

opinion of those who have to find the money, and the foreign policy of the Indian Government imposes a burden on the tax-payer which is already becoming too heavy to bear. The checks that exist are not sufficiently effective. The Budgets at present are only offered for criticism. They ought to be submitted to the Legislative Councils for approval and the members ought to have the power of moving resolutions in connection with them. As the officials always form the majority, Government could never be embarrassed by an adverse vote, whereas in its differences of opinion with the Home Government, a resolution of the Legislative Council could naturally be a great support to it. The biggest item of expenditure is the Military expenditure. Our true policy is a peaceful policy. We have little if anything, to expect from conquests. With such capacity for internal development as our country possesses, with such crying need to carry out the reforms absolutely necessary for our well-being, we want a period of prolonged peace. We have no complaint against our neighbours, either on our north-west or our north-east frontier. If ever our country is involved in war, it will be due to the policy of aggrandizement of the English Government at London or Calcutta. An army is maintained at our cost far in excess of what is required for us. The military element is supreme in the Viceroy's Council. For interests other than Indian, countries are invaded, all the horrors of war let loose at the expense of the Indian taxpayer. As England directs our foreign policy and as wars are undertaken to maintain English rule, the English treasury ought to pay the entire cost, claiming contribution from India to the extent of India's interest in the struggle. This would secure a thorough discussion of any foreign policy in the British Parliament. It would also enable Indian members in the Viceroy's Council to protest against any unfair distribution of the war expenditure when the Budget has to be passed.

It is also to be borne in mind that a large portion of this unnecessary expenditure is due to the recognition, not perhaps openly in words, but in acts and policy by Government of the idea that the English are a foreign and superior race holding India by the sword and that the Indians are, as a rule, not worthy of trust and confidence. To us this idea is hateful and therefore we insist upon equality before law and Government. We maintain that no distinction ought to be made between classes or races, that the Queen's proclamation should be adhered to, and therefore we protest against the principle underlying the Arms Act whereby no native of India may possess or carry arms without special license while Europeans and Eurasians may bear arms unquestioned. We appeal to our Government to authorize a system of volunteering for Indians and not confine it practically to Europeans and

Eurasians thereby creating and fostering class prejudices. For the same reason we demand that the military service in its higher grades should not be restricted to Europeans alone but should be practically opened to the natives of this country and that colleges be established for training them for the military career. On the same ground we press for admission into the Public service on an equal footing with Europeans. Apart from economic necessity, the stability and permanence of British connection require that not only no positive disqualification should exist but that the rules intended to make the declarations of 1833 and the Queen's promise of 1858 a dead letter must be removed. For, the Civil Service, the Police, the Forest Service, the Salt Service, and even the Educational Service rules are framed apparently on the assumption that a European is by mere reason of his nationality fit and an Indian for the same reason is unfit for the higher appointments in those services.

The concession of these demands means an enormous increase in India's defensive strength against any foe ; it means a reduction in taxation which at the rate it is now growing, must involve the ruin of the country. These distinctions on the other hand cast a slur on our loyalty, accentuate race prejudices in a most invidious form and relegate Indians to the position of an inferior race and silently ensure the emasculation of our manhood. The disastrous consequences of this race question are already apparent. Englishmen and other European Colonists in South Africa and Australia refuse to treat us on terms of equality and justify their refusal on account of our degraded position in our own country. On the other hand, a section, I hope a very small section, of our fellow-subjects regards a foreign power of its own religion following a course of policy apparently abhorrent to the conscience of the English public, with feelings which, though unconsciously, took their origin in the refusal of Englishmen to treat them as fellow-citizens in reality and not merely in name. To this feeling of race superiority is also due the frequent contemptuous treatment of respectable people by soldiers, a treatment which renders them a terror to peaceful inhabitants and which according to the confessions apparently believed by Government has led to the Poona tragedy. The racial feeling I refer to, is confirmed by the belief generally entertained in India that it is almost impossible to secure the conviction of a European accused of any heinous offence. If that feeling is justified by the action of our authorities, then the position is deplorable. If the impression is unwarranted, then its origin must be due to the idea of inequality before law generally entertained. On this race question, no concession is possible. No compromise can be accepted so far as it lies in us. We must insist on perfect equality. Inequality means race

inferiority, national abasement. Acquisition, therefore, of all civil rights conferred on Englishmen, removal of all disabilities on Indians as such—these must be our aim.

I shall now briefly refer to the Poona plague operations and their unfortunate developments. This country was passing through a terrible ordeal. Poverty which may be said to be the normal condition of our masses deepened into famine. In the Bombay Presidency, it was followed by Plague, a terrible disease to which no remedy has yet been discovered. The measures which the Government had to take for its suppression in Poona which was badly affected were said to have interfered with the domestic habits of the Hindus and Mahomedans; soldiers who were employed to enforce these Government measures were rightly or wrongly, generally believed to have insulted women and defiled places of worship. The result was prostration of the people. A feeling of helplessness came over them. In Western countries, the result would have been lawlessness. In Poona, many contented themselves with abandoning their homes. Some resigned themselves to sullen apathy and despair. There were a few who protested against Government measures, pointing out their unnecessary harshness. Amongst those who protested was Mr. Natu, a leading Poona Sardar. His formal written complaints recently published in England disclose, if any reliance can be placed on them, a state of affairs which certainly demanded attention. Let me give you a brief summary of his complaints.

The inspection of houses by soldiers seems to have been carried out without notice by forcing open, very often unnecessarily when there were other means of entrance, the locks of the shops and the houses when the owners were absent and absolutely no attempt was made to protect the properties or the house. No notice was taken of complaints concerning them. A Hindu lady was assaulted by a soldier and Mr. Natu reported the matter to the authorities producing the witnesses. No notice was vouchsafed. The soldiers were refractory and any complaint against them was obstruction. When a man fell ill many neighbouring families were taken to the segregation camp and left there without any covering to protect their body or any furniture, their property at home including horses, cows and sheep being left unprotected. A man was unnecessarily taken to the hospital and sent back as not being affected by plague to find his furniture destroyed and his poor wife and relatives forcibly removed and detained in the segregation camp. Temples were defiled by soldiers and his own temple was entered by them on account, Natu believes, of his impertinence in making a complaint. An old man

who succeeded in satisfying the search party that he was not suffering from plague was detained in jail some hours for having obstructed the search party, the obstruction apparently consisting in the delay caused by him. Insult was the reward for the services of volunteers and their suggestions were treated with contumely. You all know how sensitive our Mahomedan fellow-subjects are about the privacy of their women. And when Mr. Natu suggested that the services of Mahomedan volunteers should be availed of, to search the Mahomedan quarter, he was told that his conduct was improper and his services voluntarily rendered were dispensed with. Mr. Natu brought all this to the notice of the officials, pointed out that the operations were carried on against the spirit of the rules and complained that there was a great amount of unrest. The Indian newspapers gave prominence to these and similar complaints. They compared the English Government to other Governments very much to the disadvantage of the former. *The Mahratta* complained: "Plague is more merciful to us than its human prototypes now reigning in the city." "The tyranny of the Plague Committee and its chosen instruments is yet too brutal to allow respectable people to breathe at ease." And it was added that "every one of these grievances may be proved to the hilt if His Excellency is pleased to enquire into the details." These representations were certainly entitled to attentive consideration however much the authorities might have disagreed with them. Their objects were honest, their methods were proper. Their language was not respectful, it was perhaps violent, but men dominated by feelings of distress are often carried beyond what strict prudence would dictate. The violence seems to have been proportionate to the contempt with which the complaints were treated. But to the Indian mind the idea of creating a feeling of disaffection with a view to overthrow the English Government is simply ludicrous. Language which to a lawyer savoured perhaps of sedition was only intended by its violence to attract attention, and such language was only caused by the bitter feeling, that milder representations by a race not so law-abiding as the Indians would have received immediate and careful attention. However, while these plague operations were being carried out, the President of the Plague Committee to the horror and alarm of the native community, was murdered on what happened to be the Jubilee celebration day. To the Indian mind it was clear that this was nothing more than an unfortunate coincidence.

But its effect was very different in certain quarters. An Englishman in India is in a strange world; with his energy, practical will and idea of freedom, he fails to understand and perhaps despises a nation given up to metaphysical dreams which does not regard material prosperity as the great ob-

ject of life. In other parts of the world under European sway, in Africa and America an alliance with a European is eagerly sought, while in India where also he is master, he is regarded by the castes as impure whose touch is pollution. With such differences in thought and feeling, no wonder that ordinary Englishmen ignore the people entirely and do not try to understand them. Hence their limited comprehension. Not knowing the native mind they exaggerate the importance of trifles which only ruffle the surface of native feeling, and attribute to certain events a significance which however justifiable in England do not even deserve a passing notice in India. The difficulties of English administration based on this misunderstanding are increased by misrepresentations. Labouring under this incapacity to discover the mental condition of the Indian masses, the Anglo-Indian papers are not generally safe guides. In times of excitement in particular, some of them prove positively mischievous.

Thus, it is not a matter for surprise that a section of the Anglo-Indian Press discovered a deep design in the Poona murder. They found a pretext for the murder in the plague measures taken by Government. That the Native Press denounced such measures confirmed their suspicion. That the murder took place on the day of a great world-wide rejoicing proved to their satisfaction a deep-laid conspiracy which could have been planned only by educated cunning. Almost every incident that took place in Poona was pressed into the service to support this theory of conspiracy, and an attack was commenced on the Vernacular Press and the educated Indians, perhaps unexampled in its virulence since the mutiny; a gagging act was loudly demanded, the policy of imparting education to the Indians was questioned, the press in England was worked, and the Europeans were thrown into a panic. The attack on the educated Indians and the Vernacular Press was brutal and cowardly. It was suggested as a matter for regret that the native mind had forgotten the lessons of the last mutiny, that a fresh mutiny would clear the air, particularly as the Mahrattas were not in the show of 1857. It was insisted that the Native Press was seditious and was responsible for the murder, and a section of the Anglo-Indian Press demanded the punishment by name, of Mr. Tilak, the man who had strongly attacked and denounced the measures of Government. The unreasoning panic into which the Anglo-Indian community was driven by this malignant attack and its unfortunate success in inflaming the English public, forced, according to the English papers, the hands of the Secretary of State, and Lord Sandhurst had to take measures which, it is believed, he would never have sanctioned if he had remained a free agent. Ostensibly to discover the murderer, but

acting on the theory that the murders were the result of a conspiracy for which the Vernacular Press was responsible, the Government arrested the Natu brothers under the provisions of an old law intended for lawless times to secure the peace of the country. Mr. Tilak and the Editors of two Vernacular papers were prosecuted; and a punitive force was imposed on the Poona Municipality. The arrest of the Natu brothers was and must remain a great blunder. It recalls the worst days of irresponsible despotism. Liberty of person and property is a farce if you are liable to be arrested, imprisoned, and your property sequestered at the will and pleasure of Government without being brought to trial. We shall before we part, I have no doubt, express our emphatic protest against this proceeding.

The Editor of one of the papers was tried by a Judge without a Jury and was convicted and sentenced to a term of imprisonment which can be explained only by the panic which seized the entire European community. Mr. Tilak was tried by a Judge and Jury. A European,—he need not even be a subject of the Empress,—may claim to be tried by a jury of whom at least one half shall be Europeans. This is practically an efficient protection not only against the executive but against popular excitement. In the case of an Indian, the entire Anglo-Indian community may be most unreasonably and passionately prejudiced against him; he may be an object of violent antipathy to the other races; yet he cannot claim fair trial at the hands of his countrymen. He must submit to be quietly convicted after, it may be, the farce, of a trial; for a trial seldom restrains men who are passionately excited, and the trial by jury, an institution intended for the protection of the prisoner in such circumstances proves a delusion and a snare by depriving the prisoner of the right of appeal. Mr. Tilak, there can be scarcely any doubt, would have claimed a trial by a jury of whom one half were Indians, if to the Indian the law allowed the same protection that it affords to the European. If there is any offence in India which ought to be tried by a native jury, it is the offence of sedition. It was possible that a native Jury who knew the language and who were in a more favourable position to form a correct judgment of the probable and intended effect of the articles on native mind would not have convicted; it was certain that a European Jury in that state of public excitement would convict. By exercising its right of challenge the prosecution was able to secure a Jury of six Europeans—the number necessary to secure a conviction—and three Indians, and the verdict was naturally 6 to 3. In a far stronger case tried by an experienced Chief Justice who had been trained in English courts, and retained the instincts of an Englishman, the Judge refused to accept the verdict of 7 to 2, when there was only one native on

the Jury. In prison, these men, after conviction, have been treated as ordinary criminals. You are perhaps aware that, in England, a man convicted of sedition is not treated as an ordinary criminal, sedition being regarded a political offence, but in India apparently one is subject to the ordinary hardships of prison life.

This Poona incident enforces the necessity of ceaseless vigilances in keeping the English public correctly informed of whatever passes in India and of thus counteracting the mischievous effects of the dissemination of incorrect news. It emphasises the necessity of extending the system of Trial by Jury to India on the same conditions as it is granted to Europeans. It also shows that the Executive Government can deprive us of our liberty of person and property at its own will and pleasure. It has brought into disagreeable prominence the unsatisfactory nature of the law of sedition. The Government of India have announced their intention to alter such law in the light of recent events. We trust the Government will bear in mind that in the circumstances of this country, anything which checks freedom of public discussion is most deplorable. Such check may become a temporary, if dangerous bar to quiet and steady progress. The stream of our national progress will nevertheless move on. It will become dry only when our holy rivers of India become dry. Its progress at present under sympathetic guidance is smooth. Its unwise obstruction may compel underground passages or its overflow. It is a sad commentary on a century of British rule that a Vernacular paper has had to close its office with these words :—
 "It is no more now-a-days safe to conduct newspapers, hence we, who have other means of livelihood to support, make our exit, and do not feel any more necessity of attending the Deputy Commissioner's Bungalow to offer explanations for certain writings."

Though the Press prosecutions are over, the Government has not answered the question that will be asked by posterity, and that is being asked by India now. Was there any foundation for the complaints made by these various men, some of them honorably distinguished? Why have they been led to commit those acts which have now been declared to be offences? If they are not justified, if they cannot prove their allegations, they cannot be condemned too strongly; they will then have proved a curse to our country for the mischief they have committed. If, on the other hand, it was a righteous indignation for the sufferings of their countrymen that led them to jail, it will be difficult to blame those who extend their sympathy to them,

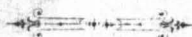
We deprecate most strongly any intemperate language in criticizing Government measures. We are bound to assume that any objectionable

measure must have been due either to ignorance or to error of judgment. We have also to remember that after all our salvation lies in bringing home to the majority of the people of England our real wishes and feelings and that the persons whose actions are criticized are their own kith and kin, that the system of Government we attack was framed by men for whom they feel just respect and esteem. Any violence therefore will do us infinite harm, it may possibly prevent us from securing a hearing. A false, incorrect, or even doubtful allegation will discredit us in the eyes of Englishmen, and the cause of reform may be thereby put back for generations.

Let me say at once that in the remarks I make I deem it superfluous to proclaim our loyalty to the British throne or constitution, or to add that we have not the slightest sympathy with any speech or writing which would regard a severance of our connexion as a desirable consummation. We naturally take a pride in the lives of the great men who have lived for India, and we would draw the attention of our rulers to that part of our ancient history which we think they might usefully study. But we are also aware that the present has its roots in the past and the past is responsible for our lowly condition. We who claim equality at the hands of Englishmen would deplore and resist any attempt to revive the days when any caste or class as such was privileged before the law, when a Brahmin for instance, could claim immunity from punishment! We claim equality for all, Brahmins and Pariahs alike. It is this same feeling that prompts our criticism of any act on the part of our Rulers which may seem to recognize any inequality. It is by the removal of these inequalities before law between European and Indian and by the degree of self-Government conceded to us that we measure our progress towards freedom.

Gentlemen, I have done. I am afraid I have wearied you with my lengthy remarks, but I hope I have succeeded in placing before you clearly some points relating to our present political condition. We have no need to despair of our political future so long as we depend upon Great Britain, but let us at the same time be alive to our duties and responsibilities. India expects great things from us; the whole civilized world is watching the changes coming over us. Shall we be content to leave India as it is, or shall we go on and do all in our power to lift it to a higher level. Years of subjection, nay, we may even say servitude have sapped the strength of the Indian nation, dwarfed its growth, and stripped it of all that was grand and noble in it, and if India is ever to occupy a better position than she fills at the present moment and take her proper place in the scale of nations, it must be entirely due to the zealous efforts of her educated and enlightened

sons. Let '*Nil desperandum*' be our motto ; let not 'insidious smile or angry frown' deter us from following the straight path of duty ; and with the welfare and progress of our land as our end and aim, let us endeavour under a solemn sense of responsibility as well as loyalty to our country, to bring about that glorious future which must inevitably crown our efforts.



PART III.
Appendix.

APPENDIX A.

Resolutions passed at each Congress.

First Congress—Bombay—1885.

1. 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.

2. 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.

3. 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 North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and also for the Punjab) 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.

4. 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 being finally classified in one list according to merit," and that the successful candidates 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 23 years.

5. 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.

6. 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.

7. That this Congress deprecates the annexation of Upper Burmah, and considers that if the Government unfortunately decide on annexation, the entire country of Burmah should be separated from the Indian Viceroyalty and constituted a Crown Colony, as distinct in all matters from the Government of the country as is Ceylon.

8. 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 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.

9. That the Indian National Congress re-resemble next year in Calcutta and sit on Tuesday, the 28th of December, 1886, and the next succeeding days.

Second Congress—Calcutta—1886.

1. That this Congress of Delegates from all parts of India do humbly offer its dutiful and loyal congratulations to Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen-Empress, on the approaching completion of the first half century of her memorable, beneficent and glorious reign, and heartily wish her many, many more, and happy years of rule over the great British Empire.

2. That this Congress regards with the deepest sympathy, and views with grave apprehension, the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India and (although aware that the Government is not overlooking this matter and is contemplating certain palliatives) desires to record its fixed conviction that the introduction of Representative Institutions will prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people.

3. That this Congress do, emphatically, re-affirm the 3rd Resolution of the Congress of 1885, and distinctly declare its belief that the reform and expansion of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws and of the Provincial Legislative Councils therein suggested, have now become essential alike in the interests of India and England.

4. That this Congress is of opinion that, in giving practical effect to this essential reform, regard should be had (subject to such modifications as, on a more detailed examination of the question, may commend themselves to the Government) to the principles embodied in the following tentative suggestions :—

- (1.) The number of persons composing the Legislative Councils, both provincial and of the Governor-General, to be materially increased. Not less than one-half the Members of such enlarged Council to be elected. Not more than one-fourth to be officials having seats *ex-officio* in such Councils and not more than one-fourth to be Members, official or non-official, nominated by Government.
- (2.) The right to elect Members to the Provincial Councils, to be conferred only on those classes and members of the community, *prima facie* capable of exercising it wisely and independently. In Bengal and Bombay, the Councillors may be elected by the members of Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce and the Universities, or an electorate may be constituted of all persons possessing such qualifications, educational and pecuniary, as may be deemed necessary. In Madras, the Councillors may be elected either by District Boards, Municipalities, Chambers of Commerce and the University, or by Electoral Colleges composed of Members partly elected by these bodies and partly nominated by Government. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh and in the Punjab, Councillors may be elected by an Electoral College composed of Members elected by Municipal and District Boards, and nominated, to an extent not exceeding one-sixth of the total number, by Government, it being understood that the same elective system now in force where Municipal Boards are concerned will be applied to District Boards and the right of electing Members to

these latter extended to the cultivating class. But whatever system be adopted (and the details must be worked out separately for each province) care must be taken that all sections of the Community and all great interests are adequately represented.

- (3.) The elected Members of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws, to be elected by the elected Members of the several Provincial Councils.
- (4.) No elected or nominated Member of any Council to receive any salary or remuneration in virtue of such Membership, but any such Member, already in receipt of any Government salary or allowance, to continue to draw the same unchanged during Membership, and all Members to be entitled to be reimbursed any expenses incurred in travelling in connection with their Membership.
- (5.) All persons resident in India, to be eligible for seats in Council, whether as electees or nominees, without distinction of race, creed, caste or colour.
- (6.) All legislative measures and all financial questions, including, all budgets whether these involve new or enhanced taxation or not, to be necessarily submitted to and dealt with by these Councils. In the case of all other branches of the administration any Member to be at liberty, after due notice, to put any question he sees fit to the *ex-officio* Members (or such one of these as may be especially charged with the supervision of the particular branch concerned) and to be entitled (except as hereinafter provided) to receive a reply to his question, together with copies of any paper requisite for the thorough comprehension of the subject, and on this reply the Council to be at liberty to consider and discuss the question, and record thereon such resolution as may appear fitting to the majority. Provided that, if the subject in regard to which the inquiry is made involves matters of Foreign policy, Military dispositions or strategy, or is otherwise of such a nature that, in the opinion of the Executive, the public interests would be materially imperilled by the communication of the information asked for, it shall be competent for them to instruct the *ex-officio* Members, or one of them, to reply accordingly, and decline to furnish the information asked for.
- (7.) The Executive Government shall possess the power of overruling the decision arrived at by the majority of the Council, in every case in which, in its opinion the public interests would suffer by the acceptance of such decision; but whenever this power is exercised, a full exposition of the grounds on which this has been considered necessary, shall be published within one month and in the case of local Governments they shall report the circumstances and explain their action to the Government of India, and in the case of this latter, it shall report and explain to the Secretary of State; and in any such case on a representation made through the Government of India and the Secretary of State by the overruled majority, it shall be competent to the Standing Committee of the House of Commons (recommended in the 3rd Resolution of last year's Congress which this present Congress has affirmed) to consider the matter, and call for any and all papers or information, and hear any persons on behalf of such majority or otherwise, and thereafter, if needful, report thereon to the full House.

5. That this Congress do invite all Public bodies and all Associations throughout the country, humbly and earnestly, to entreat His Excellency the Viceroy to obtain the sanction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, to the appointment of a Commission

to enquire exhaustively into the best method of introducing such a tentative form of Representative Institutions into India, as has been indicated in Resolutions III. of the past, and IV. of the present year's Congress.

6. That a Committee composed of the gentlemen named below be appointed to consider the Public Service Question and report thereon to this Congress.

Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji (*Bombay*). Hon'ble S. Subramania Iyer (*Madras*). Hon'ble Peary Mohun Mookerjee (*Calcutta*) Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (*Madras*), Babu Motilal Ghose (*Calcutta*) Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (*Calcutta*) Mr. Gungapershad Varma (*Lucknow*) Mr. Ramkali Chaudhuri (*Benares*) Mr. Guru Prasad Sen (*Patna*). Pundit Prannath (*Lucknow*). Munshi Kashipershad (*Allahabad*). Nawab Reza Ali Khan (*Lucknow*.) Mr. Hamid Ali, (*Lucknow*) Lala Kanhyal (*Amritsar*) Rao Sahib Gangadhar Rao Madhaw Chitnavis (*Nagpur*). Mr. Rahimatulla M. Sayani (*Bombay*.)

7. That this Congress approves and adopts the report* submitted by the Committee appointed by Resolution VI.

* *Report.*

We, the Members of the Committee appointed by the Congress to submit a statement in connection with the Public Service Question, have the honor to report that the following resolutions were unanimously adopted by us at a meeting held yesterday :—

1. That the open Competitive Examination be held simultaneously both in India and in England.

2. That the Simultaneous Examinations thus held be equally open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects.

3. That the Classified lists be prepared according to merit.

4. That the Congress express the hope that the Civil Service Commissioners will give fair consideration to Sanskrit and Arabic among the subjects of examination.

5. That the age of candidates eligible for admission to the open Competitive Examination be not less than 19, nor, as recommended by Sir C. Aitchison, more than 23 years.

6. That Simultaneous Examinations being granted, the Statutory Civil Service be closed for first appointments.

7. That the appointments in the Statutory Civil Service, under the existing rules, be still left open to the Members of the Uncovenanted Service and to professional men of proved merit and ability.

8. That all appointments requiring educational qualifications, other than covenanted first appointments, be filled by Competitive Examinations held in the different Provinces, and open in each Province to such natural-born subjects of H. M. only as are residents thereof.

These Resolutions, it is hoped, cover the main principles which underlie the questions set by the Public Service Commission. For a more detailed consideration there was no time.

(Sd.) DADABHAI NAOROJI,

30th December, 1886.

President of the Committee.

8. That, in the opinion of this Congress, the time has now arrived when the system of trial by jury may be safely extended into many parts of the country where it is not at present in force.

9. That, in the opinion of this Congress, the innovation made in 1872 in the system of trial by jury, depriving the verdicts of juries of all finality, has proved injurious to the country, and that the powers then, for the first time, vested in Sessions Judges and High Courts, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal, should be at once withdrawn.

10. That, in the opinion of this Congress, a provision, similar to that contained in the Summary Jurisdiction Act of England (under which, accused persons, in serious cases, have the

option of demanding a committal to the Sessions Court), should be introduced into the Indian Code of Procedure, enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that, instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions.

11. That this Congress do place on record an expression of the universal conviction that a complete separation of executive and judicial functions (such that in no case the two functions shall be combined in the same officer) has become an urgent necessity, and that, in its opinion, it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should, in some Provinces, involve some extra expenditure.

12. That, in view of the unsettled state of public affairs in Europe, and the immense assistance that the people of this country, if duly prepared therefor, are capable of rendering to Great Britain in the event of any serious complications arising, this Congress do earnestly appeal to the Government to authorise (under such rules and restrictions as may to it seem fitting) a system of Volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country, such as may qualify them to support the Government effectively in any crisis.

13. That Standing Congress Committees be constituted at all important centres.

14. That the Third Indian National Congress assemble at Madras on the 27th of December 1887.

15. That, copies of these Resolutions be forwarded to His Excellency the Viceroy-in-Council, with the humble requests that he will cause the 1st Resolution to be submitted in due course to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, that he will cause all the Resolutions to be laid before Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and that he himself will be graciously pleased in consultation with his colleagues, to accord them his best consideration.

Third Congress—Madras—1887.

1. That a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed, to consider what rules, if any, may now be usefully framed in regard to the constitution and working of the Congress, with instructions to report thereon to the Congress, on the 30th instant.

Messrs. Namjoshi, Chandravakar, Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, Hajee Mahomed Abdul Shakkor Badshaw Sahib, S. Subramania Iyer, W. S. Gantz, Rangiah Naidu, Surendranath Banerjee, Trailokhyanath Mitra, Kali Charn Banerjee, Guru Prasad Sen, Saligram Singh, Ram Kali Chaudhuri, Hafiz Abdul Rahim, Rampal Singh, Pandit Madan Mohun, Ganga Prasad Varma, Bishan Narayen Dar, Hamid Ali, Murlidhur, Satyanand Agnihotri, H. H. Dhruva, W. C. Bonnerjee, Norendranath Sen, Eardley Norton, Joy Govind Shome, Iswori Lal Sircar, G. Subramania Iyer, D. A. Khare, S. A. Saminada Iyer, Sabapthy Mudaliar, A. O. Hume, C. Vijiya Raghava Chariar, Govind Buksh, Karandikar

2. That this Congress re-affirms the necessity for the expansion and reform of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws, and the Provincial Legislative Councils, already set forth in Resolutions III. of the Congress of 1885 and 1886, and expresses the earnest hope that the Government will no longer delay action in the direction of this essential reform.

3. That this Congress once again places on record an expression of the universal conviction that a complete separation of the Executive and Judicial functions (such that in no case the two functions shall be combined in the same officer) has become an urgent necessity, and declares that, in its opinion, it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should, in some Provinces, involve some extra expenditure.

4. That, in view of the loyalty of her Majesty's Indian subjects, this Congress considers it desirable that the Queen's Proclamation should be given effect to; that the Military Service in its higher grades should be practically opened to the natives of this country; and that the Government of India should establish Military Colleges in this country, whereat the

Government be moved so to modify the provisions of Chapter IV, and, if necessary, other portions of the said Act, as shall enable all persons to possess and bear Arms unless debarred therefrom, either as individuals, or as members of particular communities or classes, by the orders of the Government of India, (or any local authority empowered by the Government of India on that behalf), for reasons to be recorded in writing and duly published ;

does now, hereby, affirm the same respectively.

7. That, having regard to the fact that a serious increase in the consumption of intoxicants has taken place under the systems of Abkari and Excise now prevailing in India, the Government be respectfully urged to adopt some such improved system as shall tend to discourage insobriety.

8. That, as the administration of the Income-Tax, specially as regards incomes below Rs. 1,000, has proved extremely unsatisfactory, it is essential, in the opinion of the Congress, that the taxable minimum be raised to Rs. 1,000.

9. That, this Congress being of opinion that it is the first duty of the British Government in India to foster and encourage education, as well general as technical, in all its branches, and that the declaration made in the recent resolution of the Government of India on the subject of education is calculated to encourage the tendency to reduce imperial expenditure on education, and to withdraw from the control of it, respectfully urges upon Government the extreme importance of increasing, or at any rate of not decreasing, the present expenditure on education, and of the Government continuing to control the Educational Institutions of all kinds now existing.

10. That, having regard to the poverty of the people, the importance of encouraging indigenous manufactures, and the difficulty of practically introducing any general system of technical education with the present imperfect information, Government be moved to delay no longer the appointment of a mixed commission, to inquire into the present industrial condition of the country.

11. That the foregoing Resolutions be submitted for the favourable consideration of His Excellency the Viceroy, and for transmission by him to Her Majesty's Government, with the humble request of this Congress that the reforms suggested in the said Resolutions (based as most of these are on Her Gracious Majesty's Proclamation of 1858) may now be effected and that should it be deemed necessary first to institute any enquiry into any of the matters forming the subjects of these resolutions, such enquiry may be made, as speedily as possible, by a Parliamentary Committee.

12. That this Congress, having watched with interest and sympathy the exertions that are being made in England for the total abrogation of laws and rules relating to the regulation of prostitution by the State in India, places on record its appreciation of the services thus rendered to this country, and its desire to co-operate by all means in its power in the attainment of this laudable object.

13. That no subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subject 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, unanimously or nearly unanimously ; and that if, after the discussion of any subject which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that all the Hindu or all the Mahomedan Delegates, as a body, are unanimously, or nearly unanimously, opposed to the Resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such Resolution shall be dropped ; provided that this rule shall refer only to subjects in regard to which the Congress has not already definitely pronounced an opinion.

14. That the question of the introduction of a Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue Demand into the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and other provinces be referred to the several Standing Congress Committees, with instructions to report upon the same, in so

far as it affects their respective circles, to the Congress of 1889.

15. That this Congress puts on record its disapproval of the recent enhancement of the Salt Tax, as involving a perceptible increase to the burthens of the poorer classes, as also the partial absorption, in a time of peace and plenty, of the only Financial Reserve of the Empire.

16. That the Fifth Indian National Congress do assemble in the Bombay Presidency (either at Bombay itself or at Poona, as may be settled hereafter) on the 26th of December 1889.

17. That Mr. A. O. Hume be re-appointed General Secretary for the ensuing year.

Fifth Congress—Poona—1889.

1. That an address be presented to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M. P., on behalf of this Congress here assembled, and that Messrs. Adam, Pherozshah Mehta, and W. C. Bonnerjee be appointed a Committee to settle the wording of the said address.

2. That the following skeleton scheme for the reform and reconstitution of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations, and the Provincial Legislative Councils, is adopted, and that the President of this Congress do submit the same to Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., M. P., with the respectful request of this Congress that he may be pleased to cause a Bill to be drafted on the lines indicated in this skeleton scheme and introduce the same in the British House of Commons :—

SCHEME.

(1) *The Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils to consist respectively of members, not less than one-half of whom are to be elected, not more than one-fourth to sit ex-officio, and the rest to be nominated by Government.*

(2) *Revenue districts to constitute ordinarily territorial units, for electoral purposes.*

(3) *All male British subjects above 21 years of age possessing certain qualifications and not subject to certain disqualifications (both of which will be settled later) to be voters.*

(4) *Voters in each district to elect representatives to one or more electoral bodies, according to local circumstances at the rate of 12 per million of the total population of the district, such representatives to possess qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.*

(5) *All the representatives thus elected by all the districts included in the jurisdiction of each electoral body, to elect members to the Imperial Legislature at the rate of 1 per every five million of the total populations of the electoral jurisdiction, and to their own Provincial Legislature at the rate of 1 per million of the said total population, in such wise 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 number of members elected thereto, than the total number of Parsees, Christians, Hindus or Mahomedans, as the case may be, in such electoral jurisdiction, bears to its total population. Members of both Legislatures to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.*

(6) *All elections to be by ballot.*

3. That this present Congress does hereby ratify and confirm the resolutions passed by previous Congresses as to—

(a) the urgent necessity for the complete separation of executive and judicial functions, such that, in no case, shall the two functions be combined in the same officer;

(b) the expediency of extending into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, the system of trial by jury;

(c) the necessity of withdrawing from the High Courts, the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal by juries ;

(d) the necessity of introducing, into the Code of Criminal Procedure, a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that, instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions ;

(e) the highly unsatisfactory character of the existing system of Police Administration in India, and the absolute necessity of a fundamental reform therein ;

(f) the expediency of both, establishing Military Colleges in India, whereat the Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army, and of authorising, under such rules and restrictions as may seem necessary, such a system of volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country as may qualify them to support the Government in any crisis ;

(g) the extremely unsatisfactory character of the Income Tax Administration, especially as regards incomes below rupees one thousand, and the expediency of raising the taxable minimum to this amount ;

(h) the extreme importance of increasing, instead of diminishing, as the present tendency appears to be, the public expenditure on education in all its branches, and the necessity, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of the appointment of a mixed commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country ;

(i) the impolicy and injustice involved in the late increase of the Salt Tax in a time of profound peace, and the urgent necessity for an immediate reduction of this tax, and the re-imposition, to balance the deficit thus caused of light *ad valorem* import duties ;

(j) the necessity for the reduction of, instead of the continual increase to, the military expenditure of the country..

4. That this Congress hereby tenders its sincere thanks to Messrs. Cairne and Smith, and the members who voted with them, in connection with the debate on the Indian Excise Question in the House of Commons ; and while fully appreciating what has been done by some of the local Governments towards the improvement of their systems of Excise and Abkari, desires to express the earnest hope that no further time may be lost in giving full effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons.

5. That this Congress, while thanking Her Majesty's Government for raising the age for the Indian Civil Service Competitive Examination from 19 to 23, does hereby put on record an emphatic expression of the universal disappointment which has been created by the rest of that Government's orders in regard to the Public Service Question, (the net result of which orders is to place the people of India in a worse position than they previously held), and reiterates the national conviction that no real justice will be done to India, in this matter, until the simultaneous holding in India, and England, of all examinations, for all Civil branches of the Public Service in India, at present held only in England, be conceded.

6. That, in view of the loyalty of the people, the hardships, that the Arms Act (XI of 1878), as at present administered, entails, and the unmerited slur which it casts upon them, the Government be moved so to modify the rules made under this Act that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India ; that licenses to possess and bear arms shall be liberally and generally distributed wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops ; and that these and all licenses issued under the rules, shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout the Provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.

7. That the Government be urged to take the subject of Permanent settlement once

more under consideration in view to practical action thereon, such that fixity and permanency may be given to the Government Land Revenue demand without further delay, at any rate, in all fully populated and well cultivated tracts of country.

8. That, in view of the fall that has already occurred in the price of silver and in the exchange value of the Indian Rupee, it is impolitic on the part of the British Government to maintain any hindrances whatever to the consumption of silver for manufacturing purposes; and that this Congress strongly urges upon Her Majesty's Government that, not only as an act of justice to India (a matter which has been repeatedly brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Ministers), but also as an act of expediency in the interests of Her Majesty's British as well as Indian subjects, the plate duties should be immediately abolished, and Hall-marking be made a voluntary institution.

9. That this Congress respectfully expresses the earnest hope that, in the interest of the people of India, the House of Commons will forthwith restore the right, formerly possessed by members of that Honourable House, of stating to Parliament any matter of grievance of the natives of India, before Mr. Speaker leaves the Chair, for the presentation in Committee of the Indian Budget statement, and earnestly trusts that the House of Commons will, in future, take into consideration the Annual Indian Budget statement at such a date as will ensure its full and adequate discussion; and further authorizes the President, Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., to sign a petition in the name and on behalf of this Congress for presentation to the House of Commons in accordance with the terms of this Resolution.

10. That, in view to his approaching departure, this Congress puts on record an expression of the high sense entertained, not only in the Bombay Presidency, but, throughout India, of the ability, integrity and impartiality that have characterised Lord Reay's administration, as also of the gratitude which the whole country feels to be his due for the sympathy that he has ever extended to Indian aspirations and efforts.

11. That the Subjects Committee be instructed to settle the question, (left open in the skeleton scheme for the reconstruction of the councils, embodied in Resolution II.) of the qualifications requisite for, and the disqualifications which should debar from, becoming—

(a) a Voter; (b) a Representative; (c) a Member of a Provincial Legislative Council; and (d) a Member of the Imperial Legislative Council; and to submit their Report thereon to Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., M. P., for the purpose of the Bill which he has been requested to draw.

12. That Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., be re-elected General Secretary of the National Congress for the ensuing years.

(a) That in view of the larger number of delegates this year assembled and the probability arising from past experience, of their number continuing to increase year by year, henceforth the number of delegates to be allowed from each Congress circle be limited to five per million of the total population of the circle: the Standing Committee of each circle allotting the number which their jurisdiction, as a whole, is entitled to elect, amongst their several electoral divisions, as may seem most expedient.

(b) That from the date of Mr. Hume's departure for England, the Hon'ble Pundit Ajoodhinath be appointed Joint General Secretary, and that Rs. 5,000 be assigned for the payment by him of such Assistant Secretaries as he may find it necessary to employ, clerical assistance, postage, telegraphs and printing; and further that Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee be appointed Standing Counsel for Bengal, Mr. Pheroze Shah Mehta, Standing Counsel for Bombay and Mr. Ananda Charlu, Standing Counsel for Madras, to the Joint General Secretary.

(c) That the tentative rules for the constitution and working of the Congress which were first considered at Madras, and in regard to which various addenda have from time to time been circulated, be thoroughly considered during the coming year by the several Standing

Congress Committees, and definitely dealt with by the Congress at its next session.

(d) That the Congress does hereby confirm the appointment of Sir. W. Wedderburn, Bart., and Messrs. W. S. Caine, M. P., W. S. Bright Maclaren, M. P., J. E. Ellis, M. P., Dada-bhai Naoroji and George Yule, as a Committee (with power to add to their number) to guide and direct the operations and control the expenditure of the National Congress Agency in England, and does further tender its sincere thanks to these gentlemen, and to Mr. W. Digby, C. I. E., the Secretary, for the service which they are rendering to India.

(e) That this Congress does formally appoint Mr. George Yule, Mr. A. O. Hume, Mr. Adam, Mr. Eardley Norton, Mr. J. E. Howard, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee, Mr. Mono Mohan Ghose, Mr. Shurfuddin, Mr. R. N. Mudholker, and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee to represent its views in England and press upon the consideration of the British Public the political reforms which the Congress has advocated,

(f) That a sum of Rs. 45,000 be raised for the expenses of the Congress work in this country and in England during the ensuing year, and that the different Standing Committees do send their respective apportioned amounts to the General Secretary, the one half in three, and the balance in six months.

14. That the Sixth Indian National Congress do assemble at some City in Bengal, the exact place to be fixed hereafter, on the 26th of December, 1890.

15. That the Fifth Indian National Congress hereby tenders its heart-felt thanks to its President, Sir William Wedderburn, as well for his ready sacrifice of personal and political considerations involved by his journey from England to India, as for that courtesy, impartiality and never-failing sympathy which, characteristics of his long and honourable career as an official of this country, have marked his control of the proceedings of this assembly.

(g)

Sixth Congress—Calcutta—1890.

1 That this Congress, having considered the draft Bill recently introduced into Parliament by Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, entitled "an Act to amend the Indian Councils Act of 1861" approves the same as calculated to secure a substantial instalment of that reform, in the Administration of India, for which it has been agitating, and humbly prays the Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to pass the same into law; and further that its President, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, is hereby empowered to draw up and sign, on behalf of this assembly, a petition to the House of Commons to the foregoing effect, and to transmit the same to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh for presentation, thereto, in due course.

2. That this present Congress does hereby ratify and confirm the resolutions passed by previous Congresses as to—

(a) the urgent necessity for the complete separation of executive and judicial functions, such that, in no case, shall the two functions be combined in the same officer;

(b) the expediency of extending into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, the system of trial by jury;

(c) the necessity of withdrawing from the High Courts the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal by juries.

(d) the necessity of introducing, into the Code of Criminal Procedure, a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate they be committed to the Court of Sessions;

(e) the highly unsatisfactory character of the existing system of Police Administration in India, and the absolute necessity of a fundamental reform therein;

(f) the expediency of both, establishing Military Colleges in India, whereat the Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as officers

of the Indian Army, and of authorising, under such rules and restrictions as may seem necessary, such a system of volunteering, for the Indian inhabitants of the country, as may qualify them to support the Government in any crisis ;

(g) the extremely unsatisfactory character of the Income Tax Administration, especially as regards incomes below rupees one thousand, and the expediency of raising the taxable minimum to this amount ;

(h) the extreme importance of increasing, instead of diminishing, as the present tendency appears to be, the public expenditure on education in all its branches, and the necessity, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of the appointment of a mixed commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country ;

(i) the necessity for the reduction of, instead of the continual increase to, the military expenditure of the country ;

(j) the necessity, if any real justice is to be done to the people of India, of holding, simultaneously in India and England, examinations, at present held only in England, for the Civil branches of the Public Service in India ;

(k) the expediency of so modifying the rules made under Act XI of 1878 (the Arms Act) that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India ; that licenses to possess and bear arms shall be liberally and generally distributed wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops ; and that these and all licenses issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout the Provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.

3. That this Congress respectfully expresses the earnest hope that in the interest of the people of India, the House of Commons will forthwith restore the right formerly possessed by members of that Honourable House, of stating to Parliament any matter of grievance of the natives of India before Mr. Speaker leaves the chair, for the presentation in Committee of the Indian Budget statement, and earnestly trusts that the House of Commons will, in future, take into consideration the Annual Indian Budget statement at such a date as will ensure its full and adequate discussion, and further authorizes its President to sign a Petition, in the name and on behalf of this Congress, for presentation to the House of Commons, in accordance with the terms of this Resolution.

4. That, while recognizing the action taken, in response to its previous prayers, in the matter of Excise Reform by H. M.'s Secretary of State for India and the Supreme Government here, and noting with pleasure the increase to the import duty on Spirits, the taxation imposed on Indian-brewed malt liquors, the decision of the Bengal Government to abolish the outstill system, and the closing of over 7,000 liquor shops by the Madras Government in 1889-90, this Congress regrets that it is still necessary to urge the Government of India to insist on all Provincial Administrations carrying out in their integrity the policy in matters of Excise enunciated in Paras, 103, 104 and 105 of the despatch published in the *Gazette of India* of 1st March 1890, especially as to sub-section 4 of para. 103, viz.—

“ That efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of local public sentiment, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to such opinion when ascertained.”

5. That the condition of the Finances of India having materially improved, and those special circumstances on which the Government relied to justify the recent enhancement of the Salt Tax having practically ceased to exist, this Congress considers it essential that the enhancement referred to should be remitted at an early date, and empowers its President to submit a special memorial on the subject in its name and on its behalf to H. E. the Viceroy in Council.

6. That having reference to the expectations created throughout the country by the Despatch of Her Majesty's Secretary of State in 1862, the principles of which were re-affirmed in a subsequent Despatch of 1865, promising the extension of a Permanent Settlement to all temporarily settled tracts in which certain conditions were fulfilled, and to the fact that throughout large portions of the country those conditions have long since been fulfilled, this Congress respectfully submits that the Government of India is now in honour bound to take up this question of Permanent Settlement, without further delay, in view to practical action thereon, such that fixity and permanency may be given to the Government Land Revenue demand as explicitly promised, by Her Majesty's Secretary of State, more than a quarter of a century ago.

7. That this Congress, having observed with surprise a notice, apparently official, in various Calcutta newspapers which runs as follows:—

THE CONGRESS.

The Bengal Government having learnt that tickets of admission to the visitors' enclosure in the Congress pavilion have been sent to various Government officers residing in Calcutta, has issued a circular to all secretaries, and heads of departments subordinate to it, pointing out that under the orders of the Government of India the presence of Government officials, even as visitors at such meetings, is not advisable, and that their taking part in the proceedings of any such meetings is absolutely prohibited:

and having also considered a letter addressed by the Private Secretary of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to the Secretary of the Reception Committee, of which the following is an exact copy:—

Belvedere, 26th December, 1890.

DEAR SIR,—In returning herewith the seven cards of admission to the visitors' enclosure of the Congress pavilion, which were kindly sent by you to my address yesterday afternoon, I am desired to say that the Lieutenant-Governor and the members of his household could not possibly avail themselves of these tickets, since the orders of the Government of India definitely prohibit the presence of Government officials at such meetings. Yours faithfully, P. C. Lyon, Private Secretary. To J. Ghosal Esq., Secretary, Congress Reception Committee.

authorizes and instructs its President to draw the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy to the declaration embodied in these papers that Government servants are prohibited from attending any meetings of this Congress even as spectators, and to enquire, most respectfully, whether His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has, or has not, correctly interpreted the orders of the Government of India.

8. That the best thanks of this Congress be tendered to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M. P., for the invaluable services rendered by him during the past year, as also to Sir W. Wedderburn, Mr. W. S. Caine, Mr. J. Bright Maclaren, M. P., Mr. J. Ellis, M. P., Mr. George Yule, and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for the unselfish zeal and ability with which they have presided over the British Agency of the Congress; further that they put on record an expression of their high appreciation of the manner in which Mr. Digby, C. I. E., Secretary of the Agency, and Messrs. Surendra Nath Banerjee, R. N. Mudholkar, W. C. Bonnerjee, Eardley Norton, and A. O. Hume, delegates to England, respectively, discharged the onerous duties imposed upon them, and of their gratitude to all those members of the British public who so kindly welcomed and so sympathetically gave audience, in over fifty public and a far larger number of private meetings, to one or more of these delegates.

9. That a vote of thanks be recorded to Kumar Debendra Mullick and brothers,

proprietors of the Tivoli Gardens, Mr. N. C. Bose and Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose, proprietors of Mohan Bagan Villa, and to the Hon'ble Sir Romesh Chandra Mitra, Mr. T. N. Palit, Babus Janokee Nath Roy, Gopee Mohan Roy, Harendra Nath Roy, Kissory Mohan Roy, Ramanath Ghose, and Jamadar Ghasiram, owners of houses kindly lent for the use of delegates.

10. That the Seventh Indian National Congress do assemble on the 26th December, 1891, at either Madras or Nagpore, as may be hereafter settled, in consultation between the Madras, Central Provinces and Berar Committees, and the Joint General Secretary.

11. That provisional arrangements be made to hold a Congress, of not less than 100 delegates, in England, all things being convenient, in 1892, and that the several *Standing Congress Committees* be directed to report, at the coming Congress, the names of the delegates that it is proposed to depute from their respective circles.

12. That of the Funds now in the Joint General Secretary's hands and about to be received, a further sum of twenty thousand rupees be added to the Permanent Fund and placed in fixed deposits, and that the rest of the funds accruing on account of this current year, 1890, be held by him available for the immediate purposes of the British Committee of the *Indian National Congress*, but to be replaced as the subscriptions for 1891 are received, and ultimately, also added to the Permanent Fund.

13. That a sum of Rs. 40,000, exclusive of individual donations, is assigned for the expenses of the British Committee of the Congress and Rs. 6,000 for the General Secretary's Office and Establishment, and that the several circles and districts do contribute as arranged in Committee.

14. That Mr. A. O. Hume and Pandit Ajoodhia Nath are re-elected General and Joint General Secretaries for the ensuing year.

15. That this Congress does formally appoint Messrs. G. Yule, Pherozshah Mehta, W. C. Bonnerjee, J. Adam, Mono Mohan Ghose, A. O. Hume, Kali Charan Bannerjee, Dadabhai Naorojee, D. A. Khare, and such other gentlemen as may volunteer for the duty with the sanction and approval of the *Standing Congress Committees* of their respective circles, to represent its views in England, and press upon the consideration of the British public the political reforms which the Congress has advocated.

Seventh Congress—Nagpore—1891.

1. That a Committee be appointed to consider and report, on or before the morning of the 30th instant, whether, or not, it is advisable to discontinue the Annual Sessions of the *Indian National Congress* until after the British Session, and, if not, under what regulations, as to numbers of delegates, localities for assemblage, and the like, future Congresses shall be held. The Committee to be composed as follows :—

Ex-Officio Members :—The President. The Chairman of the Reception Committee. The General Secretary. The Joint General Secretary. The Standing Counsels to the Congresses. And Messrs. Surendranath Bannerjee, Viraraghava Chariar, Hafiz Abdul Rahim, Gangapersad Varma, Pringle Kennedy, Guruprasad Sen, D. E. Watcha, M. B. Namjoshi, Hamid Ali Khan, Vishnu Moreswar Bhide, Murlidhar, Mudholkar, Deo Rao Vinayak, Gopal Rao Bhide, Bipin Krishna Bose, Dajee Abajee Khare, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Saligram Singh, Sankara Nair.

2. That this Congress re-affirms the conclusion arrived at by all previous Congresses, viz., that India can never be well or justly governed, nor her people prosperous or contented, until they are allowed, through their elected representatives, a potential voice in the Legislatures of their own country, and respectfully urges the people of Great Britain and Ireland whose good will towards India it gratefully recognizes, to permit no further delay in the concession of this just and necessary reform.

3. That this *Congress*, concurring in the views set forth in previous *Congresses* affirms—

That fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that, in every decade, several millions actually perish by starvation.

That this unhappy condition of affairs is largely due to—

(a) *the exclusion of the people of India from a due participation in the administration, and all control over the finances, of their own country, the remedy for which has been set forth in Resolution II;*

(b) *the extravagant cost of the present administration, Military and Civil, but especially the former; and to*

(c) *a short-sighted system of Land Revenue Administration, whereby not only is all improvement in the agriculture of the country, on which nine-tenths of the population depend for subsistence, rendered impossible, but the gradual deterioration of that agriculture assured.*

That hence it has become imperatively necessary—

That the cost of the administration be greatly reduced; in the military branch, by a substantial reduction of the standing army, by the substitution of long term local European troops like those of the Hon. E. I. Company for the present short term Imperial regiments with their heavy cost of recruitment in England, in transport and of the excessive mortality amongst non-acclimatized youths; by the cessation of the gigantic waste of money that has gone on now for several years, on so-called Frontier Defences, and by a strict economy in the Commissariat, Ordinance and Store Departments; and in the Civil branch, by the wide substitution of a cheaper indigenous agency for the extremely costly imported Staff; and that measures be at once taken to give, as was promised by the British Government thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the land Revenue demand and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country, which, under the existing system of temporary settlements, in recent times often lasting for short periods, in some cases only extending to 10 and 12 years, is found to be impossible; and to establish agricultural banks.

That this *Congress* does most earnestly entreat the people of Great Britain and Ireland not to permit any further sacrifice of life by the shortcomings of the existing, doubtless well-intentioned, but none the less unsatisfactory, administration, but to insist, and speedily, on these reforms.

4. That this *Congress*, concurring with previous *Congresses*, is of opinion that, to ensure the adequate protection and efficient defence of the country, it is desirable that the Government should conciliate Indian Public opinion and encourage and qualify the Indians to defend their homes and their Government—

(a) by so modifying the rules under the Arms Act, as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India, without distinction of creed, class or colour; to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops, and to make all licenses granted under the revised rules, of life-long tenure, revocable only on proof of misuse and valid throughout the Provincial Jurisdiction in which they are issued;

(b) by establishing Military Colleges in India, whereas natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as *commissioned or non-commissioned* officers (according to capacity and qualifications) of the Indian army;

(c) by organising, throughout the more warlike races of the Empire, a system of militia service; and

(d) by authorizing and stimulating a wide-spread system of volunteering, such as

obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.

5. That as one step towards ensuring the wider employment of Indians in the administration of the country, and as a matter of simple justice to the people of India, this *Congress*, agreeing with previous *Congresses*, declares it to be essential that all examinations for any and all of the Civil Branches of the Public Service in India, which at present are held only in England, should henceforth be also held simultaneously in India.

6. That this *Congress* concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating—

(a) the reduction of the salt tax, by at least the amount of its latest enhancement; (b) the raising of the income tax taxable minimum from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000, (c) persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial Administrations to induce them to carry out, in its integrity, excise policy enunciated in paras 103, 104 and 105 of the despatch, published in the *Gazette of India*, of March 1st, 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages.

7. That having regard to the unsatisfactory character, in many respects, of the Judicial and Police Administration, this *Congress* concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating—

(a) the complete separation of Executive and Judicial functions such that in no case shall the two functions be combined in the same officer;

(b) the extension into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, of the system of trial by jury;

(c) the withdrawal from High Courts of the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittals by juries;

(d) the introduction, into the Code of Criminal Procedure, of a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate they be committed to the Court of Sessions;

(e) the fundamental reform of the Police Administration, by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in the salaries, and in the qualifications of the lower grades, and their far more careful enlistment, and by the selection for the higher posts of gentlemen of higher capacities, more in touch with the respectable portions of the community, and less addicted to military pretensions, than the majority of the existing Deputy Inspectors-General, Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents of Police.

8. That this *Congress*, concurring with previous *Congresses*, affirms the importance of increasing (instead of diminishing, as appears to be the present policy of the Government) the public expenditure on all branches of education, and the importance of increasing (instead of diminishing, as appears to be the present policy of the Government,) in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of appointing a mixed Commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country.

9. *Read the following telegram from General Booth:—*

"May I be allowed to commend, to the attention of the Congress, the claims of the millions of India's starving poor and to urge the consideration of some scheme by which these destitute multitudes can be placed upon the waste lands of the country, in such an organised and befriended manner, as will enable them to gain, for themselves, those necessities of a healthy existence which, in their present circumstances, are denied; praying for the blessing of God upon the labours of the Congress, yours in sympathy with every effort, for the amelioration of the miseries of mankind."

That the following telegram be despatched in reply to General Booth:—

"The Congress having received and considered your kindly message thank you cordially for the same. No possible scheme of internal immigration can perceptibly relieve the fifty to sixty millions of half-starving paupers, whose sad condition constitutes the primary *raison d'être* of the Congress. It is only by modifying the adverse conditions out of which this widespread misery arises, and by raising the moral standard of the people that any real relief is possible. As regards the first, the Congress programme now embodies all primarily

essential reforms; as regards the second, in every province and in every caste, associations, public or private are working with a yearly increasing earnestness. Many good missionaries are labouring in the same field, and we have to thank you that your army too is now engaged in the good work of elevating our masses. May your efforts and ours, in both directions, be crowned with success. Congress, including men of many creeds, welcomes cordially all who seek to benefit our suffering brethren."

Read the Report of the Committee appointed, under Resolution (1), which runs as follows:—

10. "Your Committee have considered the matter referred to them and have also consulted informally, various members of the Subjects Committee and other delegates. They are clearly of opinion that it is not advisable to discontinue the Annual Session, of the Indian National Congress until after the British Session, and that future Congresses should be held under the same regulations as heretofore."

That the Annual Sessions of the Congress in India continue to be held until all necessary reforms have been secured.

11. That having regard to the very serious discontent created, especially in Peninsular India, by the practical administration of the Forest Laws, the Government of India be most respectfully, but earnestly, entreated to investigate this carefully, and endeavour to mitigate its harshness and render it less obnoxious to the poorer classes.

12. That this Congress hereby tenders its most grateful acknowledgments to Sir W. Wedderburn, and the members of the British Congress Committee, for the services rendered by them to India during the past year, and respectfully urges them to widen henceforth the sphere of their usefulness, by interesting themselves, not only in those questions dealt with by the Congress here, but in all Indian matters submitted to them, and properly vouched for, in which any principle accepted by the Congress is involved.

13. That this Congress puts on record an expression of the gratitude felt, throughout India, for the signal services rendered by the late Mr. Charles Bradlaugh to that country's cause, and of the deep and universal sorrow which his untimely death has engendered; and that a copy of this Resolution signed by the President, be transmitted through the British Committee for presentation to Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner.

14. That this Congress, hereby, puts formally on record its high estimate and deep appreciation of the great services which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has rendered, during more than a quarter of a century, to the cause of India: that it expresses its unshaken confidence in him and its earnest hope that he may prove successful, at the coming elections, in his candidature for Central Finsbury, and, at the same time, tenders, on behalf of the vast population it represents, India's most cordial acknowledgments to all in England, whether in Central Finsbury or elsewhere, who have aided, or may aid him, to win a seat in the House of Commons.

15. That in view of the General Election now impending in England, and in accordance with the recommendation of British Committee, the provisional arrangements, set on foot in pursuance of the Resolution passed at the Calcutta Congress of 1890, for holding, all things being convenient, a Congress of not less than 100 Delegates in England in 1892, be now suspended until after such General Election.

16. That a sum of Rs. 40,000, exclusive of individual donations, is assigned for the expenses of the British Committee of the Congress, and Rs. 6,000 for the General Secretary's office and establishment, and that the several circles do contribute as arranged in Committee for the year 1892.

17. That Mr. A. O. Hume and Pandit Ajoodhanath are re-elected General and Joint-General Secretaries for the ensuing year.

18. That the Eighth Indian National Congress do assemble on the 26th December 1892, at Allahabad.

Eighth Congress—Allahabad—1892.

1. That this *Congress*, while accepting in a loyal spirit the Indian Councils Act recently enacted by the Parliament of Great Britain, as explained by the present Prime Minister, with the assent of the then Under-Secretary of State for India—that it is intended by it to give the people of India a *real living representation* in the Legislative Councils,—regrets that the Act itself does not, in terms, concede to the people the right of electing their own representatives to the Council, and hopes and expects that the rules, now being prepared under the Act, will be framed on the lines of Mr. Gladstone's declaration in the House of Commons, and will do adequate justice to the people of this country; further, that it prays that these rules may be published in the official Gazettes, like other proposed legislative measures, before being finally adopted.

2. That this *Congress* hereby places on record its deep regret at the resolution of the Government of India on the report of the Public Service Commission, in that—

(a) Whereas, if the recommendations of the Public Service Commission had been carried out in their integrity, the posts proposed to be detached from the schedule of the statute of 1861 would have formed part of an organised Service, specially reserved for the Natives of India, the resolution of Government leaves these posts altogether isolated, to which appointment can be made only under the Statute of 1870;

(b) Whereas, while 108 appointments were recommended by the Public Service Commission for the Provincial Service, 93 such appointments only have actually been thrown open to that Service: the number to be allotted to Assam not having yet been announced;

(c) Whereas, while Membership of the Board of Revenue and a Commissionership of a Division, were recommended for the Province of Bengal and some other Provinces, the Government has not given effect to this resolution;

(d) Whereas, while one-third of the Judgeships were recommended to be thrown open to the Provincial Service, only one-fifth have been so thrown open.

And this *Congress*, again, distinctly puts on record its opinion, that full justice will never be done to the people of this country, until the open Competitive Examination for the Civil Service of India is held simultaneously in England and in India.

That this *Congress* seeing the serious mischief arising to the country from the combination of Judicial and Executive functions in the same official, once again puts on record its deliberate and earnest conviction that a complete separation of these functions has become an urgent necessity, and that, in its opinion, it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should, in some provinces, involve extra expenditure.

4. That having regard to the diversity of opinion that prevails on the Currency Question, and the importance of the question itself, this *Congress* desires to express its earnest hope, that unless its hands are forced by the action of any Foreign Power, necessitating a change in the currency, or the standard, which might prove injurious to the interests of the country, the Government of India will refrain from taking any steps, until the labors of the Brussels Conference have been completed: and, further, that the Government will lay before the Public, for discussion, the proposals which Lord Herschell's Committee may recommend before definite action, if any, is resolved upon.

5. That this *Congress* concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating—

(a) The reduction of the salt duty by at least the amount of its latest enhancement;

(b) The raising of the Income-tax taxable minimum from five-hundred to one thousand;

(c) Persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial Administrations,

to induce them to carry out, in its integrity, the Excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104, 105, of the Despatch, published in the Gazette of India of March, 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of Local option in the case of all villages;

(d) The introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate they may be committed to the Court of Sessions;

(e) The fundamental reform of the Police administration, by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in the salaries and in the qualifications of the lower grades, and their far more careful enlistment; and by the selection for the higher posts of gentlemen of higher capacities, more in touch with the respectable portions of the community, and less addicted to military pretensions, than the majority of existing of Deputy Inspectors-General, Superintendents, and Assistant Superintendents of Police are;

(f) A modification of the rules under the Arms Act, so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to India, without distinction of creed, caste or colour; to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops; and to make all licenses, granted under the revised rules, of life-long tenure, revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued;

(g) The establishment of Military Colleges in India, whereat natives of India, as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as Commissioned or Non-commissioned Officers (according to capacity and qualifications) of the Indian army;

(h) The organising throughout the more warlike races of the Empire of a system of Militia service; and

(i) The authorising and stimulating of a wide-spread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.

6. That this *Congress* views with the deepest concern and alarm the recent policy of Government with respect to trial by Jury, and particularly the action of the Governments of Bengal and Assam in withdrawing the right of trial by Jury in the majority of serious offences, and most respectfully, but firmly, protests against such policy and action as retrograde, reactionary, and injurious to the best interests of the country, and prays that the same may be reversed by the Government of India, and failing that, by the Government in England; and that, as prayed for in resolutions of previous *Congresses*, the right of trial by Jury be extended to those parts of the country where it is not now in force, it being the only safeguard for the people in the present unsatisfactory condition of the administration of criminal justice in British India.

7. That having regard to the fact that the abnormal increase in the annual military expenditure of the Empire since 1885-86 is principally owing to the military activity going on beyond the natural lines of the defences of the country, in pursuance of the Imperial policy of Great Britain in its relation with some of the Great Powers of Europe, this *Congress* is of opinion that, in bare justice to India, an equitable portion of that expenditure should be borne by the British Treasury, and that the revenues of India should be proportionately relieved of that burden.

8. That this *Congress* is emphatically of opinion, that it is highly inexpedient in the present state of education in the country, that Government grants for High Education should in any way be withdrawn, and concurring with previous *Congresses*, affirms in the most emphatic manner, the importance of increasing the public expenditure on all branches of Education, and the expediency, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, *i.e.*, the technical, of appointing a mixed Commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country.

9. That this *Congress* emphatically re-affirms Resolution III of the *Congress* of 1891, and having regard to the fact that fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that in every decade several millions actually perish by starvation, deems it imperatively necessary that the cost of administration, especially in the military branch of the Public Service, should be greatly reduced, and that measures should at once be taken to give, as was promised by the British Government over thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the land revenue demand, and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country, which, under the existing system of temporary settlements, in recent times often lasting for short periods, in some cases only extending to ten and twelve years—is found to be impossible; and to establish Agricultural Banks. And this *Congress*, again, most earnestly entreats the people of Great Britain and Ireland, not to permit any further sacrifice of life owing to the shortcomings of the existing, doubtless well-intentioned, but none the less unsatisfactory, administration, but to insist, and, that speedily, on the reforms, then and now, so earnestly advocated.

10. That this *Congress* entirely adopts Resolution XI of the Congress of 1891, and reiterates its prayer, that having regard to the very serious discontent created, particularly in Peninsular India, by the practical administration of the Forest Laws, the Government of India do investigate this matter carefully, and endeavour to mitigate the harshness of such administration, and render it less obnoxious to the poorer classes.

11. That Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Mr. P. M. Mehta, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji, and Rai Bahadur Anunda Charlu, be appointed a Committee to prepare a petition on the lines indicated by the petition printed at foot, and that the President be authorised to sign it, on behalf of this Congress, and send it to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M. P., for presentation to the House of Commons.

To The Hon'ble, The Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled,

The humble petition of the President and members of the Eighth Indian National Congress, held at Allahabad, on the 28th, 29th and 30th December, 1892.

Respectfully sheweth,

(1) That in conformity with a resolution adopted at the Eighth Indian National Congress, your humble petitioners beg to bring to the attention of your Hon'ble House, the sad disappointment which prevails in all parts of Her Majesty's Indian Empire at the orders passed upon the labours of the Public Service Commission.

(2) That the Commission was instructed by the Government of India to submit a scheme which might reasonably be expected to possess the elements of finality and to do full justice to the claims of the Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the Public Service. Neither object has been secured by the labours of the Public Service Commission. The Statutory Service, under which appointments had been made, has been abolished, and nothing has been done to secure to the people the full enjoyment of the boon conferred upon them by the Act of 1870. The Government of India, in their resolution appointing the Commission, observed, "that the Statute of 1870 is one of remarkable breadth and liberality, and it empowers the Government of India and the Secretary of State, acting together, to frame rules under which Natives of India may be admitted to any of the offices hitherto reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service." But the result of the Commission's enquiry has been a reduction in the number of offices open to Indians.

(3) That in respect, likewise, to simultaneous examination in England and in India for appointment in the Civil Service, the Report of the Commission, endorsed by the Government of India, has given no satisfaction whatever. The weight of the evidence taken by the Commissioners was distinctly in favour of simultaneous examination. Among

the witnesses examined, there was a very large preponderance of those who were in favour of simultaneous examinations.

(4) That the disappointment which is everywhere felt at the resolution of the Government of India on the Public Service Commission, is of such a character that this *Congress* has felt constrained to lay the matter before the Hon'ble House, and to pray that it will direct the Government of India to give full effect to the Act of 1870, in the matter of appointing Natives of India to the Public Service of their country.

12. That this *Congress*, in concurrence with the first *Congress* held at Bombay in 1885, considers that the creation of a Legislative Council for the Province of the Punjab is an absolute necessity for the good Government of that Province, and, having regard to the fact that a similar Council has been created for the United Provinces, hopes that no time will be lost in creating such a Council.

13. That this *Congress* hereby tenders its most grateful acknowledgments to Sir W. Wedderburn and the members of the British Congress Committee, for the services rendered by them to India during the past year, and entirely approves and confirms the re-construction of the British Committee of the *Congress* which has been effected by them, as also, the new arrangements which they have made in regard to their office establishment, and the journal "*India*;" and that this *Congress* also tenders its thanks to Mr. W. Digby, C. I. E. for the services which he rendered to the cause during his tenure of office as Secretary to the British Committee.

14. That this *Congress* is thankful that the House of Commons is vigilant in regard to the recent purity legislation by the Government in India, and desires, once again, to enter its protest against all State-regulated immorality in India.

15. That, regard being had to the present political situation in England, the provisional arrangements set on foot, in pursuance of the resolution passed at the Calcutta Congress, 1890, for holding—all things being convenient—a *Congress* of not less than hundred delegates in England, in 1892, be now suspended, until after the Session of the *Congress* in 1893.

16. That this *Congress* most respectfully and cordially tenders, on behalf of the vast population it represents, India's most heartfelt thanks to the electors of Central Finsbury for electing Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, their member in the House of Commons; and it again puts on record its high estimate and deep appreciation of the services which that gentleman has rendered to this country, reiterates its unshaken confidence in him, and looks upon him as the Indian representative in the House of Commons.

17. That this *Congress* hereby empowers the Trustees of the Congress Permanent Fund—now locked up in the "New Oriental Bank Corporation, Ltd.," at present in liquidation—to send, at least, five hundred pounds out of it to the British Committee, to be recouped by subscriptions from the Standing Congress Committees.

18. That regard being had to the representations received from the British Committee, this *Congress* is of opinion, that a sum equivalent in Rupees to two thousand eight hundred pounds sterling, be allotted for the expenses of the British Committee, for the year 1892-93; that deducting the money which has been received up to now, the balance be allotted amongst the different Standing Congress Committees, in accordance with the arrangements come to with them and that the sum be remitted to England as soon as practicable.

19. That this *Congress* re-appoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B., to be its General Secretary and appoints Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu to be its Joint-General Secretary for the ensuing year.

20. That the Ninth Indian National Congress do assemble on such day after Christmas, 1893, as may be determined upon, at Amritsar.

21. That this *Congress* hereby tenders its best thanks to His Highness the Maharaja of

Darbhanga, for having so kindly lent his Castle and grounds for the holding of this *Congress*.

22. That this *Congress* confirms the appointment of Pandit Bishumbhar Nath, in place of the late Pandit Ajudhia Nath, as one of the Trustees of the Congress Permanent Fund.

Ninth Congress—Lahore—1893.

1. That this *Congress* while tendering its most sincere thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for the liberal spirit in which he has endeavoured to give effect to the Indian Councils Act of 1892, regrets to have to put on record the facts, that alike in the Rules of the Government of India and in the practice of most of the Local Governments, notably in that of the Government of Bombay, material alterations are necessary if real effect is to be given to spirit of this act, and, that the Punjab, one of the most important Provinces in the Empire, is still denied the right to be represented, either in the Viceroy's or in any Local Council.

2. That this *Congress*, in concurrence with the first *Congress*, held at Bombay in 1885 and other subsequent *Congresses*, considers that the creation of a Legislative Council for the Province of the Punjab is an absolute necessity for the good Government of that province, and having regard to the fact that a similar council has been created for the United Provinces, hopes that no time will be lost in creating such a Council.

3. That this *Congress* concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating :—

- (a) The reduction of the salt duty by at least the amount of its latest enhancement;
- (b) The raising of the Income-tax taxable minimum from five hundred to one thousand Rupees ;
- (c) Persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial administrations, to induce them to carry out, in its integrity, the Excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104, 105 of the despatch, published in the Gazette of India of March, 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages.
- (d) The introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that instead of being tried by the magistrate they may be committed to the Court of Sessions ;
- (e) The fundamental reform of the Police administration, by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in the salaries and in the qualifications of the lower grades, and their far more careful enlistment ; and by the selection for the higher posts of gentlemen of higher capacities, more in touch with the respectable portions of the community, and less addicted to military pretensions than the majority of existing Deputy Inspectors-General, Superintendents, and Assistant Superintendents of Police are ;
- (f) A modification of the rules under the Arms Act, so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to India without distinction of creed, caste or colour ; to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops ; and to make all licenses, granted under the revised rules, of life-long tenure, revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued ;
- (g) The establishment of Military Colleges in India, whereat natives of India, as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as Commissioned or Non-Commissioned Officers (according to capacity and qualification) of the Indian army.
- (h) The organising throughout the more warlike races of the Empire of a system of Militia service ; and,
- (i) The authorising and stimulating a wide-spread system of volunteering such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.

4. That this *Congress* is of opinion that the time has arrived when, in the interest of

public medical education and the advancement of medical science and of scientific work in this country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the Civil medical service of India, should be reconstructed on the basis of such services in other civilised countries, wholly detached from and independent of the Military service, so as to give full effect to the educational policy of Government, which is to encourage education for its own sake in every branch, and to raise a scientific medical profession in India by throwing open fields for medical and scientific work to the best talent available and indigenous talent in particular.

5. That this *Congress* desires to thank the British House of Commons for their just and wise vote in regard to Simultaneous Examinations in England and in India, and most earnestly prays that august body to insist upon their orders being given prompt effect to by the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India.

6. That this *Congress* having now for many successive years vainly appealed to the Government of India to remove one of the gravest stigmas on British rule in India, one fraught with incalculable oppression to all classes of the community throughout the country, now hopeless of any other redress, humbly entreats the Secretary of State for India to order the immediate appointment, in each province, of a Committee (one half at least, of whose members shall be non-official natives of India, qualified by education and experience in the workings of the various courts to deal with the question) to prepare each a scheme for the complete separation of all Judicial and Executive functions in their own province with as little additional cost to the State as may be practicable, and the submission of such schemes, with the comments of the several Indian Governments thereon, to himself, at some early date which he may be pleased to fix.

7. That this *Congress* having considered the report of the Parliamentary members of the India Office Committee on the subject of the Rules, Orders and Practices in Indian Cantonments with regard to prostitution and contagious disease, hereby endorses their conclusions:

1. That the system and incidental practices described in that report and the statutory rules, so far as they authorized or permitted the same, did not accord with the plain meaning and intention of the resolution of the House of Commons of June 5th 1888; and,

2. That the only effective method of preventing these systematic malpractices is by express legislation.

8. That this *Congress*, concurring in the views set forth in previous *Congresses* affirms That fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that in every decade, several millions actually perish by starvation.

And humbly urges, once more, that immediate steps be taken to remedy this calamitous state of affairs.

9. That having regard to the very serious discontent created, especially in Peninsular India and in certain hilly tracts in the Punjab, by the practical administration of the Forest Laws, the Government of India be most respectfully, but earnestly, entreated to investigate this carefully and endeavour to mitigate its harshness and render it less obnoxious to the poorer classes.

10. That this *Congress* having on many previous occasions urged on the Government of India, the necessity for giving, as was promised by the British Government over thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the Land Revenue demand, wherever this has not already been conceded, desires now to reiterate emphatically this recommendation and to call attention to the profound alarm which has been created by the action of Government in interfering with the existing permanent settlement in Bengal and Behar (in the matter of the survey and other cesses) and with the terms of the sanads of the permanently settled estates in Madras, and

deeming such tampering with solemn public pledges, no matter under what pretences, a national calamity, hereby pledges itself to oppose, in all possible legitimate ways, any and all such reactionary attacks on permanent settlements and their holders.

11. That this *Congress* regrets extremely that the Government of India have not only failed to carry out the pledges for a permanent settlement in the Provinces in which it does not exist (given by the Secretary of State in his despatches of 1862 and 1865) but have also failed to give effect to the policy of granting a modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancements, laid down in 1832 and 1884 by the Government of India, and approved by the Secretary of State.

12. That this *Congress* is of opinion that it is inexpedient in the present state of Education in the country, that Government grants for High Education should in any way be withdrawn, and concurring with previous *Congresses*, affirms in the most emphatic manner, the importance of increasing the public expenditure on all branches of Education, and the expediency (in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of those branches *i.e.*, the technical,) of appointing a mixed Commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country; and, looking to the great poverty of many classes of the community, strongly recommends, that in all classes of Government or Municipal Schools and Colleges, all fees shall be reduced in proportion to the means of parents and relations and remitted wholly in the case of very poor students; and, focussing the universal opinion of the Indian Community that undue stress is being laid at present upon mere mental development, this *Congress* earnestly recommends that henceforth, in all grades and classes of Schools and Colleges, at least equal attention should be devoted to the physical development of the students.

13. That this *Congress* regrets to notice that the Secretary of State for India in his recent despatch to the Government of India has enunciated the doctrine that occasions may arise in which it may be the duty of the Executive Government to criticise Judicial errors, the *Congress* being of opinion that such criticism is calculated to shake the confidence of the people in the independence of Judicial tribunals.

14. That this *Congress* places on record its deep regret at the recent hasty legislation of the Government of India closing the Indian mints against the private coinage of silver, whereby the people of this country have been subjected to further indirect taxation of a burdensome and indefinite character, and some of the most important trades and industries, notably the Mill industry, have been seriously disorganized and injured.

15. That this *Congress* records its emphatic protest against the Exchange Compensation Allowance granted to the undomiciled European and Eurasian *employees* of Government, involving an annual expenditure of over a crore of Rupees, and to the Banks, to the extent of £ 138,000 at a time when the financial situation of the country is far from satisfactory and the country is threatened with additional taxation.

16. That the Government of India be moved, once for all, to put a stop, by new and express legislation, (the existing provisions of the Penal Code having proved inoperative) to the existing oppressive system of forced labor (known as *Begar*) and forced contributions of supplies (known as *Rasad*) which, despite numerous Resolutions of the Government of India, are still prevalent throughout India.

17. That this *Congress* tenders its most sincere thanks to Lord Northbrook for his powerful advocacy of India's claim to have her burden of Home Charges reduced, and respectfully entreats the House of Commons to appoint at an early date a Committee of their Honourable House to arrive at some equitable settlement of the matter.

18. That in the opinion of this *Congress*, the time has now come to raise the status of the Chief Court of the Punjab to that of a Chartered High Court in the interest of the administration of Justice in that Province.

19. That this *Congress* tenders its best thanks to the Electors of Central Finsbury, both for their kindly sympathy in its objects and for having so generously accorded to it the valuable services of their honoured member Mr. Naoroji, who is destined, the *Congress* hopes, long to represent both Central Finsbury and India in the British House of Parliament.

20. That a sum of Rs. 60,000 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and the cost of the *Congress* Publication, "India," and that the several circles do contribute as arranged either now, or hereafter in Committee, for the year 1894.

21. That this *Congress* hereby tenders its most grateful acknowledgments to Sir W. Wedderburn and the members of the British Congress Committee for the services rendered by them to India during the past year.

22. That this *Congress* re-appoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B., to be its General Secretary for the ensuing year.

23. That the Tenth Indian National Congress do assemble on such day after Christmas Day 1894, as may be later determined upon, at Madras.

Tenth Congress—Madras—1894.

1. (a) That this *Congress* respectfully enters its emphatic protest against the injustice and impolicy of imposing excise duty on Cottons manufactured in British India, as such excise is calculated to cripple seriously the infant Mill Industry of this country.

(b) That this *Congress* puts on record its firm conviction that in proposing this excise the interests of India have been sacrificed to those of Lancashire, and it strongly deprecates any such surrender of Indian interests by the Secretary of State.

(c) That in case the Excise Bill becomes law this *Congress* earnestly prays that the Government of India will without delay seek the sanction of the Secretary of State to exercise the powers which the Bill confers on Government to exempt all Cottons from "twenties" to "twenty-fours" from the operation of the Act.

(d) That the President be authorized to telegraph the above Resolution to the Government of India and to the Secretary of State.

2. (a) That this *Congress* desires to express the profound alarm which has been created by the action of Government in interfering with the existing Permanent Settlement in Bengal and Behar (in the matter of Survey and other cesses) and with the terms of sunnads of permanently settled estates in Madras; and, deeming such interference with solemn pledges a national calamity, hereby pledges itself to oppose in all possible legitimate ways all such reactionary attacks on permanent settlements and their holders, and resolves to petition Parliament in that behalf.

(b) That this *Congress* regrets extremely that the Government of India have not only failed to carry out the pledges (given by the Secretary of State in his despatches of 1862 and 1865) for permanent settlement in the Provinces in which it does not exist, but have also failed to give effect to the policy of granting modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancements laid down in 1882 and 1884 by the Government of India and approved by the Secretary of State; and this *Congress* hereby entreats the Government of India to grant a modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancement of land-tax for a sufficiently long period of not less than sixty years so as to secure to landholders the full benefits of their own improvements.

3. That this *Congress*, concurring in the views set fourth in previous *Congresses*, affirms: That fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that in every decade, several millions actually perish by starvation.

And humbly urges, once more, that immediate steps be taken to remedy this calamitous state of affairs.

4. 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; and suggests that in its place a Standing Committee of Members of the House of Commons be appointed.

5. That this *Congress*, while thanking Her Majesty's Government for the promise they have made to appoint a Select Committee of Members of Parliament to enquire into the financial expenditure of India, regards an enquiry with so limited a scope as inadequate, and is of opinion that if the enquiry is to bear any practical fruit it must include an enquiry into the ability of the Indian people to bear their existing financial burdens and into the financial relations between India and the United Kingdom.

6. (a) That this *Congress* expresses its deep sense of disappointment at the despatch of the Secretary of State supporting the views of the Government of India on the question of Simultaneous Examinations, and this *Congress* hereby places on record its respectful but firm protest against the despatch, as, among other things, introducing a new principle inconsistent with the Charter Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of the Queen of 1st November 1858 (the solemn pledges contained in which the Secretary of State and the Government of India now seek to repudiate) by creating a disability founded upon race, for the despatch lays down that a minimum of European officials in the Covenanted Service is indispensable.

(b) That in the opinion of this *Congress* the creation of the Provincial service is no satisfactory or permanent solution of the problem, as this service, constituted as it is at present, falls short of the legitimate aspirations of the people, and the interests of the subordinate service will not suffer by the concession of Simultaneous Examinations.

(c) That no attempt has been made to make out a case against the holding of Simultaneous Examinations for the recruitment of the Engineering, Forest, Telegraph and the higher Police Service Examinations, and the *Congress* regrets to notice that the despatches of the Secretary of State, the Government of India, and the various local Governments are absolutely silent with regard to this aspect of the Resolution of the House of Commons.

(d) That this *Congress* respectfully urges on Her Majesty's Government that the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June 1893 on the question of Simultaneous Examinations should be speedily carried out as an act of justice to the Indian people.

7. That this *Congress* views with great dissatisfaction the system of recruiting the higher Judicial Service of the country, and is of opinion that provision should be made for proper Judicial training being given to persons who are appointed to the post of District and Sessions Judge, and that the higher Judicial Service in Bengal, the N. W. P. and Oudh, Bombay and Madras, and the Judicial Service generally in other parts of the country, should be more largely recruited from the legal profession than is now the case.

8. (a) That this *Congress* is of opinion that the present constitution of the Higher Civil Medical Service is anomalous, indefensible in principle, injurious in its working, and unnecessarily costly; that the time has arrived when in the interests of Public Medical Education, and the advancement of Medical Service and of scientific work in the country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the Civil Medical Service of India should be reconstructed on the basis of such service in other civilized countries, wholly detached from and independent of the Military Service.

(b) That the very unsatisfactory position and prospects of Members of the Subordinate Civil Medical Service (Assistant-Surgeons and Civil Hospital Assistants) compared with members of similar standing in other departments of the Public Service, require thorough investigation and redress, and pray that Government will grant for the purpose an open enquiry by a mixed Commission of official and non-official members.

(c) That whilst this *Congress* views with satisfaction the desire of the Imperial Government to re-organise the Chemical Analyser's department with a view to its administration as an independent scientific department, it earnestly hopes that Government will not fail to recognise the responsible and meritorious work of Assistant, or as they in reality are, Government Chemical Analysers, and place them on the footing of Specialists.

9. (a) That this *Congress*, in concurrence with the Preceding *Congresses*, considers that the creation of a Legislative Council for the Province of the Punjab is an absolute necessity for the good Government of that Province, and having regard to the fact that a Legislative Council, has been created for the N. W. Provinces, urges that no time be lost in creating such a Council for the Punjab.

(b) That this *Congress*, in concurrence with the preceding *Congress*, is of opinion that the rules now in force under the Indian Councils Act of 1892 are materially defective, and prays that His Excellency the Viceroy in Council will be pleased to have fresh rules framed in a liberal spirit, with a view to a better working of the Act, and suited to the conditions and requirements of each Province.

10. That this *Congress* wishes to express its respectful condolence and sympathy with the royal family of Mysore in their recent sad and sudden bereavement, and at the same time to testify to its deep sense of the loss which has been sustained in the death of the Maharajah of Mysore, not only by the State over which he ruled with such wisdom, ability and beneficence, but also by all the Indian peoples, to whom his constitutional reign was at once vindication of their political capacity, an example for their active emulation, and an earnest of their future political liberties.

11. (a) That, in the opinion of this *Congress*, the time has now arrived when the system of trial by Jury may be safely extended, in cases triable by Sessions Courts, to many parts of the country where it is not at present in force.

(b) That, in the opinion of this *Congress* the innovation made in 1872 in the system of trial by Jury, depriving the verdicts of Juries of all finality, has proved injurious to the country, and that the powers, then, for the first time, vested in Sessions Judges and High Courts, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal, should be at once withdrawn.

(c) That in the opinion of this *Congress* it is extremely desirable that the power at present vested in Government to appeal against acquittals be taken away.

12. That this *Congress* having till now vainly appealed for many successive years to the Government of India, and also to the Secretary of State, to remove one of the gravest defects in the system of administration and one fraught with incalculable oppression to all classes of people throughout the country, and having noted with satisfaction the admission of the evil by two former Secretaries of State (Lord Kimberley and Lord Cross), and being of opinion that the reform is thoroughly practicable, as has been shown by Messrs. R. C. Dutt, M. M. Ghose and P. M. Mehta, entreats the Government of India to direct the immediate appointment in each Province of a Committee (one-half at least of whose members shall be non-official natives of India, qualified by education and experience in the workings of various Courts to deal with the question) to prepare a scheme for the complete separation of all Judicial and Executive functions in their own province with as little additional cost to the State as may be practicable, and the submission of such schemes, with the opinions of the several Governments thereon, at an early date.

13. That this *Congress* re-affirms the opinion of the preceding *Congress* that the time has now come to raise the status of the Chief Court of the Punjab to that of a Chartered High Court in the interests of the administration of justice in this Province.

14. That having regard to the fact that the embarrassed condition of the finances of the country has been giving cause for grave anxiety for some years past, this *Congress* records its

firm conviction that the only remedy for the present state of things is a material curtailment in the expenditure on the Army Services and other Military Expenditure, Home Charges, and the cost of Civil Administration, and in view of the proposed appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to investigate the subject this *Congress* strongly recommends that the Standing Congress Committees of the several Presidencies and Provinces should, so far as practicable make arrangements to send to England at least one well-qualified delegate from each Presidency or Province to urge such reduction before the Committee.

15. That this *Congress* is emphatically of opinion that it is inexpedient in the present state of education in the country that Government grants for higher education should in any way be withdrawn, and, concurring with previous *Congresses* affirms in the most emphatic manner the importance of increasing public expenditure on all branches of education and the expediency of establishing Technical Schools and Colleges.

16. That this *Congress* concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating :—

(a) The reduction of the Salt duty by at least the amount of its latest enhancement

(b) The raising of the Income-tax taxable minimum from five hundred to one thousand Rupees ;

(c) The persistent pressure by the Government of India on all provincial administrations to induce them to carry out in its integrity the excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104, 105, of the Despatch published in the *Gazette of India* of March 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages ;

(d) The introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons in warrant cases to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate they may be committed to the Court of Sessions ;

(e) The fundamental reform of the Police Administration by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in the salaries and the qualifications of the lower grades, and their far more careful enlistment ; and by the selection for the higher posts of gentlemen of higher capacities, more in touch with the respectable portions of the community, and less addicted to Military pretensions, than the majority of existing Deputy Inspectors-General, Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents of Police are at present ;

(f) A modification of the rules under the Arms Act so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India without distinction of creed, caste, or colour ; to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle, or crops ; and to make all licenses, granted under the revised rules, of life-long tenure, revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued ;

(g) The establishment of Military Colleges in India, whereat, natives of India, as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as Commissioned or non-Commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) in the Indian army ;

(h) The organizing throughout the more warlike races of the empire of a system of militia service.

(i) The authorizing and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India ;

(j) The discontinuance of the Exchange Compensation allowance granted to undomiciled European and Eurasian employes of Government, involving an annual expenditure of over a crore of rupees while the Exchequer is in a condition of chronic embarrassment ;

(k) The giving effect to the report of the Parliamentary Members of the India Office Committee on the subject of the Rules, Orders, and Practices in Indian Cantonments, with regard to prostitution and contagious disease, and the endorsing of their conclusions ;—

(l) That the system and incidental practices described in that Report, and the statutory

rules, so far as they authorized or permitted the same, did not accord with the plain meaning and intention of the resolution of the House of Commons of June 5th, 1888; and

- (ii) That the only effective method of preventing these systematic malpractices is by express legislation.

17. That this Congress hereby empowers its President to convey to the Government of India its opinion that the powers proposed to be conferred on District Magistrates, by amendments and additions to section 15 of Police Act V of 1861, with respect to the levy of the costs of punitive police and of granting compensation, are of a most arbitrary, dangerous, and unprecedented character.

18. That this Congress records its deep-felt gratitude to the Government of India for its circular resolution No. 22/F, published in the Supplement to the *Gazette of India*, dated 20th October 1894, and its high appreciation of the generous principle, which it enunciates, of subordinating fiscal interests to the needs and agricultural interests of the ryot population in the management of forests.

And would further represent that in forests falling under classes 3 and 4 of the said resolutions, fuel, grazing concessions, fodder, small timber for building houses and making agricultural implements, edible forest products, &c., may be granted free of charge in all cases, under such restrictions as to quantity, &c., as the Government may deem proper; and that wherever hardship may be felt, under present conditions, the policy of the said Resolution may be carried out with reference to existing Forest areas, and the existing Reserve boundaries so adjusted as to leave a sufficiently large margin to facilitate the enjoyment by the agricultural population of their communal rights without molestation and annoyance by the minor subordinates of the Department.

19. That this Congress, being of opinion that the Government of India Notification of 25th June 1891 in the Foreign Department, gagging the Press in territories under British administration in Native States, is retrograde, arbitrary, and mischievous in its nature, and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people, most respectfully enters its emphatic protest against the same and entreats its cancellation without delay.

20. That this Congress views with apprehension the arbitrary policy of the Government of India with regard to the imposition of water-cess, introducing as it does a disturbing element in taxation, and suggests that the imposition of the said cess be regulated by certain defined principles affording security to the rights of landowners and of persons investing money in land.

21. That this Congress earnestly entreats Her Majesty's Government to grant the prayer of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, resident in the South African Colonies, by vetoing the Bill of the Colonial Government disenfranchising them.

22. That a deputation consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed for the purpose of presenting Resolutions numbered 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21 to His Excellency Lord Elgin; and that the British Committee of the National Congress be requested to arrange a similar deputation to wait upon the Secretary of State for India in London.

From Bengal and Behar:—His Highness the Maharajah Bahadur of Durbhanga, Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, Kt., The Honorable Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, The Honorable Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, Mr. J. Ghosal, Babu Saligram Sing, Mr. Shurefuddin, Rai Jotentranath Chaudhuri and Babu Boikunt Nath Sen. *From the North-West Provinces:*—The Honorable Rajah Rampal Singh and the Honorable Baboo Charoo Chandra Mitter. *From Oudh:*—Sheikh Rajah Hussein Khan, Mr. Hamid Ali Khan and Baboo Gokal Chand. *From the Punjab:*—Sirdar Dayal Sing Majithia, Baboo Kali Prasanna Roy, Mr. Jussawala, Shaik Umar

Buksh, Lala Murlidhar and Bakshi Jaishi Ram. *From Bombay*:—The Honorable Mr. P. M. Mehta, C. I. E. *From the Central Provinces*:—The Honorable Mr. G. M. Chitnavis and Rai Bahadur C. Narainswami Naidu. *From Poona*:—Rao Bahadur V. M. Bhide, Mr. S. B. Bhate Mr. N. B. Mule and Mr. P. L. Nagpurkar. *From Berar*:—Rao Saheb Deerao Vinayek. *From Madras*:—Manivikram Rajah of Calicut, The Honorable Mr. Sabapathy Mudaliar Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu and Mr. G. Subramania Iyer."

23. That a sum of Rs. 60,000 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and the cost of the Congress publication, "India," and that the several circles do contribute as arranged, either now, or hereafter in Committee, for the year 1895.

24. That this Congress hereby tenders its most grateful thanks to Sir W. Wedderburn and the other members of the British Congress Committee for the services rendered by them to India during the present year.

25. That this Congress re-appoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B., to be its General Secretary for the ensuing year.

26. That the eleventh Indian National Congress do assemble on such day after Christmas day, 1895, as may be later determined upon, at Poona.

27. That this Congress is of opinion that the time has come when the constitution of the Congress should be settled, and rules and regulations laid down as to the number of Delegates, their qualifications, the localities for assemblage, and the like, and with this view the Congress requests the Standing Congress Committee of Poona to draw up draft rules and circulate them among the different Standing Congress Committees for their report; these reports, together with the draft rules and the report thereon to be laid before the next Congress for its consideration.

Eleventh Congress—Poona—1894.

1. That the draft rules in regard to the constitution and working of the Indian National Congress, as framed by the Poona Congress Committee in accordance with the resolution, in that behalf, of the last Congress, be circulated by the Poona Committee to all the Standing Congress Committees, with instructions to report to the General Secretary and the Standing Counsel at least three months before the next Congress.

2. That this Congress is of opinion that the enquiry by the Expenditure Commission will not be satisfactory to the people of this country, nor be of any practical advantage, to the Government, unless the lines of policy which regulate expenditure are enquired into, and unless facilities are afforded and arrangements made for receiving evidence other than official and Anglo-Indian. And this Congress also feels that the enquiry would, in all probability, yield better results, if the proceedings were conducted with open doors.

3. That this Congress again records its firm conviction that in view of the embarrassed condition of the finances of the country, the only remedy for the present state of things is a material curtailment in the expenditure, on the Army Services and other military expenditure, Home Charges and the cost of Civil Administration; and it notices with satisfaction that expert opinion in England has now come over to the view of the Indian Parliamentary Committee that growth in military expenditure is a more potent cause of Indian financial embarrassment than the condition of exchange.

4. That this Congress again appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take practical steps for the purpose of carrying out the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the administration of justice.

5. That this Congress views with alarm the constant changes that are being made and threatened on the subject of trial by Jury in this country, and, regard being had to the fact

that no demand for any such change has been made by any portion of the population of British India, trusts that the Bill now before the Supreme Legislative Council on the subject will not be further proceeded with : and this Congress, reaffirming resolutions passed by former Congresses, also trusts that trials by Jury will be extended to districts and offences to which the system at present does not apply and that their verdicts should be final.

6. That this Congress, being of opinion that the Government of India Notification of 25th June 1891 in the Foreign Department, gagging the Press in territories under British administration in Native States, is retrograde, arbitrary and mischievous in its nature and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people, again enters its emphatic protest against the same and urges its cancellation without delay.

7. That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good results to the people of this country, and repeats its conviction that no satisfactory solution of the question is possible, unless effect is given to the resolution of the House of Commons of June 1893 in favour of holding the competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Services simultaneously in India and England.

8. That in view of the great extensions of the British power on the North-West and North-East of the proper frontiers of India into regions not contemplated by Parliament when it passed Section 56 of the Government of India Act, the Congress is of opinion that over and above the sanction of Parliament necessary before the revenue and forces of India are employed outside the frontiers of India, the interests of India absolutely demand that the expenses of all such expeditions should be shared between England and India. Without some such additional guarantee, the forward Military policy will involve India in hopeless financial confusion.

9. That the Congress deems it necessary to record its most solemn protest against the disabilities sought to be imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa, and it earnestly hopes that the British Government and the Government of India will come forward to guard the interests of these settlers in the same spirit in which they have always interfered, whenever the interests of their British-born subjects have been at stake.

10. That in the opinion of this Congress, any proposal to restrict the right of private alienation of lands by legislation as a remedy for the relief of agricultural indebtedness will be a most retrograde measure, and will, in its distant consequences, not only check improvement but reduce the agricultural population to a condition of still greater helplessness. The indebtedness of the agriculturist classes arises partly from their ignorance and partly from the application of a too rigid system of fixed revenue assessments which takes little account of the fluctuating conditions of agriculture in many parts of India : and the true remedy must be sought in the spread of general education and a relaxation of the rigidity of the present system of revenue collections in those parts of the country where the permanent settlement does not obtain.

11. That the Congress notes with satisfaction that the right of interpellation, vested in non-official members of the Legislative Councils, has, on the whole, been exercised in a spirit of moderation, which has secured the approval of the authorities here and in England; and the Congress, being of opinion that the practical utility of interpellations would be greatly enhanced, if the members putting them were allowed to preface their questions by a short explanation of the reasons for them, urges that the right to make such explanations ought to be granted.

12. (a) That this Congress notices with satisfaction that its views in regard to the urgency and lines of reform in regard to the condition of the Civil and Military Medical Services of the country are being endorsed in influential Medical and Military circles, and

that in the interests of the public, Medical Science and the profession, as also in the cause of economic administration, this Congress once again affirms (1) that there should be only one Military Medical Service with two branches, one for the European army and the other for native troops, worked on identical lines; (2) that the Civil Medical Service of the country should be reconstituted a distinct and independent Medical Service, wholly detached from its present Military connection, and recruited from the open profession of Medicine in India and elsewhere, with a due leaning to the utilisation of indigenous talent, other things being equal.

(b) That this Congress further affirms that the status and claims of Civil Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants require thorough and open inquiry with a view to the redressing of long-standing anomalies and consequent grievances; and the Congress notices with regret that in their recent scheme of the reorganisation of the Chemical Analysts' department the oft-admitted claims of Assistant Chemical Analysts have been apparently overlooked by Government.

13. That this Congress, while fully sympathising with any genuine effort which the Government may make for the suppression of law-touts, views with grave alarm those provisions of the Bill to amend the Legal Practitioners' Act, now pending the consideration of the Supreme Legislative Council, which propose to invest District Judges and Revenue Commissioners with the power of dismissing legal practitioners and, in cases coming under the Act, to throw the entire burden of proving their innocence upon the latter; and this Congress, being of opinion that the provisions of the Bill are calculated to prejudicially affect the independence of the Bar and to lower the position of legal practitioners in the eyes of the public without, in any way, helping to suppress law-touts or to further the ends of justice, urges that it should be dropped.

14. That this Congress expresses its firm conviction that in the interests of the country it is absolutely necessary that there should be greater fixity in the tenure on which land is held in the temporarily settled districts than exists at present, and that Government should impose on its own action restrictions against enhancement of assessment similar to those which it has deemed necessary in the interests of tenants to impose upon the rights of private landlords in permanently settled estates.

15. That this Congress puts on record its emphatic protest against the retrograde policy that the Government of India have this time followed in nominating a gentleman for the Central Provinces to the Supreme Legislative Council without asking Local Bodies to make recommendations for such nomination and earnestly hopes that Government will be pleased to take early steps to give to the Central Provinces the same kind of representation that it has already granted to Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the N. W. Provinces.

16. That this Congress repeats the resolutions of the last two years against the grant of Exchange Compensation allowance to the undomiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government involving now an annual expenditure of over a crore and a half of rupees.

17. That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for recognising the grievances of third class Railway Passengers, from whom the largest portion of railway revenue is derived, in their recent resolutions on the subject, desires to express its hope that Government will take effective steps to bring about an early redress of those grievances.

18. That this Congress is of opinion that the action of the Forest Department, under the rules framed by the different Provincial Governments prejudicially affects the inhabitants of the rural parts of the country by subjecting them to the annoyance and oppression of forest subordinates in various ways which have led to much discontent throughout the country. The objects of forest conservancy, as announced in the resolution of 1894, are declared to be not to secure the largest revenue but to conserve the forests in the interest chiefly of the agricultural classes and of their cattle. The existing set of

rules subordinate the latter consideration to the former and an amendment of the rules with a view to correct the mischief is, in the opinion of the Congress, urgently called for.

19. That this Congress tenders its thanks to the Secretary of State for India for his promise of September last to take an early opportunity to reduce the Salt Duty, and, concurring with previous Congresses, once more places on record its sense of the great hardship which the present rate of salt taxation imposes upon the poorest classes of the country—a hardship which renders it incumbent on Government to take the first opportunity to restore the duty to its level of 1888.

20. That this Congress is emphatically of opinion that it is inexpedient in the present state of education in the country that Government grants for Higher Education should in any way be withdrawn, or that fees in educational institutions, wholly or partially supported by the State, should be increased, and concurring with previous Congresses, affirms in the most emphatic manner the importance of increasing public expenditure on all branches of education and the expediency of establishing Technical Schools and Colleges.

21. That this Congress is of opinion that the objection taken by Lancashire manufacturers to the exemption of Indian yarns below 20s from excise duty is not well-founded, and trusts that the Government of India will stand firm in its policy of levying import duties for revenue purposes, as such levy does not conflict in any way with principles of free trade.

22. That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating:

(a) The raising of the Income-Tax taxable minimum from five hundred to one thousand rupees;

(b) Persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial Administrations to induce them to carry out in its integrity the excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104, 105, of the Despatch, published in the *Gazette of India* of March 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages;

(c) The introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons in warrant cases to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they may be committed to the Court of Sessions;

(d) The taking of immediate steps to improve the lot of the poorer classes in India, fully fifty millions of the population—a number yearly increasing, dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and several millions actually perishing, in every decade, by starvation;

(e) A modification of the rules under the Arms Act so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India without distinction of creed, caste or colour; to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle, or crops; and to make all licenses, granted under the revised rules, of life-long tenure, revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued;

(f) The establishment of Military Colleges in India, whereat, natives of India, as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as Commissioned or non-Commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) in the Indian army;

(g) The organizing throughout the more warlike races of the empire of a system of military service;

(h) The authorizing and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India;

(i) The regulation of the imposition of the Water-cess by certain defined principles, affording security to the rights of land-owners and of persons investing money in land.

23. That a sum of Rs. 60,000 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee

and the cost of the Congress publication, "India," and also for the expenses of the Joint-General Secretary's office, and that the several circles do contribute as arranged, either now, or hereafter in Committee, for the year 1896.

24. That this Congress hereby tenders its most grateful thanks to Sir W. Wedderburn and the other members of the British Congress Committee for the services rendered by them to India during the present year.

25. That this Congress reappoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., to be its General Secretary, and appoints Mr. D. E. Wacha to be its Joint-General Secretary for the ensuing year.

26. That the Twelfth Congress do assemble on such day after Christmas day 1896, as may be later determined upon, at Calcutta.

Twelfth Congress—Calcutta—1896.

1. That this Congress desires to place on record its humble congratulations on Her Gracious Majesty, the Queen Empress, having attained the sixtieth year of her reign, the longest and the most beneficent in the annals of the Empire—a reign associated with the most important advances in human happiness and civilization. The Congress expresses the hope that Her Majesty may long be spared to reign over her people.

2. That this Congress desires to convey to Sir William Wedderburn and the other members of the British Committee its most grateful thanks for their disinterested services in the cause of Indian Political Advancement and accords its hearty welcome to Mr. W. S. Caine as the Delegate of the British Committee to this Congress.

3. That this Congress notices with satisfaction the support of public opinion both in England and in India which the question of the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the administration of justice has received; and this Congress once again appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State, to take practical steps for speedily carrying out this much-needed reform. In this connection the Congress desires to record its deep regret at the death of Mr. Mon Mohun Ghose who made this question the subject of his special study.

4. Considering that the Local Governments are entrusted with all branches of administration, excepting Army expenditure, superior supervision and control here and in England, and the payment of interest on debt, this Congress is of opinion that the allotments made to the Provincial Governments on what is called the provincial adjustments are inadequate, and that in view of the revision of the Quinquennial Provincial Contract, which is to take place in 1897, the time has arrived when a further step should be taken in the matter of financial decentralization, by leaving the responsibility of the financial administration of the different Provinces principally to the Local Governments; the Supreme Government receiving from each Local Government only a fixed contribution levied in accordance with some definite and equitable principle, which should not be liable to any disturbance during the currency of the period of contract, so as to secure to Local Governments that fiscal certainty, and that advantage arising from the moral expansion of the revenues which are so essential to all real progress in the development of the resources and the satisfactory administration of the different provinces.

5. That this Congress concurring with previous Congresses again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good result to the people of this country, and repeats its conviction that no satisfactory solution of the question is possible unless effect is given to the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 2nd June 1893, in favour of holding the competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Services, *viz.*, Civil, Medical, Police Engineering, Telegraph, Forest, and

Accounts, both in India and in England. This Congress would once again respectfully urge on Her Majesty's Government that the Resolution of the House of Commons should be speedily carried out as an act of justice to the Indian people and as the only adequate fulfilment of the pledges made to them.

6. That this Congress hereby records its protest against the scheme reorganizing the Educational Service which has just received the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude natives of India, including those who have been educated in England, from the superior grade of the Education Service to which they have hitherto been admitted; for in the words of the Resolution:—"In future Natives of India who are desirous of entering the Educational Department will usually be appointed in India, and to the Provincial service." The Congress prays that the scheme may be so recast as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service.

7. That this Congress having regard to the opinion of the Jury Commission as to the success of the system of Trial by Jury, and to the fact that with the progress of education a sufficient number of educated persons is available in all parts of the country, and concurring with previous Congresses, is of opinion that Trial by Jury should be extended to districts and offences to which the system at present does not apply, and that the verdicts should be final.

8. That this Congress once again places on record its sense of the great hardship which the present rate of Salt tax imposes upon the poorest classes of the country, a hardship which renders it incumbent upon the Government to take the earliest opportunity to restore the duty to the level of 1868.

9. That this Congress once again deems it necessary to record its most solemn protest against the disabilities imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa and the invidious and humiliating distinctions made between them and European settlers, and appeals to Her Majesty's Government and the Government of India to guard the interests of Indian settlers and to relieve them of the disabilities to which they are subjected.

10. (a) That this Congress notices with satisfaction that its views in connection with the urgency and the lines of reform in regard to the condition of the Civil and Military Medical Services of the country have been endorsed in influential Medical and Military circles, and in the interests of the public, the Medical Science and the profession, as also in the cause of economic administration, this Congress once again affirms (1) that there should be only one Military Medical Service with two branches, one for the European army and the other for native troops, worked on identical lines and (2) that the Civil Medical Service of the country should be reconstituted as a distinct and independent Medical Service, wholly detached from its present Military connection, and recruited from the open profession of Medicine in India and elsewhere, with due regard to the utilisation of indigenous talent, other things being equal.

(b) That the Congress further affirms that the status and claims of Civil Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants require thorough and open inquiry with a view to the redressing of long-standing anomalies and consequent grievances.

11. That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating:—

(a) Persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial Administrations to induce them to carry out in its integrity the excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104 and 105 of the Despatch published in the Gazette of India of March 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of effective local option;

(b) The introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons in warrant cases to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate

they may be committed to the Court of Sessions ;

(c) A modification of the rules under the Arms Act so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to India without distinction of creed, caste or colour ; to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops ; and to make all licenses, granted under the revised rules, of life-long tenure revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued ;

(d) The establishment of Military Colleges in India, whereat Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as Commissioned or non-Commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) in the Indian army ;

(e) The authorizing and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India ;

(f) The discontinuance of the grant of Exchange Compensation Allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government ;

(g) The abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India ;

(h) The establishment of a High Court of Judicature and a Provincial Legislative Council in the Punjab ;

(i) The withdrawal of the Government of India Notification of 25th June 1891 in the Foreign Department, gagging the Press in Territories under British administration in Native States, as being retrograde, arbitrary and mischievous in its nature and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people.

12. That this Congress deplores the out-break of famine in a more or less acute form throughout India and holds that this and other famines which have occurred in recent years are due to the great poverty of the people, brought on by the drain of the wealth of the country which has been going on for years together, and by the excessive taxation and over-assessment, consequent on a policy of extravagance, followed by the Government both in the Civil and the Military departments, which has so far impoverished the people that at the first touch of scarcity they are rendered helpless and must perish unless fed by the State or helped by private charity. In the opinion of this Congress the true remedy against the recurrence of famine lies in the adoption of a policy which would enforce economy, husband the resources of the State, foster the development of indigenous and local arts and industries which have practically been extinguished, and help forward the introduction of modern arts and industries.

In the meantime the Congress would remind the Government of its solemn duty to save human life and mitigate human suffering, (the provisions of the existing Famine Code being in the opinion of the Congress inadequate as regards wages and rations, and oppressive as regards task work,) and would appeal to the Government to redeem its pledges by restoring the Famine Insurance Fund (keeping a separate account of it) to its original footing and to apply it more largely to its original purpose, *viz.* the immediate relief of the famines stricken people.

That in view of the fact that private charity in England is ready to flow freely into this country at this awful juncture, and considering that large classes of sufferers can only be reached by private charity, this Congress desires to enter its most emphatic protest against the manner in which the Government of India is at present blocking the way, and this Congress humbly ventures to express the hope that the disastrous mistake committed by Lord Lytton's Government in the matter will not be repeated on this occasion.

13. That this Congress once again would desire to call the attention of the Government to the deplorable condition of the poorer classes in India, full forty millions of whom according to high official authority drag out a miserable existence on the verge of starva-

tion even in normal years, and the Congress would recommend the following amongst other measures for the amelioration of their condition :—

1. That the Permanent Settlement be extended to those parts of the country where it does not exist at the present time, and restrictions be put on over-assessments in those parts of India where it may not be advisable to extend the Permanent Settlement at the present time, so as to leave the Ryots sufficient to maintain themselves.

2. That Agricultural Banks be established and that greater facilities be accorded for obtaining loans under the Agricultural Loans Act.

3. That the minimum income assessable under the Income-tax Act be raised from five hundred to one thousand.

4. That technical schools be established and local and indigenous manufactures fostered.

14. That the time having come when greater facilities are imperatively required for higher education and the proper development of the Indian intellect than what are at present offered by examinations alone, this Congress is of opinion that the Acts of Incorporation of the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay should be amended so as to provide for the introduction of teaching functions and for a wider scope of learning, and so as to suit generally the requirements of the present day.

15. That having regard to the facility of intercourse between all parts of India and Assam this Congress is of opinion that the time has now arrived when the Inland Emigration Act I of 1882 as amended by Act VII of 1893 should be repealed.

16. That having regard to the wisdom of the policy of appointing to the Governorships of Madras and Bombay, statesmen from England to the exclusion of the Services in India, and in view to the utilisation by those Governors of the power of giving when necessary a casting vote allowed them by law, this Congress is of opinion that it is desirable that the Executive Governments of those Provinces should be administered by the Governors with Councils of three members and not of two members as at present, and that one of the three Councillors must be other than a member of the Indian Civil Service., and in view to carrying out the object without additional cost, this Congress would suggest that the officers commanding the forces of those Presidencies be declared members of the respective Councils as the Commanders-in-Chief of Madras and Bombay were, before the Madras and Bombay Armies Act of 1893 was passed.

17. That this Congress enters its emphatic protest against the policy of Government, in provinces where the Settlement of Land Revenue is periodical, to reduce the duration of the settlement to shorter periods than had been the case till now, and prays that the settlement should be guaranteed for long periods, at least for sixty years.

18. That in the opinion of this Congress it is desirable that in future no Indian Prince or Chief shall be deposed on the ground of maladministration or misconduct until the fact of such maladministration or misconduct shall have been established to the satisfaction of a Public Tribunal which shall command the confidence alike of Government and of the Indian Princes and Chiefs.

19. That this Congress puts on record its emphatic protest against the retrograde policy of the Government of India followed last year in nominating a gentlemen for the Central Provinces to the Supreme Legislative Council without asking local bodies to make recommendations for such nomination, and earnestly hopes that Government will be pleased to take early steps to give to the Central Provinces the same kind of representation that it has already granted to Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North Western Provinces.

20. That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of satisfaction at the delegation by the Bombay Presidency Association of Mr. Dinshaw Eduljee Wacha, Joint

General Secretary of the Congress, to give evidence before the Royal Commission on Expenditure, and the Congress has full confidence that Mr. Wacha will give accurate and adequate expression to its views on the questions which form the subject of enquiry.

21. That this Congress again expresses its full and unabated confidence in Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji as the representative of the people of India and hopes that he will be re-elected by his old constituency of Central Finsbury or any other Liberal constituency.

22. That a sum of Rupees sixty thousand be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and cost of the Congress Publication "India" and also for the expenses of the Joint General Secretary's Office, and that the several circles do contribute as arranged, either now, or hereafter in committee, for the year 1897.

23. That this Congress reappoints Mr. A. O. Hume to be General Secretary, and Mr. D. E. Wacha to be Joint General Secretary for the ensuing year.

24. That the Thirteenth Congress do assemble on such day after Christmas Day 1897, as may be later determined upon, at Amraoti, Berar.

Thirteenth Congress—Amraoti—1897.

1. That this Congress expresses its deep and earnest conviction that the present Frontier policy of the Government of India is injurious to the best interests of the British Empire in general, and this country in particular, as it involves frequent Military expeditions beyond the present limits of the British Indian Empire and causes great loss of valuable lives and public money; and therefore entreats the British Nation to put a stop to this aggressive policy and to lay down that if such expeditions are found necessary they being for Imperial purposes, the major portion of their expenses should be defrayed by the British Exchequer.

2. That in view of the fact that the calamities of famine and plague have dislocated the already seriously embarrassed finances of this country and crippled its limited resources, and that the Military operations carried on beyond the North-West Frontier are for the protection of Imperial interests, this Congress prays that the British Parliament will, pending the settlement of the principle on which the Military charges are to be apportioned between Great Britain and India, be pleased to make a substantial contribution to the cost of the present war.

2a. That this Congress authorizes the President to submit a petition to Parliament embodying the prayer contained in Resolutions 1 and 2 under his hand on its behalf.

3. That this Congress rejoices that the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure was pleased to decide to admit the public to its proceedings, and further desires to express its grateful acknowledgments for the opportunity afforded by the Honourable Commission to representative Indian witnesses to state fully the case on behalf of India. With regard to the three divisions of the reference the Congress desires most respectfully to submit the following prayers for the favourable consideration of the Honourable Commission:—

(i) As regards the Machinery to control Indian Expenditure, it is prayed—(1) that the non-official Members of the Viceroy's Council may be made more directly representative of the Indian people, and that they may have the right to move amendments and divide the Council upon the provisions of the Budget; (2) that a sufficient member of representative Indians of position and experience may be nominated to the Council of the Secretary of State on the recommendation of the elected Members of the Viceroy's and Local Legislative Councils; and (3) that each year a Select Committee of the House of Commons may be appointed to inquire into and report upon the financial condition of India;

(ii) As regards the progress of Expenditure, it is prayed that the Military and

other unproductive expenditure be reduced, that larger amounts be spent in promoting the welfare and the progress of the people, and that a large saving and a more efficient administration may be obtained by the substitution, as far as practicable, of Indian for European agency in the higher grades of the Public service; and

(iii) As regards apportionment of charges, it is prayed that the Imperial Treasury may bear a fair proportion of all expenditure in which the common interests of India and the rest of the Empire are involved; and especially that the expenses of the present war beyond the frontier may be largely borne by the Imperial Exchequer. Lastly, that it be an instruction to the President to submit a copy of this Resolution under his own signature to the Chairman of the Royal Commission with the least practicable delay.

4. That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating:—

(a) Persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial Administrations to induce them to carry out in its integrity the excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104 and 105 of the Despatch published in the *Gazette of India* of March 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of effective local option. (b) a modification of the rules under the Arms Act so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India without distinction of creed, caste or colour, to ensure the liberal concession of licences wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops; and to make all licenses granted under the revised rules, of life long tenure revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued: (c) the establishment of Military Colleges in India, whereat Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a Military career as Commissioned or Non-Commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) in the Indian Army; (d) the authorizing and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India: (e) the discontinuance of the grant of exchange compensation allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employes of Government; (f) the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India: (g) the establishment of a High Court of Judicature in the Punjab.

And this Congress, concurring with its predecessors, records its protests:—

(a) Against the scheme of reorganisation of the Educational Service which has received the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude natives of India, even those who have been educated in England, from the superior grade of the Educational Service to which they have hitherto been admitted, (the words of the Resolution being: "In future natives of India who are desirous of entering the Education Department will usually be appointed in India and to the Provincial service") advocating that the scheme may be so recast as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service.

(b) Against the present rate of the Salt Tax, which produces great hardship to the poorest classes of the country, a hardship which renders it incumbent upon the Government to take the earliest opportunity to restore the duty to its level of 1888.

(c) Against the disabilities imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa, and the invidious and humiliating distinctions made between them and European settlers, appealing to Her Majesty's Government and the Government of India to guard the interests of Indian settlers and to relieve them of the disabilities to which they are subjected.

(d) Against the retrograde policy of the Government of India in nominating a gentleman for the Central Provinces to the Supreme Legislative Council without asking local bodies to make recommendations for such nomination, entertaining the earnest hope that Government will be pleased to take early steps to give to the Central Provinces the

same kind of representation that it has already granted to Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North Western Provinces.

And this Congress, also concurring with its predecessors, expresses its firm conviction :—

(a) That in the interests of the public, the Medical science and the Profession, as also in the cause of economic administration, (1) there should be only one Medical Military Service with two branches, one for the European Army and one for Native troops, worked on identical lines; (2) the Civil Medical Service of the country should be reconstituted as a distinct and independent Medical Service, wholly detached from its present Military connection and recruited from the open profession of Medicine in India and elsewhere, with due regard to the utilization of indigenous talent, other things being equal and (3) there should be a thorough open enquiry into the status and claims of Civil Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants with a view to the redressing of long standing anomalies and consequent grievances.

(b) That the time having come when greater facilities are imperatively required for higher education and the proper development of the Indian intellect than what are at present offered by examinations alone the Acts of Incorporation of the Universities of Calcutta Madras and Bombay should be amended so as to provide for the introduction of teaching functions and for a wider scope of learning so as to suit generally the requirements of the present day.

(c) That, having regard to the facility of intercourse between all parts of India and Assam, the time has now arrived when the Inland Emigration Act I of 1882 as amended by Act VII of 1893 should be repealed.

(d) That it is desirable that in future no Indian Prince or Chief should be deposed on the ground of mal-administration or misconduct until the fact of such mal-administration or misconduct shall have been established to the satisfaction of a public Tribunal which shall command the confidence alike of Government and of the Indian Princes and Chiefs.

(e) That, having regard to the opinion of the Jury Commission as to the success of the system of trial by Jury, and also the fact that with the progress of education a sufficient number of educated persons is available in all parts of the country, the system of trial by Jury should be extended to districts and offences to which at present it does not apply, and that the verdicts should be final.

5. That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good result to the people of this country, and repeats its conviction that no satisfactory solution of the question is possible unless effect is given to the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 2nd June 1893, in favour of holding the competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Services, viz., Civil, Medical, Police, Engineering, Telegraph, Forest, and Accounts, both in India and in England. This Congress would once again respectfully urge on Her Majesty's Government that the Resolution of the House of Commons should be speedily carried out as an act of justice to the Indian people and as the only adequate fulfilment of the pledges made to them.

6. That this Congress, being of opinion that the Government of India Notification of 25th June 1891 in the Foreign Department gagging the Press in Territories under British administration in Native States, is retrograde, arbitrary and mischievous in its nature, and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people, again, enters its emphatic protest against the same and urges its cancellation without delay.

7. That this Congress enters its emphatic protest against the Policy of Government in Provinces where the settlement of land revenue is periodical in reducing the duration of the settlement while enhancing its amount, and expresses its firm conviction that in

the interests of the country it is absolutely necessary that the land revenue in such Provinces should be permanently settled.

8. That this Congress notices with satisfaction the support of public opinion both in England and in India which the question of the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the administration of Justice has received; and this Congress once again appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take practical steps for speedily carrying out this much-needed reform.

9. That this Congress is glad to note that the Government of India has appointed a Famine Commission and hopes that the Commission will institute a searching enquiry into the matter. At the same time this Congress once again desires to repeat its conviction that famines are due to the great poverty of the people, brought on by the drain of the wealth of the country which has been going on for years together, and by the excessive taxation and over-assessment consequent on a policy of extravagance followed by the Government both in the Civil and Military departments, which have so far impoverished the people that at the first touch of scarcity they are rendered helpless and must perish unless fed by the State or helped by private charity. In the opinion of this Congress the true remedy against the recurrence of famine lies in the adoption of a policy which would enforce economy, husband the resources of the State, foster the development of indigenous and local arts and industries, which have practically been extinguished, and help forward the introduction of modern arts and industries.

10. That this Congress expresses its heart-felt gratitude to the British public and to the peoples of the British Colonies, the United States of America and other foreign countries for the generous aid afforded by them to the starving millions of this country during the late dreadful visitation of famine, and also wishes to place on record its high appreciation of the services which many men and women—English and Indian—residing in this country rendered, and the pecuniary help they gave for the relief of those afflicted by that calamity.

And that it be an instruction to the various Congress Committees to raise a sum of a thousand pounds, to be sent to the Lord Mayor of London on behalf of the Congress, in order that he might be pleased to put some memorial in some conspicuous part of London expressing the gratitude of the people of India for the help rendered to them during the time of the last famine.

11. That, having regard to the wisdom of the policy of appointing to the Governorships of Madras and Bombay statesmen from England to the exclusion of the Services in India, this Congress is of opinion that it is desirable that the Executive Governments of those Provinces should be administered by the Governors with Councils of three Members and not of two Members, as at present, and that one of the three Councillors should be other than a member of the Indian Civil Service.

12. That this Congress respectfully deprecates the exercise by the Government of the extraordinary powers vested in them by Bengal Regulation III of 1818, Madras Regulation II of 1819, and Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827 at a time of peace and quiet, and submits that such powers should be exercised only under such limitations as will ensure their being put in force with the utmost circumspection and care and under a sense of the highest responsibility by the Government.

(a) This Congress therefore urges that none of these Regulations should be put into force except after notification by the Local Government concerned that the circumstances contemplated by the preamble of the Regulations exist in its Province or in some definite area within the Province, and that it intends, if necessary, to exercise the powers vested in it; and further that in no case should such powers extend to keeping a person arrested under

them in custody for a period longer than three months without his being brought to trial before a Court of Justice.

(b) That this Congress, while feeling that the Government of Bombay must have acted under a sense of responsibility in arresting the Sardars Nattu under Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827, is yet of opinion, that, five months having now elapsed from such arrest, it is the duty of the Government, in the interests of justice, and also to allay the disquiet and uneasiness which has been created in the minds of the people at large by the arrest, to bring them—the Sardars Nattu—to trial without delay, or, if the Government have no sufficient evidence against them to place before a Court of Justice, to release them.

13. That this Congress views with alarm and anxiety the changes proposed in the existing law of sedition as defined in Section 124A, and of circulating false reports as defined in Section 505 of the Indian Penal Code, and is of opinion that Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code requires amendment, not in the direction of greater stringency but in that of greater freedom, and if the law of sedition in India is to be made the same as it is in England, the administration of it ought to be safe-guarded substantially in the same way as it is there, namely, that the trial of accused persons must always be by jury, at least one half of whom should be persons of the same nationality as the accused, and that their verdict should be unanimous. And this Congress strongly protests against cases of sedition being made triable by Magistrate and not by Courts of Sessions and High Courts exclusively, as heretofore, and against the proposal to invest District Magistrates with the power of calling upon persons who, in their opinion, disseminate disaffection, to find sureties of good behaviour for twelve months. This Congress is further of opinion that the changes in the law now proposed will be altogether at variance with the pledges given by Sir James Fitz James Stephen when passing Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code through the Council and will deal an irreparable blow to liberty of speech and freedom of the press, thus retarding the progress of the country and creating terror instead of confidence in the minds of the people.

That a copy of this Resolution be submitted to the Legislative Council by the President.

14. That this Congress desires to record its protest against the Criminal Procedure Bill of 1897 now pending before the Imperial Legislative Council as being a retrograde and reactionary measure, which will add to the already large powers of the Police, invest Magistrates with a discretionary authority which they do not now possess, and curtail the powers of the High Courts, all to the extreme prejudice of accused persons.

15. That this Congress, while thanking the Government for granting the boon of a Legislative Council to the Punjab, places on record its regret that they have not extended to the Councillors the rights of interpellation, and to the people the right of recommending Councillors for nomination such as are enjoyed by the Councillors and people in the other Provinces.

16. That the Province of Berar, though not a part of British India, is administered by the Governor-General-in-Council in the same way as any portion of British India, but the important work of legislating for the province is performed by the Executive, instead of by the Legislative Council, resulting often in unsuitable and inconvenient legislation. This Congress, therefore, humbly prays that so long as Berar is administered by the Governor-General-in-Council all laws and orders having the force of law intended for Berar should be enacted by the Supreme Legislative Council in the same way as those for British India proper.

17. That this Congress prays that the scope of the Famine Commission appointed by the Government of India be extended so as to include an enquiry into the causes

of periodical famines and the remedies for the prevention of the same.

18. That this Congress again expresses its full and unabated confidence in Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji as the representative of the people in India, and hopes that he will be re-elected by his old Constituency of Central Finsbury or any other Liberal Constituency.

19. That this Congress desires to convey to Sir William Wedderburn and the other members of the British Committee its most grateful thanks for their disinterested services in the cause of Indian Political advancement.

And that a sum of Rs. 60,000 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and cost of the Congress publication *India*, and also for the expenses of the Joint-General Secretary's Office, and that the several Circles do contribute, as arranged, either now, or hereafter in Committee, for the year 1898.

20. That this Congress re-appoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., to be General Secretary, and Mr. D. E. Wacha to be Joint-General Secretary for the ensuing year.

21. That the Fourteenth Indian National Congress do assemble, on such day after Christmas Day 1898 as may be later determined upon, at Madras.



राष्ट्रीय पुस्तकालय, कोलकाता
National Library, Kolkata

READY FOR SALE

The Upanishads.

With Text in Devanagiri, Sankara's Commentary
and English Translation.

Published by :—V. C. SESHACHARRI B.A. B.L. M.R.A.S.

FIRST VOLUME.

Isa, Kena & Mundaka.

Price	CLOTH BOUND	Rs.	2-0-0
	PAPER	1-8-0

SECOND VOLUME.

Katha & Prasna

Price	CLOTH BOUND	Rs.	1-8-0
	PAPER	1-0-0

Note : The other volumes are in speedy preparation.

APPLY TO—

G. A. NATESAN & Co., PRINTERS,
ESPLANADE, MADRAS.

MADRAS.

G. A. NATESAN & Co. PRINTERS.

1898.

(8) End

1422