

Proceedings of the First Indian National Congress
on the 28th, 29th, 30th December 1885

RESOLUTIONS passed at the FIRST Indian National Congress, composed of Representatives from Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Poona, Allahabad, Lahore, Lucknow, Agra, Benares, Combaconum, Madura, Tinnevelly, Coimbatore, Cuddapah, Anantapoor, Bellary, and Umballa, held in Bombay, on the 26th, 29th, and 30th December, 1885.

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R E S O L U T I O N S.

- I. Proposed by Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar (Madras), seconded by Mr. P. M. Mehta (Bombay), and supported by Mr. Norendra Nath Sen (Calcutta): "That this Congress earnestly recommends that the promised inquiry into the working of the Indian Administration, here and in England, should be entrusted to a Royal Commission, the people of India being adequately represented thereon, and evidence taken both in India and in England."
- II. Proposed by Mr. S. H. Chiplonkar (Poona), seconded by Mr. P. A. Ananda Charlu (Madras), and supported by Mr. J. Ghosal (Allahabad): "That this Congress considers the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as at present constituted, the necessary preliminary to all other reforms."
- III. Proposed by the Hon. K. T. Telang, C.I.E. (Bombay), seconded by the Hon. S. Subramania Aiyar (Madras), and supported by the Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji (Bombay): "That this Congress considers the reform and expansion of the Supreme and existing Local Legislative Councils, by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members (and the creation of similar Councils for the N. W. Provinces and Cudh, and also for the Panjab) essential; and holds that all Budgets should be referred to these Councils for consideration, their members being moreover empowered to interpellate the Executive in regard to all branches of the administration; and that a Standing Committee of the House of Commons should be constituted to receive and consider any formal protests that may be recorded by majorities of such Councils against the exercise by the Executive of the power, which would be vested in it, of overruling the decisions of such majorities."
- IV. Proposed by the Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji (Bombay), seconded by Mr. Viraraghava Chariar (Madras), and supported by Mr. D. S. White (Madras): "That in the opinion of this Congress the competitive examinations now held in England, for first appointments in various civil departments of the public service, should henceforth, in accordance with the views of the India Office Committee of 1860, be held simultaneously, one in England and one in India, both being as far as practicable identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries

in India should be sent to England for further study, and subjected there to such further examinations as may seem needful. Further, that all other first appointments (excluding peonships and the like) should be filled by competitive examinations held in India, under conditions calculated to secure such intellectual, moral, and physical qualifications, as may be decided by Government to be necessary. Lastly, that the maximum age of candidates for entrance into the Covenanted Civil Service be raised to not less than twenty-three years."

V. Proposed by Mr. Rangaya Nayudu (Madras), seconded by Mr. Dinshaw Edalji Wacha (Bombay), and supported by Mr. Dayaram Jethmal (Karachi): "That, in the opinion of this Congress, the proposed increase in the military expenditure of the empire is unnecessary, and, regard being had to the revenues of the empire and the existing circumstances of the country, excessive."

VI. Proposed by Mr. J. U. Yajanik (Bombay), seconded by Mr. S. A. Swaminath Aiyar (Tanjore), supported by Rao Saheb S. Vankata Subbarayudu Pantulu (Masulipatam): "That, in the opinion of this Congress, if the increased demands for military expenditure are not to be, as they ought to be, met by retrenchment, they ought to be met, firstly, by the re-imposition of the Customs duties; and, secondly, by the extension of the license-tax to those classes of the community, official and non-official, at present exempted from it, care being taken that, in the case of all classes, a sufficiently high taxable minimum be maintained. And, further, that this Congress is of opinion that Great Britain should extend an imperial guarantee to the Indian debt."

VII. Proposed by Mr. P. M. Mehta (Bombay), seconded by Rao Bahadur Krishnaji Laxman Nulkar (Poona): "That this Congress deprecates the annexation of Upper Burmah, and considers that, if the Government unfortunately decided on annexation, the entire country of Burmah should be separated from the Indian Vice-Royalty and constituted a Crown Colony, as distinct in all matters from the Government of this country as is Ceylon."

VIII. Proposed by Mr. Marlidhar (Umballa), seconded by Mr. H. H. Dhruva (Surat): "That the resolutions passed by this Congress be communicated to the political associations in each province, and that these associations be requested, with the help of the similar bodies and other agencies within their respective provinces, to adopt such measures as they may consider calculated to advance the settlement of the various questions dealt with in these resolutions."

- IX. Proposed by Mr. A. O. Hume (Bengal), seconded by the Hon. S. Subramania Aiyar (Madras):
"That the Indian National Congress re-assemble next year in Calcutta, and sit on Tuesday, the 27th December, 1886, and the next succeeding days."
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(These Resolutions of the FIRST CONGRESS were very fully considered and discussed during the year 1886, and were unanimously approved and ratified by almost every Political Association (more than one hundred in number), in the Empire, and by Public Meetings at nearly every town in India, so that it is not unreasonable to assume now that they faithfully represent the views of the great bulk of the intelligent classes in British India.)

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FIRST INDIAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS.

HELD AT
BOMBAY,

ON

The 28th, 29th and 30th December,

1885.

[SECOND EDITION.]

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APPENDIX A.

Adoption of the foregoing Resolutions in all parts of the country.

The foregoing Resolutions were widely circulated in the larger towns in all parts of the country and new public meetings or meetings of existing associations were held for the purpose of considering them. In most places all the Resolutions were unanimously adopted; in one or two, there was a difference of opinion as regards the total abolition of the "India Council," and as regards the necessity of a stay in England on the part of selected candidates for the Civil Service. Both these points were referred to in the debates of the Congress (see pp. 53, 69, 101, supra). And it is probable that with the explanations afforded by the debates, which of course were not generally available at the time, these differences of opinion may be found to be smaller than they are at present.

Communications have been received from the following places, showing the acceptance of the Resolutions of the Congress.

Bengal.—Berhampur, Bhagalpur, Balasore, Cuttack, Mymensing, Dacca, Rajsh-
aye, Bankipore.

Bombay.—Ahmadabad, Ahmadnagar, Alibag, Belgaum, Carwar, Dhulia, Hydra-
bad (Sindh), Karachi, Poona, Ratnagiri, Satara, Solapur, Surat, Thana.

N. W. Provinces and Oudh.—Allahabad, Benares, Bulandshahar, Fyzabad, Luck-
now.

Madras.—Adoni, Anantapur, Ariyahir, Bapatla, Bezvada, Calicut, Chintalpudi, Coconada, Coimbatore, Cuddalore, Cuddappah, Erode, Gooty, Guntur, Kulitilai, Kumbakonam, Madras, Madura, Manargudi, Masulipatam, Melur, Mettapollium, Mylapore, Negapatam, Palabur, Panruti, Rajahimandry, Sattur, Srirangam, Sinckerrydoorg, Tanjore, Tinnevelly, Tiruchangad, Trichinopoly, Triplicane, Trivellore, Vellore.

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX B.

Political Progress in India

(FROM THE "TIMES'S" BOMBAY CORRESPONDENT.)

Times's Weekly Edition, Feb. 5th 1886.

BOMBAY, DEC. 31

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

This last week the Bombay leaders have again given proof of their organizing power. They brought together a National Congress composed of delegates from every political society of any importance throughout the country. Seventy one members met together; 29 great districts sent spokesmen. The whole of India was represented from Madras to Lahore, from Bombay to Calcutta. For the first time, perhaps, since the world began India as a nation met together. Its congeries of races, its diversity of castes, all seemed to find common ground in their political aspirations. Only one great race was conspicuous by its absence; the Mahomedans of India were not there. They remained steadfast in their habitual separation. They certainly do not yield to either Hindu or Parsee in their capacity for development, but they persistently refuse to act in common with the rest of the Indian subjects of the Queen-Empress. Not only in their religion, but in their schools, and almost all their colleges, and all their daily life they maintain an almost haughty reserve. The reason is not hard to find. They cannot forget that less than two centuries ago they were the dominant race, while their present rivals in progress only counted as so many millions of tax paying units who contributed each his mite to swell the glory of Islam.

But, in spite of the absence of the followers of the Prophet, this was a great representative meeting last week. The delegates were mostly lawyers, school-masters, and newspaper editors, but there were some notable exceptions. Even supposing those three professions alone provided the delegates, the meeting would fairly represent the education and intellectual power of India. And now let us see what they did, what was the outcome of this important gathering. They discussed politics alone; not a word was said of social reform. They evidently had a firm belief that a nation could be made happy by Acts of Parliament, for all they discussed and all they demanded was political power and political changes. A tone of most absolute loyalty pervaded all the proceedings; the Empress was rapturously applauded, and many nice things were said of the beneficent effect of British rule. Education and material prosperity, order, security, and good

Government were all incidentally mentioned as causes of gratitude towards the present rulers. But such allusions were only by the way. Every desire was concentrated on political advancement and an immense increase of the share at present given to the natives of India in the Government of their own country. The question of their ability to govern themselves was never even touched by the wisest of the speakers. The major premiss of all the arguments seemed to be "Every Hindoo is a born administrator. It is mere Western folly to think that representative government is an act which only comes by long political training in all the lower stages of a citizen life and the patient selection of the fittest." Much stress was laid on the need of a monster Commission of Inquiry into the whole existing administrative fabric. The vials of patriotic wrath were opened on the Indian Council, and a standing Committee of the House of Commons was thought a panacea for all evils. But though there was much crude talk, much of that haste which only makes delay, and that ignorance which demands premature concessions, there was also much of most noble aspiration and a sense of patriotism and national unity which is a new departure in the races of the East.



APPENDIX C.

The Indian Congress.

(EDITORIAL OF THE *Times* ON THE ABOVE.)

Bombay has been making, a noteworthy effort to substantiate its claim to be the leading city of India. At the end of last year it was the gathering-place of a National Congress, brought together from all parts of the country for the discussion of public affairs. It is at Bombay, therefore, that India has for the first time given proof of the existence of a national life and spirit. In India, as elsewhere, there is abundant room for improvement, not altogether, perhaps, in the directions to which the Congress points, nor by the methods in which it chiefly trusts. The resolutions cover a wide ground. Some of them we very heartily approve. Others appear to us something more than questionable. But from first to last there is one common idea running through them. The Congress is not satisfied with the slender political power which the Natives of India possess. It demands for them a larger share in the deliberative and executive functions of Government. The memory of Lord Ripon's administration is still held in honour at Bombay, and the Congress there met has given utterance to aspirations which Lord Ripon has had no small share in encouraging. On the representative character of the late Congress our information is not precise. Our correspondent tells us who were there and who were not there. Every important political society in India sent its delegates to Bombay, but of whom these political societies consist and for whom they can claim a right to speak we are not told. One great section of the native population was conspicuously not there. No Mahomedan took any part in the proceedings. The members present were drawn, for the most part, from three orders—native lawyers, native school-masters and native newspaper editors. There were some notable exceptions, but the rule was as we have said. It is what we might have expected before hand. The work of the Congress has certainly been entrusted to the hands most likely to be found capable of performing it and most forward in offering themselves for it. A more mixed assembly would have been less competent, perhaps, but its claim to be representatives all round might have been admitted with less doubt.

The first resolution of the Congress was in favour of a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the working of the Indian Administration. There is good ground for the request. It is now nearly thirty years since the government of the country was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown, and for so long a time no such inquiry has been held. In former days it was of regular periodical recurrence as often as the time came for a renewal of the Company's charter. The need for it has been now recognized. The Commission for which the Congress asks was mentioned in the Queen's speech, and, since Mr. Gladstone has signified his strong approval of it, we may expect that it will be issued whatever political party may be in power. It is a matter of course that the people of India will be represented upon it, and that all available evidence will be taken to guide the Commissioners to a judgment upon the whole case. How far the results of the inquiry will correspond with the hopes of the Congress is a wholly different question. The delegates have sketched in advance a scheme of reforms or changes which they wish to see carried into effect. First and foremost, and as a necessary

preliminary to all other reforms, the Indian Council is to be abolished, and its place to be taken by a Standing Committee of the House of Commons. In India itself the Supreme Legislative Council and the several provincial Councils are to be expanded by the admission of a considerable number of elected members. Thus reformed, they are to have a necessary voice on all questions of finance, and a right to interpellate the executive on all points of administration. If protests are raised and overruled, the protesting members are to have a right of appeal to the Standing Committee by which the present Indian Council is to be replaced. Changes are next proposed in the rules for the examinations of candidates for the Indian Civil Service. The Congress asks, *inter alia*, that these examinations should be held in England and in India simultaneously, and that the admissible age of competing candidates should be 23 at least. As regards finance, the Congress holds that the increased and, as it believes, the needless demands for more military expenditure are most properly to be met by retrenchment in other branches. But if this is not done, and if more money must be raised, the Congress looks in the first place to a re-imposition of the customs duties, and secondly to extension of the licence tax. This second demand has been granted. The Income Tax Bill was passed after a short debate, in the course of which the various restricting amendments proposed to it were lost. The final demand of the Congress that Great Britain should extend a guarantee to the Indian debt has not been granted in terms, and is not likely to be. But while the English rule exists in India, there is enough of a practical guarantee to give absolute safety to the bond-holders. The Congress is further prepared to offer advice on the Burmese question. Its objection to the annexation of Upper Burmah comes a little too late. Its claim that all Burmah should in any case be separated from India and should be constituted a Crown colony includes matter on which it has an imperfect right to speak. The separation of Burmah and the consequent loss of the Burmah surplus revenue it may very properly ask. But what is to be done with the country afterwards it is for England rather than for India to determine. The approaching visit of the Indian Viceroy to Mandalay will put him in a position to give advice on this matter.

The first question which this series of resolutions will suggest is whether India is ripe for the transformation which they involve. If this can be answered in the affirmative, the days of English rule are numbered. If India can govern itself, our stay in the country is no longer called for. All we have to do is to preside over the construction of the new system and then to leave it to work. The lawyers and schoolmasters and newspaper editors will step into the vacant place and will conduct affairs with no help from us. Those who know India best will be the first to recognize the absurd impracticability of such a change. But it is to nothing less than this that the resolutions of the Congress point. If they were carried out, the result would soon be that very little would remain to England except the liability which we should have assumed for the entire Indian debt. Then, however, would be the time at which the representative character of the late Congress would be subjected to a crucial test. Our correspondent tells us that the delegates fairly represent the education and intellectual power of India. That they can talk, and that they can write, we are in no doubt at all. The whole business of their lives has been a training for such work as this. But that they can govern wisely, or that they can enforce submission to their rule, wise or unwise, we are not equally sure. That the entire Mahomedan

population of India has steadily refused to have anything to do with them is a sufficiently ominous fact. Even if the proposed changes were to stop short of the goal to which they obviously tend, they would certainly serve to weaken the vigour of the Executive and to make the good government of the country a more difficult business than it has ever been. The Viceroy's Council already includes some nominated native members. To throw it open to elected members, and to give minorities a statutable right to be heard before a Parliamentary Committee, would be an introduction of Home Rule for India in about as troublesome a form as could be devised. Do what we will the government of India cannot be made constitutional. If it works well, neither England nor India can have any reason to be dissatisfied with it. The educated classes may find fault with their exclusion from full political rights. Political privileges they can obtain in the degree in which they prove themselves deserving of them. But it was by force that India was won, and it is by force that India must be governed, in whatever hands the government of the country may be vested. If we were to withdraw, it would be in favour not of the most fluent tongue or of the most ready pen, but the strongest arm and the sharpest sword. It would, perhaps, be well for the members of the late Congress to reconsider their position from this practical point of view.



APPENDIX D.

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

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES."

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

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

day a very earnest social reformer, Divan Bahadur Raghunath Rao of Madras, gave an eloquent address on social questions, and he was followed by another eminent reformer, the Hon. M. G. Ranade, of this Presidency. You will probably consider that the importance of social reform is even more powerfully recognised when it is eagerly discussed by persons avowedly assembled for another purpose than when it is taken up in ordinary course as part of a formal programme. I hope you will give insertion to this in your journal.

High Court, Bombay, }
 9th March. }

I am, &c.,
 K. T. TELANG.

APPENDIX E.

Telegrams despatched by the Indian National Telegraph Union to London.
(To the Daily News.)

1885.

No. 1. *On 15th April.*—The Association* during the present political crisis has received from all parts of the country strong and universal assurances of sympathy with England. The feeling of the Indian Princes and people was never more loyal. All the principal Indian Princes including Cashmere, Holkar, Mysore, Scindia, Gaikawad, Nizam, have voluntarily offered their cordial co-operation. People everywhere showing enthusiasm with British rule against Russian aggression. Native volunteering advocated everywhere and by the whole of the Native Press. Offers have been made to the Viceroy by 400 principal Natives of the Bengal Presidency consisting of Zemindars, barristers, officials, graduates, to enlist. In the Madras Presidency enlistment has already commenced. A similar feeling is manifested in Bombay, Poona and elsewhere. This unprecedented manifestation is everywhere regarded as a striking justification of the policy of the Royal Proclamation as carried out and brought home to the people during Lord Ripon's Administration. This Association gave Lord Reay an address of welcome which while pointing out the necessity of various internal reforms unreservedly expressed confidence in and attachment to the British Government.

2. *On 7th May.*—Great satisfaction felt at determination of Government to avoid war, if possible. Every confidence in the Gladstone Ministry on this point. No danger of Native loyalty being impaired by peace with Russia. War would retard internal reforms happily commenced by Lord Ripon which have evoked such marked good-will throughout the country. The desire to support Government by Volunteering becoming stronger and more general.

3. *On 30th July.*—Native community view with great alarm rumoured establishment British Cantonment Kandahar, because it will paralyse peace negotiations and suggest forward movement on part of Russia, because even though Amir may consent it will involve complications with Afghan people, because it will entail serious and useless extra expenditure. Country already suffering from retrenchments necessitated by recent preparations for war. Many useful and popular schemes checked for wants of funds.

Great satisfaction at Lord Churchill's renewed declaration in favour of inquiry into Government of India Act, 1858. Strong feeling in favour of reform or alterations of Indian Council. Fresh nominations to council deprecated.

(To Mr. John Slagg, M. P.)

4. *On 8th June.*—Great satisfaction here at your motion for inquiry into Government of India Act, 1858. Subject much discussed by Native Press. Steps being taken to hold meetings and petition Parliament thereon. Fawcett's opinion strongly upheld, namely, Parliamentary inquiry into Act extremely important work for new Parliament.

* This telegram was despatched by the Bombay Presidency Association on behalf of the I. N. T. Union.

5. *On 5th August*:—On Indian Budget Debate please bring on motion for Parliamentary inquiry into Government of India Act. Feeling against Indian Council unanimous.

To the Daily News.

6. *On 27th August*:—Telegraphic summary Lord Randolph's Budget Speech widely discussed by Native Press. Full text anxiously awaited now received. Attack on Ripon's frontier and financial policy unanimously condemned by Native public opinion. *Bombay Gazette*, influential and impartial exponent of Anglo-Indian opinion, elaborately exposes exaggerations and misstatements of speech which it calls thoroughly partisan. Between frontier policies adopted by Beaconsfield and Gladstone Governments, no hesitation here. Thoroughly understood that former policy chimerical, dangerous, designed rather to gratify army and portion of official hierarchy than safeguard interests of India. Situation not really changed by advance of Russia long foreseen on Merv. Leading sentiment of Afghans fear of losing independence now threatened of Russian advance. Thus their present friendly temper towards English alliance furnishes remarkable confirmation of wisdom of resolution to evacuate Kandahar and abandon forward policy. Similarly, present disposition of Indian people so radically different from what it was under Lytton undeniable fruit of Ripon's farsighted and liberal domestic policy. Such policy best preparation for securing safety of empire by developing resources, conciliating affection of all classes, and avoiding costly aggressive enterprises. Additional permanent military expenditure of two millions viewed with great anxiety. Increased military strength should be sought in preparations within Indian frontier, utilising support of Native volunteers, and help cordially offered by Native Princes.

Promised inquiry into system of Indian Government and declared readiness to listen to enlightened Indian opinion regarded with satisfaction; but all feel that promised boons but empty shadows if disastrous policy of Lytton Strachey regime adopted by present Government and forced on Indian people.

7. *On 4th September*:—Large enthusiastic meeting last Wednesday for Fawcett Memorial. Lord Reay presided, all classes joined. Great stress laid on Fawcett's advocacy of economy in Indian finance. Gratitude expressed for his disinterested and distinguished services to India. Influential representative Committee appointed to collect funds and determine form of Memorial. Sympathy expressed and support promised by Provincial centres. Nawab of Junaghad subscribed £10. One speaker remarked amidst vociferous applause that if India and England united as Fawcett wished, they might defy 100 Russias.

8. *On 11th September*:—Government proposal to add 30,000 men to peace effective Indian army, besides large expenses on frontier defences and Railways, has created general alarm. Necessity of this expenditure disputed, and generally felt that burden will be unendurable. Thoroughly understood that domestic reform and developing country's resources must be laid aside. Also, general fear that present Government in permanent power may under military influences be tempted or driven into wasteful perilous foreign policy from which Elections of 1880 delivered India. Lord Randolph's recent speeches grieved and surprised people as not showing independence expected from one having personal experience of Indian opinion. He now appears as mouthpiece of small official clique hostile to Ripon.

9. *On 17th September* :—Active movement in India to bring Indian topics before Electors of United Kingdom. Delegates already left.

Dadabhai Naoroji nominated to Legislative Council. Lord Reay's nomination of him and Madhev Govind Ranade highly approved everywhere.

10. *On 17th September* :—British Indian Association, Indian Association of Calcutta, Mahajan Sabha of Madras, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Sind Sabha have joined this Association * in united movement to bring Indian topics before British Electors. This Association held important meeting and adopted General Appeal to Electors urging fulfilment of Parliamentary and Royal pledges with Parliamentary inquiry how far already redeemed. Confirmed appointment of Delegates to London from Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Gratitude expressed to Bright and Hartington and goodwill for candidature of Slagg, Ghose, Digby, Phear and others. Temple and others not recognised to represent Indian interests.

11. *On 7th October* :—Madras Mahajan Sabha held meeting, to bring Indian questions before British Electors, adopted Rajah Sir Madhevrao's instructions to Indian Delegates : to gratefully acknowledge benefits of British Rule ; solicit greater attention to Indian affairs, sympathy for Indian feelings and aspirations ; plead for moderate taxation necessities of life, and security of land tenure ; explain material benefits from connection of India and England placing reliance on British wisdom, justice and generosity.

12. *On 14th October* :—Native Press intelligently discusses and condemns proposed increased Military expenditure. No evidence showing increase required for necessary effective strength.

13. *On 26th September* :—Public warned against telegrams tending promote war with Burmah. Alleged provocation disputed between Bombay Burmah Trading Company and Burmah Government about sale of timber. Indian tax payers' interest not sufficient justify war. Shareholders accepted risk to profit by monopoly.

14. *On 5th November* :—*Times's* Calcutta Correspondent misinformed in ascribing partisan motives to Indian Delegates' Mission. Objects fully explained in this Association's proceedings and reply to Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhoy's resignation. Printed copies now in Delegates' hands for distribution. Native Press condemns Sir Jamshedji's action.

Sir Charles Aitchison's appointment of Native Judge, Punjaub Chief Court, given great satisfaction in Punjaub and generally approved.

Public feeling against appointment of Resident at Kashmir. Late Maharaja opposed it as affecting his position. New Maharajah assiduous at administrative reforms.

15. *On 20th November* :—Indian public expresses hearty gratitude at sympathetic receptions Indian Delegates in England. Large audiences assembled to hear them very gratifying as showing readiness of British people to hear India's appeal even during election turmoils.

Burmah War viewed with disfavour by Indian opinion and annexation protested against as causing complications. King Theebaw's misconduct insufficient ground for depriving Burmese people of independence.

* Bombay Presidency Association.

(To the Manager Press Association.)

16. On 31st December :—Indian National Congress, embracing nearly hundred distinguished representatives from all parts of Empire, concluded after three days' continuous debate. Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, Standing Counsel, Calcutta, presiding. Honourables S. Subramania Iyer, Dadabhai Naoroji, Kashinath Trimbuk Telang, M. G. Ranade ; Messrs. P. M. Mehta, Rao R. Raghunathrao, Satyanand Agnihotri, A. O. Hume, S. D. White, present. Passed Resolution urging that promised inquiry into Indian affairs should be by Royal Commission on which Natives should be represented—evidence being taken in India and England ; proposing abolition of the India Council, introduction of representative element into Supreme and Local Legislative Councils, including additional Councils for North West Provinces and Punjab, with general right of interpellation, and power to discuss financial questions, provision being made to refer to a Standing Committee for the House of Commons any formal protests of such Councils ; opening of all civil departments to all Saturday natives with simultaneous examinations in England and India, raising of maximum age of Civil Service examination to 23 ; objecting to increased military expenditure ; demanding Imperial guarantee to Indian Debt and extension License tax to professions and officials, and reimposition of Import Duties, if additional taxation absolutely indispensable ; deprecating annexation Upper Burmah and suggesting, if annexation determined, making whole Burmah Crown Colony entirely distinct from Government of India. Congress closed with enthusiastic cheers for Queen Empress. After congress, Delegates and large Bombay gathering discussed questions Hindu Social Reform.

1886.

17. On 14th January :—Great public meeting held here, welcome Indian Delegates returned from England. Delegates acknowledged gratefully interest and sympathy evinced by British public, specially working men. Delegates' work enthusiastically approved as wholly successful.

18. On 22nd January :—People of India appeal to people of England to instruct representatives to support Hunter's intended nation condemning annexation of Upper Burmah to India, and earnestly trust this question may be decided solely on principles of right and justice. Annexation under pretext of opening new markets condemned as unworthy of England and deprecated as strengthening Military and despotic tendencies in Government.

19. On 28th January :—Influential crowded Meeting at Madras to welcome Delegate returned from England. Rajas Nilambore, Calicut, Ramnad present and took part. Telegrams of sympathy received from public meetings at 21 provincial centres. Delegate enlarged on sympathy of British and expressed admiration of English home-life. Thanks voted to all Delegates. Meeting separated with cheers for Queen.

20. On 4th February :—Bombay Association forwarded detailed Memorial to Indian Secretary against necessity two millions permanent additional annual military charge. For imperial defence England should bear equitable share. Each Indian Finance Minister has vainly protested against unjust encroachments of War Office of India's revenues. Laing, Balfour held fourteen millions army charge sufficient. Now seventeen millions without in-

creased number of efficiency. Salisbury, Northbrook, Argyll, Sandhurst, Lytton, quoted. Memorial recommends provide additional strength by reducing non-effective military charges, and Native Volunteers to keep internal order. Should avoid taxation on population with average yearly income forty shillings.

Chief Justice Garth proceeding on leave. Rumoured English junior supersedes Native Justice Mitter who acted, 1883. Much indignation, Calcutta, supposed reversal Ripon policy.

Popular demonstration Krishnaghur. Welcomed Manmohan Ghose returned Indian delegate. Crowd gave cheers for Deptford Liberal Electors.

21. *On 12th February* :—Much satisfaction felt at Lord Ripon's joining Cabinet. Indian opinion had hoped he would be Indian Secretary.

General disapproval of haste passing Income Tax Bill.

Financial Committee appointed does not command confidence. Members official with one exception.

22. *On 22nd February* :—Much disappointment and regret at the proposal of Ministry to throw Burman War expenses on India. Adverse opinion strong. Whole Burman question exciting keen criticism and much feeling.

23. *On 6th March* :—Requisition to Sheriff, Bombay, largely and influentially signed by Europeans and Natives for Public Meeting to ask for Royal Commission on Indian affairs. Lord Dufferin's declaration of Ministry preferring Parliamentary Committee over Royal Commission, not considered satisfactory. Old precedents relied on not applicable as circumstances changed and Indian public opinion grown stronger. Local Meetings being held throughout India ratifying resolution of Indian National Congress regarding Royal Commission.

(To the Right Hon'ble W. E. Gladstone, Prime Minister.)

24. *On 23rd February* :—United Associations Bengal, Madras, Bombay, earnestly pray inquiry into Indian affairs should be by Royal Commission containing English statesmen and competent Indians. No Anglo-Indian official as already telegraphed by Bengal Chamber of Commerce. Commission would take evidence here. This essential. Parliamentary Committee of 1871 on Indian Finance rendered fruitless by dissolution.

25. *On 26th March* :—General disappointment expressed at Parliamentary Committee instead of Royal Commission. Little hope Indian witnesses of age, experience, position visiting England. Peers nomination well received. Commons' nomination inspire no confidence as Anglo-Indian official element strong. Independent Indian interest weak.

(To the Manager Press Association.)

26. *On 9th April* :—Monster meeting of agriculturists in Jessore district of Bengal. Confirmed resolutions of National Congress. Other public affairs, like administration of criminal law and taxation, discussed. Right of representation in government desired. Honourable Tyabji, Mahomedan Member of Council, publicly declared Indian Mahomedans cordially sympathising with other sections of nations in Congress resolutions and political movements generally.

27. *On 21st April* :—Anglo-Indian and Native Press condemns Grant Duff's Government for mode of disposing of charges brought by Crole, Collector of Madura, against Thomas, Senior Member of Council. On ex-parte report

twenty Native officers recently dismissed or degraded for recommending remission Land Revenue on account of disastrous flood. No opportunity for explanation afforded. Report kept confidential. Public feeling much excited. Numerous meetings to protest being held.

28. On 25th June :—Deep grief felt at the death of two great Maratha Princes, Holkar and Sindhia. They were two of the most loyal friends of British Power among Indian Princes. Holkar's son adult and was invested with powers during father's lifetime. Sindhia's son minor. Arrangement for Government of the States believed satisfactory.

Ensuing elections watched with keen interest, especially candidature of Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji and Lalmohan Ghose. Desire keenly felt and universally expressed for this success. Much gratitude felt to Holborn and Deptford for supporting Indian candidates. Public meetings to express confidence will soon be held.

Much anxiety felt about Thibet mission. Misgivings entertained about fresh developments of activity on frontier.

No regret felt at collapse of Parliamentary Committee on India. Preference for Royal Commission confirmed. Proposed Indian Civil Service Committee not regarded with satisfaction.

Correspondence touching Sullivan—Crole case of Madras partially published. Much adverse comment on Grant Duff and his government. Independent investigation insisted upon as indispensable.

29. On 30th June :—Crowded Public Meeting held here, 29th. All communities represented. Dinshaw Petit presided, opened proceedings, eulogising worth Lal Mohun Ghose and invaluable patriotic public services of Dadabhai Naoroji. Resolution expressing confidence in both and gratitude to electors, Holborn and Deptford, passed amid enthusiastic cheers. Sympathising telegrams received from public meetings held at all principal stations in Presidency.

30. On 30th July :—A very crowded influential Meeting held at Calcutta last week, protesting against Simla Exodus. All classes of people, European and Native, fairly represented. Eloquent speeches made showing financial and political mischief consequent on migration of Government. Practice shown to be recent. Meeting received telegrams of sympathy from all quarters.

31. On 13th August :—Regret widely expressed at Ilbert's approaching departure from country. His sympathy with Indian people and support of beneficent measures of Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty and absence of marbid activity of legislative Department under him generally appreciated.

Aitchison's approaching departure from Punjab Government also viewed with regret in Punjab. Meetings held asking for extension of his term of office.

Abandonment of intended Thibet mission viewed with satisfaction as avoiding frontier complications.

Continued disturbances in Burmah regarded as auguring graver difficulties. Fears entertained that overgrown Military expenditure will grow still further.

On 28th August :—Much satisfaction felt at Samuel Smith's proposed address regarding Burman War operations and expenses.

3. *On 4th September* :—Secretary of State's decision in Crole case considered somewhat disappointing.

Rumour at Madras that Sullivan retires forthwith. Thomas's appointment at least questionable wisdom. His recent proceedings at Madura and most unpopular.

Vote on Samuel Smith's amendment and Hunter's received with regret. Strength of minority considered hopeful sign.

Gorst's reply to Lethbridge about exodus thought unsatisfactory. Proposed exodus not so important as supreme Government's Simla migration for month.

34. *On 1st October* :—Lord Harris's reference to reimposition of Cotton duties considered here more practical than seems to be supposed. Increase of Salt duty clearly less defensible than imposition of Cotton duties.

Ministerial declaration regarding Parliamentary Committee on Indian Affairs not thoroughly satisfactory. Opinion respecting necessity of Royal Commission unchanged. Committee's scope narrower than Lord Randolph Churchill had proposed in last Parliament. India Government Committee on Civil Service not looked forward to with confidence.

Anxiety felt about proposed Bonerwal Expedition and Badekshan affairs. These Military movements considered objectionable financially and otherwise.

