

Imp 19170  
11-01-11.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

---

	<i>Page</i>
Introduction ..	v
Extract from Pamphlet of the Raja of Bhinga ..	1
In What Will it End? By Mr. Theodore Beck ..	6
The Danger of an Indian Mutiny from the spread of Sedition, by Munshi Imtiaz Ali ..	32
Speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Behares ..	38
Letter from Mr. Syed Hossain Bilgrami to Sir Syed Ahmed ..	51
Speech made at Bombay by Mr. Mahomed Hosain Hakim, Government and the National Congress, by Sir Syed Ahmed ..	67
The Pioneer on Sedition ..	72
The Pioneer on Sedition ..	79
Pamphlet of Choudhri Nasrat Ali on "The Coming Mutiny in India" ..	92

---

### APPENDIX.—The United Indian Patriotic Association—

Rules of the Association ..	i
Patrons, Members, and Donors of the Association, ..	iv
List of Affiliated Muhammadan Associations ..	xv
List of Public Meetings held against the National Congress ..	xix

## INTRODUCTION.

---

THE object with which this pamphlet has been compiled and circulated may be ascertained by referring to the Rules of the United Indian Patriotic Association, printed in the appendix. It is intended to supply English politicians and other gentlemen who take an interest in India with information as to the views held by some of the ablest and most influential natives of India concerning an agitation on foot in that continent, for the object of which sympathy is now being canvassed in England. The movement, which centres round an institution misnamed "*The National Congress*," has for its aim the introduction by degrees of representative Government into India. The agitators, while employing in India methods of a dangerously seditious character, as any one may learn who cares to read this pamphlet, make an appeal in England to the most cherished principles of English Liberalism, and to the strong sentiments of justice inherent in the English race. They base their chance of success almost entirely on the effect they hope to produce in England on people unacquainted with the political condition of India; as they have little hope of finding in India responsible statesmen willing to accede to their demands; for among the many charges of folly and criminality levelled by them at the Indian

Government, a desire to commit suicide has never been included. To produce anyhow a sensation in England they have placarded the streets with notices, stating that their Debating Society represents the opinions of 200,000,000 people, the monstrous absurdity of which assertion can be only realised by people resident in India, though its falsity may be seen by a mere glance at the appendix of this pamphlet, in which it is shown that not only have large public meetings all over India condemned the movement, but more than forty political associations have expressed their bitter hostility to it. To the Englishman in England they appeal against the alleged tyranny of his brother in India. They profess to be the champions of a down-trodden nationality, ground down by a greedy band of Anglo-Indian officials. That they represent not a nation, but a party recruited from certain small classes in a certain group of Indian nations—(mostly nations down-trodden before English rule, but now raised by means of the colleges created by Anglo-Indians),—and that they are stoutly opposed by men in all parts of the continent belonging to other classes, and more especially the sturdier and more martial races, are facts which the United Indian Patriotic Association is anxious to bring prominently before the eyes of the English public. The selection of writings published in this pamphlet will, it is hoped, make this sufficiently clear.

The writers belong to the two main racial divisions of India, Hindus and Muhammadans. The



---

Raja of Bhinga is a Baron of Oudh, belonging to the chivalrous and brave caste of Rajputs, the second and most highly esteemed of the four castes of Manu, the fighting, or ruling caste. This caste ruled India before the Muhammadan invasion, and during the Muhammadan empire held the highest positions of military command. The Raja's ancestors were men of high rank under the Muhammadan Emperors, and their deeds of prowess have been recorded by the Raja in a short monograph. The Rajputs of Oudh have entirely thrown in their influence against the Congress, and their most illustrious names will be found in the list of members of the United Indian Patriotic Association. The whole fighting force of the Hindus of Oudh is subject to their influence. A second Hindu name of great significance in this compilation is that of the Maharaja of Benares, a nobleman of the old school, and the representative of a famous royal house. Turning to the Muhammadan writers, Sir Syed Ahmed is the chief leader of the Muhammadans throughout India. Mr. Syed Hosain Bilgrami is a high official in the Nizam's Government; and is distinguished for his literary abilities. Munshi Imtiaz Ali is Legal Adviser of the political association of the Barons of Oudh, and is a man of great influence in that Province. Chaudhri Nasrat Ali is a taluqdar of Oudh. Mr. Muhammad Hosain Hakim practices at the Bombay Bar. But the most important name in the whole list of opponents of the National Congress is that of the first Patron of the Association, His Highness

## DEMOCRACY NOT SUITED TO INDIA.

*By the Raja of Bhinga,*

---

A VERY able pamphlet with the above title has appeared, analysing the constitution, aim, and pretensions of the *National Congress*, and discussing the fundamental principles of Indian politics. A few extracts are here given :—

In the Preface the Raja says :—" I entreat the martial races of India in general, and my Rajput brothers in particular, to pause before they decide to take any part in the aforesaid movement which, if not confined to Bengal and Madras, cannot fail to end in misrule and anarchy."

An examination of the proposals of the National Congress is thus summed up :—" They are for the most part crude, ill-considered and unpractical, showing no signs of political ability or insight, and affording no ground for anticipating political results of any value from the introduction of representative institutions into India."

As to the methods employed by the agitators, the writer says :—" The real, though not always the avowed, object is to persuade the people that the power of Government has in various ways been abused, and ought to be diminished, and that a large proportion, if not all the ills to which they are

---

\* This pamphlet may be obtained at the *Pioneer Press*, Allahabad, India.  
Price,—*annas 8* (8 pence).

subject, are the direct result of the action or the negligence of Government. Consider first the effect which an agitation, primarily directed to this end, is likely to produce in India. It is true that the speeches of the agitators abound in loyal protestations. It is a common practice at the Congress meetings to propose cheers for the Queen-Empress, to express the most exaggerated attachment to the person of the Sovereign, and even occasionally to acknowledge the benefits which India owes to the British rule. But the whole thing is obviously forced and artificial, designed to catch the ignorant or unwary in England, and, it must be admitted, with considerable apparent success. It is of small practical advantage to express devotion to the Queen-Empress when everything done by her servants is persistently denounced and misrepresented, or to extol British administration in the past while everything is done to weaken and discredit it in the present or future. The British rule to which all this loyalty is professed, is the rule of past time and distant places; the British rule as it is here and now is held up on every side to reprobation; and which of the lessons is the more likely to be learnt by the ignorant and unthinking masses? The third Congress report begins with a glowing description of the extraordinary results achieved by a century of English rule. 'British education and British literature instinct with the highest principles of civil and religious liberty; British history and the examples of Britain's noblest sons—these the grandest gifts

ever bestowed by conquerors on a subject nation, poured with an unselfish hand into the minds of a noble, though fallen people, alone rendered this great Congress a possibility.' This is for English consumption. The 'Conversation between Maulvi Fariduddin and Ram Bakhsh,' which is being circulated among the masses, adopts a very different tone. There is no eloquence wasted about the Queen-Empress or 'the grandest gifts ever bestowed by conquerors on a subject nation.' The object of the pamphlet is to contrast India as it is under the British Government in its present form with India as it would be under representative institutions. It is in the form of a dialogue between a High Court pleader and a villager, to whom the former explains how all the evils which the peasantry suffer should be attributed to the form of Government now existing, and will disappear if it is reconstituted on a popular basis.'

The effect of the spread of literature of this stamp is thus described in the Raja's pamphlet :—

"There can be no doubt that such writings constitute a most serious political danger. It is not as if they were addressed to people trained in the methods of European democracy and accustomed to distinguish between the most severe criticism of the measures of Government and the desire to destroy its authority. The readers of the 'Conversation between Maulvi Fariduddin and Ram Bakhsh' are wholly destitute of the experience which would make such a notion intelligible. The only idea that

denunciations of Government and assertions that it is the cause of their poverty and all their other misfortunes can possibly convey to their minds is that what is necessary is a general rebellion and the destruction of every European in the country. This feeling is enormously strengthened by the attitude assumed by Government towards the agitators and their preaching. The ignorant masses are as little able to understand toleration by Government of its enemies as to understand that the enemies of Government do not desire its overthrow. Such toleration is universally regarded as mere cowardice and the consciousness of weakness."

We close our extracts from the pamphlet with the following :—

"It is time to consider very shortly the question recently so much discussed—'In what will it end?' The answer given by many whose opinions are entitled to respect is that, unless checked, it will end in revolution and massacre. They see that the agitators are lighting fire close to the most combustible and explosive materials, that no hand is raised to stop them, but that on the contrary well meaning men of undoubted loyalty and patriotism are, with extraordinary infatuation, encouraging them in their work. They see that every grievance is being fostered under the pretence of constitutional reform, that in the name of national unity and the fusion of races every form of internal dissension is stirred up, and that in the name of peace and good-will between England and India the people are being taught

to hate their rulers. It may well seem that to all this one end only is possible.

“ But notwithstanding these considerations, it is too early to despair, and there is still abundant ground for hope. If the conclusions stated in the earlier chapters of this work are sound, the agitators do not yet represent the people of India or more than the smallest fraction of the people. Moreover, those whom they do represent can never themselves be dangerous except indirectly and by inciting others. The brave races of India are as yet untouched ; the natural leaders of the people still hold aloof from the work of destroying the results of the patient and devoted labours of a century. If a strong and fearless policy is adopted and consistently adhered to, there is nothing to fear from the designs of the agitators.”

## IN WHAT WILL IT END?

*By Mr. Theodore Beck.*

(FROM THE "PIONEER.")

*Jack Cade:* There shall be in England seven halfpenny loaves sold for a penny. All shall eat and drink on my score; and I will apparel them all in one livery, that they may agree like brothers and worship me their lord. Go to Surrah! Tell the king from me that for his father's sake, Henry the Fifth, I am content he shall reign; but I'll be protector over him. Now show yourselves, men; 'tis for liberty. We will not have one lord, one gentleman. Away, burn all the records of the realm: my mouth shall be the Parliament of England.—(*Shakespeare: Henry VI, Part II, Act IV*).

## I.

As it is my belief that the agitation of which the National Congress is the visible head will, if unchecked, sooner or later end in a mutiny, with its accompanying horrors and massacres, followed by a terrible retaliation on the part of the British Government, bringing absolute ruin for the Musalman, the Rajput and other brave races, and resulting in the retardation of all progress, I wish to place before my countrymen the reasons which have led me to form this opinion, and to invite a refutation of the arguments adduced. We had a sharp lesson in 1857 about the inadvisability of not studying the under-currents of thought in India, and I fear that if we let the Bengali Press and the Congress agitation go on for another ten or twenty years, we shall have as disagreeable an awakening as we had then.

There are two things to be distinguished in the National Congress : *first*, its object ; *second*, its *modus operandi* or method. In its method lies the danger. Were its object not visionary and unattainable, but wise and beneficial, the danger would still exist, unless a radical change were made in the means by which it was sought to effect the object. But before pointing out the latent danger of the method, let me say a few words about the object—the proposed reconstitution of the Legislative Councils.

One of the speakers in the last Congress did me the honour of alluding to some criticisms of mine on the proposal to introduce parliamentary government into India. He said, and many papers which criticised me also said, that the intention of the Congress stopped far short of a parliament, and was confined to the scheme about Legislative Councils, and therefore that all my arguments were beside the mark. But I note in the "Tamil Catechism," printed at the end of the report of the Madras Congress, the following question and answer :—

"Q.—Then you think the Congress will really be of great use?"

"A.—Yes, most certainly ; for one of the best means of promoting the welfare of India is the establishment of a Grand Council on the lines of the English Parliament, and if persevered in and wisely guided and supported by the whole country, the Congress will gradually, when India is fit for this, be converted into an Indian Parliament, which will take the place of the sham Councils of the present day."



From this and a hundred other indications, I conclude that I was right in thinking that a parliament is what the promoters of this movement have as their goal, and that the assurance that the only object is a reconstitution of the Legislative Councils is the language of diplomacy. But I will leave the parliament aside. I will suppose that the ultimate ambition of the Congresswallas is their proposed reform of the Legislative Councils, and that if Government suggested going a step further, every man who now supports the Congress would turn round and oppose such a proceeding as too radical. I will now discuss this measure, which its advocates complacently describe as extremely moderate.

The proposal, as formulated by the National Congress, contains seven distinct clauses, some of them embodying several distinct propositions, and to all these clauses and propositions six hundred men gave unanimous consent ! In the first clause it is stated that the number of members on the Legislative Councils is to be "materially increased," and of these not less than one-half are to be elected, while not more than one-fourth are to be members *ex-officio*, and not more than one-fourth nominated by Government. In the sixth clause it states that "all legislative measures and all financial questions, including all budgets, whether these involve new or enhanced taxation or not, are to be necessarily submitted to and dealt with by these Councils." It will thus be seen, that the elected members have only to gain one supporter among the official or nominated members to secure a majority and be

absolute. The use to which this reformed Council is to be put, is thus described by Mr. Surendranath Banerji, the proposer of the motion:—"It is impossible to think of a domestic grievance, or a matter of domestic complaint, which will not be remedied, if the constitution of the Councils were changed and remodelled according to our programme. Talk of the separation of judicial from executive functions, why, the reform would be effected at once, if we had the making of our own laws. Talk of the wider employment of our countrymen in the public service, why the Queen's Proclamation would be vindicated to the letter (applause), if we had some control over the management of our domestic concerns. (Applause). You fret and fume under the rigour of an income-tax which touches even the means of subsistence, why the incidence of the tax would be altered, the minimum raised, if we had anything to do with the imposition of the tax, or if we were permitted to modify it. (Applause). Some further notice of the magnitude of the demand may be gathered from the philanthropic froth of an English lawyer who is innocently trying to ignite the gunpowder. "The day will come," said Mr. Eardley Norton, "when an infinitely larger and truer freedom will be yours, when the great question of taxation will be within your grasp, when you will in truth realise that you have got something more than mere potential power, when you shall place your hand upon the purse-strings of the country and the Government. (Loud and continued applause). Money is power, whether it be in the hands of an

individual or of a Government. He who has the dispensing of money is he who has the control of all ultimate authority. (Cheers). Once you control the finances, you will taste the true meaning of power and of freedom. (Cheers)."

Now let us suppose these Councils constituted, and let us suppose Government to propose a measure, for example, the income-tax, to which these high-minded democrats object. There are two possibilities. Either the elected members support the Government, or they oppose it. It is pretty clear which they will do; but suppose, for the sake of argument, they support it. Is anyone so foolish as to imagine that it will be less unpopular because the elected members agree to it? Everyone will think that Government coerced them. They cannot take on their shoulders the odium and the responsibility which everyone rightly attributes to Government. Nor can Government shirk this responsibility. Now, suppose they oppose the Government. Is it conceivable that under these circumstances Government could continue to govern? They want money to pay the army and their servants, and the Council refuses them. They are to bear the weight of the responsibility; they are to protect the country from Russia; they are to prevent the martial races of Upper India, Behar, and other places from throwing off the yoke of the native rulers belonging to castes and races whom they despise, placed over them by competitive examination; and yet they are to have no power. The electorate is to "taste

the true meaning of power and of freedom"—without the responsibility. Well, in this case of Government finding itself frustrated by the Council—the case to which Mr. Surendranath Banerji looks forward with delight, the only case in fact which gives any point to the Congress proposal—what is Government to do? It must do one of two things: either abolish the Council, or retire from the country. The former case will cause great exasperation; the latter we do not intend to do, nor do the Congresswallas want it. The experiment of these mixed Councils has been tried in the West Indies, and Mr. Froude points out that it is one of the causes of their decline in prosperity. The elected members, he says, always vote against Government, and thereby the greatest amount of friction is produced and the greatest unpopularity of the Governor. In Jamaica, when Government overrode the decision of the elected members, a Negro gentleman, named Gordon, a well-meaning agitator, called a big public meeting against Government. The Negroes went armed. Some English soldiers went to see: a fight ensued, the Negroes began to ravage the land, the country was put under martial law, Gordon was hanged, and the Constitution was abolished. That incident gives a graphic picture of what would probably take place in India, but on a hundred times bigger scale, if this proposal of the Congress were adopted.

But there is a minor measure which Government might adopt, without such disastrous

consequences. A change might be made in the present Legislative Council by which a small number of native members might be elected by specified constituencies, no increased power being given to the Councils, and no handle in the executive. Such a reform would possess a specious resemblance to the proposal of the National Congress, and it is not inconceivable that Government might throw it out as a sop. I venture to say that this would, in my opinion, be a fatal mistake. It would as much satisfy their appetite as a sparrow would that of a hungry tiger, and it would give a gigantic stimulus to the whole movement. Moreover, when there are so few seats, it would be very unfair to give any constituencies or interests a permanent footing on the Council. • The Parsees, for example, are a wealthy and important community. If they were represented according to their numbers in an Indian Parliament, then in a Parliament of the preposterous dimensions of 3,000 members there ought to be only one Parsee. The measure would be unfair on those who were left unrepresented. For the elected members would consider it their duty to push the interests of their constituencies. And thus the Government, too, would lose, for this duty towards the constituency would conflict with the Imperial duty which alone should animate the members. A further objection to this measure is, that it would insert the thin end of the wedge for the agitators ever to hammer at, and it would disguise the true nature of the British power in India, which is, and must be, a despotism,

controlled not by ignorant masses, but by the law of duty. A cosmopolitan bureaucracy, with the ultimate authority in the hands of Englishmen, is, it seems to me, the only possible ambition for the Indian political idealist.

Besides this main demand of the National Congress, there are a number of minor proposals which are some objectionable, some unobjectionable. I do not propose to discuss them because they would carry me far away from the main thesis. They have to be noticed only as showing in a plain and unmistakable way one of the principles constituting the *modus operandi* of the agitators. The principle is this:—That the Congress seeks to strengthen its hold on the community by opening its doors to every kind of political grievance. Thus, while bent on one main object—to seize the reins of Government—it encourages everyone who cares for some other object to join and vote for the representative proposal, in the hope that the mighty uproar, when directed on his pet scheme, will give it a chance. The army was held out as a bait to the Mahomedans, but they caught sight of the hook. The unofficial Europeans and Eurasians with amazing simplicity have walked into the trap, and have of course been received with open arms. Anyone with a following and a grievance is welcome. It all adds fuel to the fire. I am now well launched off on the discussion of the method of the Congress, and I have to justify the proposition I made at the commencement of this

discussion. And I ask now—What will be the effect of this? What will be the result of keeping open a great grievance-shop in this Empire? What will be the effect on the minds of people who go and listen for four or five days to glowing accounts of injustice and mismanagement, brought in from all parts of the continent; to the brutality of this damnable political agent, who “betrays his trust to his conscience, his country, and his Queen,” to the cruelty of the Government which causes “thousands of their countrymen and countrywomen to be killed every year by tigers and leopards” because of the Arms Act? And when you have carefully hunted out every grievance—and I suppose no one has no complaint—and have collected them and tabulated them, and when the whole year round the press reeks with them, and once a year all the grievance-mongers come together and blow off their eloquence, will it strengthen the Empire? It will be a great running sore which will never heal because the ambition of the agitator will demand fresh grievances as fast as any are removed, and he will create them if they do not exist. There will be no difficulty in this. In every country there are men dying of starvation; there are miscarriages of justice and acts of oppression—this is the sad order of this world. Who that has once seen the East End of London, with its million inhabitants sunk in squalor, dirt, and misery, their faces ingrained with degradation and suffering, can forget the terrible sight? Or the spectacle of our great civilised city at night, with the drunken men

teeling out of the public houses and the brazen faces of the women? There is nothing so shocking as this in India. But suppose London were under foreign rule instead of being under "the most enlightened Government in the world," all these miseries would be wrongly put down to the foreigner, and the forces of anarchy would arise in irresistible strength. So it will be in India. The agitators tell the people that all their ills, the miserable poverty of sections of them, are due to the English, and that their nostrum is a magic wand that will set all right. The manufacture of grievances is already in full swing. The Congress could no more get on without grievances than an English political party could without a programme. For without grievances it would die. And the Congress has to be kept alive because, if Mr. Hume's ambition is to be realised, it will some day wake up and find itself a real Parliament.

I have now to discuss the spirit in which these grievances are laid before the public, and the means adopted for stirring up the ignorant. I maintain that this spirit and these means are disloyal and seditious. I must now define the precise meaning that I attach to the term "disloyal." For I shall at once be told that the raising of three cheers for the Queen is a frequent phenomenon in Congress meetings, and that many of the delegates not only say but feel they would be sorry for the English to leave India. Granted. To doubt the fact would be to doubt their sanity. But I still call them disloyal. If a boy abused and injured his father to



whom he owed his means of support, I should call him an undutiful son in spite of the fact that he knew that his father's death would be his own ruin. The loyalty which consists of not wishing the British army to go, and yet of doing everything to weaken the Government, trying to seize from it all the power of rule and undermining its influence in the hearts of the people, is a kind of loyalty I loathe. I had rather have an honest foe than an insidious and backbiting friend. Real loyalty tries to strengthen the Government and breathes a spirit of gratitude. The other loyalty is identical in its effects with the disloyalty of a wily enemy. "We judge of men by their deeds and not by their words, and we judge of their loyalty by whether their actions tend to remove the soreness from the hearts of men or to aggravate it.

Coming now to the means adopted in this Congress agitation, the essential feature is that they do not confine their action to the educated classes, but make every effort to extend it to the ignorant. This tomfoolery about delegates necessitates it. Mass meetings are held and addressed by fiery orators; and inflammatory literature is circulated in the vernacular. Only the man who believes in the infinite gullibility of the Englishman can dare state that the masses in India can understand the question of the reform of the Legislative Councils, of which they have never even heard the name. As easily could a company of English rustics comprehend the philosophy of Kant. To understand how

the Hindu is to govern India under the cloak of the British name by means of a representative system imported from England, the English with their swords standing by as the willing slaves of their rulers, is a conception sufficiently difficult to tax the intellectual resources, of even a Calcutta graduate. One broad issue arises at once to the popular mind. British rule or Native rule? And when the English are abused and the grievances of the people are dwelt on, can there be any doubt on which side they will decide? To illustrate this by an example :—At a certain town a meeting was held, and as usual they secured as chairman (by what means I will not specify) a Mahomedan, so as to keep up the deceitful farce that the Mahomedans are with them. He was an uneducated nobleman, with nothing but the primitive ideas of rule in his head prevalent in the savage land from which he hails. They stood up and abused the English before him, one man calling English Assistant Collectors monkeys. What will be the effect on the mind of that wild and ignorant chief? I know of an unlettered Thakur Baron in a Native State who asks of his friends when the next mutiny is coming, being quite indifferent which side he takes, but longing for something to relieve the monotony of his dull life. I will not give his address lest the Congresswallas should invite him to be chairman of a meeting in his country, or should send him a copy of the pamphlet to which I shall allude further on, when I shall bring more specific charges of disloyalty.

## II.

In the first part of this discussion I pointed out that the very constitution of the National Congress was such that it was bound to foster a spirit of discontent and mutiny in the people ; that a Grievance Hall, as a permanent institution, would be like a running sore bringing all kinds of aches and pains to the body politic ; and that the delegate system, based as it was on popular support and popular discontent, was bound to encourage a kind of public speaking and literature, the object of which would be to picture in glowing colours the injustice of Government. And thus, however strong and however loyal the hands that controlled the movement, however much they might wish not to inflame discontent among the ignorant, it would be practically impossible to prevent the National Congress and its ramifications from becoming a deadly engine of sedition.

What then will be its effect when the leaders of this Congress, the authorised official heads, publish in their authorised official volumes, and throw broadcast over the land, as an example to their followers in every district, literature of an actively incendiary nature ? At the end of the report of the National Congress is printed a pamphlet which, I am told, has been largely circulated in the vernacular, in which case a certain number of potential mutineers has probably been already created by it. I shall make some extracts from this poisonous tract, but I can, in so short a space, give no adequate

notion of the amount of venom hidden in it. I request all who take an interest in public affairs, and in the future of this glorious country and of its gifted peoples, to purchase a copy of the report and study the tract for themselves. It represents a hypothetical conversation between a Congresswalla (a Maulvi!) and a peasant. The Congresswalla points to the difference in prosperity between two villages—one *Shamshpur*, which is owned jointly by the villagers, and another *Kambakhtpur*, owned by an absentee Raja. The former is said to typify India as it would be under a native representative government, and the latter, India as it is under British rule. A vivid contrast is drawn between the prosperity of *Shamshpur* and the misery of *Kambakhtpur*. Every misfortune from which our poor peasants suffer, whether removable by Government or beyond the resources of human power to cure—the poverty, the extortions of the money-lender, the oppression of the police, the ill-effects of canal water—are described with studied accuracy as ruining *Kambakhtpur*, while from all of them *Shamshpur* is free. With such illusions did Jack Cade urge on his band of rebels. I will now quote :—

*Maulvi Fariduddin* :—"But how does your village thrive?"

*Rambaksh* :—"How does it thrive? Why, Maulvi Sahib, you know that there never is a day but that there is some case from *Kambakhtpur* in Court; that we are growing poorer and poorer; that land is going out of cultivation; that we have scarcely

oxen enough to plough what we still till. Look down the street ; why the houses are half of them nearly in ruins, and the two *abkari* shops that the *Sirkar* has set up here are always full. Even this *chopal*, built by our forefathers and so much needed for our meetings and our guests, is now in ruins. Look at Shamshpur. It is twice as populous as this *bustee* (village), and yet there is no *abkari* shop there, and the *lumbardar* says there never shall be, and so say they all. Thrive indeed ! Of all the miserable places in this whole zila, Kambakhtpur is nearly one of the worst."

Thus the British Government is charged with making the people drunk by its liquor policy ; to its door is laid the poverty of the peasantry ; and regardless of facts, it is said that the poverty of the country is increasing, and the land is passing out of cultivation.

Further on, English officials, as a class, are thus described :—" They don't know the difference between a 6-anna crop and a 16-anna crop, and press in bad times for rent, so that we have to sell our cattle ; they don't know who is reliable (*matbir*), and they make advances, when none ought to be given, to ne'er-do-weels that lose their money, and then say we are *all budmashes* (bad characters, rogues), and won't even give seed-grain to the best of us, when times are such that we really need it. And then they are fussy and self-conceited, and won't hear a word from any of us. There was the old tank there, the Soorujkund, that from generation to generation

used to irrigate half the village ; that burst when I was a boy fifty years ago. Well, we wanted the Raja to repair this. It wouldn't have cost many hundred rupees, and the whole village knew from their forefathers how well it worked. But no ! *Naib Sahib* knew better ; he wouldn't listen to us. ' What you cattle-folk know ? Hold your tongues.' He was all for new-fangled plans. He would bring a *kul* (channel) of the *Sirkari* canal to irrigate the village. We told him that canal water is cold, that our land lay low, that it would not do. But what was the use ? ' What you cattle-folk know ? Hold your tongues ;' and so the *kul* was brought, and the first year it overflowed and swamped half the crops, and then when the water dried up the canal people came and measured up all the land, and made us pay tax for 'one watering.' A fine thing, seeing it had ruined our crops. But we had to pay, and now it is bringing the *reh* ( a saline efflorescence ) all over our best lands. The Raja pays no heed to us ; his naibs understand nothing of our affairs. They order this and order that, press us for money in season and out of season, they know nothing of village matters themselves, and they won't hear a word from us because they think they are all-wise and we utter fools—and under such a system (*dastur*), how can a village be otherwise than ruined ? ”

• Thus, even our benevolent efforts to avert famine by means of irrigation are used as a dagger wherewith to stab us. I will close my extracts with

the following charming description of an English Collector, Mr. Zabardast:—

*Rambaksh*:—"Remember him? Ram, Ram, '*skanam nut lo* (don't mention him); I bear his marks now (where I can't show them to you, Maulvi Sahib), though it is twenty years ago. 'You see, his *lashkar* (camp) came to our village. There was no grass for the horses; the Collector shouted to the Tahsildar, who said Rambaksh was responsible. 'Oh,' said the Sahib, striking me with his whip. 'You are the son of a pig, the misbegotten (*suar ka bacha, haramzada*). I'll teach you how to attend to orders. Here, *khlassi* (tent-pitcher), tie him up and give him thirty *baints* (blows with a cane), and lay it well on.' Now the Tahsildar had never spoken a word to me about the matter. I tried to explain this, but the Sahib hit me over the mouth and face with his whip, shouting out 'hold your tongue. I'll teach you! Tie him up, tie him up, flog his life out;' and I was dragged away and flogged till I became insensible. It was a month before I could walk. Yes, he was a bad one; many Collectors have I known—some good, some indifferent—but this was the only real devil."

Now what does this mean, and what will it lead to? It means—if Government allows this sort of propaganda to go on—it means the massacre of Englishmen, and their wives and children. For on what material is this seditious trash thrown? Not on the educated and cultured. Not on those who owe their means of livelihood to British rule, and

who would be swept away at once if it went. Not on men who are afraid of fighting. The people of these Provinces are not cowards ; they love a fight as well almost as an Englishman. We had examples at Delhi and Etawah. And some classes of these people, notably the Muhammadan and the Thakur, the most spirited and pugnacious, have lost terribly by the turn in the political kaleidoscope. Religious fanaticism is not yet dead. And the poverty of the whole Muhammadan community and of the noble families is so distressing, and their backwardness in English education is so great, that only a Government which was the slave of noise or doctrinaire theories would frame measures in disregard of it. Now if they are urged to dwell on their sorrows, which are invariably laid to the British Government, instead of trying to improve themselves by trade and education, the result will be that disloyalty will take its seat in their hearts. Do you think they will stop at reform of the Legislative Councils ? And do you think the Congress people, who have stirred up these passions, can allay them ? They would be blown away as butterflies in a hurricane.

The worst sufferers by a mutiny would be Muhammadans. As far as savagery goes, both sides would have a good fling. At such a period men become fiends, and the innocent and the guilty, the strong and the defenceless, share the same fate. The English nation, on whose benevolence at home the Congresswallas lay such stress, would forget all about constitutions and elective councils, and cry



only for vengeance. But England would not lose her national existence, while the Muhammadan would be irretrievably ruined.' This is why the Muhammadan leaders wish to keep their people from the whirlpool of political agitation. My revered chief, Sir Syed Ahmed, whose humble disciple in matters political I boast myself, has pointed this out clearly. No one has even grappled with his arguments, but in place of reason a shower of mud and abuse has been hurled at him ever since. He has been called selfish, foolish, childish, and a flatterer. But the fact is, people in other Provinces and of other nations can in no way understand the circumstances and feelings of the people here. The Bengali has made enormous progress under British rule; his political star is in the ascendant; how can he put himself in the position of the Musalman whose greatness is in the past, and who sees ruin staring him in the face? If, in spite of this, he will disseminate his poisonous literature among Muhammadans, have not Muhammadan patriots a right to be angry? In Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, there was no mutiny, though, if report be right, materials exist for one in the last of these Provinces. To people there it seems an unreality, a chimera. But it is far otherwise here. Our old men were middle aged in 1857. The *Bombay Gazette* urged the Muhammadans of the N.-W. P. to indulge in a little "wholesome grumbling," if they could find anything to grumble about. Pray how, if we start grumbling, are we to be sure that it will remain

“wholesome?” There is plenty for Muhammadans to grumble at. This so-called self-Government of the municipalities, in which Muhammadans have been bound hand and foot and handed over to their rivals to be governed by them, is a case in point. An order just issued by the Bengal Government that all minor appointments are to be given by competitive examination—an order which will almost destroy the Muhammadan middle-class which cannot for one generation at least acquire English education sufficient to compete with others—is another. But rather than bring these things forward and create a popular agitation, we will submit to them as the lesser evil. Another Syed Ahmed, the great Wahabi, and Maulvi Ismail, his supporter, raised a great popular agitation, but urged their followers never to attack the British. They fought the Sikhs, but after that what took place? To every thoughtful Muhammadan the idea of another mutiny is as horrible; more horrible I believe than to an Englishman, and to every Musalman lady more dreadful even than to an English lady.

I have written the above on the supposition that the promoters of this movement have no desire of raising a storm, but are doing it unwittingly, not knowing the country. But this is by no means as certain as it at first sight appears. In the report of the Congress, after many eloquent harangues on urging forward “the chariot of India’s destined development,” there comes with a sense of infinite relief a speech by a man, Babu Ambica

Charan Muzamdar, who had the courage to express opinions distasteful to the majority. He said:—"There is a kind of maniacal writing in many of the petty Vernacular papers that would qualify, and should qualify, the writers for prison diet." But he was shouted down. "This is a small incident. It would not be fair to press it too far. Of very much more serious account as showing the *conscious* drift of the movement is a pamphlet written by Mr. Hume, "The Father of the Congress," entitled *The Star in the East*. At the close are printed some articles from the *Indian Mirror*, evidently written by the same hand; but whether written by him or not, printed and sanctioned by him in this pamphlet. These letters are actively and consciously seditious. No one but a madman would have written them if he did not wish to bring the people to the verge of rebellion. I make the following quotation:—

"We again quote Mr. Payne:—'The settlers (at Cape Colony) 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 ship-load 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 fixed 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 Canadians, the Australians and the Cape, but they took nothing by their motions; they might shout until 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."

He also quotes Canada as rising in arms, praises the Canadians for it, and says Indians must take this lesson to heart, but not rise in arms. However, if freedom of the Press and the right to agitate be interfered with, he says :—" *We* also may begin to think of sterner measures to vindicate our rights." Is this direct incentive to mutiny or not? Does it or does it not tend to a repetition of those scenes at which the whole world shuddered? He brings forward examples of colonies which have gained the identical proposals of the National Congress after, and only after, an appeal to arms. He lays the greatest emphasis on this again and again, and tells his followers to take the lesson of the colonies to heart. He tells the people of India to take the first steps towards this rebellion, and to make themselves "stupendously disagreeable." He says there are other ways of accomplishing this without an appeal to arms, but he does not say what those ways are. Then he says it would be wrong for Indians to mutiny; but he does not explain why it was right in the colonists, as he positively asserts it was, and would be wrong in the people of India. Now Mr. Hume may wish us to believe that the sentence, telling the people of India not to appeal to arms, is a proof that there is nothing seditious in his intentions. It is nothing of the sort. To have ended the reasoning with the natural conclusion and exhortation to

revolt, would have been absolute treason, and would have brought Mr. Hume within the compass of the law. Therefore he gives all the steps of the reasoning and leaves his readers to draw the right conclusion, himself cleverly ending up with an illogical statement by which he seeks to evade the direct charge of treason. No man who really wished to keep the people quiet, and to dispel notions of revolt, would have held up the picture of countries which had gained what they wanted by revolt. A man who wants to cure a drunkard does not place a glass of brandy on the table, before him, deliver an oration on the delight of its flavour, tell him he can have it by stretching out his hand, and that many people have derived the greatest benefit from drinking brandy, but that, under present circumstances, it would be wiser if he abstained.

Furthermore, he insinuates that the people ought to mutiny if freedom of the Press and the right to agitate be removed. Why freedom of the Press and the right to agitate in particular? No one but an Englishman would have singled out those two things as the only causes justifying a rebellion. There are many things an Oriental cares infinitely more about—his religion, for example. And would not anyone, Oriental or not, care more about the alleged poverty of the country—not to mention the castigations of Mr. Zabardast? A Press Act would be no grievance to the people in Kambakhtpur; may they not rise for their many grievances which he is so careful to point out to them? And even if a Press

Act be the gréatest evil the people of India could suffer, is it not dangerous morality to teach them that they have the right to rebel? Perhaps, indeed, Government will not carry its mania for license of the Press to such an extent as to allow active incentives to revolt. Will Mr. Hume then be ready to stand by his words? Let him head the Congress and die the death of a martyr, with as many Congresswallas as he can get to stand by him! But let him not stir up the Mahomedan and the Thakur to their ruin.

All this that I have said may appear to English ears very unwarranted by the circumstances. I don't think it will so appear to the ears of my Hindustani countrymen. Everything looks quiet and peaceable. Popular agitation flourishes in England and nothing bad takes place. • Yes ; but England is not a conquered people under foreign rule. And, moreover, the people there is king. Popular agitation is nothing more than the working of the king's mind. The constitution at once brings into effect the people's wishes. But to talk of a "constitutional agitation" when there is, and can be, no constitution, is a perversion of language. And agitation without a constitution to work it off on is the prelude of bloodshed. Look at Ireland. And popular agitation in India will inevitably end in its becoming another Ireland on a much larger scale. We live apart from the people, and we take little trouble to see what is going on. The thing is still in its infancy and could be checked. The virus has not yet spread far in these Provinces. But after a time it will be very difficult to

check it. It is no proof that because things are smooth and quiet there is no danger. How was the Mutiny of 1857 ushered in? The Anglo-Indian world up to the hour when the great tragedy burst upon them was busily amusing itself as best it can in this country with social nothings. And what were the causes of this Mutiny? The generally assigned cause is that the people feared their religion was about to be touched by Government. This National Congress is not a religious business. But religion is not the only thing which affects men. Poverty is as strong a provocative of crime as anything else. Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji is diligently trying to prove that India is growing poorer. This can produce no harm in his own community, who live like princes and are a thousand times as rich as they used to be. But on nations which are really impoverished it may produce deadly effects. A political cause is also given for the great Mutiny—the annexation of Oudh. If the passions of the people be stirred up about politics, there is no reason why there should not be a mutiny. The soldiery will readily imbibe the sentiments, and then all will be up. Mr. Hume boasted that he and his organisation could reach the soldiers and fill them with their sentiments and ideas. The people will get ready and wait for a favourable opportunity. If there be a single battle lost in a fight with Russia, this will be taken as the signal, and the whole of India will be aflame.

THEODORE BECK.



## THE SEDITIOUS PAMPHLET.

*Translated from the Urdu Letter of  
Munshi Imtiaz Ali.*

---

THE supporters of the National Congress have published a pamphlet, which consists of a conversation between two hypothetical personages, Maulvi Fariduddin and Ram Bakhsh, the effect of which, on the hearts of the readers, will be to produce a settled conviction that the English rule exercises a crushing oppression on the people, and that the laws, rules, and administration of the Government are bad, despotic, and ruinous for natives of India. In the last paragraph of the pamphlet the intention is expressed of circulating it in every village and hut in the whole country, and of making every man in India understand its meaning. And further, that over and beyond the circulation of the book, hired men should be engaged, who should travel to every village, and in every way try to make the people understand its meaning.

The contents of the book are such as to produce, without a doubt, on the hearts of the readers, a feeling of opposition to the whole administration of the Government, and to cause in the ignorant a most dangerous excitement of anger and hatred against British rule. Moreover, it raises such new hopes of representative government, and of untold visionary benefits to be derived therefrom, as in all probability will affect the brains of even the educated classes.

The book, besides being printed in the other vernaculars of India, has been published in Lucknow by Ganga Pershad Varma, and the supporters of the National Congress have displayed the greatest energy in its circulation. Subscriptions for printing and distribution have also been raised. If but for a short time this state of things continues, and the supporters of the National Congress be successful in their attempts, then it is certain that the result will be that the whole people of India, with one heart and one tongue, will become hostile to the British Government. When such has become the case, it will be extremely difficult to set things right again. There is thus the greatest danger that from these evil doings of the National Congress a universal discontent will arise, and then it will be impossible for Government in a time of necessity to derive from such discontented subjects any kind of assistance. In such time it will be able to obtain help from those men only who think their own well-being, or ruin, is involved in that of the Government, or who stand at their posts from a sense of duty. But from subjects who want by unlawful force to change the Government, and who hate it, it can expect nothing. And if a time of difficulty on the frontier or with a foreign Power should arise, at that very time they will attempt to create disturbance within.

● Perhaps the British Government believes that all the people of India, with one heart and one voice, are pleased with its administration. But such is

not the case. Many things in the arrangements of the British Government are liked, but there are also many matters about which people in different parts of the country complain. For some years the rumour has been spreading among the fighting classes that the Russians are coming; that they are very brave, and have regard for brave races; that they give very high positions in the army to brave people without consideration of race or religion; and that they will receive much consideration on their coming. This class of fighting men has suffered greatly, and many complain of not getting employment. The class of *Mahajans* \* is not opposed to Government on account of peace, nor do they look forward to the coming of the Russians; but they look back with regret to the old *Nawabi* times.† They complain of the stoppage of the *hundi* business (bills of exchange). They are angry at the money-order system and the opening of Government savings banks and other English banks. The people educated in Hindi, Persian, Sanskrit and Arabic, who used to make their living as clerks, are generally discontented on account of the middle-class and other examinations, and their being thereby thrown out of employment because they have lost their only means of livelihood. The old aristocracy grumble against the Government for not protecting them from the abuse they receive at the hands of low upstarts in the Press, and they long for an opportunity of resorting

---

\* Native Bankers.

† Times of the Kings of Oudh, before 1856.

to the good old method of dealing summarily with such offenders. Indian artisans are angry at the introduction of foreign goods and the loss of their art or profession. The people who have received a high English education are discontented because they do not obtain high positions—Memberships of Council, Secretaryships, Lieutenant-Governorships, &c. And some of those people who have gained most from the British Government are loudest in their demonstrations of discontent.

As I am not now criticising the administration of Government, it is not necessary for me to discuss whether the causes of this discontent are justifiable or not. My object is to point out that, before the coming of the National Congress, some sections of the people were rightly or wrongly discontented with the British rule, and that it was desirable, for the good government of India, to consider this discontent and, as far as possible, to remove it, and as regards unavoidable grievances, to instruct in some suitable manner the disaffected people, and by pointing out the impossibility of gratifying their wishes, to make them contented. But pursuing an opposite course, the crowd of English educated people have, by starting the National Congress and printing such pamphlets, adopted a policy the result of which will be that no single native of India will be free from discontent ; and that among those classes in which disaffection already exists, the excitement of hatred will greatly increase. The flames of disloyalty will leap up in the breasts of those

ignorant people who are wearily passing their lives in the hope of the arrival of the Russians. Does the National Congress wish by printing such books to spread universal opposition and discontent, and by showing criminal violence to coerce Government into carrying out its wishes? Cannot the National Congress accomplish its objects in a fit and suitable way without employing dangerous methods? Is the National Congress to be allowed exemption from obedience to the law of the land that it can carry on its proceedings so fearlessly?

Inasmuch as I have with my own eyes seen the Mutiny of 1857, and have suffered terrible losses and troubles in those times, and for one year and some months lived a life that was worse than death, I have the greatest fear that by the widespread circulation of this book and by the methods of the National Congress a great mutiny will arise. I speak as one who remembers how we were looted, first by the mutineers and next by the British troops; how we sat in our houses and were robbed of everything, even to our clothing; how the food was stolen, and such as could not be taken away was destroyed. The first night eight of us had to sleep under one blanket, and for four or five days we almost died of starvation. I appeal to Government to protect us from a repetition of such horrors. The effect of the Mutiny of 1857 was limited to the N.-W. P. and Oudh, but if from the doings of the National Congress any mutiny arise, it will spread all over India. No doubt the power and greatness of the British

---

Government will find no difficulty in suppressing it ; but it cannot be done without fresh loss to the lives and property of the people, and to the army of Government. The reputation of the British Government will be stained. The progress of everything will receive the greatest blow, and for a long time the condition of India will be wretched and miserable. On this account I bring this matter to the attention of the Government and of its officials.

IMTIAZ ALI.

## TRANSLATION OF A LECTURE

*Delivered by His Highness the Maharaja of Benares,  
G. C. S. I., Patron of the Benares Institute,  
at the Town Hall, on 20th July, 1888.*

BROTHERS,—You well know that, I am not in the habit of talking at any length or creating any excitement needlessly ; but as Sa'di says :—“ If I see a blind man going towards a well and be silent, it will be a sin ;” so, acting on this proverb, I am about now to address a few words to you.

I see that some of my countrymen (how sad for me to confess it) are trying to bring endless calamity, disgrace, and ruin to their country. I also am an inhabitant of dear India, though one of its humblest, but I would certainly not like to fall into the well ; if you all choose to do so, why—you must bear the brunt of it. In the Benares Institute, according to a saying, “ secrets of politics are known only to rulers,” so that any discussion of them is against the standing rules ; but when the Institute itself ceases to exist, of what purpose would the rules then be ? “ Necessity has no law ;” and “ to escape death all is lawful ;” these are two well-worn proverbs. As we all sail in the same boat, so brothers self-protection must be looked for above all other matters. But to the point :—

✓ (I hear that some people have perpetrated a chimera, and named it “ The National Congress !”

National Congress—delegate—representative government—I myself really do not understand the meaning of these words ; therefore I cannot explain them to you in my own language. Hitherto I understood that “delegate” meant a deputy, an agent or a representative; but I see in the newspapers that some “delegates” from Benares were present at the Madras meeting. Now, I have questioned several, and cannot find out any who would acknowledge having sent a deputy, agent or representative from Benares to Madras ; or whether any recorded proxy was so delegated. So the saying has been verified that “whether you acknowledge or not I am your guest.” Let those who choose give what meaning they like to the word “delegate” by which they may probably mean a ghost or demon, a genii or mortal man ; but our purpose is to ascertain what the so-called National Congress wants and what its objects are.

I know very well that there are some men in the Congress whose equals we can scarcely find, and their motives are also good and pure ; but saints cannot always make good statesmen. Dadhichi gave even his thigh-bone to get off the task of Government, and if you say among the Congress party there are men holding the degree of B. A. or M. A., why I can only remind you that Dr. Ballantyne styled such persons, “unfledged birds.” As far as I understand, these simple-hearted people want a “representative government,” perhaps like that of America. Though they may not just now confess



this openly, yet they—and mark the inconsistency—while holding these views which are opposed to the policy of Government, do not cease to pray constantly for Her Most Gracious Majesty, whose loyal subjects they profess to be! But if they have any common sense they will try, as the saying goes, “to take hold of the arms by taking hold of the fingers,” and they will lay first of all a firm foundation; because if such be not their object, then what is it? No sane man with a head on his shoulders will take so much trouble and make so much fuss without having some object in view. If you say that the Congress wants only to represent to the Government true facts and to give better advice, and that they do not think of bringing any pressure, then why do they make such unseemly noise and raise such an agitation? Cannot a man even now bring to the notice of the Government any matter he likes, or give the Government any advice he chooses? Why are there so many newspapers? The Government will be most thankful for any observations which will tend to promote the welfare of the people, and it will immediately act upon any suggestions which tend to promote this object. Look at the Civil Court. It was this very Court which the then reigning Maharaja Kapurthala told Mr. Thomason was the Court of Lunatics (Divani means Civil and Divana a lunatic), and I will show you what he meant by an illustration. A gentleman of this city had sued another gentleman for Rs. 4,500. The suit was actuated, I must inform you, by motives of

malice because the native gentleman in question was security for a European. The case went on for 18 long years. Both parties died, and then at last the decree was passed against the son of the defendant for Rs. 26,000, but through the intercession of mutual friends and fear of an appeal to England Rs. 6,500 were accepted, and a deed of release was given by the plaintiff's son. Now the Civil Court has become proverbial for speed: for accuracy I cannot vouch. A man returned home from the Allahabad fair; the people asked him for a descriptive account of what he had seen. He said, brothers! don't ask anything about the railway trains, the cholera pestilence, and the *decisions of the Small Cause Courts!*

Might I now call your attention for a few minutes to the progress of events during the last century. Warren Hastings came here from Calcutta in sailing boats. No one had up to that time seen a steamer. Modes of conveyance were then crude, and it took a friend of mine and his father, 55 years ago, to reach Agra *viâ* Etawah in bullock carts and palkis, a month or so. Not to speak of railways, the time I refer to was when even the Grand Trunk Road was not in existence. Now, coming to our own time, I think no one will deny that the Railway and the Telegraph have added considerably to the convenience, welfare, and prosperity of the inhabitants. So that one might well say that a year's life now is far more valuable and useful than that of a 100 years before the British rule. Allow me to

ask you whether all these blessings have been brought to our dear country by this or any other similar Congress. You ought to enquire of these *Congresswallas* what the relative and numerical positions of the educated in America and India are. An American woman holding a similar position to that which maid-servants and nurses occupy in India I have often seen, and such can "cut the ears" of many of our Babu Sahibs and Thakur Sahibs, whom she can teach in all respects for years to come. Another point is, can you tell me how much gentlemen of your position in England spend in educating their children and how much you similarly spend here? In Germany, education and military service are compulsory: would you like such a system to be legally enforced here. Schools have been established in India, but we all know how loth the Babus and Thakurs are to send their children to these institutions for education, and it is wonderful if even one per cent. of the population avail themselves of the educational means placed within their reach. There is an English proverb, "first deserve then desire." I cannot recall just now anything like it in our language. But I can assure you, and that without hesitation, that our kind Government is always anxious to permit us to have a share in the administration, and that as it finds the opportunity, it invites us to do so.

But these matters are perhaps beyond your comprehension. Now, as regards the Indian Council, you will remember that men like Maharaja

Scindhia and Maharaja Patiala were the first to be admitted. But they considered the serving in the Council an unbearable nuisance, and the Nawab of Rampur on being subsequently elected, after remaining some weeks in Calcutta, feigned sickness and returned home, telling the Viceroy that there was wisdom in all his acts with the exception of his selection of Calcutta as his capital. A poet has truly said that "Calcutta has been built on a piece of land from hell itself." Now, it is a well-known fact that every man is not fit for every business. English Dukes, Earls, and Marquises, many of whom have larger incomes than many of our Maharajas and Nawabs, feel that it is incumbent on them to attend the British Parliament. But apart from all this, there is an Association which has deservedly received the recognition of the Viceroy, who clearly saw that there was no better representative of India than the British Indian Association in Calcutta. The National Congress cannot equal even the dust off the feet of that noble Association. Though an oilman by caste, yet the Viceroy selected the able and energetic Secretary of that Association, Babu Krishna Das Pal, in whose place, we have an efficient substitute in Raja Beary Mohan Mukerji. But a heterogeneous mass is now thrusting itself forward, and in order to obtain seats in the Durbar and to rub their shoulders with the Rajas, even *Kalvars* and *Moobis* are leaving no stone unturned to be elected as Municipal Commissioners, or to be appointed Honorary Magistrates. You can judge of the work

of our countrymen by taking into consideration only that done by the Benares Municipality. You may remember what Mr. F. B. Gubbins, Magistrate of Benares, did single-handed, for the City, and what the Board now, notwithstanding its countless taxes, is in vain endeavouring likewise to do. You may say whatever you like, but, as far as I understand, the real object of these *Congresswallas* is to have a majority of natives in the Imperial Legislative Council, in order that, when the question of an increase arises owing to some sudden and unexpected cause, the native members of the Council may have the opportunity of displaying their ideas of government by proposing instead of an increase a reduction in expenditure and the abolition of the Income Tax. For example, they may recommend the reduction of the European soldiers here and the raising of a native Volunteer Corps, or the appointment of native Commissioned Officers in the Army; but if the Government has even a particle of sense left it must, in order to secure peace and harmony, increase the European soldiery in proportion to the numerical strength of the native armed men; and so with the expenses. The Government cannot forget the year 1857, at least for the next two thousand years. As an illustration of military zeal and duty, see how the Duke of Connaught is discharging the duties of a Commander-in-Chief, and how the Maharaja Kashmir discharged his duties when he was appointed General of the British Armies. The son of the French Emperor, Louis Napoleon, went

to Zululand as a Volunteer. There is just now some disturbance again in that land. If the *Congresswallas* give me a list of their sons, I can send such a list to the higher authorities, who would probably post these men to Zululand as Volunteers! or perhaps our wise native legislators may propose to do away with the highly-paid Covenanted Commissioners, Judges, and Magistrates, and put in their places low-paid natives or honorary functionaries. But, just for one moment, let me draw your attention to one body of our armed men, the Native Police; does not their utter inefficiency almost lead you to wish that European constables should be in every station. I would never be surprised if our Native Police some day reported us to be rebels and revolters. If you say that the Congress does not want a majority in the Council, then remaining in the minority, even if we be 500 strong, of what use can we be. But there is another aspect of affairs to look at. Suppose the Government do admit as many native members by election as are now nominated into the Council, I ask you how would you care to have *Kalvars* and *Mochis* as our legislators.) The shoemaker can never get beyond his last, nor the brewer beyond the still: so there must be disturbances in one way or the other.

Democracy is an occidental idea. A Hindu cannot comprehend it as long as he is a Hindu. It is against his religious belief. The divisions of *Varua* are the basis of his religion. He cannot see without distress a Brahman or Kshtriya serving a

Sudra. A Brahman may beg or even may die, yet he will never touch a dish from which a Sudra has partaken food. When to save themselves from the hands of the Muhammadans the Mahrattas formed a union among themselves, they appointed a Brahman their Peshwa (leader), Baji Rao. (So long as Hindus remain in Hindustan you cannot succeed in extending the democratical ideas.) If there is any defect in our Government, it is only this that our Government is democratical, inasmuch as it appoints its officials by the result of examinations passed for official posts, independent of the *social* position of the candidate. For example, we may have a carpenter as Deputy Collector, and a Kalvar Honorary Magistrate. The Congress men want a separation of the Executive from the Judicial and technical education. This is a very small affair. Hundreds of proposals like this come before the Government every day, and hundreds of changes which are thought an improvement are always being made. About education—who prevents you? You can teach your sons in your schools to read Milton and Shakespeare, or to draw pictures, or (if the worst comes to the worst) to parch grain. The choice lies with you. Why do not these *Congresswallas* go to some Native State and turn it into an administrative model according to their fancies. Babu Nilambar Mukerji has been in Kashmir, and perhaps a brother of the Indian Mirror is still in Jeypur. Why has the Nizam of Hyderabad appointed Colonel Marshal his Secretary, and why has the Begam of Bhopal

appointed Colonel Ward her Manager? Some of the advocates of the Congress bring forward the names of some British officers as being in their favour; but these latter are and cannot but be disappointed Civilians. If a native feels disappointed because he is not made a Judge in the High Court or a Dewan in a Native State, is it any wonder that a British Officer feels disappointed if he be not made a member of the Viceregal Council or a Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, especially when they both think themselves equally fit for the posts aspired to. .

It is much to be regretted that people in England do not know the real state of affairs in India, nor the peculiar nature and habits of the Indians. One lady actually regretted that the Indian cultivators could not provide themselves with boots !!! (what an idiosyncrasy); another had a long conversation with a Rani on the evil effects of infant marriage, and was surprised to hear that the Rani had been married at the age of seven and had sons and grandsons, all of whom were happy and contented. The Rani then turned to the lady and observed that her hair was turning grey, and inquired whether no one had ever offered her proposals of marriage, and she suggested that English laws require some modification which would ensure ladies against remaining so long in the state of single blessedness. Self-interested persons ignorant on Indian matters not only mislead the leading Members of Parliament, but they rush into print on the



slightest pretext, and ventilate what they call the grievances of the Indians, and thus increase the difficulties of the Indian Government. In the Western countries as the Ministers resign when their budget is not passed, so here in India the Viceroy must resign ; and if you ask whether there is no native fit for that post, I say leave the question of fitness aside; without the British protection two French Regiments from Chandernagore are quite enough to plunder Calcutta, and to conquer India up to Peshawar. If our Government had not taken Burmah it had become probably the property of the French ; and even if the French did not come, Amir Abdul Rahman Khan with his ten thousand horsemen can plunder and massacre down to Madras. It is said that the Jats and Mahrattas have 700,000 horsemen at Panipat, but Ahmad Shah Durrani scattered them away with his handful of cavalry. In short, as I have already said, had these *Congresswallas* followed the tracks, step by step, as chalked out by the British Indian Association, they would have been most likely benefactors of their country ; but the track which they have followed now and the fuss they are making, and the articles they are publishing in the Vernacular newspapers, and the speeches they are making to the ignorant masses, coupled with the mischievous pamphlets they are distributing, must convey to the ignorant masses the idea that the natives will get high salaries ; that they will be appointed to those posts which are now held by Europeans ; that the



service will increase, and more pay will be obtained ; and that the taxes will be abolished—if not abolished they must be reduced ; as Babu Harish Chandra had his motto here in his Kavibachan-Sudha—“ let the disease of taxation be swept away” (*kardukh bahai*). Who likes to pay a tax ? More than any one I personally shall be glad if this word “ tax ” be cut out from the dictionary ; but you are to remember if there be no tax there would be no government, and then might will be right.

•In my humble opinion if the Government will not take the trouble in some shape or other to put down these mischievous movements and writings, no doubt sooner or later the minds of the ignorant masses will be, to a certain extent, prejudiced against them, and disturbances may take place in the country. Then we must suffer and be ruined. Though the Hindus blame the Muhammadans and the Muhammadans blame the Hindus for the failure of the plan, yet they both acknowledge more or less their failure. The blister has burst, and the more you scratch it now the worse it will be. The Government any how will not suffer. The Government will be the gainer in every way ; whether the melon falls on the knife or the knife on the melon, the melon must suffer. But, in conclusion, I ask you to bear in mind one thing most clearly. It is far from my intention to insult in any way any oilman or carpenter or Kalvar or Mochi, but I have endeavoured simply to prove that democracy or representative government

does not suit India, and that elections will not do for the Council. Oh Almighty God, I pray, give some wisdom to our Hindu and Muhammadan brethren, that they may close up this Congress business, and not prolong the quarrel which can have but one inevitable and disastrous end.

---

MR. SYED HOSAIN BILGRAMI  
ON  
THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

*Nawab Imad-ud-Daulah, Maulvi Syed Hosain Bilgrami, Ali Yar Khan Bahadur, Motamin Jung, Secretary of the Council of State of His Highness the Nizam, has written the following letter with respect to the Indian Patriotic Association to the Honorable Sir Syed Ahmed, Khan Bahadur, Secretary of the Association:—*

MY DEAR SIR SYED AHMED,—I am glad to see that you have laid the foundation of the Indian Patriotic Association in opposition to the so-called Indian National Congress. I have long been of opinion that it was high time for some such movement, and when Mr. Beck was on a visit here, I had the pleasure of discussing with him the urgent need of a conservative organisation for the purpose of banding together such of our fellow-subjects—Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians—as in common with us deplored the spirit of unrest with which *soi-disant* patriots were inoculating the country, and wished to preserve the existing social and political order from violent disruption at their hands. The scope of the movement, which we discussed was, however, wider than a mere opposition to the Indian National Congress, and was to have embraced a free dissemination of conservative views

in politics and religion, and exposure of the fallacy underlying the transfer of a democratic propaganda to India with all its latent dangers. The movement could not have been initiated by an abler or a more worthy leader than yourself,

While cordially agreeing with you in your general attitude towards the question, and placing my services, such as they may be, at your disposal in furtherance of the objects of the association you have founded, and of which I hope you will do me the honor of enrolling me as a member, I beg to offer a few general observations on the principles which, with some minor exceptions, I am proud of sharing with you.

I take it as axiomatic that Britain has a civilising Mission in India, and that in our own best interests British power must be upheld at all costs. The good time (if it ever comes) when India will have lived long enough under a self-governing people to have herself acquired the art of self-government, and above all, that of self-defence, is so far distant that it may be omitted from our calculation ; and it may safely be assumed that we are destined to live and die under the present *régime* for generations to come. Our *soi-disant* patriots themselves admit that the Empire of England in India must be upheld, but by a subtle trick of reasoning they wish to make it out that a loyal attitude towards the throne is consistent with a seditious abuse of the administration. "We would change the system," they seem to say, "not the sovereign ; we attack

their measures; not our rulers." They forget that we are not living on English or American soil, and that any step that tends in the slightest degree to weaken the absolute power of the Government, strikes at the root of England's usefulness to this Empire. The Imperial Government could not suffer an Ireland in India and live. It could no more tolerate a Parnell than it could tolerate another rebellion like that of 1857. Yet so different are the conditions of political existence in the two countries, that England not only lives alongside a discontented Ireland, but it takes Parnell and his associates to her bosom as trusted counsellors. An Indian Gladstone would be given short shrift here, and people would say "serve him right;" and yet Gladstone is in England an honored (though just now a rather discredited) name, and one of the first and foremost of the day.

There would be some show of reason for feeling aggrieved, if legislation in India were undertaken without regard to the views and wishes of the people, if our best interests were sacrificed to their own selfish ends by our rulers, and if the immense military power possessed by England was wielded only to grind us down in order to furnish grist for her own mill. But such is not the case. The Imperial Government undertakes no new measure without putting itself in possession of the views and wishes of the people in a manner much more complete and effective than any representative chamber, such as our patriots sigh for, could supply. We really

enjoy all the advantages of a representative system without the drawbacks with which it would be hampered, if imported into this country—the only difference being that our Government very considerately places it out of our power to make politics a profession. From the way in which our supposed political grievances are paraded by the patriots, one would think that they had just emerged from the workshop of social reform, and with hands yet reeking with the grit of the *débris* of social evils they had helped to demolish, they were about to build up for themselves the fabric of a new political life resplendent with all the glory of a recovered Heaven. But what are the facts of the case? The facts simply are that the alien Government whom we undertake to teach the art of government, suppressed the more shameful and cruel of those evils out of pure humanity, in the face of strong opposition, open or covert, from the very people whom they concerned, and recently offered to remedy some other crying social evils, which same offer was rejected by our patriots with indignation and scorn.

Ask those who have had to deal with masses of men in India and have helped in governing them, what the effect on the progress and prosperity of the country would be of the introduction of a measure that puts it, in the power of any native legislator from his place on the Viceroy's Council to call the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab or the Governor of Bombay to account regarding his conduct as a ruler. They will at once tell us that were such a

privilege granted there would be an end of the prestige of the Government, and the wondering awe and reverence with which it is regarded by the populace, and which serve the purpose of bulwarks and safeguards to the Empire, would be swept away. Muhamadans among whom the traditions of Empire and its high *devoir* are not yet extinct, ought to understand the importance of this sentiment as a factor of orderly Government. Those who have a stake in the country and have something to lose in the general upheaval apprehended from the spread of democratic tendencies which have no home in this country, ought to appreciate to the full the importance of keeping supreme power intact and untouched, and hedging it round with as much of the elements of awe and reverence as can be saved out of the wreck of old ideas and traditions which are in the process of being ruthlessly destroyed by a blind, ill-judged, and ill-digested imitation of European radicalism.

I hope you will pardon my saying that I do not think Muhammadans have anything especial to dread from the so-called National Congress movement that is not shared by their Hindu fellow-subjects. The danger is a common danger, and if I am able to read it rightly, it consists not so much in what the Congress might do, as in what it tends to undo. We, orientals, are a restful people, our movements are sluggish, our progress in civilisation has followed a slow process of development. This characteristic is an element of our nature, perhaps the outcome of