

its resolutions, the Government will very soon be obliged by public opinion in England to consider carefully the decisions the Congress arrives at. The present English Parliament in its infant stage resembled in many respects our present Congress, and just as a grand tree grows out of a small seed, so the small temporary gatherings of a former day have now attained the dimensions of the glorious English Parliament.'

One of the leaders of the Congress movement—an Englishman—has described these foolish productions as 'loyal and kindly alike in spirit and word.' It is unnecessary to quote from them further, or to comment at length upon their character. None can know better than their authors that the accusations and insinuations in which they abound are absolutely false; that the Government of India does not impoverish the country, or spread intemperance among the people, or refuse to consult native opinion in matters connected with the administration; and that English magistrates do not strike and ill-use defenceless cultivators. It is impossible to attribute the circulation of such falsehoods to any other motive than a desire to excite hatred of the British Government and its representatives in the minds of the ignorant masses of India, while concealing from people in England the true character of the movement by exaggerated professions of loyalty. I do not wish to overrate the present extent or importance of this agitation, or to countenance in any way the absurd pretence that its leaders 'represent' the Indian 'people.' But it would not be wise to treat it as merely contemptible, and to assume that it is as powerless for evil as for good. The danger is not that the natives of India in general are likely to adopt any directly seditious scheme, or to form any wide-spread desire for objects incompatible with the maintenance of British rule. The danger lies in the method adopted by those who are agitating for such objects, and in the falsehoods and misrepresentations which they are not ashamed to use. The 'Catechism' and the 'Conversation' from which I have quoted, are not addressed to people trained in the ways of European political controversy, and able to distinguish between constitutional criticism of the measures of Government and a desire to overthrow its authority. In England assertions that the Government is the cause of all the poverty and other misfortunes

of the people would be harmless, and the most virulent attacks on the Government could hardly have any worse effect than the unpopularity and defeat of a ministry. In India their effect, so far as they are believed, is likely to be a conviction that the country will never be prosperous until the British administration has been destroyed.

When the extreme ignorance and the extreme credulity of the natives are taken into account, it is easy to conceive that false and absurd reports regarding the intentions of the Government might create a panic, with results as terrible as those of the panic of 1857. The danger is not an imaginary one. There have been lately in Northern India signs of a religious agitation which might at any moment be connected with the Congress, if its leaders considered such a course likely to advance their objects.

Political agitation might safely be disregarded so long as it did not spread beyond Bengal and Southern India. But matters would be very different if agitators succeeded in teaching any considerable number among the many races of Northern India to hate their rulers. Sir Syad Ahmad has warned the Government in emphatic language that a Mohammedan agitation 'is not the same as a Bengali agitation,' and that Rajputs or Pathans if once excited into hostility, are not likely to stop at speeches and newspaper articles. So far there is nothing to show that the Congress has made any real impression upon the people of Northern India, but its leaders are making every effort to extend their influence in the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab, and the next of their great annual meetings is to be held at Allahabad. The possible effect of the agitation upon the native army, the most efficient part of which is recruited in Northern India, must not be left out of account. One of the Englishmen who have taken a prominent part in the proceedings of the Congress boasted not long ago that he and his colleagues 'hold the keys of a good many magazines of physical force, though they are not going to put those keys in the locks,' and that 'as for the native army, every Sepoy and native officer has a home, and often visits it on leave and furlough, and every one of them could be got at without the slightest difficulty and (the facts of the case are so plain, simple, and irrefutable) converted to the views held by

the great mass of his educated and half-educated countrymen. In two years the great bulk of the native army could be converted into sound politicians, and strong supporters of the reform movement.' It would be rash to assert that these statements are mere empty threats.

Whether an agitation conducted in the manner I have described should be allowed to develop further, or what should be done to check it, are serious questions, but this is not the proper occasion to discuss them.

There are happily among the educated natives of India, many men who are capable of exercising a sound and useful political influence upon their fellow-countrymen, and who properly appreciate the tendency of this Bengali agitation. I will give as an illustration of this fact the following passages translated from a speech made by Sir Syad Ahmad at Meerut, in March, 1888.

'I wish to explain what method my nation, nay rather the whole people of this country, ought to pursue in political matters. I will treat in regular sequence the political questions of India, in order that you may have full opportunity of giving your attention to them. The first of all is this—in whose hands shall the administration and the Empire of India rest? Now, suppose that all the English and the whole English army were to leave India, taking with them all their cannon and their splendid weapons and everything—then who would be rulers of India? Is it possible that under these circumstances two nations—the Mahomedans and the Hindus—could sit on the same throne and remain equal in power? Most certainly not. It is necessary that one of them should conquer the other and thrust it down. To hope that both could remain equal is to desire the impossible and the inconceivable. At the same time, you must remember that although the number of Mahomedans is less than that of the Hindus, and although they contain far fewer people who have received a high English education, yet they must not be thought insignificant or weak. Probably they would be by themselves enough to maintain their own position. But suppose they were not. Then our Musalman brothers, the Pathans, would come out as a swarm of locusts from their mountain valleys—like a swarm of locusts would they come—and make rivers of blood to flow from their frontier on the north to the extreme

end of Bengal. This thing—who after the departure of the English would be conquerors, would rest on the will of God. But until one nation had conquered the other and made it obedient, peace could not reign in the land. This conclusion is based on proofs so absolute that no one can deny it. . . .

When it is granted that the maintenance of the British Government, and of no other, is necessary for the progress of our country, then I ask whether there is any example in the world of one nation having conquered and ruled over another nation, and that conquered nation claiming it as a right that they should have representative government. The principle of representative Government is that it is government by a nation, and that the nation in question rules over its own people and its own land. Can you tell me of any case in the world's history in which any foreign nation after conquering another and establishing its empire over it has given representative government to the conquered people? Such a thing has never taken place. It is necessary for those who have conquered us to maintain their empire on a strong basis. When rulers and ruled are one nation, representative government is possible. For example in Afghanistan, of which Amir Abdur Rahman Khan is the ruler, where all the people are brother-Afghans, it might be possible. If they want, they can have representative government. But to think that representative government can be established in a country over which a foreign race rules, is utterly vain, nor can a trace of such a state of things be discovered in the history of the world. Therefore to ask that we should be appointed by election to the Legislative Council is opposed to the true principles of government, and no government whatever, whether English or German, or French or Russian, or Musalman, could accept this principle. The meaning of it is this:—"Abandon the rule of the country and put it in our hands." Hence it is in no way expedient that our nation should join in and echo these monstrous proposals. . . .

'The aspirations of our friends the Bengalis have made such progress that they want to scale a height to which it is beyond their powers to attain. But if I am not in error, I believe that the Bengalis have never at any period held sway over a particle of land. They are altogether ignorant of the method by which a

foreign race can maintain its rule over other races. Therefore reflect on the doings of your ancestors, and be not unjust to the British Government, to whom God has given the rule of India. And look honestly, and see what is necessary for it to do to maintain its empire and its hold on the country. You can appreciate these matters; but they cannot who have never held a country in their hands nor won a victory. Oh! my brother Musalmans! I again remind you that you have ruled nations, and have for centuries held different countries in your grasp. For seven hundred years in India you have had Imperial sway. You know what it is to rule. Be not unjust to that nation which is ruling over you. And think also on this, how upright is her rule. Of such benevolence as the English Government shows to the foreign nations under her there is no example in the history of the world. See what freedom she has given in her laws, and how careful she is to protect the rights of her subjects. She has not been backward in promoting the progress of the natives of India, and in throwing open to them high appointments. At the commencement of her rule, except clerkships and kaziships, there was nothing. The kazis of the pergunah, who were called commissioners, decided small civil suits, and received very small pay. Up to 1832 or 1833 this state of things lasted. If my memory is not wrong, it was in the time of Lord William Bentinck that natives of India began to get honourable posts. The positions of Munsiff, Subordinate Judge, and Deputy Collector on respectable pay were given to natives, and progress has been steadily going on ever since. In the Calcutta High Court, a Kashmiri Pandit was first appointed equal to the English judges. After him Bengalis have been appointed as High Court Judges. At this time there are, perhaps, three Bengalis in the Calcutta High Court, and in the same way some Hindus in Bombay and Madras. It was your bad fortune that there was for a long time no Mahomedan High Court Judge, but now there is one in the Allahabad High Court. Native High Court Judges can cancel the decision of English judges and collectors. They can ask them for explanations. The subordinate native officers also have full authority in their posts. A deputy collector, a sub-judge, or a munsiff decides cases according to his opinion, and is independent of the opinion

of the judge or collector. None of these things have been acquired by fighting or opposition. As far as you have made yourselves worthy of the confidence of Government, to that extent you have received high positions. Make yourselves her friends, and prove to her that your friendship with her is like that of the English and the Scotch. After this what you have to claim, claim—on condition that you are qualified for it.

‘If we also have some complaints against the English Government, it is no wonderful thing. People are not even grateful to God for His Government. I do not tell you to ask nothing from Government. I will myself fight on your behalf for legitimate objects. But ask for such things as they can give you, or such things to which, having due regard to the administration of the country, you can claim a right. If you ask for such things as Government cannot give you, then it is not the fault of Government, but the folly of the askers.’ But what you ask, do it not in this fashion; that you accuse Government in every action of oppression, abuse the highest officials, use the hardest and harshest words you can find for Lord Lytton and Lord Dufferin, call all Englishmen tyrants, and blacken columns on columns of newspapers with these subjects. You can gain nothing this way. God has made them your rulers. This is the will of God. We should be content with the will of God. And, in obedience to the will of God, you should remain friendly and faithful to them. Do not do this: bring false accusations against them and give birth to enmity. This is neither wisdom nor in accordance with our holy religion.’

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