

THE  
STAR IN THE EAST;  
OR  
THE BENGAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

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## THE STAR IN THE EAST

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Robed in mourning, crowned with ashes,  
Night-enshrouded, India weeps,  
Rolls the storm, the lightning flashes,  
Still the nation heedless sleeps.

Has—she cries—this bitter tempest,  
Has this cruel night no end,  
Must pain ever rack this sad breast,  
Will none save me, none befriend?

Once I reigned the Orient's empress  
Ah! The glory of that past!—  
Crowned with learning, science, gladness.  
Woe is me! too bright to last;

And around me, heaven-aspiring,  
Myriad brave sons dauntless trod,  
Bowing head and heart to nothing  
But their country and their God.

Crownless, now, forlorn I'm weeping,  
Dust and ashes all my meed,  
Sluggard sons ignobly sleeping  
In a slough of selfish greed.

Oh heaven! Are hope and justice dead,  
Shall a new day waken never?  
Ah children! shall your mother plead,  
Plead vainly, thus, for ever?

Weep no more! A Star is gleaming  
In the pearling eastern skies,  
And thy sons, long spell-bound dreaming,  
Hear, at last, thy call **ARISE!**

Weep no more, my love, my glory,  
Weep no more dear mother-land,  
See thy children rally round thee  
Heart to heart and hand in hand

# THE BENGAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

— 25 —



It is now many years since the more enlightened and advanced thinkers of the Indian community began to realize that, excellent as was British rule and greatly as, *in some respects*, it excelled any native rule of which they had any recent experience, it had yet, as a whole, failed to adapt itself sufficiently to local conditions. Initiated in past times in a wise and sympathetic spirit, and originally plastic in the hands of rulers who identified themselves to a marked degree with their people (whose good will and support they strove above all things to secure and retain, and whose displeasure and distrust they feared to incur), it had become, as it solidified in the course of time, a rigid machine, worked by men, for the most part careless alike of the approval and disapproval of the country themselves scarcely less of machine than the administration on whose treadmill they laboured. It was not that the thing was designedly, with malice prepense, constructed on unsuitable lines—on the contrary, in the early years of its development, the wise and prudent men who supervised its growth had endeavoured, so far as their imperfect knowledge of the circumstances permitted, to adapt it to local requirements. But even their knowledge scarcely pierced below the surface, and, as time rolled on and the necessity for carrying the people with them grew less and less apparent, and Europeans, growing more numerous, began to consort more *inter se* and less with Indians, and the knowledge of the customs, habits, wants and wishes of these latter (never very profound) grew more and more superficial, our rulers gradually substituted for the original desire to construct an administration accurately corresponding with the traditions and instincts of the people—a determination to evolve a government in strict accordance with their own conceptions of what was best and most desirable. The result was the elaboration of a rigid framework in no way conforming to the moral, social or intellectual contour of the country, failing to take support where this would gladly have been accorded, and becoming oppressive and annoying by weighing heavily where pressure could ill be borne.

Some few thinkers, both Indians and Europeans, far in advance of their time, had, as we may now perceive, realized the unhappy position into which British rule was drifting at a much earlier period. But the country, as a whole, was still densely overshadowed by ignorance and superstition, there was no inter-communication between the more thoughtful men of different provinces, or even of different districts; the majority of the local officers still retained in their

dealings with the people some outward show at least of that sympathy with their subjects that had constituted the very essence of their predecessors' policy ; and thus, though in truth it no longer altogether deserved this, British rule still maintained its traditional hold on the hearts of the people, and though a general sense of *malaise* was pervading with growing intensity the body politic, this was not, as yet, assigned to any definite source, and was accepted rather as a dispensation of Providence (as a bad harvest might be) than attributed to its real cause, the blundering benevolence of foreign Rulers.

Thus it happened that, when the great military revolt of 1857 burst upon the bewildered country, the people, everywhere, were against the rebels. No doubt the jail birds and bad characters seized the, to them, joyful opportunity of anarchy, to plunder and murder, and they plundered and murdered without any weak-minded regard to the race, colour or creed of their victims ; no doubt landowners and others who had suffered under the iron systems of Civil and Revenue Law imposed ignorantly, on a population to which they were wholly unsuited, by well-meaning foreigners who fancied that everything they imported from their own country must needs be good for every country—no doubt, we say, that sufferers under these inelastic and alien systems seized the occasion to right their grievous wrongs, and where decree-holders and auction-purchasers were foolish enough to demur, disposed somewhat too summarily of them and their demurrers. But none the less was the country, as a whole, on the side of the British Government, and none the less did it pray for and, so far as in it lay, aid the re-establishment of this latter.

Before however the Mutiny broke, new departures had been taken which could not fail, in their ultimate issues, to produce a complete revulsion in public feeling. A great and growing expansion of educational activity, railroads, telegraphs, cheap postage and a greatly enlarged sphere of postal operations, the development of Indian newspapers, a most unjust system of annexations or confiscations (even to the jewels of noble ladies) for the benefit of the Government—all these and many others had been cast, leavenlike, into the great bushel, and so it happened that when, after the Mutiny, the immense increase in the British army, the marked change in the treatment of Indians by Europeans, the imposition of the hateful income tax of the cumbrous and complicated Criminal and Civil Codes and Procedure Codes and other like specialities of British manufacture, compelled every one, high and low, to reconsider the situation (so far as their comparative ignorance permitted) a great change in public opinion was gradually evolved, and amongst even those who had been most entirely loyal to the English Government grave doubts were felt as to whether, after all, the mutineers had not been right, and whether in the general interests it would not have been better that British rule should have been, once for all, extinguished. This, be it understood, was amongst the enlightened and partially-enlightened members of our community. Amongst the unenlightened, the masses, no such doubts were felt—the sentiment that the



Government was bad and unjust, that British rule was alien and oppressive, was accepted almost as an axiom.

But there was at that time an influence at work that greatly softened these hostile views, that engendered patience and encouraged hope. We have been of late years assured by the Anglo-Indian Press, and even by Englishmen claiming to be considered statesmen, that our gracious and beloved Empress' grand Proclamation on her assumption of the Government of India, has no legal validity, was a mere personal expression of good feeling in no way binding on the British Government under the British constitutional system. Common sense is opposed to any such monstrous reading of this most solemn State enunciation, but British constitutional law is by no means an embodiment of common sense, and we are not sufficiently versed in constitutional law to say whether this view can be legally maintained. But this we *can* say, that it is fortunate for all parties that this dishonourable and desingenuous attempt to evade one of the most explicit and solemn promises ever made by any Sovereign to any nation, was not promulgated at any earlier period, for nothing is more certain than that, for many years, the unopposed continuance of British supremacy was due wholly and solely to this Proclamation. All classes, enlightened and ignorant, accepted it in good faith, in that same spirit in which we still believe it to have been given forth by our dear Sovereign. All classes saw in this enunciation of principles a permanent and sacred charter of our liberties; all were accustomed to the slow action of great rulers; all knew that it took a long while for truth to permeate upwards to mighty monarchs, but all felt that herein lay a certain assurance of better times to come, and though they ceased not to chafe at the political injustice to which they were subjected by the local rulers, and at the painful all-pervading pressure of foreign, and to them repugnant, institutions,—all saw in this solemn charter a clear ground for the certain hope that sooner or later the Great Mother would come to realize the misdeeds of her servants and make good to us, in their entirety, her blessed assurances of equal justice and freedom.

It was solely due to this wise and benevolent Proclamation that, for many years, sore and sorer as the hearts of the people grew, no overt and grave discontent endangered the peace of India. But time rolled on, and the situation grew more and more critical. No changes for the better were made in the administration; on the contrary, day by day the gulf seemed to widen between the rulers and the ruled, less and less regard to the feelings of the nation seemed to be daily paid, and the most astounding legislative enactments were flung forth with a light heart in utter disregard alike of the interests of the country and the wishes of the people.

At last the cup of national endurance and patience seemed full. Heaven sent us a genius for a Viceroy, who, while standing no respect by his private character, was, as a statesman, as unstable as water, rushing from Fuller Minutes to gagging, then and absolutely devoid of that sobriety of temperament, that

honesty of purpose, which constitute the essential foundations of all true statesmanship.

Clever, accomplished, the most genial of boon companions, the most charming of modern minor poets, all with him was outside glitter. The most serious State affairs appeared to be, in his eyes, mere games to be played and won, no matter who or what lost, for his personal glorification and for the gratification of a vanity, whose chief aim, to use his own oft-repeated phrase, was "to make a good splash!"

But why break a butterfly on the wheel? Suffice it for our present purpose to say that his incapacity to realize the conditions of the country, his reckless desire to glorify his rule and his apparent want of any higher principles by which to test the righteousness of those attractive schemes which his feverishly active brain was for ever generating—his thorough unfitness, in a word, for the great office into which he had been pitchforked,—all but wrecked the British Dominion in the East.

Times had greatly changed since the volcanic fires of the great Mutiny had blazed out over an unsophisticated and shuddering population, had flared awhile in crimson horror, had flickered and disappeared. Indian newspapers were now to be numbered by hundreds, and, though few of them possessed a large circulation, had in the aggregate millions of readers, and tens of millions who, through these latter, listened to their messages. Men had begun to move to and fro on the land, and to discover that their own long-hidden feelings of dissatisfaction with the Government were echoed by the hearts of their fellows in the most distant villages. The more advanced thinkers, alike those favourable and hostile to the continuance of British rule, had begun to draw together. Already some of these had begun themselves to act, or to send out others, as political missionaries to the masses, to convey to these some idea of their own rights, as subjects, and of the Government's duties, as rulers. Where letters formerly passed in thousands they were passing in millions. Education of a sort, stimulated by cheap publications from Indian presses, books, pamphlets, journals, newspapers, and above all by the great increase of inter-communication in all parts of the empire, had made vast strides, of which even the material increase of students in schools and colleges afforded no appreciable indication. Organizations of various kinds, each of limited extent, but very numerous, unacknowledged, of more or less doubtful purpose were silently permeating the country. The people were rapidly losing all faith in the Queen's Proclamation, and growing upon it as a cruel fraud, and the bitter sense of injury and indignation which had so long smouldered in their hearts was beginning to glow ominously brighter.

Thus had matters begun to stand when the first "great splash"

was made and the gigantic and costly farce of the Delhi Assemblage was enacted, while Famine was tightening the rope around the throats of millions of innocent peasants in Southern India. Thus did they actually stand when, a little later, the iniquitous invasion of Cabool achieved, the Indian Press gagged, the cotton duties, one of India's most important and most legitimate sources of revenue, traitorously abandoned as a Conservative sop to Manchester, and Cavagnari massacred, the Government sat trembling (as bankrupt in reputation as its own exchequer) upon the crumbling fragments of a mendacious Budget.

Many thought that the time had come—underground, the smothered thunder presaged the coming eruption, and we were unquestionably nearer to a general uprising than we have ever before been since the ever spreading red shadow first clouded any portion of the patient East. Openly or secretly the country, almost to a man, were against the British Government, and any trifling addition to the provocations, under which the people were gnashing their teeth, might, nay almost certainly *would*, have eventuated in a conflict in which that Government would have found itself in arms against the entire population.

Do English readers at all realize what this means? Do they at all consider how it would be with them and theirs, with even 100,000, even 200,000 British Troops and 250 millions against them in real earnest? They look back to 1857 and say with a self-satisfied smile: "Who got the best of it *then*? Did we not fight and conquer?" And so they did, and many of them like true heroes, but, despite their valour, it was solely the fact that the people of the country were with them that rendered their success *possible*. Had the country been against them; not one of them—no, nor one of the additional quarter of a million of European troops that, with France's proffered aid, they might possibly have succeeded in landing in India—would have survived the struggle. The brave strong man fights through the swarm of ill-conditioned wasps, despite their venomous stings, but the thirty-foot python, stingless though it be, crushes him to pulp in its vast flexible folds. Who furnished cheerfully supplies to every little British force, while the mutineers could get nothing but what they seized *vi et armis*? Who sheltered and comforted every stray European, man, woman and child, who, escaping the mutineers and the gangs of blackguards (the noxious products of their boasted civilization), that throng every British cantonment, found their way into the mofussil? Who was it who kept European officers apprised of every movement of the rebels, while these latter could so seldom learn exactly where the British forces were? Who was it that to the number of nearly one-quarter of a million enlisted within the period of little more than one year and fought side by side with the British in a thousand fights against the mad mutinous sepoys and the swarms of *budmashes*, dacoits, and other jail birds who flocked to join their standards? To all these questions one answer only is possible—THE PEOPLE OF INDIA.

No! While we may primarily attribute the comparatively rapid suppression and, a little later, entire obliteration of this terrible military revolt to the indomitable pluck and notable power of organization of the British, high and low, Military and Civil, and the grand statesmanship of Lord Canning who, in defiance of the hysterical protests and prayers of the bulk of the official classes, the moment the tide turned set to work ruthlessly to reduce the military expenditure by twelve millions sterling per annum, and proclaimed an amnesty, every qualified and impartial historian will have to admit that but for the active support of a large number of Indians and the sympathy, no doubt more or less passive, of the rest of the population, the British Empire in the East would now, long since, have faded into "a glorious memory of the past."

It is well to realize this clearly—it is well to realize the entirely different character of the uprising that threatened us towards the close of Lord Lytton's unprincipled administration—well for us all, Indians and British, to be thankful that, through Heaven's mercy, this terrible trial, for all, was averted.

It was when matters were almost at their worst, when British supremacy was scarcely worth six months' purchase, that an hitherto unrecognized agency, working for peace and good will amongst men, first entered the sphere of practical politics. Scattered throughout the land were to be found a few men of far deeper culture and more developed moral sense than the rest of the educated men of the day. These men, united by community of knowledge and pursuits, had been, ever since the Mutiny, anxiously watching the fluctuations of national feeling and, so far as indirectly and anonymously was possible, throwing the entire weight of their influence into the scale of order. When, however, the crisis grew to be really acute, they resolved that more overt measures should be resorted to in order, if possible, to avert what, to them, seemed an immediately impending and incalculably disastrous calamity.

Their view of the case was not, simply, that hundreds of thousands of Indians would suffer (and, as in the case of the Mutiny, at least half of these absolutely undeservedly even from a British point of view), not merely that tens of thousands of Europeans, a vast majority of them good and well-meaning men, would be "in one red burial blent," not merely that for many years all progress, physical, mental, moral, would, amid the prevailing anarchy, be arrested, and serious retrogression in all lines involved, but that even when the bitter and prolonged struggle terminated, the after-consequence would be ruinous alike to India, England, and the cause of human progress generally.

They, and possibly they alone, were, at that time, able to estimate, with even approximate accuracy, the gigantic forces that then seemed about to spring into action. Fools prate about holding an empire of 250 millions of souls by the bayonet—wise men know that brute

force is the feeblest bulwark that can be opposed to the sentimental convictions (just as often wrong as right) of a great nation. They knew only too well that grievous and prolonged as the struggle might be, that oceans as might be shed of Indian blood, if once the country in its then temper rose, it would never again be pacified until, by fair means or foul, the Empire of Great Britain in India had been destroyed. They knew only too well also that India was, as yet, by a full century short of the development which would enable it to stand advantageously on its own basis, and that out of the ashes of the British Phoenix, would arise at first, at any rate, a multitude of evil things infinitely more prejudicial to the real progress of the country than British rule had ever yet, even according to its worst enemies, proved itself to be. They knew that the forcible and bloody rupture between England and India, as the result of such a struggle, would reduce the former to the level of a second-rate power, and sound for centuries perhaps the death-knell of the highest hopes of humanity. For, little as Europeans, as even Englishmen, seem to realize the fact, nothing is more certain to those sages in the East who, sitting apart from the turmoil of the world, study, passionless, the history of mankind, than that England, with all her faults, with all her crimes, has yet been the foster-mother of the existing liberties of the world. Would France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Austria, North America, have been this day in possession of that degree of freedom (small it may be, in some cases) that each enjoys, had Great Britain sunk beneath the ocean soon after the Norman conquest? From (aye and before) the time when the Barons wrested the great Charter from John, large sections of the English nation have ever done battle bravely against tyranny in every shape, and, year by year, and age by age, have ceaselessly struggled against autocracy and its brood. It is to the example of the nobler portion of the British nation, it is to the spirit of freedom with which their words and works have ever been instinct that the whole world this day mainly owes such liberty as it anywhere enjoys; nay, it is to these that India herself owes the impulse, now stirring at every heart, to struggle for freer institutions and a less despotic form of Government.

Degrade and humiliate England, reduce her to a minor power, and, despite all said and done during the last hundred years, the poison cloud of despotism would roll back westwards, over Europe at any rate, leaving it to some future Campbell to sing the sad requiem :—

“ Hope for a season bade the world farewell,”

“ And Freedom shrieked when ‘ brave old England’ fell.”

But determined as were these men, who almost alone realized the dread issues at stake, to avert, by all possible means, the threatened catastrophe, they were far too deeply versed in the inner life of the nation to fancy, for a single moment that the sparks that had been kindled in so many hearts could ever again be extinguished,

or that it was possible for mortal man to do better with the flames, that must inevitably result, than direct them in such wise as to minimize their vehemence and utilize their expanding volume for the good of the country. Then began they to preach to their most trusted friends directly and to the country at large, through innumerable indirect channels, the doctrine that expansion must be given to the hitherto repressed and imprisoned national feelings of discontent and hatred, and that this expansion could only safely take the form of overt constitutional agitation, no matter how noisy, or even at first childish, if only it afforded due vent for those bitter and vindictive feelings foredoomed, if still pent down and hidden, to stultify before long the brightest promises of the coming century.

On the first day that this doctrine assumed a concrete and practical form, those seeds were sown of which the BENGAL NATIONAL LEAGUE is one, and not an ignoble, outgrowth.

But we anticipate. Despite the most strenuous efforts (compatible with evading the attention of the then unscrupulous and unprincipled Government) on the part of that limited number who accepted this new Gospel, no marked results were immediately obtained, the leaven had indeed been hidden, but it worked but slowly. It may be that, nicely balanced as were then the forces operating to excite and to restrain, even the little effected during the last fifteen months of Lord Lytton's administration constituted the feather that depressed the scale of fate in favour of order. But even those to whom the movement owed its origin would not pretend to assert that such was certainly the case.

But whilst India's best and wisest were thus struggling with their utmost energy to sanctify the body politic, with scarcely appreciable results, Providence, who ever helps those who help themselves, came to the rescue, and the long doubtful and darkling battle between good and evil was won.

Lord Ripon came—and as night mists before the rising sun, as a nightmare at a friend's rousing touch, so before his simple, manly, trustful honesty, so at his kindly sympathetic words, vanished, as if by magic, the danger that had loomed so tremendous amidst the national discontent.

At last we had a true man—one who in good sooth desired nothing better than to do his best for us and for India. All English statesmen, therefore, were *not*, as his example proved, mere frauds and specious wind bags, full of empty and lying promises and professions. The good Empress who had sent us at last one honest Viceroy might send us more like him. Despite the unsympathetic attitude of the officials of whom we chiefly had experienced, there might be, there *must* be, other true and good men in England who, when they came to know how sad our case was, would see us righted. The race of noble philanthropists who abolished slavery in the *West* Indies was not extinct. Here at least was one, true-born English nobleman, bent, in good earnest,



on seeing equal justice indifferently dealt out to black and white. There was still a hope then. There could not be *only* one such man. It was for us to reach the others, and then, perhaps, slavery in the *East Indies* also might be, in time, abolished.

The extraordinary revulsion in popular feeling produced by Lord Ripon's reign can only be compared to what we once witnessed when visiting England. For weeks past a bitter north-east wind had parched heaven and earth, binding all things in an icy shroud—a haze of gloom hung everywhere, and all was dumb and motionless as in the country of the dead. The night closed in, in a darkness oppressive as a ponderous Pall; at midnight 17° of frost were registered. A brilliant sunrise ushered in a balmy spring day; a warm south wind, laden with perfume, breathed upon the rigid lake. By noon the ice was all rotten. By sunset it was fast disappearing, and when next day, servid as one of summer's own children, awoke us, the waters were dancing free, dimpled with ten million fire flashes, and singing in rhythmic ripples around every point. Water fowl splashed and sparkled on the sunny wavelets—green tassels were sprouting on every bush, while on the banks—

“Where scattered oft the earliest of the year  
By unseen hands, are showers of violets found”

primroses and other tender blossoms smiled through their dew-tears on the rising day. Everywhere the hum of insects, the songs of birds, the distant sounds of sheep bells, mingling with the myriad voices of renewed life, rose like a golden hymn of praise and joy. A single day had slipped by, and where late all had been gloom and bitter frost and death-like stillness, now all was sunshine, song and happiness.

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Then first, fostered by Lord Ripon's benign influence, did that hidden leaven commence to work appreciably—then first the gospel of hearty open constitutional agitation in lieu of secret, hatred-impelled plotting, began to find favour in the eyes of the many—then secret organizations dissolved, as such fungoid growths will, or turning themselves inside out and taking a fresh root, rose into upper air as honest recognized associations for the promotion of the national cause—then, first, did those anxious watchers, who had realized the perils in the past, begin to breathe freely and thank God that the great battle was indeed won.

The battle was won; and although long before that bright morning ripened into noonday, the dark clouds of the Anglo-Indians' vehement, and (as the best amongst them do not now deny), unreasonable antagonism darkened the prospect, this failed wholly, thanks to the confidence inspired by Lord Ripon's character and conduct,\* to shake the faith of the country in their new Gospel, though it doubtless somewhat modified, and that wholly

\* See, in reference to the feelings aroused by Lord Ripon's kindly rule, “India's Farewell,” reprinted at the end of this pamphlet, from the *Mirror of the* 14th December 1834, the day on which Lord Ripon left Calcutta at the close of his Viceroyalty.

for the better, their attitude in regard to it. At the outset they had taken it up, in the exuberance of joyful hearts and in the confident belief that Lord Ripon was going to work miracles, much as children throw themselves into some new pastime. But as the day drew on, and the clouds gathered, and they found too many of those sons of a free land who, had they been true to the basic principles of their own nationality, should have been their leaders, comrades, supporters, bitterly opposing their righteous claims, and heaping insults on them in public speeches and public prints, they quickly sobered into manly earnest, and once for all took the new task upon them, not as a *parergon*, but as their *ergon*, not as a pastime for a while, but as the serious labour of their entire lives.

But we must not blame, too hastily, our adversaries ; they were unquestionably misled by a few designing men who, themselves keeping in the background, excited a needless and unrighteous indignation by cunning misrepresentations ; if, thus misled, they lost their tempers and were ungenerous and unjust, we equally lost ours and said many things no less unfair and unbecoming. And after all, we owe them much, since to their opposition was mainly due the success of the efforts, then being made, to solidify the party of Reform and fuse a congeries of provinces, tribes and clans into one nation.

Neither party has much to be proud of in that frantic boyish struggle, and now that this has passed away we may well hope that, like true Britons, they will bear us no malice, but, having fought us resolutely and come off, if not victorious at any rate with drums beating and colours flying, they will like us all the better, and, settling lands, prove themselves ready to battle side by side with us, aiding us by their greater experience and knowledge to deliver India from our common adversaries—a despotic and irresponsible Government, and an overweening and too self-sufficient official class.

The National Congress of December 1885 held at Bombay was the first tangible and unmistakeable outcome of the national unification, and the third Resolution arrived at by that Congress indicated the very essence of the great task on which the people of India, at last a nation, one and indivisible henceforth and for ever, was soberly and deliberately girding up their loins to undertake. We know the attempts so strenuously made at the time by thoughtless Anglo-official organs to discredit that Congress and deny its representative character, but that has all passed away, melting as time ever dissolves the false. There is no Indian Political Association, and there are now numbered by hundreds ; there is not an important Indian city or town which has not by acclamation publicly ratified the resolutions of that Congress. Nobles have spoken in their own names, the middle classes through their Subhas, unions, leagues and associations, and the ryots through mass meetings whose portentous dimensions have staggered, at times, even the warmest advocates of progress and national enfranchisement. Of that Congress and



that resolution the BENGAL NATIONAL LEAGUE was the almost necessary outcome. The Resolution ran as follows:—

“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-West 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.”

The scheme of the Congress was simple. The second Resolution proposed the abolition of that obstructive, pernicious and costly organization, the Council of the Secretary of State for India. Even English politicians had early recognized that the Indian executive could not be left entirely free to rough-ride the princes and people of India at its own sweet will and pleasure. Hence this Council had been devised as a check upon that executive. But after a quarter of a century's fair trial it had proved a total failure. Let the Indian executive do any thing wrong or bad—let them reply *non possumus* to every demand for justice and progress, and that council of antiquated Anglo-Indians were ready to support the executive and “uphold their authority.” But let that executive, in any interval of lucidity, for once advocate some measure favourable to the national cause or interest and that ogre of a council straightway proceeded to suppress that measure, much as the guinea-pigs were suppressed in the celebrated trial of the knave of hearts. They put it in their boxes and sat upon it.

This council had been weighed in the balance and found wanting; as a check it only checked those very measures that should have received encouragement. It was and is utterly useless, nay worse, aggressively injurious. It was, and alas! must we repeat it, still is, a hot-bed of jobbery and very costly. Righteously therefore did the Congress lay down its abolition as a necessary preliminary to all real reform.

But while desirous of dispensing with this *sham* check, the Congress fully realized how necessary it was that, in future, some *real* check should be exercised over the vagaries of the executive, and this check they proposed to provide by the resolution already quoted.

This check was to rest, not in the hands of a set of superannuated officials, foreigners, domiciled permanently six thousand miles away, and as ignorant of the conditions of modern India as a suddenly resuscitated Lord Mayor of Elizabeth's time would be of those of modern England, but in the hands of picked natives of India, elected by the best and wisest of their countrymen. At the same time

It was not overlooked that, under the existing conditions of the country, the executive, after having been compelled to listen fully to the voice of the people, must possess the *right* to override, where it deemed this absolutely necessary, and disregard that voice.

<sup>1</sup> To prevent serious mischief from an improper and unwise exercise of this right, and to *ensure* that the executive should not resort to it without grave consideration, a final appeal to a special, standing committee of the House of Commons was provided for.

Now as to governing India through the British House of Commons, that would, of course, be absurd. As to expecting members of a committee of that House, already fully employed with work for their parties and their constituents, to busy themselves constantly about minor details of Indian administration and go into multitudes of cases of personal grievances and the like, this would be equally absurd. But for the decision, at rare intervals, of great questions involving important principles, in regard to which the people and Government of India were unable to agree or arrive at any mutually satisfactory compromise, no more thoroughly competent and reliable tribunal than a picked committee of the British House of Commons could be conceived.

But while the scheme shadowed forth in this, now famous, third Resolution, was admitted, even by adversaries to possess some merit as a mere theoretical conception of what should be aimed at, the great majority of Anglo-Indian writers denied that any practical methods for providing the requisite elected members of the proposed reformed and expanded legislative councils, could, in the existing state of the country, be suggested, and generally contended that no practicable scheme to regulate the relations of the representatives and the Government could be devised. But, a month or two later, a series of provisional rules, which had been tentatively agreed to by a majority of the Congress representatives, were published, showing conclusively that if only the British Government would accept the principle, no difficulty would exist in giving practical effect to it. There might be differences of opinion as to exactly *which* way was on the whole the *best*, but these rules offered *one* set of simple solutions, and in doing so suggested other alternative solutions of every problem involved.

We had now arrived at this position. The country had come to know exactly the principle of which it desired the concession; it had also come to realize at least *one* simple method by which that principle could be brought into practical operation, and then the people of Bengal saw that the time had come and banded themselves into a great LEAGUE pledged thenceforth to agitate and struggle ceaselessly, and by all lawful means, to secure that desired concession.

The inauguration of this LEAGUE must ever constitute an important era in the political history of Bengal. For the first time

for ages, leaders of every section, sub-division and class of the population of Bengal combined heartily and that for an unselfish object. Here were met Mahomedans and Hindoos, princes and peasants, great landowners and small tenants, lawyers, bankers, merchants, medical men, professors and principals of schools and colleges, divines, and religious reformers, learned scholars, novel writers, newspaper editors and poets, all pledging themselves to labour in the public cause.

One thing only the LEAGUE lacked, and that was a goodly intermixture of non-official Europeans and Eurasians, of whom less than a score, we believe, at any rate at the outset, joined the new movement. The Indian community were greatly grieved at this marked abstention on the part of their non-Indian brethren. The cause of the entire non-official community, so far as representation is concerned, is one and indivisible. Assuredly the European and Eurasian communities would be as great gainers as the native Indian, could the object, at which alone the LEAGUE aims, be happily attained. Unlike all other political associations in India, the BENGAL NATIONAL LEAGUE aims at but one single reform, and that equally in the interests of Europeans, Eurasians and Indians. Other objects, propounded by other associations, may involve, in the eyes of either or both the two former communities, some danger to their special interests or some curtailment of their special privileges. But the single quest of the Bengal League, the imposition of a representative check on arbitrary taxation and arbitrary mis-government, should be (were men only rightly alive to their own real interests) as dear to Europeans and Eurasians as to the Indians. It may be that the Indian gentlemen with whom the conception of the League first originated did not, fearing lest their advances should not be kindly received, sufficiently exert themselves to solicit and secure the co-operation of the two other great communities; it may be that some lingering soreness, the legacy of the defunct Ilbert Bill controversy (a legacy now, let us hope, forever buried by the cordial *rapprochement* of all three communities in the matter of the joint protest against official absenteeism,) prevented at the time the invaluable co-operation of the Europeans and Eurasians in this great undertaking.

Be the cause what it may, the result was equally to be regretted, and we cannot avoid hoping that now, at least, our European and Eurasian fellow-subjects will join us and take that leading part in the crusade against autocratic and irresponsible Government, which their position, abilities, experience, and last, but not least, hereditary bias in favour of political freedom, so rightfully entitles them to play.

Saddened by the abstention of both the other communities, the League yet braced itself to attempt, single-handed, the enterprise in which all three *should* have been equally active, and under the presidency of the first citizen of Bengal, SIR JOTENDRO MOHUN TAGORE, they commenced operations and issued an appeal to the

country, so succinct and withal so cogent, so moderate and yet so earnest, as to merit reproduction here :—

"**FRIENDS & FELLOW COUNTRYMEN!**—A number of us, whose names you will find in the accompanying papers, being deeply impressed with the urgent and paramount necessity of introducing a representative element into the Government of this country, have formed ourselves into a **LEAGUE**, whose sole object it will be to endeavour, by all appropriate and constitutional means, to bring about the concession of **REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS** to **INDIA**.

"No one can be more fully alive than we are to the manifold blessings that we owe to **British Rule**; but we feel—and in this we have, we believe, the sympathy of many of the most distinguished thinkers and many of the leaders of **Public Opinion** in **England**—that the good and great work, wrought by **Great Britain** in this country, will not be complete until the existing form of **Government** is modified, and the administration here is made to partake of that representative character which is the glorious distinction of **British Institutions**, elsewhere, almost throughout the habitable globe.

"If representative institutions have been found necessary in colonies where identity of race, creed and customs enables the Rulers to grasp, intuitively, the needs of the Ruled, how doubly indispensable are they here, where fundamental differences in nationality, religion and culture, debar the Governors from ever effectively realizing the real wants and wishes of their people!

"It is not, however, to be denied that at present the authorities in **India** appear indisposed to concede what we desire, believing, we understand, that such concession would be premature. How then are we to bring home to them, and to that noble **British Nation** that they represent, the real facts of the situation, and lead them to realize, not only that what we seek is not premature, but that it has already become urgently necessary alike in the interests of **Governors** and **governed**, of **India** and of **Great Britain**? Singly, or even in small bodies, our views attract little attention, but united in one great **LEAGUE** our unanimous and matured opinions will necessarily receive due attention. **THEREFORE**, we entreat *all* of you, high and low, rich and poor, without distinction of race or creed, caste or colour, to join us in this good work. Everyone of you is deeply interested in a measure, the ultimate results of which will be the removal of all grievances and the restoration, on an immutable basis, of the pristine prosperity of our beloved country. Everyone of you, who has been born and bred here, is bound by the most sacred obligations, even if you have never until now laboured for your fellows or your country, at any rate this *one* time, to join in this *one* great effort, to obtain for **India** this relief, this blessing, on which hinge all other reliefs and blessings, all true **Liberty**, **Prosperity** and **Progress**.

"It is needless to explain that to make this **LEAGUE** a real success, and to attain the great object it sets before itself, a widespread co-operation and ample funds will be requisite, and it is with that co-operation and those needful funds that we now call upon you, in our country's name, to aid us. Let none of you fancy that this is a matter with which you have no concern or in which you are not personally interested. There is not one amongst you, be he rich or poor, humble or great, a tiller of the land or a dweller in cities, who is not directly interested in this primary and comprehensive reform, whereby alone the laws under which you live, the action of the Courts, and generally the conduct of the administration as a whole, can be made to meet satisfactorily the daily and hourly requirements of your lives, and harmonize with your innate sense of what is **Right** and **Just**.

"All are interested alike; from all we ask aid in proportion, and *only* in proportion to their means and position. From the poor and uneducated we ask only an *expression* of that sympathy and good will which all in their hearts feel for our work; an open acknowledgment of their adhesion to the cause, and a nominal subscription to mark their membership. From the poor but educated we ask only a similarly small *pecuniary* contribution, but we expect not only an open acknowledgment of adhesion, but also honest co-operation in popularizing an appreciation of the benefits of, and necessity for, REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS, and in securing additional members for the LEAGUE. From the well-to-do or rich, be they educated or uneducated, we expect—the *whole country* expects—cordial and liberal assistance in work and in money. From ALL of every degree we look for support, and it is with entire confidence that we now invite ALL to join our LEAGUE and aid us effectively according to their means and abilities, with co-workers and funds, with men and money."

This address explains sufficiently, perhaps, the objects of the League and the spirit in which it was founded, but it may not be out of place to reproduce also a letter addressed somewhat later by SIR JOTENDRO MOHUN to one of the leading London Journals which, but for the all-absorbing interest excited at home by the struggle over Irish affairs, would, we feel sure, have received more attention than it did.

"I beg to forward herewith a copy of a brief Report on the formation of a National League to promote the introduction of REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS into India, as also of the appeal which the League has addressed to the country, and I venture to hope that you will give publicity to this movement in England, through the medium of your columns.

"Forming part, as you do of a self-governing community, you can hardly realize, I fear, the eagerness with which we, who are practically debarred from all share in the Government of our country, covet that political freedom and those Representative Institutions that Great Britain has conferred on almost all her dependencies, except on the most important and populous of these, British India.

"It would be well that England should realize this, as also the profound feelings of dissatisfaction with which the existing character of the administration is regarded—feelings, which although openly expressed only by a few of the most advanced and independent of the educated classes, pervade, I believe, all ranks and sections of the community.

"I am aware that many of those indisposed to favour native aspirations deny our solidarity, but permit me to assure you that, whatever may have been the case in the past, at this present moment, throughout the length and breadth of the Empire, amongst Indians of all races, creeds and castes, there is one common desire for a reform in the administration and one common determination to endeavour to secure this by all practicable, legitimate and constitutional means."

"And now that we have traced the BENGAL NATIONAL LEAGUE from the first faint enunciation of that new Gospel of which it is *one*, and not the least notable, fruit and sketch, all too hurriedly, we fear, the anteceded circumstances which necessitated that Gospel, can any educated, impartial, and thoughtful member of either of the three great communities in India, deny the justice and

entire reasonableness of that prayer, with which our LEAGUE is endeavouring to penetrate the ears and hearts of the British Nation? Nay more, does not the existing state of affairs here, at this present moment, demonstrate in a thousand ways how the entire country is suffering just for the lack of those freer institutions for which we are so earnestly pleading?

If there is one thing more than another essential to the well-being of a country, it is the existence of a good understanding and mutual good will between rulers and ruled. But what have we here in India? Something, we fear, very near akin to mutual misunderstanding, distrust and dislike.

Take the case of our present Viceroy. Day by day His Excellency is becoming less and less popular with the Indian community. Hailed by the entire country with delight at his advent, in consequence, partly of his own high reputation, and partly of the strong recommendation in his favour with which our beloved Lord Ripon left us, it is a melancholy fact that he is now looked upon by vast numbers as a veritable incubus, a true "Old man of the Sea," in a deliverance from whom rests India's main hopes of prosperity and progress.

Surely this is not only a pitiable, but at first sight, an almost incredible state of affairs.

A thorough and most courteous gentleman, of the most unblemished private character, of high intellectual culture, kindly nature and the most generous instincts and impulses, he is beloved in private life by all who have the honour and happiness of enjoying his acquaintance. A politician, of vast experience, deeply versed in every phase and detail of European national politics, his views on all questions of international diplomacy command the respect of European statesmen. To his own singular personal merits he adds the happy fortune of being conjoined with a consort, whose noble and indefatigable efforts to promote the welfare of the women of India have evoked a respectful and affectionate response throughout India.

Still this admirable man, instead of being, as might *à priori* have been expected, the idol and the darling of the country, is week by week not only growing in disfavour with all classes of Indians, but is steadily becoming more and more generally regarded as the greatest of existing obstacles to the fruition of every true patriot's best hopes for India. And yet, the people of India are neither ungrateful nor stupid; they are by no means a nation of fools, but on the contrary keenly appreciative both of the qualities of their rulers and of the directions in which their own and their country's best interests lie.

Now it is quite certain that a very considerable proportion of the unpopularity which at the present moment attaches to Lord Dufferin is wholly unmerited, and results solely from misconceptions of his words, acts and views. It is extraordinary how many utter misstatements as to his policy and his sentiments have been circulated



in all good faith by our Press, and these too founded on information that the editors, who first admitted them to their columns, had every reason to believe trustworthy. It is a fact that in more cases than one we have now traced back such misstatements to European officials, who doubtless stated in all good faith what they had heard from others, but who, as a matter of fact, only stated the opinions held by Anglo-Indian officials like themselves and not by Lord Dufferin.

Take the well-known article in the *Pioneer* which was believed, on authority that no Indian would *prima facie* distrust, to have been inspired by Lord Dufferin, in so far that it reproduced almost exactly sentiments which, as evidence was produced to show, had found place in demi-official communications from Government House to authorities at home.

Now we have been at great pains to get to the bottom of this matter. It was believed, and apparently on the best grounds, that Lord Dufferin was very angry at the criticisms of the Native Press, and desired to gag it. That he viewed the political activity of the country with apprehension and desired to repress it by sterner measures. Now what are the facts? Lord Dufferin did write most strongly in a demi-official letter about, not the criticisms, but the direct misstatements of the Native Press—not as a personal grievance to himself but as a serious hindrance to good Government and a grievous source of misunderstanding between the people and their Governors, and he did urge the extreme importance, in the interests of the country, of preventing the circulation of such misstatements. So far, then, the reader might in all good faith have concluded that he desired to gag the Press; but, unfortunately, or rather *fortunately*, these passages did not stand alone, for the letter after pressing further the difficulties in which such misstatements involved the Government, went on to suggest, *not* that the Press might be gagged, but that it should be kept better informed, and that in view to this some recognized channel or special machinery should be created through which all such misstatements could be contradicted, and the questions involved satisfactorily explained.

In another letter, while taking no objection to the general political activity of our people, and holding that ordinary public meetings and open political associations are a great help to Government in a country like this, Lord Dufferin went on to allude to the recent mass meetings of ryots, in which, judging from his Irish experience, he feared that grave danger might, in no very distant future, be found to lurk. Very probably he may have dwelt too forcibly on those dangers, possibly he overrated them, but the main point is this, how did he propose to suppress these dangerous gatherings? What were the "sterner measures" (words never used by the way either by himself or Mr. Mackenzie Wallace—and we speak from certain knowledge) he indicated? Why simply that with the permission of Her Majesty's Government, the Government here should frankly face the matter, consider carefully the demands, "neither

unreasonable nor very alarming," of the Indian party of Reform, and see if it were not possible to meet to a great extent their wishes. This done, and the material concessions accepted and approved, it was to be understood that the new arrangements should be allowed to stand, without further demands for changes, for a reasonable period, ten or fifteen years, sufficient to enable them to be fairly tested in practice.

Moreover at the same time, although little danger was to be anticipated in Bengal from even the most gigantic mass meetings of the lower classes, some check must be put on these since, in the event of the system extending itself amongst the more combative populations of the North-West Provinces, Oudh and the Punjab, ignorant and even well-intentioned men might, at any time, be suddenly excited into crime, not against Government but, as in Ireland, against the higher classes of their own countrymen, the landlords and their representatives.

We have no hesitation in saying that taking these letters as a whole, Lord Dufferin deserved the thanks in lieu of, as he has incurred, the revilings of the whole country.

There are a dozen other similar cases, in which the Viceroy has been vehemently attacked on the strength of published statements, which have proved, to our personal knowledge, absolutely without a shadow of foundation. It would be an ungrateful and wearisome task to go into these now, when most of them have been happily forgotten, but we cannot refrain from noticing at least one more quite recent instance of the absolute misstatements that find their way into the most respectable papers.

In the *Statesman* that arrived the other day, we find the Simla correspondent of that journal deliberately making the following assertions:—

"I am told by a person who comes frequently in contact with the Viceroy that he looks on the Town Hall meeting as an attempt to coerce Government, and he has determined not to submit to the orders of a faction of the Indian population, however large that faction may be. Coercion strikes at the root of good Government, and if the Viceroy and other responsible officers of State cannot consider calmly and impartially the manner in which the State vessel is to be worked, but have to shape their course according to the dictates of a mutinous crew, statesmanship becomes an impossibility, and the country is reduced to the level of the land visited by Captain Gulliver where animals governed and men obeyed. So at least thinks the Viceroy, who is, I believe, very much annoyed with the speeches made at the Town Hall, and who has determined to render unavailing the tactics which forced the Government to relinquish the Ilbert Bill."

Now in the first place, any one who knows anything of Government work, knows that a Viceroy is so overworked that he never looks at a paper connected with any pending case, until the case is ripe for decision. We venture to assert that up to this moment Lord Dufferin has not formed even the shadow of a conclusion in regard to this question. When the whole matter is ready, and all the



papers (amongst which of course the full report of the meeting will be included) are collected, the Viceroy will take it up and record his opinion. It is simple ignorance of the *modus operandi* which leads any one to suppose that in the present stage of the affair the Viceroy *can* have arrived at any definite opinion on the matter. But in the second place, to any one who really *does* know the Viceroy, the assertion that he looks upon public meetings as attempts to coerce the Government is no less absurd than it is false. Time after time Lord Dufferin has observed in conversation with men of all ranks, that under the present system of administration he hardly knows how the public are to make known effectively their views and wishes to the Government except by public meetings and addresses or resolutions evolved at these. Certainly so far from being angry at, disliking or disapproving any such meetings, the Viceroy avowedly looks upon them, especially when conducted, as in the present case, with sobriety and composed of influential constituents, as most valuable aids to Government in the difficult and laborious duty they are called on to discharge, and yet an utterly, nay absurdly, false statement like this is gravely inserted without comment in the very best of our Calcutta dailies! Far be it from us to accuse the *Statesman's* correspondent of wilful falsehood. We have no doubt that this monstrous story was told him by an official in a position to tell the truth, *an he would*. But it is a regular trick of certain extremely conservative officials to strengthen their own attacks on all popular movements by putting their own opinions forth as those of the Viceroy.

Undoubtedly this has been done in the present case, and the poor correspondent has sinned in good faith, but this is now such a stale trick, that correspondents and editors should be on their guard and not accept every *canard*, hatched even by a high official, as the Viceroy's own duckling.

We might go on for hours, filling pages after pages with similar misstatements, but *cui bono*, the things to realize are, that these misstatements seriously impede the administration, do harm to every body and do good to no one, and that this fertile source of distrust and dislike between rulers and ruled would absolutely dry up under, even, that mild approximation to representative institutions at which the BENGAL NATIONAL LEAGUE is immediately aiming.

And it must not be supposed that these serious misrepresentations only prejudice the people against the Government. They must also prejudice the Government against the Native press, which is the voice of the people, and insensibly against the people themselves. Lord Ripon, Lord Dufferin, here and there an exceptional man, may regard with feelings of disappointment and regret, unmingled with any bitterness, these calumnies, for they really often amount to this, which so constantly creep into our columns. But the great majority of officials (who, though always prone to autocracy, generally incline towards benevolent despotism) must become more or less exasperated and grow less and less

capable of crediting our Press with the good faith that unquestionably, broadly speaking, characterizes it. We can quite understand their feeling. They say: "One day this fellow sticks in, somewhat guardedly, a downright fabrication. Three days after he repeats it in a more positive form. A few days later and he begins a series of articles based on this original falsehood which he now treats as a thoroughly established fact; and you talk of the good faith of the native press. Faugh!" Now we understand his anger, but prithee good official who is to blame? The erring editor, or the impossible form of Government of which you are one of the Pillars? The poor editor gets his information from what he has a right to consider good authority, often one of your own brother officials, he hardly believes it, but still he could not wholly neglect it. He could not write: "I say Lord Dufferin, Mr. Blank tells me that the Hon'ble Mr. Noodle assured him that you said that if the native press did not mind its P's and Q's you would just teach them a lesson—now my Lord is this true?" So he inserts the information in a rather cautious manner. He waits three or four days. No one contradicts. He then re-inserts it in its naked atrocity. Still no correction or contradiction, and this being so we say that the simple-minded editor, ignorant of the astounding traditions of our autocracy, which hold *infra dig.* to notice, and prohibit the correction of, such errors, is perfectly justified in supposing his information correct and writing on it thenceforth as an historical fact.

But even to you, O good official, it must be manifest that\* did our Legislatures contain a goodly sprinkling of elected and therefore independent members, with rights of interpellation, all these vile cobwebs would be swept away almost as soon as they had been woven, and all the mutual soreness and ill-blood that is generated by such misstatements would disappear.

We say then broadly that at least half Lord Dufferin's extreme unpopularity is utterly undeserved, and that, so far as the internal administration is concerned, we have probably no more sincere or intelligent well-wisher than himself, and we have shown that this large share, at any rate, of his unpopularity could never have existed under even that mild form of representation for which the **BENGAL NATIONAL LEAGUE** is labouring.

But we go a great deal further. We are no Thick-and-Thin defenders of Lord Dufferin, and we hold that for certain measures he is deservedly unpopular. Our view is that the entire conduct of the Afghan business, from the Rawal Pindi Durbar\* down to the huge proposed increase to the army and the consequent income tax, the invasion, and still worse the annexation, of Burmah, and the treatment that the universal national desire to be allowed to volunteer has, in practice, met with, were all wrong. It is impossible for us to go into the question of responsibility; it may or may not be that the Home Government share the responsibility for the wrong-doing;

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\* It is only just to note that this meeting with the Amur was arranged in accordance with the advice of Lord Ripon

it may be that they are the party chiefly to blame ; we do not pretend to know ; but unless the despatches are published showing the contrary we must hold the Viceroy (and we are quite sure he has never put forward any plea of non-responsibility) responsible for all the great measures of his Government, and if several of such measures be, in the opinion of the country, wrong and unjustifiable, and carried through moreover in the face of the most explicit and unanimous protests of the entire Indian Press (the only voice as yet allowed to the country), he must expect to be, and will necessarily become, unpopular.

He may be right and the country may be wrong ; but, if so, he must look for consolation to a consciousness of a painful duty honestly performed and to the verdict of posterity.

But, as we said, we desire to push our argument further, and we contend that the greater portion, at any rate, of even *this* deserved unpopularity would not have been incurred had India enjoyed some such modified form of representative institutions as we are seeking.

In the case, for instance, of Burma, we doubt whether the invasion would have occurred, or the line of policy have ever been adopted which, no doubt *at the last moment*, rendered that invasion a necessity, had the country possessed representatives to make clear to the Government, face to face, from an authoritative standpoint, the intense and universal feeling on the subject that pervaded the nation. Be *this* as it may, we feel quite sure that the annexation of Burma would not have been carried through in the face of such a constitutional opposition. The Home Government would not have ventured to sanction it, knowing that, even in England, a large section, not only of the community but even of the members of the House, utterly disapproved the measure. Again, in the volunteering matter, the bitterness that arose out of the silent contempt with which the most earnest aspirations of the country were seemingly being treated, could never have arisen had we had representatives authorized to ask questions. As has now become known, at the eleventh hour, the Government *here* by no means treated the question with contempt, but on the contrary went into it most thoroughly, and reported on it to the Secretary of State. But the Secretary of State until quite recently neglected, despite reminders, to send any despatch in reply, and so the Government continued according to etiquette, unable to give any satisfactory reply, or show in any way that they really had, and that promptly, given their most earnest attention to the wishes of the people. Had the Government within three months, which but for the Secretary of State's l  che they might and would have done, negatived the proposal, publishing at the same time the despatch embodying their reasons, we venture to assert that not one-tenth of the ill-feeling to which this question has given rise would ever have been engendered, and we repeat that no such miscarriage and *misfortune* (for it has been no less) could ever have befallen us had we enjoyed any sort of real and recognized representation.

We have dwelt at great length on this matter of the existing unpopularity of the Viceroy, because there is no one thing more desirable in the interests of India than that confidence and good will should prevail between the Head of the Government and the people, and we have left ourselves no space to show, in detail, how almost every grievance the people have, every disability and discomfort under which they labour, so far as these are due to errors of Government (for many of their discomforts are due to social abuses which they must *themselves* reform) may be immediately traced to that want of direct and effective representation which we have so much at heart.

Englishmen have more than once remarked to us that they could not see how this failure to realize the true sentiments of the people could be real, considering that all officials, not excepting the Viceroy himself, continually see and converse with Indian nobles and gentlemen. In the first place, the majority of officials *never converse* with any Indians; they see such, now and then, exchange the stereotyped formal salutations, indicate in a lordly manner some wish of opinion that, at the moment, may be uppermost in their minds, remark that Mr. Gladstone is a madman or a traitor (the unanimity of Anglo-Indian officials on this point is marvellous), and then the interview comes to an end. But even in the case of that minority who really courteously endeavour to ascertain the views of their visitors, these latter are, as a rule, only fair-weather sailors, Ramsgate and Margate cockney-would-be-Yachtsmen, who know as much (and as little) of the wonders and the dangers of that great deep, the nation's heart, as they do of the politics of China.

The upright, independent, highly-cultured men who really know and could, and would, speak out the truth, are not usually to be found amongst the hangers-on who silver the palms of red-coated chuprassees. But, at any rate, it will be justly rejoined, men like Lords Dufferin and Reay, *do* see and honestly try to pump even the best men in the land. Now will our Englishman suppose a radical M. P. favoured (as an extraordinary exception) with an interview, with our Gracious Sovereign, and will he also suppose that rumours were just at that time rife that the Crown was manœuvring to perpetuate an existing constitutional anomaly by bringing about the appointment of another Royal Duke to succeed the Duke of Cambridge as Commander-in-Chief. Will any one pretend that even the most radical M. P. would venture to give Her Majesty a spice of his mind on this subject? Certainly *he* would never allude to the matter, and should the Queen (which would be in the highest degree improbable, unless she had summoned this particular Radical for this very purpose) refer to it, we may be quite sure that even the most independent Radical would go no further than to indicate in the most guarded and courteous manner his doubts as to the expediency of the measure. Far different will be his tone, when, publicly representing his constituents, he makes the House ring with his denunciations of the "grasping greed of Royalty and the truckling subserviency of Tory Premiers."

And such is the case here too. No Indian gentleman, however often honoured by conversations with the Viceroy, can "beard the lion in his den, the Douglas in his hall," and denounce, as he knows the country denounces, that Viceroy's sayings, doings and policy. Delicate hints, bland suggestions, insinuated doubts and regrets are all that we can offer at the Viceregal altar.

But says our Englishman : " Well you have the Press ; that, at any rate, to judge by its scurrility and abuse of every thing and everybody, does not shirk outspokenness." True our Press does, at times, scream itself hoarse, but solely because, until it roars, no Government here pays the smallest attention to its calls for justice and reform. And even outspoken as it is, what is your invariable remark when its utterances run counter to your exalted wisdom's own conceptions of what is fit and proper ? " Press ? Editors ? a set of rascally school-boys and briefless lawyers, ranting in monkey-like imitation of Brutus and Burke, *they* represent the views of the country ? *they* know anything about any earthly subject ? a set of blatant, self-seeking humbugs ! "

We have never denied that the official community *have* all around them, even as it is, opportunities of learning the wants, wishes, and opinions of the country ; but what we contend is that, as a rule, they ignore these opportunities, and that when, in rare cases, *some* knowledge of the nation's mind is forced in upon their reluctant convictions, they treat that knowledge with what is, practically, contempt. Can any good come out of Nazareth ? Are these miserable Indians going to teach US what WE are to do ? "

No, let our Anglo-Indian, who don't *want* to see our hands beside his own upon the Reins of Rule, say what he will, but it is only by broadening the basis of Government, by the inclusion of a strong representative element, that we shall ensure the adequate, full and free exposition of the sentiments of the country in a shape that will leave no doubt as to their reality here or in England, and will at the same time command for them that respectful consideration which a great nation has the right to demand for the deliberate expressions of its will.

„ If now we have not made the object of the BENGAL NATIONAL LEAGUE, the desire of the entire nation, sufficiently clear, if we have not brought home to all honest hearts and minds the justice, the reasonableness of our demands in this matter, we despair of ever doing so. Some one else must take up the parable ; we can say no more.

But there are those amongst our opponents who will say " we know very well what you want, and why you want it, and we do not dispute that from your point of view there is a certain show of reason in your contention ; but will you please show us how we, how England, will be any the better for allowing you gradually to monopolize the lion's share of all the good appointments now

held by Englishmen, or by placing you in a position to prevent our doing as we like with the resources of this great country which we have conquered, and now hold at our will and pleasure? Your so-called reforms may suit *your* book well enough, but how will England be the better?" England will be the better because, then, first will it be possible for her to govern India RIGHTEOUSLY! Now do you *want* to govern India righteously so that, with an untroubled heart, you may answer at God's judgment seat the awful question "*How hast thou discharged this trust that I reposed in thee?*" Don't fancy you can escape, because thousands are sharers with you in the crime! Every individual composing the mob that commits a single murder is answerable in his individual person for that crime, and every individual Englishman, in a position to influence (and what Englishman is not?) the action of England towards India, will in his own individuality have to answer for the injustice and oppression, the starvation and misery that result from Indian misgovernment. Put it aside *here*, if you will; there is no escaping it elsewhere. It is not for nothing that you have been made rulers over many things. Great is the glory, greater yet the responsibility.

But we say, again, do you *want* to rule India RIGHTEOUSLY; do you want her necessities, her prosperity, the welfare, the progress, the happiness of her people to be the *first* considerations; or do you really desire it to continue possible that her highest interests should be sacrificed to the exigencies of party warfare in England, and her prosperity subordinated to the aggrandizement of a section of your privileged classes? If you *do* want this, then are you no true Englishman, but a vile vampire, incarnating the corpse of what was once perhaps an honest Briton, prolonging a loathsome existence by sucking the life-blood of both countries, and we pray that all worthy Englishmen may soon find you out and bury you at the nearest cross road with a stake through your corrupted heart. But to the immense majority who, although ignorant, careless, and too lazy to do their duty by looking into matters for which they are responsible, yet, at the bottom of their hearts love truth and justice, and do *want* (*some one else*) to govern India RIGHTEOUSLY, we appeal and entreat them this once, at least, to consider how it is possible for a small band of foreigners, ignorant of all the most vital conditions and circumstances of the country to govern RIGHTEOUSLY (or indeed in any way except at haphazard) a population of over 200 millions, whose utterances, whose wishes, whose opinions, they either wholly ignore or (even when listening to them) treat with unvarying and sovereign contempt? It is clear that such a Government can only be enabled to attain even a distant approximation to rightebusiness by associating with it, on terms of something like equality and independence, a large contingent of the ablest, best, and most representative members of that population, so placed as to enable them to force on the dull ears and unsympathetic hearts of our foreign rulers, a knowledge of, and compel their attention to, the wishes and (for in the long run, 'as history shows, it comes to this) the WILL of the country.



Yes, it will be better for England that this should be so, for then she may grow on in loving sisterhood with India, supporting and helping and in turn supported and helped by her. It would be well for her to do her duty in this matter, for, great as would be her reward for so doing, greater will be the Nemesis if she neglect it.

We have already glanced at the serious, though hidden, crisis that we passed through towards the close of Lord Lytton's administration, and we have shown how, by diverting the secret bitterness of an angry nation into the safe channels of constitutional agitation under the benignant influences of Lord Ripon's reign, all danger was for the time averted and confidence and hope once more restored. But those who, in the interests of peace and progress, initiated that diversion, already perceive that the time will come when even these channels will be insufficient to carry off safely the rising flood of national sentiment. They discern that, in the Imperial policy which has thus far been the key note of Lord Dufferin's reign, the annexation of Burma, the great increase to our military expenditure, the imposition of fresh and unpopular taxation, and that especially in the growing difficulty everywhere being experienced by the masses in procuring a sufficiency of food, seeds have been sown that must hereafter bear a terrible harvest unless the only remedy, the introduction of a popular element into the government, be honestly and boldly adopted. They have no grave anxiety as regards the immediate moment, for, despite growing and widespread discontent with the existing form of administration, the country is still loyal to the British Crown and still believes in the ultimate success of their appeals to the justice of the British nation. But they see only too clearly that, if that nation permit its leaders and representatives to maintain too long their present *non possumus* attitude towards all India's justest prayers, the time will come,—it may be sooner, it may be later, but come it will, and come when it may, it will come all too soon,—when the people, losing all lingering reliance in the Queen's Proclamation, and all belief in either the justice or good intentions of the British nation (as they have long since lost all faith in the specious professions of English statesmen and Indian administrators), will despair of all justice but what they seize for themselves, of all freedom but what they win with their own right arms. When that time comes,—though God in his mercy forbid it ever should,—let no Englishman fancy that any Indian soldier will be on his side. When the mind of Paris was once made up, was the National Guard ever against the people? Let none fancy that Indians will enlist to support the Government as they did in 1857; that Indians will serve or feed the enemies of their country; that any large section of the Eurasians even will stand by them. No; when that sad day of doom dawns, as dawn it must if England, after all her Colonial experiences, still hugs the suicidal Georgian policy, the English will stand alone, and then God help them, and God forgive them for all the blood that will be poured out, the infinite misery that will be shed like a poison dew, throughout India and England,

for the ruin that will be wrought to both countries, and the political, moral and social retrogression that will be entailed throughout half the world.

Heaven forbid that it should come to this! Our heart bleeds as the terrible picture, limned in flames and slaughter and framed with weeping orphans and broken-hearted widows, rises before us, and we would gladly spare others the pain. But, now-a-days, few men, if any, dream of looking six months ahead—the question of the moment, often trivial to a degree, alone obtains a hearing—and the only hope of inducing those in whose power it lies to take, ere it be too late, the only practicable steps to avert the coming danger, lies in forcing on their minds some conception of the immensity of that peril. Come what may, and we pray from the bottom of our hearts, alike for our own and for her sake, that England, forewarned, will yet prove wise in time, India, with the BENGAL NATIONAL LEAGUE and scores of similar political associations and bodies, labouring head and heart to procure by every constitutional means the removal of obsolete barriers to national progress, before the growing waters bank up and sweep away in one fell rush—dam, engineers, labourers and harvest,—India, we say, will have nought with which to reproach herself and, (though both lands, alas! must share the misery), the dishonour, the disgrace, will be England's and England's alone, for ever and for ever.

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*(In connection with the subjects discussed in the foregoing paper,\* it has been thought desirable to reproduce (as showing, inter alia, the reasonable spirit in which thus far our Indian reformers are working) a series of articles which recently appeared in the "Mirror" of Calcutta (the leading Indian Newspaper), on the growth and development of political liberty in Great Britain's other Dependencies.)*



## THE GROWTH OF LIBERAL INSTITUTIONS IN BRITISH DEPENDENCIES.

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WHEN considering the object, that the BENGAL NATIONAL LEAGUE has set before itself, we naturally turn towards the other Dependencies of Great Britain to ascertain how they have fared under the governance of our common Queen and Empress, and what measure of political rights each has succeeded in acquiring. Ignoring minor differences, according to which these Dependencies might be separated into some six or seven classes, they may be roughly divided into two main divisions, *viz*, those that practically manage all their own affairs, and those in which, more or less, all the more important affairs are managed by the British Government, through its local representatives and their nominees.

The colonies pertaining to the former class are usually described as enjoying Responsible Government, and are, so far as their internal administration is concerned, practically independent. In this class are comprised: (1) the Dominion of Canada, with its seven Provinces of Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, British Columbia, and Nova Scotia, each with its own local Legislature for the disposal of purely local matters and the entire dominion with its Parliament of Canada (two Houses) meeting at \*Ottawa and dealing with all matters of general public policy, or affecting larger portions of the dominion than a single Province; (2) Newfoundland; (3) Cape Colony; (4) Tasmania; (5) New Zealand; (6) Queensland; (7) Victoria; (8) New South Wales; (9) South Australia.

The administrative arrangements of the Dominion of Canada are undoubtedly more like what we must ultimately aim at achieving than those of any other dependency of Great Britain, and it may be well, therefore, even now, to specify a little more in detail, (it would take a volume to do real justice to the subject), what those arrangements really are.

The whole Dominion is presided over by a Governor-General, appointed for a term of years, (as is the Viceroy here) in the Queen's name by the British Ministry for the time being. This Governor-General is to the Dominion what the Queen is to Great Britain—a constitutional Sovereign—possessing little real direct power, but a great deal of indirect influence; compelled to move along with the popular sentiments of the day, but yet not a mere foam crest helplessly marking the summit of the wave of public opinion, but possessing under favorable conditions, when the office is held by a person of ability and tact, a considerable power, real, although neither recognised nor seen, of modifying and directing alike the shape and course of that wave. Each Province—and, as above explained, there

are seven of these—is immediately presided over by a Lieutenant-Governor, nominated by the Governor-General, who is to his Province what the Governor-General is to the entire Dominion.

There is a Parliament for the whole Dominion, which meets every year at Ottawa, and which, modelled upon that of the United States, consists of two Chambers, (both of which are now elective), an Upper Chamber or Senate, whose speaker the Governor-General nominates, and a Lower or House of Commons, who elect their own speaker. Then, for each of the seven Provinces, there are local Parliaments, in most cases consisting of two Chambers, but in the cases of Ontario and British Columbia, of only one.

The Dominion Parliament deals with all questions that we should here call Imperial, the Provincial Parliaments, with purely provincial matters. These Provincial Parliaments are precluded, for instance, from dealing with the laws of marriage and divorce, the criminal law, the laws in regard to Naturalization, Copyright, Patents, Bankruptcy, &c. Besides legislating on such general questions, the Dominion Parliament disposes of all questions for the whole dominion, affecting the public debt and property, the military and naval services, taxation, navigation, shipping, commerce, currency, post office, fisheries, aborigines and the like.

A somewhat lengthened experience has shown what questions may, and what may not, advantageously be left to the local Legislatures; and although the conditions of the two countries differ in many and those essential points, yet the separation effected in Canada will be found, when the time comes, useful in indicating how a similar separation can be effected here. Practically, though there have been some little hitches, the system is working, and has worked remarkably well, as, indeed, despite all the abuse that has of late years been showered on it, has its prototype in the United States.

Nominally to assist and advise the Governor-General, there is a Council, called the Queen's Privy Council, on the model of the British Privy Council. The members are nominated by the Governor-General (the President, as in England, being one of the Ministry), but so far as political work is concerned, this Council is a mere figure-head, and exercises no direct influence whatsoever.

All real power is vested in a Cabinet of fourteen Ministers, who obtain their position precisely as Cabinets in England do, *vis*, in virtue of commanding the support of a majority of the House of Commons, by whose adverse verdict, of course, they are similarly deposed from office.

The Prime Minister, ~~the~~ called the Minister of the Interior, is the leader of that party which is, for the time being, in the ascendant in the Canadian House of Commons, and he is called upon by the Governor-General to form an administration, just as the Queen calls upon the Marquess of Salisbury or Mr. Gladstone to form one, and he forms it, just as they do, out of the most prominent and powerful of his political adherents and supporters.

The Ministers held in check, of course, more or less, according to the intensity\* of their aggregate personalities, by the party whose broad back supports them in their elevated position, are practically as entirely masters of the situation in Canada as are Ministers in England. The Governor-General, as representing the Sovereign, and performing many of the functions attaching to Royalty in Great Britain, issues writs for the election of representatives, convokes, prorogues, or dissolves the Legislative Chambers, &c., &c., but he does this all under the "advice" of the Prime Minister for the time being. No doubt he has a power of refusing his assent to Bills, passed by the Houses of Parliaments, or of suspending their operation pending the assent of the Crown, but practically it would be only under very exceptional circumstances, such as that of a debatable measure passing by a small majority, that this power would ever be exercised.

Then, each Province has its elected Legislature; in the majority of Provinces these consist of two Chambers—a Legislative Assembly equivalent to a House of Commons, and a Legislative Council, representing the Senate, or, in a far-off way, a House of Lords—but in some Provinces there is only a single Chamber. Everywhere a Lieutenant-Governor locally represents, and is nominated by the Governor-General, and he is assisted (as it is called) by an Executive Council which is a Cabinet enjoying the support for the time being of a majority in the Legislative Assembly.

Some of the provinces are poor and backward, like Sind with us; there (as in British Columbia for instance) there is only a single Chamber, and the number of officials have been cut down to the lowest possible limit. British Columbia has a Legislative Assembly of 24 members, amongst whom four Ministers, a Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, a Minister of Finance and Agriculture, an Attorney-General, and a Provincial Secretary and Minister of Mines, constitute an Executive Council or Ministry. There, of course, the people managing their own affairs, and being poor have a very cheap Government; it is not as in India, where even the poorest Provinces are loaded with an elaborately expensive Government, in some cases costing more than the entire Province yields, directly or indirectly.

Quebec, again, which is more like the N. W. Provinces and Oudh, has the double Chamber—the Legislative Assembly with 65, and the second or Legislative Council with 24 members, all, of course, elected—and with these an Executive Council or Ministry, supported by the majority of the Legislative Assembly, and consisting of members of both Houses, though the majority are from the Lower House.

But whether poor or rich, each Province manages its own domestic affairs, as seems good to the majority, and through its representatives it takes part in the management of all larger questions affecting the dominion as a whole. Practically in all matters affecting their own interests, the people of Canada are entirely independent, and it is they, the people, who alone understand what they

want, and what they do not want, and how any and every measure will affect them and their interests; it is they, we say, who alone decide *what* shall be done, and *how* it shall be done. This is what we have to aim at; the struggle for justice in this matter may be long and must be severe, but we must never either relax our efforts nor despond; we must prepare ourselves "to suffer and be strong," and through darkness and storm, if need be, by patient toil and unswerving fortitude, to win our way to the only goal for which it is worth the while of any civilized nation to struggle.

But great ends have to be compassed by small beginnings. We cannot get all we want, or all we deserve, at once. We must travel the long and weary road (of which more on another occasion) to responsible Government, step by step; all this we admit, but we shall never, *never* attain that goal at all, unless we begin taking those steps, and the first immediate, practical step, which every man *can* take, which every enlightened Indian, who is not a traitor, will and must take, is to join the BENGAL NATIONAL LEAGUE, or some similar association, and support it not only with such pecuniary aid as each can afford, but by personal efforts to extend its influence, strengthen its organization, and help to smooth the way for its triumphant upward progress.

Are any of you still asleep? AWAKE! The time has now come to exert ourselves; only the dull of head or heart, only the unenlightened, the timid, the selfish will shrink now from pressing forward. There is an immensity to be done, all the more reason for setting to work in real earnest at once. We cannot expect any great results from even our most strenuous exertions for some time to come; we must be patient and wait for these—and the sooner we take the work in hand, the shorter will be our time of waiting. Do not let us shilly shally half-heartedly; at last, we *do* all thoroughly know what we want and what we mean to have.

Let us then be up and doing  
With a heart for any fate;  
Still achieving, still pursuing,  
Learn to labor and to wait.

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IN discussing the political position, attained by the several Dependencies of Great Britain, we enumerated those that at present enjoy what has been called Responsible Government, *viz.*, those which are, as we hope ultimately to be, practically independent of Great Britain, as regards the conduct of internal affairs. Taking the Dominion of Canada as a type of the form of Government to which we here, though not at once, aspire, we have endeavoured, in the

briefest possible manner, to convey some idea of how its administration is, in practice, carried out. The other Responsible Government Colonies—Newfoundland, Cape Colony, Tasmania, New Zealand, Queensland, Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia—have constitutions similar to those enjoyed by the Dominion, except that they are not complicated by the secondary or local Legislatures and sub-Governments, which were the necessary concomitants of the federation to which the Dominion owed its birth. All are presided over by Governors, nominated for a term, from England, like our Governors and Viceroy, who represent the British Sovereign, but in all, the real power rests with an Executive Council, *viz.*, a Cabinet of Ministers enjoying the support of the majority of the Legislative Assembly for the time being, which Legislative Assembly is, in all cases, elected, though the franchise varies in the different Colonies.

In all these Colonies, there is a second or higher and less popular Chamber, usually called the Legislative COUNCIL, which plays (or is intended to play) the part and occupies the position in regard to the lower and more popular Chamber, (usually designated the Legislative ASSEMBLY) that the House of Lords and the Senate do in England and in America, respectively, in regard to the House of Commons and the House of Representatives. Of course, these second Chambers are intended to act as "drags" on the Government coach. Popular assemblies are liable to be suddenly and vehemently affected by gusts of passion, outbursts of virtuous indignation, and the like, and thus to be led into unwise, if not actually ruinous, lines of action. The second Chambers are intended, in virtue of the more conservative characters of the members who compose them, to object and oppose in such cases, and by their opposition afford time for the people and their popular Chamber to cool down and look at questions from a common-sense point of view. Of course, therefore, a different class of men is wanted in the Upper to what you get in the Lower House. In England an hereditary peerage has provided this different class, but this is now losing gradually the confidence of the country, as a whole, and, doubtless, the existing House of Lords will have to be modified before long, so as to bring it somewhat more in harmony with the popular sentiments of the present day. But in the Colonies, where no nobility existed, and where it has not been the policy of the Crown (a great mistake no doubt) to create one, other expedients to secure a more conservative, stable and cautious set of men for the Council than are usually returned (in many cases by manhood suffrage) to the Assembly, had to be adopted.

In New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand, the Councillors sit for life, and are nominated from time to time, as vacancies occur, by the Governor, under, at present, in most cases we believe, the advice of the Ministry.

In the other Colonies the Councillors are elected for a term of years, but in all cases by electors having a property, and in some

places, (e.g. Tasmania), an educational qualification as well ; whereas members of the Assemblies, in several of these Colonies, are elected on the basis of manhood suffrage. Moreover, in almost all cases the Councillors themselves require property or other qualifications not demanded from members of the Assemblies.

It would serve no useful purpose to go now deeper into the differing details of the constitution of each of these eight Responsible-Government Colonies ; suffice it to have given some idea of the barest outlines of their administration, and to note that, however they may differ on other points, they agree in this that in *every* case it is the people of the Colony who know the wants and wishes of their fellows, and thoroughly understand all local conditions, and not a number of strangers from a distant portion of the Empire, too ignorant even to realize their own absolute want of knowledge ; it is, we say, the people of the Colony themselves, and not aliens, who manage and conduct all its internal affairs.

But it is no secret, we suppose, to any of our readers, that *all* Great Britain's dependencies have by no means as yet attained to this great blessing of Responsible Government. Besides the group, which comprises the Dominion of Canada and the other eight Colonies already enumerated, which has an aggregate population of, say, nine millions, there is another smaller group, usually designated Crown Colonies, with an aggregate population of, perhaps, seven millions.

Now these Crown Colonies are divisible into three classes : First, those in which, under one name or the other, two Chambers are retained, one an upper and smaller one, like our Executive or Supreme Council, the members of which are either elected (as at the Bahamas) or nominated (as at Barbadoes and the Bermudas) ; and the second, a considerably larger House of Assembly or Representative Assembly, the members of which are in all cases elected by electors possessing a property qualification. In the case of the Bahamas, it might seem as if the form of Government closely approached the "Responsible," but, as a matter of fact, it is divided from this by a great gulf, for in all these three Colonies, the Executive Council, in other words the Cabinet or Ministry, instead of being practically the masters of the Governor, are really his humble coadjutors and more or less his subordinates, and this Cabinet, instead of depending on the support of the majority of the Lower House, is composed partly of *ex-officio* Ministers and partly of nominees of the Crown or Governor, who could, theoretically, snap their fingers at the largest majority of both Chambers. But less satisfactory as is this form of Government, in all these three Colonies, a very considerable amount of control is secured over the Executive, and in not one of these are any of those arbitrary acts and abuses of authority, which have too often characterized the public administration in India, possible.

Secondly, we have a group of Colonies, in which there is a single Legislative Assembly, and that partly elective and partly nominated by



the Crown, and designated, therefore, a "*Composite Council*." This group includes Western Australia, Natal, British Guiana, the Leeward Islands and Malta. It is to a place in this group that India (as will be seen by the tenor of the National Congress's 3rd Resolution) aspires as a first step, and it may, therefore, be useful to glance at the leading features of the administrative arrangements in one or two of the more important of these. The Government of Western Australia is directly administered much like that of India, by an Executive Council, presided over by the Governor, and composed of five members, officials, appointed by the Crown—the Colonial Secretary (equivalent nearly to our member in charge of the Home Department), the Colonial Treasurer (our Finance Member), the Attorney-General (in whom our Legal Member and Advocate-General are advantageously combined), a director of Public Works (in whom our Minister of Public Works and many Chief Engineers are rolled up together), and, lastly, in consequence of the peculiar conditions of the Colony, a Surveyor-General.

Now this Executive Council is theoretically, in most respects, just as absolute and irresponsible as are our Viceroy and Council, but two causes operate to render the Government of Western Australia almost as free in practice as that of any of the other Responsible-Government Colonies of the Australian Group.

The first of these is, that the population of Western Australia, though sparse and scattered over an enormous length of coast line, is a population that do not understand any nonsense, and who are quite capable of chucking their Governor and his Council into the sea, if they oppressed and bullied them too much. Any Governor and Council of Western Australia, who on their own IPSE DIXITS, in defiance of the clearly expressed wishes of the entire population, should suddenly impose on these an extra taxation of two millions sterling, would, in an inconceivably small space of time, find themselves having a *most un-pleasant* talk and taking a *most un-pleasant* walk, "along the briny beach!" But, besides this unacknowledged but most powerful check upon exuberance of autocracy on the part of the Governor and Council, there is also an acknowledged and legitimate one. Western Australia has a Legislative Council, which is not, like our Indian ones, a sham and farce. This Council consists of seven nominated and fourteen elected members, a considerable property qualification being required from both electors and electees. Practically in one way or another (the matter is too long to enter upon in this present brief paper) almost every question does come, or at least can be made to come, if the elected members so desire, in one shape or another, before this Council, and that too in such a way as to enable the majority to place officially on record its disapproval of any proposed or consummated Government measure. Of course, the Executive Council can theoretically ignore any such expressions of opinion, but in practice this is, we believe, unheard of. So far as we can yet judge, (in the absence of much more detailed information as to the existing position of the Government, which

has comparatively recently been modified in several important respects, than we can obtain in any book), so far we say as we can judge, the lines on which the Government of Western Australia is run, are precisely those on which the country desires to see the Government of India run, as a first step towards that Responsible Government, which is necessarily the ultimate goal of all our political aspirations.

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AFTER Western Australia the next most important of the single-chambered, composite councilled colonies is Natal. Here, too, as in Western Australia, there is a great deal of real freedom, and in practice it is as impossible for a Governor to go right in the teeth of the unanimous opinion of the colony as it would be for a Prime Minister in England to run counter to the British *Vox Dei* (!) as some are pleased to designate the *Vox populi*.

There is the inevitable Governor, there called a Lieutenant-Governor, assisted by an unusually large Executive Council, consisting of nine members, *viz.*, the Colonial Secretary, the Secretary for Native Affairs, the Attorney-General, the Treasurer, the Chief Engineer, the Chief Justice, the Commandant of the Troops, and two elected members nominated out of the Legislative Council.

The five members of this Council, first enumerated, have *ex-officio* seats in the Legislative Council, which besides these includes 23 elected members, two out of whom must also sit in the Executive Council. These elected members sit for four years unless the Council be earlier dissolved by the Lieutenant-Governor. The electors are required to possess a substantial property qualification. In most matters the Executive Council can, at a push, override a majority of the Legislative Council, but, as a matter of fact, in almost all internal affairs, the Executive follow the opinions of a substantial majority of the Legislature, if not immediately, at any rate, if such opinion is reiterated by a fresh majority, after a dissolution.

The Government of British Guiana is curious and cumbrous, a modification of the previous Dutch Government, and one we should not care to see reproduced in India; but for all that it can boast the possession of a very strong representative element, quite strong enough to render impossible those gross mistakes as to the views and wishes of the people which constitute, it might almost be said, the *rule*, and not the exception; where the Government in India is concerned.

Not, be it clearly understood, that we are ascribing any blame, in saying this, to individuals; it is the *system*, not the men, that we



now seek to arraign. Here we have a lot of unfortunates, perched up above the clouds, and forced to legislate and arrange for a country and a population of which they are profoundly ignorant, from whom they are completely isolated, and who for all practical purposes are entirely invisible to them. And they make blunders? Well? and *que voulez vous?* What else can you expect? It is all very well to compare them to the gods who

“Lie beside their nectar while their bolts are hurled  
“In the valleys far below.”

But those gods, at any rate, had, *ex hypothesi*, first class brains, while those of our rulers are often rather below average, and then, though those gods were rather ill-conditioned, and smiled when they ought to have wept, (much like some of our heaven-borns) still they *could* look down and *could see* what was going on below, whereas our poor “Governors and Councils” see the clouds, the clouds, and nothing but the clouds.

No! Do not let us be angry with or revile our poor rulers—they mean well; but the system under which they work renders it impossible, it would seem, for them to use even such faculties as it has pleased the Almighty to endow them with, to any good purpose, in our service. They are perpetually, according to our view, leaving undone the thing that they ought to have done, and doing the thing which they ought not to have done. Meddle and muddle, to choose their own apostle’s apt definition, sum up their entire labors, but this is the result of a villainous system of Government which divides the rulers and the ruled as effectively as if they were in different planets, and if we blame our rulers individually, it is chiefly for being so stupid as not to realize the absurdity of their positions, and not to join with us in endeavouring to bring about a reform in the existing obsolete and mischievous arrangement.

To return. British Guiana is governed by a Governor, Court of Policy, and Combined Court. The Governor, of course, is sent out by the Ministry in power in England, when the vacancy occurs. He may be good, bad or indifferent, but as these are too commonly cases of providing for “the brothers and the cousins and the uncles” the bads and indifferents it must, we fear, be admitted, “have it.” The Executive Government consists of the Governor, aided by the Court of Policy, which consists of five official members, and five elected members, the latter elected by a combination of an electoral College of seven members, elected for life by the several electoral districts, and the Court of Policy, as it stands, when vacancies have to be filled up. For whenever vacancies occur, the electoral College elect two candidates, one of whom the Court of Policy selects. Then six financial representatives are elected by the several electoral districts, and these, conjoined with the Court of Policy, constitute the Combined Court which disposes of all questions of finance and taxation.

Thus all such matters are dealt with by an assembly of 16 members. of whom 11 are elected, but by the interposition of the

electoral College and the power of selection vested in the Court of Policy, (in which whenever a vacancy occurs, there must always be five officials to four elected members), five of these eleven are sure to be more or less Conservative. It would be quite easy to work out a scheme for India on the lines of the British Guiana Constitution, but we consider that it is on the lines of the Western Australian Constitution, which is altogether simpler and more easy of introduction, that we should endeavour to work.

The Leeward Islands again are a sort of confederation, reminding us of that of the dominion of Canada, but not enjoying Responsible Government, only Composite Councils. These Islands are six—St. Kitts, Dominica, Antigua, the Virgin Islands, Montserrat and Nevis. Each of these Islands has a President, who, like the members of the Executive Council that assists the President, is appointed by the Crown, and a Legislative Council, which is partly official and partly non-official, and in the cases of Antigua and Dominica, the two most important Islands, partly elected.

In Antigua, the Legislative Council consists of four *ex-officio* official members, eight members nominated, and twelve elected by voters, having a substantial property qualification. Dominica has only fourteen members in its Legislature, of whom half are nominated, half elected. As for the members of the Legislatures of the other four small Islands, they are all nominees, but half are officials and half independent (or *supposed* to be so!) The whole six Islands are presided over by a Governor, aided by an Executive and a Legislative Council. The former consists of four Island Presidents, three *ex-officio* members, the Colonial Secretary, Attorney-General and Auditor-General, and ten unofficial members. The Legislative Council consists of eighteen members, half nominated, half elected. The nominated members include the three above-mentioned officials, a President, who must belong to one of the Island Councils, and five unofficial members, taken one from each of the Islands excluding Antigua. It will be seen that in one way and another, every part of this straggling group of Colonies is represented in the administration. The Islands are by no means advanced; any good-sized sub-division in Behar would exceed them ten-fold in the population, wealth, intelligence and every other qualification for ensuring, *prima facie*, the success of representative institutions, but while these have been introduced and permitted a substantial development in these backward and insignificant islands, they have thus far been rigidly excluded from this great continent, thronged now with men fully as intelligent, if not more so, than the great bulk of the electors of Great Britain.

Malta, which really is little more than a great fortress, which might, like Gibraltar, be expected to have only a Military Governor entirely autocratic, has, as a fact, a Composite Council like the preceding Colonies. The Governor has an Executive Council of three officials, and also a Council of Government, comprising the

officer commanding the troops, eight other civil officials, and eight elected non-official members, elected for five years by electors having substantial property qualifications.

So even here in this barren island fortress, inhabited by foreigners, a considerable proportion of them, enjoying a worse reputation than that of any other race in Europe, representative institutions have made a certain advance.

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IT now remains for us to deal, and briefly, with those few and insignificant little fortresses and settlements which constitute the third class of Crown Colonies, the only group of British dependencies, except India, in which no representative element enters, at present, into the administration.

Some of these are inhabited by mere savages. Reasonably enough, for instance, in Fiji, Representative Institutions are *not* yet in vogue. The mass of the population are still savages, men of a low and non-Aryan race, still cherishing strong predilections for "long pig," and the result of the premature introduction in those islands of Representative Institutions would probably be the serving up of His Excellency the Governor barbecued on toast, along with the rest of his European coadjutors, skilfully *cuisined*, to the manifest discomfort of the individuals concerned. We think we can assure Lord Dufferin that if he should resolve to aid us to attain that humble modicum of representative institutions at which we at present aim, neither he nor even the youngest, fattest and tenderest of his Aide-de-Camps will incur the slightest risk of such thoughtless and discourteous treatment!

Penang, Perak, Malacca Singapore, Hongkong,—mere dots on even the largest scale maps,—naturally have no representation, the conditions of these settlements with their immensely preponderant masses of low fourth race, non-Aryan inhabitants, the survivals of a time before the conception of representation had dawned on the human mind, would render representative Government, (except coupled with franchise qualifications, which would reduce the electors to a purely nominal number,) practically impossible.

In Mauritius, a larger and more important, though still insignificant colony, the governing Council, although no elected members sit thereon, comprises a large proportion of non-official nominees. We have no hesitation in saying that representative institutions ought to be here introduced. These have been withheld to permit the planter class to continue to oppress and ill-treat the immense majority of the population, which is of Indian origin. It is not necessary

or desirable to give, at present, to the Indian emigrants, who constitute fully three-fourths of the population, any preponderant voice in the administration. But numbers of them have grown in wealth and intelligence, and they ought to possess a potential voice in this, and to be placed in a position to defend their humbler comrades against the oppression, cruelty, and shameless and selfish class legislation of the dominant planter class and their official friends. Had this been done, the disgraceful barbarities which for long characterized the treatment of our people in Mauritius, and which necessitated a Royal Commission to bring it within something like decent limits, could never have occurred. As it is, the treatment our Indian brethren still receive is far from what it should be and the laws are still most iniquitously favorable to the planters, and justice and fair play will never be secured until our people are, to some extent at any rate, represented in the administration of the Island.

The Seychelles, St. Helena, Heligoland and other tiny ocean specks, the west coast of Africa settlements, *viz.*, (1) the Gold Coast, (2) Sierra Leone, and (3) the Gambia River, in all of which the entire population are a low race of non-Aryan savages, Gibraltar, a mere fortress, naturally and reasonably stand excluded from Representative Institutions. To Cyprus there is little doubt that these will hereafter be extended, if the island, which we greatly doubt, be permanently retained by England.

Jamaica and Trinidad, both, despite their world-wide known names, small Islands with very limited populations, though each reckoning a large number of nominated non-official members in their Executive Councils, do not enjoy in these days any form of representative government—a fact that may be explained with reference to their past histories and present conditions.

In the Falkland Islands, unless votes were given to Sea Lions and Penguins, it would be difficult to get up a constituency, numerically worth bringing to the poll.

St. Vincent, Grenada, Tobago, Santa Lucia are all mites of places, in the same category to a great extent as their larger brethren of Trinidad and Jamaica, and in none of these could any one acquainted with the local politics be surprised to find that the representative institutions that all these at one time and up to the enfranchisement of the slaves, enjoyed, were later voluntarily surrendered. In this matter lies a lesson for us. When the Negroes were enfranchised, it appears to have been taken for granted that they were then and there (people of a distinctly lower race, and entirely uneducated as they were) entitled to vote. They immensely predominated in most islands, and began to return persons of their own race and *calibre* to the Legislatures, which naturally thus recruited soon came into a collision with the Executive. The situation became impossible, and representative institutions were abolished or more properly surrendered in all the West-India Islands, except in Barbadoes and the Bahamas. Of course, the mistake lay in not at

once hedging in the franchise with qualifications which would have kept *not* the Negroes as *such*, but *all* ignorant and needy persons, black or white, from intermeddling in matters they were not qualified to deal with. If now, at this present moment, when our political organization is still imperfect and immature, you were to introduce full-blown Representative Institutions into India on the basis of Manhood Suffrage, or on that of any low franchise, the country would be most injuriously affected, and might conceivably be brought into a state requiring a regular reconquest of the masses by the higher and educated classes, acting in conjunction with the British, and the temporary re-establishment of a military despotism, such as succeeded the Civil War in the Southern States, or the Mutiny in Upper India. But you might introduce a representative element into our Government here, on the basis of a high franchise involving considerable property or educational qualifications to-morrow, not only without a shade of danger, but with infinite benefit alike to Europeans and Indians, to high and low, to rulers and to ruled, and it is simply crass ignorance of the real condition of the country and the real state of public opinion amongst us that leads any one to deny or even question this fact.

To return British Honduras, as formerly a dependency of Jamaica, is in the same category as this latter, and there only remains for us now to notice Ceylon, the last and at the same time by far the largest and most important of those third class Crown Colonies, from whose administration a representative element is wholly excluded. The Government of Ceylon is very similar in form to that of India. As a matter of fact, it has been its proximity to India, and the fear of setting up at India's doors a government so much more liberal than the authorities have ever been inclined to concede to us, that has kept Ceylon in the backward position she now occupies. But for this there is little doubt that, like all colonies at all approaching her in size and importance, Ceylon would long since have passed into the second or composite council class of colonies.

But despite this unacknowledged, and probably never verbally formulated, reason for excluding a liberal element as much as might be from the administration of Ceylon, and despite the fact that the inhabitants, as a body, are far less advanced than the people of India, we yet find that, even in this exceptional third class colony, the Cingalese occupy a better position politically than we do. Like India, Ceylon is governed by a Governor with an Executive and a Legislative Council; the Executive Council includes the Colonial Secretary, who is also Deputy or Lieutenant-Governor, the Queen's Advocate, the Treasurer, the Auditor-General and the Commander of the Forces. This Executive Council is, at first sight, very like our Viceroy's, but in reality it is a body much less under the Governor's control, and both more independent officially and more under the influence of public opinion. The Legislative Council, as here in India, consists of this Executive Council, *plus* two *Provincial* Lieutenant-Governors (Agents they are called), the Surveyor General, the

Collector of Customs, and five unofficial nominated members. This does not *promise* any much greater freedom from autocratic and arbitrary government than the Government that we have in India, but, as a matter of fact, it *confers* it. In the first place, there is in Ceylon a real equality between Cingalese and Europeans; none of the sham and show in these matters which is all we in India ever get, but *bonâ fide* equality. There has never been an Ilbert Bill there; for many years past, Cingalese Magistrates have sent European ne'er-do-weels to jail, dealing with them precisely as European Magistrates deal with Cingalese *badmashes*, and out of this and other similar facts, it has come about that European gentlemen meet and treat Cingalese gentlemen almost as their equals, and that the authorities show a consideration for the views and wishes of the people of the Island, that, as a broad rule (of course we have had exceptions like Lord Ripon and Lord Reay), is unknown in the case of the authorities here. Then, again, the unofficial nominated Members of the Council are not altogether the cyphers they are here. They possess the right of interpellation, and are thus in a position to force full explanations from the Executive, a consciousness of which fact has a tendency to keep this latter on its good behaviour, an incitement often much needed by our Indian Executive.

We have now glanced casually at the nature of the Government obtaining in each and all of Great Britain's Dependencies, and we find that, while more than half of these are absolutely free, and have been thoroughly honestly dealt with, in so far that they are practically treated in strict accordance with British national theoretical professions in regard to civil liberty and the like, almost the whole of the rest enjoy a measure of representation which equals or exceeds all that our BENGAL NATIONAL LEAGUE is preparing to struggle for. Even in the small residue of petty settlements amongst savages, military fortresses and "oceanic dust," which constitute that tiny and degraded group of third class, arbitrary-Government, Crown Colonies, the only place of any appreciable size and importance, although kept back and treated with less liberality than it would have been but for its proximity to us, and although its people are distinctly less advanced than ours, yet enjoys an administration superior to and more advanced than our own, and distinctly characterised by a more just, liberal, and considerate treatment of the people of the country.

And yet,—yet there are people to be found who profess to wonder at the universal discontent that prevails amongst us, or at the efforts that we are beginning to make, to win, by all honorable means, an improvement in our degraded political *status*!

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When we consider our own miserable plight, so far as the possession of those political rights, which are every free-born citizen's right, is concerned, and then turn to the enviable position, enjoyed by our fellow-subjects in the Canadian Dominion, Cape Colony, the Australian Colonies, &c., we cannot help wailing to know what *we* have done to be thus left out in the cold, or again to wonder what they have done to obtain so much that is denied to us.

A study of the past history of these colonies answers this question conclusively. It may be thought that Great Britain conceded to them the liberty they enjoy out of love, gave it to them as mainly inhabited by Britons, and denied it to us as Indians. But history shows that it was nothing of the kind.

Great Britain oppressed and misused her American Colonies politically until these, goaded to resistance by injustice precisely similar to what we now suffer from, rose in arms and seized the independence that, *in those days*, it was impossible to enjoy as a dependency of the British Crown.

Great Britain in like manner dealt unjustly, politically speaking, with her Canadian Colonies, until they rose in rebellion, and then, and not till then, was political freedom conceded to them. For ten years the Australians maintained such an outcry for the control of their own affairs, and that outcry so increased in intensity that it became patent, even to Lord Palmerston, that, unless what was asked for was conceded, the Colonists would follow the example of the creators of the United States, and then, and not till then, was political enfranchisement conceded to the Australians.

At the Cape of Good Hope it was the same thing. There too, as here, the inhabitants were governed as children, denied all real voice in the government of their own country, and excluded from all political rights. From 1841 onwards they petitioned for representative Government, but it was only when they rose in arms to resist an arbitrary mandate of the authorities, that John Bull's eyes were opened, and what they had so long craved and demanded was granted to them.

The fact is that the said John Bull, good, honest man as he is, is rather of the old-school of parents, and, if allowed his own way, would keep his children in bibs and tuckers all their lives. He declines to perceive that they are growing up, and need, therefore, habiliments suited to a more advanced period of life, and it is not until a son kicks up a real good row, and makes himself thoroughly disagreeable, and evidences a capacity for making himself a great deal more disagreeable still, that Mr. J. B. realizes the changes time has brought about, and thenceforth treats that reculant child as a grown-up and *responsible* person.

If history teaches us anything, it teaches us that it will probably only be by making ourselves disagreeable, in one way or another, that we too shall succeed in obtaining responsible Government. We are right, as well wrong, ways of doing even



thing, and it may be well to look a little closer into the history of the emancipation of the Colonies above referred to since we learn thereby what to *avoid* as well as what to imitate.

And here we propose to quote a few passages from Mr. Payne's "Colonies and Dependencies." After explaining that Canada offers fewer inducements to Colonists than the United States, says:—

"To retain the loyalty of Canada to the British Crown, and to enable it to compete with the United States as a field of emigration, it was thought proper to give it some semblance of free government."

Then, after describing the arrangements made, he goes on:—

"The Canadians were thus cajoled with the same empty show of representative institutions, which exists at this day in Germany. The Councils and Assemblies could, indeed, vote new laws; but their acts might be vetoed by an irresponsible Executive. The Councils and Assemblies voted supplies, but the Executive administered them. No Member of the Executive could be deprived of his post by the Council and Assembly; and however corrupt and unpopular the entire Government might be, it was removable only by the British Government which acted through the Colonial Office. A system better adopted to degrade and irritate a growing community could not have been devised. *Yet this system existed in the Canadas for half a century; and it would probably have existed to this day.*" (Mr. Payne writes 1883!), "*had not the Canadians risen against it in arms.*"

Now all this applies with even greater force to India; we are more unjustly treated than ever were the Canadians; they were allowed some semblance of representative institutions, they actually had some political rights, whereas we, politically speaking, are mere serfs. 'Let us take the lesson that the story of the emancipation of the Canadas teaches to heart, but withal let us not blindly imitate these pioneers in the path of colonial enfranchisement.

We must not blame *them*; we cannot realize the difficulties in *their* way. It may really have been necessary for *them* to appeal to arms. But now, after the lapse of nearly fifty years, after a broad road has been cleared through the, at that time, unexplored jungle of colonial oppression, it never can be necessary to appeal to arms, since we can certainly, by a little extra patience it may be, secure by peaceful means all that we desire. And this being so, it would be a crime of the deepest dye to resort, even under far greater provocation than we have yet received, to violence. Let us explain: In a country like Russia, where there is no liberty of the Press, no freedom of opinion, no channels for constitutional agitation left open, we hold that violence on the part of an oppressed population is perfectly justifiable. They must not rise until they have made sufficiently good arrangements, and have made sure of sufficient support to render their success probable, as to do so would be to risk uselessly many lives. But they have a right to freedom. There is no other way by which by people so situated it can be attained and they are, therefore, justified in taking up arms. But we, with a free Press, with perfect freedom of opinion

channels for constitutional agitation left open to us, it would be a monstrous crime even to dream of having resort to brute force.

For it is not as if one could single out one, two, or ten men responsible for keeping us still bound in these swaddling clothes of arbitrary Government. It is not Lord Dufferin, it is not his Council, who are solely to blame; it is these, and the whole official body here, and the great body of retired Anglo-Indian officials in England, and the great mass of unconscientious politicians in Great Britain, too lazy to learn at first hand the truth about India. It is this immense body, perhaps a million or so of men, who are conjointly responsible for, and must share the shame and disgrace of that political slavery under which we, free-born citizens of that boastful "*Land of the Free*," are condemned to rot and wither. If there were a dozen men even whom one could point out as *malignantly* maintaining this iniquitous order of things, we should certainly say, seize them and keep them in confinement till they repent their sins, and are ready to do unto others as they would be done by; but they are to be numbered by hundreds, of thousands, and, what is more, for all we know, the great bulk of them, so far as they have at all considered the matter, are aiding to sit upon our heads (like a set of drunken cabbies on that of some poor fallen horse) *in all good faith!* That they *sin*, in that they, some of them, allow themselves to be blinded by prejudice, self-conceit and self-interest, while others will not try to learn for themselves the real truth of the matter; that so surely as there is in the great hereafter a perfect requital of all good and evil, they will each and all meet with a fitting requital for this sin, is certain. But that sin is of such a nature that no earthly judge can presume to apportion its punishment, and no rash or hasty sufferer by it should dream of taking upon himself to requite it.

But it is not only this. Even if we could pick out (which we cannot) the hundreds of thousands of men, who conjointly in varying degrees are the criminals in our case, even, if it were justifiable, (which we have just shown that it is not) to use violence to punish these, we should still be no nearer a justification of any resort to arms, since in this latter the people whom we should kill or wound would not be any of these criminals, but a set of entirely innocent and probably ignorant men, knowing nothing whatsoever of the merits of our case, and only loyally executing the orders they receive from their superiors. To injure one of these, whilst our objects are attainable (more slowly and at far greater cost, it is true, but *still attainable*) by peaceful means, would, according to our creed, be an unpardonable crime.

No! if that sterner course of action, suggested by a leading Anglo-Indian Journal the other day, be ever unwisely adopted by any Government here, we also may begin to think of sterner measures to vindicate our right; but so long as the Freedom of our Press and our Freedom of Opinion are left intact, and so long as all channels for constitutional agitation are left open to us, we hold

the man who should propose any such sterner measures as the Canadians felt compelled to resort to, a traitor not only to that Queen-Empress to whom we all owe allegiance, but equally to India's cause which he might pretend to desire to aid.

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WE commenced in our last a cursory examination of the circumstances which led to the political enfranchisement of the Canadas, held, for nearly fifty years, in an Egyptian bondage, closely resembling, although not quite so objectionable as, that within whose iron bands India is now wasting. We explained that although the Canadians resorted to arms, and may possibly under the circumstances have been justified in so doing, nothing of this kind could be necessary in our case, as matters now stand, and that, therefore, any resort to force on our part would be a crime. We dwelt upon this the rather that it is essential that all should understand that, while we commend the Canadians for the resolute stand they made to secure their political rights, and hold up this resolved attitude as an example to be followed by our own people, we not only do not hold up their methods of procedure as deserving of imitation, but unhesitatingly condemn them as unnecessary in the present day, and consequently unjustifiable.

Let us now resume the story of Canada's emancipation as told by our author :—

"When Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837; *Te Deum* were sung in honor of the event in the churches on the St. Lawrence. The congregations quitted their seats and walked out. Before the end of the year several bodies of insurgents were in arms in different parts of the Province. The discontent of Lower Canada had reached the point of outbreak. The Assembly had forwarded to England the grievances of the Colony, embodied in the "Ninty-two Resolutions," and a majority in the British Parliament had replied by suspending the Canada Act, and placing the Province under military rule. The situation was the same as the situation had been in New England sixty years before, when Parliament suspended the Charter of Massachusetts. The condition of Upper Canada was little better. The Government had fallen into the hands of an official clique who styled themselves the British party. The great majority of the people were designated rebels, and were believed in Great Britain to be anxious to shake off the British connection, and to annex Canada to the United States."

Truly "*mutato nomine de te fabula narratur*;" can any historical parallel be more complete? Already we have the *Pioneer*, the organ of the official clique, who here style themselves the British party, in an article that undoubtedly only echoed the sentiments of the great bulk of the Anglo-Indian officials, unblushingly recommending "sterner measures," in other words the equivalents of the

suspension of the Canada Act, and the suspension of the Massachusetts Charter! Can official blindness go further? Have the fates, indeed, foredoomed these men to destruction, and, as a first step, according to the adage, deprived them of reason? It is too absurd,—there *may* be men in India idiotic enough to contemplate such a step, but, surely, even John Bull will not fall *three* times successively into the same pitfall! To resume:—

“Upper Canada, though not in actual rebellion, was ripe for it. The outbreak in Lower Canada was suppressed, but so little interest was then taken in Canada or its affairs that the very fact of the rebellion was generally unknown until, in 1839, there arrived in Liverpool on their way to Van Diemen’s Land twelve Canadians under sentences of transportation for treason. English people were startled, and some indignant sympathisers sued out writs of *habeas corpus*, and ultimately the prisoners were released. This incident caused enquiry, and enquiry dispelled a cloud of ignorance. At length, by force of public opinion, the situation was realized by British statesmen, and the true remedy was applied.”

He then proceeds to explain in detail the system of representative Government, introduced by the Union Act of 1840, and concludes as follows:—

“The subordination of the Executive to the Legislature, as in the mother-country, which was thus secured, received the name of ‘Responsible Government.’ It was the emancipation of the Colony, and rendered it practically as free as one of the United States. It was also the emancipation of the Empire, for when secured to one of the Colonies, it was within the reach of all. This change is the principal event in our modern Colonial History.”

Well done Canadians! Did we not recently say rightly that we would not blame them? For *us* as well as for themselves, for India’s torrid realms as well as for Canada’s frozen steppes, their blood was shed—and what they did and dared renders it unnecessary for those who follow to imitate their *manner* of action, while it illustrates for all time the spirit in which injustice and wrong should be opposed and conquered.

We might have described this historical episode in much greater detail; the account is after all most imperfect, and the extraordinary parallelism of the Canadas and India, where political questions are concerned, might have been brought out far more strongly, had we told the story in our own words; but we preferred an independent witness, and we have, therefore, quoted *verbatim* from the work of an Englishman who has neither knowledge of, nor sympathy with, India, and whose words might, therefore, be expected to carry greater weight with our adversaries.

Let us now glance even more cursorily at the cases of the Australian and Cape Colonies:—

“Until 1842, that is to say, for a period of half a century, New South Wales had been governed as Canada had been governed before the Act of 1791, that is to say, despotically by its governors. It then received a mock constitution, something like that which Canada had received half a century before. The Australians like the Canadians had long chafed under the

misgovernment of the Colonial Office [just as we have long chafed under the misgovernment of the India Office], and, strange as it seems, many Australian are now living who once denounced the tyranny and oppression of the mother-country, and loudly clamoured for separation."

Here, if anywhere, one would think is a lesson for our rulers. Some of them, at any rate, must have seen the downright incendiary pamphlets that circulated in New South Wales,—pamphlets to which the strongest of our appeals are but as moon-beams unto sunrays, or as water unto wine. Things went from bad to worse; throughout the forties the clamour grew; Great Britain began to realize that she would either have to fight for Australia or lose her; and in 1850 the necessary concessions were made. Then, when the Australians had been placed in a position, enabling them to separate themselves from the mother-country, was anything further ever heard of oppression and tyranny? Did any one of those "Sydney Rebels," as the Conservative party, the bureaucrats, designated them, ever say another word about separation? So far from this it was just from Sydney that the volunteer contingent was sent the other day to support the British cause in Upper Egypt. It was a thoroughly bad cause. The bombardment of Alexandria was a crime morally, and a blunder, worse than a crime, politically speaking; the attack upon the Mahdi—British intervention in the matter in any shape—a pure piece of *dementia*: but this only makes the case the stronger, that even in a bad case a community rushes forward now to support the same country, that less than forty years ago they were denouncing as an oppressor and tyrant, and from whom they were preparing to extort a separation by force, if needs be; and all this simply because in the interim those political rights which inherently pertain to every free-born citizen of the British Empire, long unjustly withheld from them, had at last been, and with a fairly good grace, conceded to them. Now we, with our poor corns maddening us, compressed in an iron shoe of foreign make that in no way approximates to fitting us, do no doubt complain in mild and measured tones. The *Pioneer*, it is true, talks of our violent language. Does the *Pioneer* remember the old gentleman, who, sitting in an omnibus, blandly remarks to the conductor: "Oh, Mr. Conductor, I should be so grateful, if you could go on, as I have an important appointment to keep," whereupon the conductor, *Pioneer*-like, screams out to the driver "Go on, Bill, here's an old cove in here a cussin and swearin like blazes!" Verily, in like fashion, are we "cussin and swearin like blazes!" but, if now having pity on our sufferings, John Bull will kindly allow us to divest ourselves of these incongruous and impossible iron boots, and let us fit ourselves or allow us to help him to fit us with a pair of wearable shoes, that make due allowances for our actual configuration, there will straightway be an end of all complaints, and instead of a dissatisfied, unhappy, suffering nation, continually half inclined to doubt whether the best plan would not be to slip cables and run for it, England would find in India a well-wisher, an admirer, a friend and ally, such as the whole of the rest of this round, rolling world never will and never can furnish.

that it behoves our rulers to study with as much care as we propose to do—struggles as pregnant with lessons for them as for ourselves—what says our author?

“Such is the story of the attainment of “Responsible Government” by the principal Colonies. It amounted to the political enfranchisement of several millions of colonists, residing in the dependencies beyond the seas. The incidents, which immediately occasioned it in each Colony, are of little importance; its deep fundamental cause was the enfranchisement of the English Middle Classes by the Reform Act of 1832.”

And yet after the Reform Act of 1885, whereby the English lower classes also were enfranchised, there are people mad enough to suppose that a modification of our present despotic and autocratic form of Government, in the direction of Responsible Government, (mark, we only say in the *direction* of this) can long be withheld from us!

Possibly this is, in some degree, our own fault. If we were to storm, and rant, and resort to such tactics as found favour in the larger colonies, it would possibly make things easier for all parties, and bring our grievances within what Mr. Gladstone called the sphere of practical politics. But as we are quiet and orderly, desiring to stain our country's unsullied robe with bloodshed or other crime, as we insist upon trusting for success to persistent efforts, carefully restrained within all those limits prescribed alike by the laws of God and of man, our adversaries, it would seem, cannot believe that we are in earnest, and affect to treat our fixed resolves as merely the wayward fancies of naughty children.

Ah! well we can afford “to labor and to wait;” let those laugh who win. There are people for whom the past has no lessons, and the future no visions. But that any cultivated and unprejudiced man should doubt what must be the ultimate result of that endeavour to secure political enfranchisement, on which we are now soberly entering, would, were such a thing possible, be, indeed, a marvel.

As for ourselves, we have no doubts and no illusions. We know that confining ourselves rigidly to constitutional methods, the work will be long and weary. We foresee trouble and even, perhaps, suffering for some of the most prominent workers. We look forward to insults and abuse, misrepresentation, falsehood, slander, and all the other evil practices to which our adversaries have already so freely resorted. We are prepared for repeated disappointments, where English politicians are concerned, such as that of which we have recently had experience in the matter of the Parliamentary enquiry; we know that neither here nor there are we dealing with thoroughly honest, straightforward public men whose words are their bonds, but with a lot of professional politicians, whose public and private consciences are entirely disconnected, and who, while in private life, truthful and honest, are so in public life only when a departure from the straight and narrow way does not appear to them more expedient. We realize that for long we shall, as it were, beat our hands against a dull wall of selfishness, greed, race-prejudice, and



WE again quote Mr. Paync :—

"The next Colony, which obtained responsible Government, was the Cape Colony. So long as the only route for ships to India was round the Cape, it was thought necessary to maintain this as a Crown Colony, garrisoned by British forces. The Government of the Colony was unsatisfactory to the colonists as in Canada and Australia [*as our Government is now to us.*] Crown Councils, Executive and Legislative, had been established in 1835, previous to which the Cape had been treated merely as a military post, and ruled by a military Governor. The settlers petitioned for Representative Government in 1841, but their claims were neglected [*they took no measures to make themselves disagreeable*], and so little attention was paid to their wishes that the Home Government, when the Australians refused to take any more convicts, determined to make the Cape a penal settlement, and in 1849 despatched a shipload of convicts to Cape Town. The colonists, who were resolved to make a stand, rose in arms and refused to allow them to be landed. This incident forced their claims on public attention, and in the next year (1850) the Governor was empowered to summon a constituent Council for the purpose of settling a more acceptable form of Government."

Full Responsible Government was then conceded, and though their path, in other ways, has been beset with thorns, this was the end of the colonists' troubles with their Government.

Now, can anything show more clearly than this simple, unvarnished story that the whole secret of eliciting reform at the hands of our good Lord and Master, John Bull, is to make oneself disagreeable? You may apparently complain and petition *ad infinitum*; thus did the Canadas, the Australias, and the Cape, but they took nothing by their motions; they might shout till they were hoarse, but until they began to kick, to fight, or evince a readiness to do so, until, in fact, they began to make themselves disagreeable in good earnest, no one paid the slightest attention to them.

Very clearly we have to make ourselves disagreeable; and, please God, as time goes on, we will do so, and no mistake; but there are ways and ways of doing things, we do not approve of a resort to arms. We shall not break either the laws of God or man. We shall work within both constitutional and common law and local law limits, but we shall nevertheless hope to make ourselves ultimately so stupendously disagreeable, as to force even our "claims on public attention," and so secure those modifications in the existing form of the administration, which are essential to the prosperity of India, and the well-being of her now greatly depressed and suffering population.

And, now, glancing back at all these past struggles—struggles



# INDIA'S FAREWELL TO LORD RIPON.

## TREU UND FEST.

Farewell, true heart, farewell, farewell !

Our happy dream is o'er,  
Thy kindly care, thy steadfast love  
Will soon be ours no more !

Farewell, farewell, a nation's love,  
A nation's prayers watch o'er thee,  
Nor space, nor time can part thee e'er  
From hearts that here adore thee !

Thou cam'st, and all the land grew bright  
And every heart beat high,  
Hope wreathed each home with budding blooms,  
So sweet ! so soon to die !

Farewell, farewell, a nation's love,  
&c. &c. &c.

But not for us the Hero's crown,  
The Freeman's priceless prize,  
And not for us the cloudless smile  
Of Freedom's starry eyes !

Farewell, farewell, a nation's love,  
&c. &c. &c.

Oh ! ask not why, thy noble thoughts  
Scarce budded into Life,  
Or blessings, Love alone designed,  
Wasted in bitter strife.

Farewell, farewell, a nation's love,  
&c. &c. &c.

Alas ! that Freedom's sons should stain  
Their mother's spotless shield,  
And mar the cause their sires upheld  
On many a glorious field.

Farewell, farewell, a nation's love,  
&c. &c. &c.

Sore raged the storm and bitter words  
Like poisoned darts grew rife,  
And evil deeds, like loathsome weeds,  
Pressed struggling into life.

Farewell, farewell, a nation's love,  
&c. &c. &c.

ignorance, and that for us will be that experience of hope deferred that maketh the heart sick. Yes! and we know that long before that happy day shall come, long before that redemption shall dawn upon our beloved country, the hand, the head, the heart, that now indite these lines, shall have dissolved in the funeral pyre; and yet no shade of doubt of the ultimate and entire triumph of our sacred cause ever darkens for us the outlook, or dims the brightness of that hallowed vision of a free and happy India which cheers and rewards us as its reality shall console and bless those who come after us. Like Moses of old, we stand, looking over that promised land, which shall recompense all who attain it for their weary wanderings in this wilderness of despotism—not for us that land flowing with milk and honey, that good land, where India's children shall once more make merry and rejoice; but that the days of their deliverance are drawing nigh, and that, though we be not there to share their joys, our people shall enter in and enjoy, is as certain as is the rising of the sun, when already the dawn is ruddy in the East—as certain as man's folly, as certain as God's Truth.

des.

