December, 1910.
519	Do. ...	Sitapur District Congress Committee.	Babu Chail Bihari Lal, B.A. ...	Hindu, Kayastha ...	Vakil, Sitapur ...	...	At a meeting of the Sitapur District Congress Committee held on the 18th November, 1910.
520	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Sidh Prasad, B.A. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	...	Do.
521	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Rudra Narain, B.A., B.Sc.	Do. ...	Do. ...	...	Do.
522	Do. ...	Do. ...	Lala Ramji Das ...	Hindu, Khatri ...	Zamindar and Banker, Sitapur.	...	Do.

APPENDIX E.

List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
523	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Sitapur District Congress Committee.	Pandit Ajodhia Prasad ...	Hindu, Brahman ...	Pleader and Zamindar, Sitapur.	At a meeting of the Sitapur District Congress Committee held on the 18th November, 1910.	
524	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. Kalika Prasad Trivedi, B.A., LL.B.	Do. ...	Vakil, Sitapur ...	Do.	
525	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Madho Prasad, B.A. ...	Hindu, Kayastha ...	Vakil, Sitapur ...	Do.	
526	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandit Ram Adhin Pandey ...	Hindu, Brahman ...	Pleader and Zamindar, Sitapur	Do.	
527	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandit Ram Adhin Agnihotri, LL.B.	Do. ...	Vakil, Sitapur ..	Do.	
528	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mr. A. K. Bose, B.A. ...	Hindu ...	Pleader, Sitapur ...	Do.	
529	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandit Shiva Prasad Agnihotri	Hindu, Brahman ...	Zamindar, Deskole District, Sitapur.	Do.	
530	Do. ...	Hardoi District Congress Committee.	Mr. Manni Lal, M.A., LL.B. ...	Hindu, Kayastha ...	Vakil, Hardoi ...	At a meeting of the Hardoi District Congress Committee held on the 28th November, 1910.	

531	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Sirish Chandra Chatterjee, B.A., LL.B.	Bangali Brahmin	...	Vakil, Hardoi	...	Do.
532	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. Gurdit Singh	Sikh	...	Barrister-at-Law, Hardoi	...	Do.
533	Do.	...	Do.	...	Mr. M. Mata Prasad Saksena, B.A.	Hindu, Kayastha	...	Pleader, Hardoi	...	Do.
534	Do.	...	Kheri District Congress Committee.		Pandit Sooraj Narain Dikshit, M.A., LL.B.	Brahman	...	Vakil, High Court, Kheri	...	At a meeting of the Kheri District Congress Committee held on the 2nd November, 1910
535	Do.	...	Do.	...	Pandit Balbhadra Prasad Shukla, B.A.	Do.	...	Vakil, Kheri	...	Do.
536	Do.	...	Fyzabad District Congress Committee.		Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru.	Kashmiri Brahman	...	Vakil, Fyzabad	...	At a meeting of the Fyzabad District Congress Committee held on the 9th December, 1910.
537	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Krishna Prasad, B.A., LL.B.	Kayastha	...	Vakil, Gonda	...	Do.
538	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Sarjoo Prasad	Do.	...	Do.	...	Do.
539	Do.	...	Do.	...	Thakur Lal Bihari Singh, B.A., LL.B.	Kshatriya	...	Vakil, and Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board, Fyzabad.	...	Do.
540	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Manohar Lal	Khatri	...	Vakil and Zamindar, Fyzabad	...	Do.
541	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Sundar Lal Rajay	Khatri	...	Vakil, Fyzabad	...	Do.
542	Do.	...	Do.	...	Thakur Mahadeo Singh, B.A.	Hindu, Kshatriya	...	Do.	...	Do.

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543	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Fyzabad District Congress Committee.	Babu Sripat Ram, B.A.	Kayastha, Hindu ...	Vakil, Fyzabad	At a meeting of the Fyzabad District Congress Committee held on the 9th December, 1910.	
544	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Oudh Bihari Lal ...	Do. ...	Legal Practitioner, Gonda ...	Do.	
545	Do. ...	Barabanki District Congress Committee.	Raja Prithivipal Singh ...	Kshatriya ..	Talukdar, Surajpur, District Barabanki.	At a meeting of the Barabanki District Congress Committee held on the 26th December, 1910.	
546	Do. ...	Do. ...	Raghunath Singh, Esq., B.A. ...	Do. ..	Vakil, High Court and Zamindar, Barabanki.	Do.	
547	The Punjab	The Punjab and North-Western Frontier Provincial Congress Committee.	Lala Har Kishen Lal, B.A. ...	Hindu ...	Bar-at-Law, Lahore ...	At a meeting of the Punjab and N.-W. F. Provincial Congress Committee held on the 14th November, 1910.	

548	Do.	Do.	...	Mrs. Har Kishen Lal	...	Do	...	Lahore	...	...	At a meeting of the Punjab and N.-W. F. Provincial Congress Committee held on the 12th December, 1910.
549	Do.	Do.	...	Lala Dharm Das Suri	...	Brahman	...	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab and Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P.	...	...	At a meeting of the Punjab and N.-W. F. Provincial Congress Committee held on the 14th November, 1910.
550	Do.	Do.	...	Mr. Ganpat Rai	...	Hindu, Sikh	...	Bar-at-Law, Municipal Commissioner and Vice President District Board, Lahore.	...	...	Do.
551	Do.	Do.	...	Mr. Sangam Lal	...	Kshatriya	...	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab	...	...	Do.
552	Do.	Do.	...	Mr. Dhanpat Rai, B.A., LL.B.	...	Hindu	...	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore	...	...	Do.
553	Do.	Do.	...	Dr. Parma Nand	...	Do.	...	Surgeon, Lahore	...	...	Do.
554	Do.	Do.	...	Mr. N. N. Gupta	...	Do.	...	Editor, "The Tribune," Lahore	...	...	Do.
555	Do.	Do.	...	Rambhaj Datt Dubay, B.A., LL.B.	...	Arya	...	Pleader, Lahore	...	...	Do.
556	Do.	Do.	...	Lala Dharm Chand B.A., LL.B.	...	Hindu	...	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore	...	...	Do.
557	Do.	Do.	...	Mr. Duni Chand	...	Do.	...	Bar-at-Law, Municipal Commissioner, Lahore.	At a meeting of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee held on the 20th December, 1910.

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List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued).

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
558	The Punjab	The Punjab and North-Western Frontier Provincial Congress Committee.	Lala Mohan Lal Seth, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Khatri ...	Pleader	At a meeting of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee held on the 20th December, 1910.	
559	Do.	Do. ...	Lala Gowardhan Das ...	Arya ... ..	.....	At a meeting of the Punjab and N.-W. F. Provincial Congress Committee held on the 25th December, 1910.	
560	Do.	Do. ...	Pandit Balak Ram Pandey ...	Brahman ... ..	.....	At a meeting of the Punjab and N.-W. F. Provincial Congress Committee held on the 12th December, 1910.	
561	Do.	Do. ...	Lala Charanjit Lal ...	Hindu	Merchant, Dhone, Lahore ...	At a meeting of the Punjab and N.-W. F. Provincial Congress Committee held on the 14th November, 1910.	

562	Do.	Do.	...	Mathura Das Puri	...	Khatri ...	...	Banker	...	...	Do.
563	Do.	Do.	...	Rai Sahib Girdhari Lal	...	Do.	...	Lahore	...	...	At a meeting of the Punjab and N.-W. F. Provincial Congress Committee held on the 20th December, 1910.
564	Do.	Do.	...	Mr. Har Dial	...	Do.	...	Bar-at-Law, Lahore	...	...	At a meeting of the Punjab and N.-W. F. Provincial Congress Committee held on the 12th December, 1910.
565	Do.	Do.	...	Bhagat Govind Das	...	Hindu ...	...	.....	...	...	At a meeting of the Punjab and N.-W. F. Provincial Congress Committee held on the 20th December, 1910.
566	Do.	Do.	...	N. Faqir Chand	...	Do.	...	Pleader, Lahore	...	...	At a meeting of the Punjab and N.-W. F. Provincial Congress Committee held on the 12th December, 1910.
567	Do.	Do.	...	Lala Brij Lal Puri	...	Hindu	...	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore	...	...	Do.
568	Do.	Do.	...	Lala Lal Chand	...	Hindu	...	Do.	...	...	Do.
569	Do.	Do.	...	M. Bahadur Chand, B.A., LL.B.	...	Mehta Kshatriya	...	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab	Do.
570	Do.	Do.	...	Lala Bhagu Ram, A. B.	...	Khatri	...	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore	Do.

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List of Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910—(continued);

Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
571	The Punjab	The Punjab and North-Western Frontier Provincial Congress Committee.	P. L. Rajpal, Esq. ...	Arya ...	Manufacturing Agent, S. W. Co., Limited, Amritsar.	At a meeting of the Punjab and N.-W. Frontier Provincial Congress Committee held on the 20th December, 1910.	
572	Do. ...	Do. ...	Lala Bhagat Ram ...	Hindu ...	Pleader, Hushiarpur ...	At a meeting of the Punjab and N.-W. Frontier Provincial Congress Committee held on the 12th December, 1910.	
573	Do. ...	Do. ...	Bawa Pares Ram ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do.	
574	Central Provinces.	Central Provinces Provincial Congress Committee, Nagpur.	Rao Bahadur Waman Rao M. Kolhatkar.	Maratha Hindu.	Government Pensioner, Kolhatkar's house, New Modi Street, Sitabaldi, Nagpur, C. P.	At a meeting of the Central Provinces, Provincial Congress Committee, Nagpur, held on the 28th November, 1910.	

575	Do. ...	Do. ...	Rao Bahadur Vasdeo Ramkrishna Pandit, M.A., (Cantab.)	Maharashtra Brahman.	Barrister-at-law, Fellow, Allahabad University, Vice Chairman, District Council, Secretary, Provincial Congress Committee, Nagpur.	Do.
576	Do. ...	Do. ...	Vinayak Rajaram Dixit ...	Brahman, Gujrathi	Baristar-at-law, Nagpur ...	Do.
577	Do. ...	Do. ...	M. K. Padhye, B.A., B.L. ...	Maratha Brahman ...	Pleader and Agriculturist, Nagpur.	Do.
578	Do. ...	Do. ...	Madhava Bapu Rao Kinkhede, B.A., B.L.	Maharashtra Brahman	Pleader, Nagpur, C. P. ...	Do.
579	Do. ...	Central Provinces Provincial Congress Committee.	Bhimraj Choudhri ...	Agarwala Bania ...	Munim ...	At a meeting of the Central Provincial Congress Committee held on the 28th November, 1910.
580	Do. ...	Do. ...	R. B. B. D. Shukla, B.A. ...	Brahman ...	Taluqadar and Honorary Magistrate, Schera Road, E. I. Ry, Nagpur.	Do.
581	Do. ...	Do. ...	K. S. Nayudu B.A., LL.B. ...	Kshatri, Nayudu ...	Pleader, Wardha, C. P. ...	Do.
582	Do. ...	Do. ...	Ram Prasad Awasthi ...	Brahman ...	Pleader, Betul, C. P. ...	...
583	Do. ...	Chhindwara District Committee.	Hira Lal Verma, B.A. (Cantab.)	Hindu, Kayastha ...	Advocate, High Court, Allahabad, Chhindwara, C. P.	At a meeting of the Chhindwara District Committee held on the 18th December, 1910.

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Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS
584	Central Provinces.	Raipur District Congress Committee.	Dr. H. S. Gour, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D.	Rajput ...	Barristar-at-law, Raipur ...	At a meeting of the Raipur District Committee held on the 14th December, 1910.	
585	Do. ...	Do. ...	Piyare Lal Misra, M.R.A.S., T.R.S.A.	Hindu, Brahman ...	Do. ...	Do.	
586	Do. ...	Do. ...	Ravi Shankar Sukla, B.A., LL.B.	Kanyakubja Brahman	Pleader, Raipur ...	Do.	
587	Do. ...	Khandwa District Congress Committee.	Nanak Chand Jaini, B.A., LL.B.	Jaini ...	Pleader, Hariganj, Khandwa ...	At a meeting of the Khandwa District Congress Committee held on the 28th November, 1910.	
588	Do. ...	Do. ...	Kaloo Ram Gaugrade, B.A., LL.B.	G a n g r a d e Bania, Hindu.	Pleader, Khandwa ...	Do.	
589	Do. ...	Do. ...	Seth Moji Lal ...	Hindu, Bania ...	Municipal Commissioner and trader, Khandwa	Do.	
590	Behar ...	Behar Provincial Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble M. Mazhar-ul-Haque.	Indian Musalman ...	Bar-at-Law, Bankipore ...	At a meeting of the Behar Pro-	

591	Do.	...	Do.	...	Syed Hasan Imam	...	Syed, Indian	...	Do.	...	...	vincial Congress Committee held on the 25th December, 1910.
592	Do.	...	Do.	...	Parmeshwar Lall, M.A.	...	Hindu	...	Do.	...	...	Do.
593	Do.	...	Do.	...	Krishna Sahai	...	Kayastha, Indian	...	Vakil, Bankipore	...	...	Do.
594	Do.	...	Do.	...	Syed Hyder Husain	...	Syed, Mohammadan	...	Servants of India Society, Poona City.	...	...	Do.
595	Do.	...	Do.	...	Maulvi Raza Hossain	...	Do.	...	Mukhtar, Madinpurah, North Bhagalpur.	...	...	At a meeting of the Behar Provincial Congress Committee held on the 25th December, 1910 and at a meeting of the United Bengal Provincial Congress Committee held on the 13th December, 1910.
596	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Kashi Nath	...	Hindu	At a meeting of the Behar Provincial Congress Committee held on the 25th December, 1910.

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597	Behar ...	Behar Provincial Congress Committee.	Babu Rashbihari Lal Mandal...	Hindu, Gope ...	Zamindar, Murho, North Bhagalpur.	At a meeting of the Behar Provincial Congress Committee held on the 25th December, 1910 and at a meeting of the United Bengal Congress Committee held on the 13th December, 1910.	
598	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Vishwa Nath Jha ...	Hindu, Brahman ...	Mokhtar and Zamindar, Madinpurah, North Bhagalpur.	At a meeting of the Behar Provincial Congress Committee held on the 25th December, 1910.	
599	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Ananta Prasad Mandal...	Hindu, Gope ...	Zamindar, Murho, North Bhagalpur	At a meeting of the Behar Provincial Congress Committee held on the 25th December 1910, and at a meeting of the United Bengal Pro-	

600	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Girwar Narain Mandal ...	Do. ...	Zamindar, Ranipatti, North Bhagalpur.	vincial Congress Committee held on the 13th December, 1910.
601	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Babu Lal Mandal ...	Do. ...	Zamindar, Murho, North Bhagalpur.	At a meeting of the Behar Provincial Congress Committee held on the 25th December, 1910.
602	Do. ...	Patna District Congress Committee.	Mohammad Yunus ...	Musalman ...	Barrister-at-Law, Bankipore ...	Do.
603	Do. ...	Gya District Congress Committee.	Babu Nand Kishore Lal, M.A., B.L.	Kayastha ...	Vakil, High Court and Zamindar, Gya.	At a meeting of the Patna District Congress Committee held on the 26th December, 1910.
604	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Bishun Pershad, II, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Vakil and Zamindar, Gya ...	At a meeting of the Gya District Congress Committee held on the 9th December, 1910.
605	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Rajeshwar Prasad, B.A., B.L.	Do. ...	Zamindar, Gya ...	Do.
606	Do. ...	Do. ...	Raj Kumar Babu Chotey Narain Singh.	Bhuinhar Brahman	Do. ...	Do.

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607	Behar ...	Shahabad District Congress Committee.	Pandit Gobardhan Muna, B.A., B.L.	Brahman ...	Vakil, Gya ...	At a meeting of the Gya District Congress Committee held on the 9th December, 1910.	
608	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Avadh Behary Lal ...	Kayastha, Hindu ...	Zamindar, Mauza Baksunda, P. O. Akbarpore, District Gya.	Do.	
609	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pandit Gya Datt Misser ...	Brahman ...	Pleader, Arrah ...	At a meeting of the Shahabad District Congress Committee held on the 26th December, 1910.	
610	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Indra Deo Narayan Singh.	Hindu ...	Zamindar, Shahabad ...	Do.	
611	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mangal Charan, B.A., B.L. ...	Do. ...	Vakil, Arrah ...	Do.	
612	Do. ...	Muzafferpur District Congress Committee.	Dwarka Nath, B.A., LL.B. ...	Kayastha, Behari Hindu.	Pleader and Landholder and Secretary, District Congress Committee.	At a meeting of the Muzafferpur District Congress Committee held on the 7th December, 1910.	

613	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Gaya Prasad Singh, B. A.	Kshatriya	...	Land-holder, and Vice-President, Local Rajput Sabha, Muzafferpur.	At a meeting of the Muzafferpur District Congress Committee held on the 19th December, 1910.
614	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Langat Singh	Hindu, Bhuinhar	...	Zamindar and Banker, Muzafferpur.	At a meeting of the Muzafferpur District Congress Committee held on the 7th December, 1910.
615	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Kameshwar Narain Singh.	Bhuinhar, Brahman	...	Landholder, Muzafferpur	At a meeting of the Muzafferpur District Congress Committee held on the 23rd December, 1910.
616	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Maheshwar Prasad	Hindu, Khattri	...	Banker and Zamindar, Municipal Commissioner, Member of the Local Board, President, District Association, Muzafferpur.	At a meeting of the Muzafferpur District Congress Committee held on the 19th December, 1910.
617	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Ganga Vishun	Do.	...	Zamindar, Muzafferpur	Do.
618	Do.	...	Do.	...	Babu Jadunath Sing	Hindu, Kshatriya	...	Zamindar, Muzafferpur	Do.

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Serial No.	Province.	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full.</i>	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
619	Behar ...	Muzafferpur District Congress Committee.	Babu Ram Prasad, B.A., B.L. ...	Kayastha, Bihari ...	Pleader and Landholder, Purnea	At a meeting of the Muzafferpur District Congress Committee held on the 23rd December, 1910.	
620	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Arikshan Singh ...	Bhuinhar Brahman ...	Pleader, Muzafferpur ...	Do.	
621	Do. ...	Do. ...	Khetresh Kumar Mukerjee ...	Bengalee Hindu, Brahman.	Zamindar, Muzafferpur ...	At a meeting of the Muzafferpur District Congress Committee held on the 7th December, 1910.	
622	Do. ...	Do. ...	Basanti Charan Sinha, M.A., B.L.	Bengalee Hindu, Kayastha.	Vakil, Muzafferpur ...	Do. ...	
623	Do. ...	Do. ...	Babu Surendra Prasad Shukul	Brahman ...	Landholder, Kaibuli, District Muzafferpur.	Do. ...	

624	Do.	...	Darbhanga District Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Babu Braja Kishore Prasad, M.A.,B.L.	Hindu, Kayastha ...	Pleader, Additional Member of the Legislative Council, Laharia Sarai.	At a meeting of the Darbhanga District Congress Committee held on the 6th December, 1910.
625	Do.	...	Do. ...	Babu Lakshaman Prasad, B.A.,B.L.	Hindu, Kayastha ...	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, lately Vice-Chairman of Darbhanga Municipality, Misratola, Darbhanga.	Do.
626	Do.	...	Do. ...	Pt. Bhuwaneswar Misra ...	Hindu, Brahman ...	Pleader and Zamindar, Misratola, Darbhanga.	Do.
627	Do.	...	Bhagalpur District Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Mr. Deep Narain Singh.	Hindu ...	Barrister-at-Law, Bhagalpur ...	At a meeting of the Bhagalpur District Congress Committee held on the 8th December, 1910.
628	Do.	..	Do. ...	Sarundharee Lall ...	Kaeserbani ...	Zamindar, Bhagalpur ...	Do.
629	Do.	...	Ber ar Provincial Congress Committee.	The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, B.A., LL.B.	Brahman ...	Advocate, Amraoti, Member of the Viceroy's Council.	At a meeting of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee held on the 7th December, 1910.
630	Do.	...	Do. ...	G. N. Kane ...	Christian ...	Pleader, Amraoti...	Do.
631	Do.	...	Do. ...	M. B. Sant ...	Hindu ...	Assistant Secretary, Indian Industrial Conference, Amraoti.	Do.

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Serial No.	Province	Electorate.	Name in full of Delegates with all titles, honorary or scholastic distinctions.	Race, religion, denomination and caste, if any.	Profession, calling, occupation and address <i>in full</i> .	How and when elected.	REMARKS.
632	Berar ...	Berar Provincial Congress Committee.	Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, B.A., L.L.B.	Brahman ...	Pleader, High Court, Amraoti	At a meeting of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee held on the 7th December, 1910.	
633	Do. ...	Do. ...	Gulam Ahmed Khan ...	Muhammadan ...	Landholder, Pinpal Gaon, Raja, Member of the District Board, Amraoti.	Do.	
634	Do. ...	Do. ...	Ram Chandra Vishun Mahajani, B.A., LL.B.	Brahman ...	Pleader, Akola ...	Do.	
635	Do. ...	Do. ...	L. R. Abhyankar, B.A., LL.B. ...	Do. ...	Pleader, Yeotmal...	Do.	
636	Do. ...	Do. ...	B. R. Landge ...	Do. ...	Landholder, Yeotmal ...	Do.	

APPENDIX F.
Notice of Amendment.

[*Ante page 103.*]

To

THE PRESIDENT,

SIR,

We wish to propose an amendment to the resolution now being put before the meeting. I am sending the formal amendment herewith; it refers to the recognition of right of minorities.

So kindly note.

Your obedient servants,

RAM BHAI DUTTA CHAUDHRI,
KRISHNA BALDEV VARMA.

While recognizing the necessity of providing for a fair and adequate representation in the Legislative Councils for the Mahomedans and other communities wherever they are in minorities, this Congress disapproves the regulations promulgated last year to carry out this object by means of separate electorates, and in particular urges, &c.*

To

THE PRESIDENT,

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

25TH SESSIONS,

ALLAHABAD.

SIR,

We, the Panjab delegates, desire to record our emphatic protest against the manner, in which the Resolution No. 17† was disposed of.

We beg also to strongly protest against the manner in which opportunity was denied for the submission of an amendment of which due notice had been given.

We request that you will kindly lay this protest before the delegates in open Congress and direct its inclusion in the official proceedings.

We beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

HARKISHEN LAL.
DHARAM CHAND.
DHANPAT RAI.
PARMANAND.
DUNI CHAND.
MATHRADAS PURI.
FAQIR CHAND.
BHAGAT RAM AGARWAL.
P. L. RAJPAL.
DHARMDAS SURI.
HARDYAL.
BHAGUT RAM.
R. S. GIRDHARI LAL.
BRIJ LAL PURI.
GOWARDHAN DASS, LAHORE.
RAM BHAI DUTT CHAUDHRI.
N. GUPTA, LAHORE.

ALLAHABAD,
29th December, 1910.

* For the terms of the resolution adopted at the Congress, see *Ante page 103* and pages 84 to 93.

† Resolution No. XV is meant here.

APPENDIX G.

Deputation to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

On the 5th of January, 1911, a deputation consisting of—

Sir William Wedderburn, Bart. *President*,
Dr. Rash Behari Ghose (*Bengal*),
Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea, (*Bengal*),
The Hon'ble Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu, (*Bengal*),
The Hon'ble Nawab Saiyad Mahommad, (*Madras*),
The Hon'ble Mr. M. Subba Row, (*Madras*),
The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, (*Bombay*),
The Hon'ble Mr. M. Jinah, (*Bombay*),
The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, (*United Provinces*),
The Hon'ble M. Ganga Prasad (*United Provinces*),
Lala Harkissen Lal, (*The Panjab*),
The Hon'ble Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, (*Berar*),
The Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque, (*Behar*),
Mr. Daji Abaji Khare,
Mr. Dinshaji Eduljee Wacha, } *General Secretaries*,

waited upon His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. Babu Ambica Charan Majumdar, (*Bengal*) and the Hon'ble Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha (*Allahabad*) were also present. Dr. H. S. Gour of the Central Provinces was unavoidably absent. The members of the deputation assembled on the grand staircase and were received by the Private Secretary Mr. J. Du Boulay, C.I.E., I.C.S., and Captain the Hon'ble W. Cadogan, Aide-de Camp to the Viceroy. They were conducted to the Throne Room, where, on the arrival of His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Baron Hardinge of Penshurst, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., Viceroy and Governor-General of India, Sir William Wedderburn read the following address:—

“ We, the President and members of a deputation, appointed at the twenty-fifth session of the Indian National Congress, beg leave to approach your Excellency with an expression of our deep and heartfelt loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor, and an assurance of our earnest desire to co-operate with the Government in promoting the welfare of the country.

“ We wish to express at the outset our grateful appreciation of the measures of reform carried out in accordance with the gracious Declaration of the late King-Emperor, made on the occasion of the Jubilee of the Proclamation of 1858. The expansion of the Legislative Councils on a wider representative basis gives to the people of India a larger opportunity than they had before of being associated with the Government in the administration of the country; while the appointment of Indians to the Executive Council of the Viceroy and of Local Governments, as also to the Council of the Secretary of State, shows the determination of His Majesty's Government to obliterate distinctions of race in filling some of the highest offices of executive responsibility. These measures have done much to bring about a better understanding between the Government and the people, and we venture to express on this occasion our confident hope that the regulations in connection with the Councils, which have evoked criticism, will be modified in the light of experience.

“ We avail ourselves of the opportunity, so graciously accorded to us, to draw your Excellency's attention to certain broad questions affecting the welfare of the

masses of the people. Foremost among these comes the need of education. We rejoice to know how favourably the Government is disposed in this matter and we would urge a liberal increase in the expenditure on all branches of education—elementary, technical and higher education—but specially on the first of these branches, as being the first step towards promoting the well-being of the masses. The poverty of a large portion of the agricultural population and their inability to withstand the attacks of famine and disease is a constant source of grave anxiety; and in order to prepare the way for practical measures for a gradual improvement of their condition, we would earnestly recommend the economic village inquiry approved by the Congress and prayed for by the Indian Famine Union in a memorial, signed by representatives of all the influential classes in England. We trust also that your Excellency will view with favour the proposal to separate the Executive and Judicial functions of public servants. This reform has long been recommended by the Congress, has had the support of many eminent personages who have held some of the highest judicial and executive offices in India, and has been recognized by the Government as calculated to improve the efficiency of the administration of justice.

“The Resolutions of the Congress will, as usual, be duly forwarded to your Excellency in Council. They deal with many important Imperial and some pressing Provincial questions, which we feel assured will receive your Excellency’s careful consideration.

“Before concluding, we beg to tender to your Excellency a most hearty welcome on your assuming the high office to which you have been called. We look forward to a period of peace, progress and prosperity for India under the guidance of one who was a trusted friend of our late beloved King-Emperor, Edward the Peacemaker, whose loss we shall never cease to mourn.”

The address was printed on silk, embroidered with gold, and was enclosed in a casket of silver ornamented with gold.

His Excellency, was pleased to reply as follows:—

“I have received with satisfaction the expression of deep and heartfelt loyalty to his Majesty the King-Emperor on the part of your deputation from the Indian National Congress and the assurance of your earnest desire to co-operate with the Government in promoting the welfare of the country. To any student of the history of this country during the past 100 years, it must be clearly evident that it has been the aim of England to promote the material welfare and happiness of the Indian people, and the prosperity and progress that are visible on all sides at the present day are indisputable proofs that this policy has been attended by a considerable measure of success.

EXPANSION OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

“To the material advancement of the Indian people has now been added a large measure of political concession in the expansion of the Legislative Councils on a wider representative basis, and in the appointment of Indians to the Executive Council of the Viceroy and of the Local Government as also to the Council of the Secretary of State, thus giving them a larger share in the management of public affairs. These reforms are still in their infancy and require careful consolidation. It will be my constant endeavour to maintain a jealous watch over them and to see that the object for which they were instituted is attained.

BROAD QUESTIONS.

“In the body of your address you refer to various broad questions affecting the welfare of the masses of the people, which I can assure you the Government of India have entirely at heart. The realisation of some of these proposals would entail a very considerable increase to the normal expenditure of the Government and would in all probability require a new source of revenue to meet it.

NEW EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

"The educational problem is one, however, that the Government of India have taken in hand. The creation of a separate department to deal with education may be regarded as an earnest of their intentions. I notice that a large number of those present here to-day are members of my Legislative Council or of Provincial Councils through whose intermediary these and other questions such as those enumerated by the Congress, can be brought in due course before the Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils. I am confident that in such case they will receive in Council the most careful consideration, the aim of the Government of India being to promote the material welfare and moral development of the Indian people and to mete out even-handed justice to all races, classes and creeds.

PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS.

"I am pleased to see here your President Sir William Wedderburn; whose efforts to conciliate the existing differences between Hindus and Mussalmans have my entire sympathy and my best wishes for their complete success. I thank you for the cordial welcome that you have extended to me on assuming the high office that has been confided to me by our King-Emperor and I warmly reciprocate your desire that my term of office may be marked as a period of peace, progress, and prosperity for India. At the same time I wish to thank you for the lovely casket in which your address is enclosed."

The members of the deputation were then presented to the Viceroy and then the deputation withdrew.