

our climate and environment ; it is at any rate a valuable characteristic, seeing that it preserves us from the sudden and furious social and political cyclones which have every now and again swept over the more warm-blooded nationalities. Now, the Congress movement is an engine for turning this rest into unrest, and inciting men to seek change for the sake of change. It teaches people to be dissatisfied with their present lot and hanker after something indefinite, the real nature of which the Missionaries and Apostles of the new creed have themselves hardly realised. Our self-constituted teachers are in this, if they but knew it, merely paying a compliment to their English rulers, namely, the compliment of imitation, and nothing more. Just as some of us love to rig ourselves out in ill-fitting tail-coats and trousers of doubtful tailoring, and go into sulks if we are not afterwards asked to participate in the social amenities of our European neighbours, so we pick up the cry of Irish Home rulers and English Radicals, and are surprised that we are not invited over, there and then, to sit in the House of Commons and help to convert the strong and beneficent Government of our country into a haphazard rule of platform and party.

I am glad to see that our co-religionists are, on the whole, sensible enough to see through the movement and avoid the pitfalls with which its path is lined. The few misguided men who have given in their adherence are no doubt excusable on account of their youth and inexperience. It is easy to see how

little real faith even they have in their new creed by the vituperation and abuse which they find it necessary to pour over the devoted heads of its opponents. The cause must be weak, indeed which needs such doubtful advocacy.

It occurs to me here to instance a very recent display of the sentiment of which the Congress movement is only a mode of expression. You must have noticed the indecent haste with which some of our Congressionist papers have seen it fit to rejoice in public over the misfortunes of Mr. Commissioner Crawford. It is premature to crow over such a sad catastrophe for any one, not to say execrable bad form. Common decency ought to have admonished them to hold their tongues. A Government that will dare place a high and influential official like Mr. Crawford in such a predicament for the sake of official purity and honor, deserves all sympathy. It is matter for condolence rather than for rejoicing. Mr. Crawford's guilt is not proved yet, and all well-wishers of order and good Government and of the noble service to which he belongs, will hope and pray that he may be able to clear his good name. Better a man of Mr. Crawford's ability and calibre were he ten thousand times guilty (which I hope he is not, though I have no personal interest in the matter) than a hundred such revilers of the existing order of things as the Congress movement seems to be breeding.

The Government of a great Continent like India, peopled by a hundred different nationalities, and embracing a heterogeneous mass of widely

diverging interests, is no schoolboy's joke, and is not to be mapped out by an assemblage of schoolmasters, lawyers, *et hoc genus omne*. (It needs the guidance of trained statesmen, backed by phalanxes of armed and disciplined soldiers ready to die for Empire and Queen.) Those who wish to dictate how India shall be governed, ought to talk at the head of an army, and with the mouth of cannon thundering in their flank. Will the Congress men rush forward to fight on the frontier for our hearths and homes when Russian artillery belches forth fire and shell at our gateway, and threatens to plunge us once more into that anarchy from which we have emerged with England's help and God's?

It is impossible to criticise the Congress apart from the programme it has adopted. An institution must stand or fall by the quality of its handiwork. I wish to speak of the movement and its chief representatives with all respect. They are men of light and leading, seeking no doubt the good of our common fatherland in the way that seems to them best. But frankly, who that reads the Resolution, for example, on the Arms Act, or on military expenditure, or on the conquest of Burmah, can help calling in question the statesmanship of those who have such puerile sentiments to record on important questions of practical statecraft. Any member of the executive service, native or European—for that matter any sensible man with some practical experience of how the peace is kept in town and country, and familiar with the machinery employed—would

pronounce the remedy suggested for the Arms Act grievance, if grievance it is, to be unstatesmanlike and impracticable. The Congress Resolution on this subject, were it carried out, would cause more needless irritation and heartburning than was ever caused by the Act itself. The views of the Congress on volunteering are no doubt very loyal; but there are obvious practical difficulties in the way of their ever being carried out, which would have occurred to the orators who spoke at the Congress, if they had by an effort of imagination, which would have cost them nothing, put themselves in the place of their foreign rulers and worked the problem out from that point of view. This same rule of "putting one's self in another's place" before one weighs that other in the balance of approval or disapproval is, by the way, a golden rule, and if applied to Indian politics by the rulers and the ruled, would, I verily believe, be worth many a Representative Chamber to the subject-races and many a National Congress.

In fact, the demands of the Congress have only to be stated in order to bring their absurdity into prominent relief. Shorn of unnecessary verbiage and presented in all their naked audacity, they are :—

- (1). Elective Councils with the right of interpellation.
 - (2). Taxation by popular vote.
 - (3). Access to all appointments in the State, Civil or Military.
 - (4). Peace and war by national mandate.
- And some others of minor importance.

But underlying all the demands, important or unimportant, is the idea of forcing the hands of Government by what is euphemistically styled "constitutional means," but which, translated into ordinary language, means "seditious agitation;" for there is only a thin paper-wall between agitation and sedition.

I need not dwell on the demand for Elective Councils. Government might possibly see its way to the adoption of some modified system of election for certain seats in Council. Personally, I do not believe it will be an improvement on the present constitution. Indeed, I do not see how any electioneering, properly so called, can be conducted in India. I have heard of no suggestion that was not open to grave objection. The idea of native candidates canvassing for seats on the Viceroy's Council, or delivering speeches, setting forth their own merits, and holding out promises to possible constituencies, is at first sight so ludicrously opposed to all our notions of the fitness of things, that it is difficult to stop to look at the serious and practical side of the question. It will no doubt be possible to get a few "unfledged birds" (as H. H. the Maharaja of Benares calls them) or some of his famous Kalvars and Mochis, and mightily tickled their vanity will be in the possession of this new toy, this "sally-come-up" of the imported ballot-box. But will they add to the dignity or usefulness of the Council? I am afraid, not. Representation in the true sense of the word there will be none, for our B. A.'s and

M. A.'s who will manage to get electèd are not representative men. They only represent a certain class (the English educated) who hold a very infinitesimal place in the census of the country. They are, moreover, poor men ordinarily, though energetic and pushing—hardly the sort of men, for example, whom the Maharaja before mentioned would care to hob-nob with (in the metaphorical, Heaven fore-fend, not the literal sense of the word). It is also said of these graduates (of whom I am proud to call myself one, these strictures notwithstanding), that they begin to grind at the mill of competition from so early a stage that they actually know less of their own country than English officials who make a business and a study of it in the course of their duty—that they are more at home in the geography, folk-lore, and history of Great Britain or China than of their own country. I am afraid the indictment is not without a certain amount of truth. That English educated youths manage to alienate the feeling of their less exotically literate fellow-countrymen is to a certain extent also true. I am afraid we have not yet solved the problem of imparting English education to our youths without impairing their usefulness. This will come with a national system of education, based on religion and morality, but we have no time for such trifles now with our hands full of urgent political reforms!

But granted that we get a proper election and unexceptionable representatives, what shall we gain by it except a few more speeches and little more

talkee talkee. A small minority leading the Opposition in such a Senate as the Viceroy's Council would serve no purpose that is not served under the present constitution. A powerful minority would be replete with mischief and embarrassment ; while a majority, that could outvote the Viceroy and his following, would reduce the Queen's Government in India to a protectorate without the right even of levying tribute from the protected country. If the Opposition could carry with it a European following, the situation would not be improved ; in fact, the mischief in that case would only be rendered more far-reaching.

I need not spin out the argument against placing the "Vote of Supplies" in native hands, and thus putting it in their power to starve out the Government. If our Universities had given to the world a financial genius or two who could show our rulers how to make the two ends meet, we might have asked with better grace for some share of power over the purse-strings of the State. But alas ! our modern Todur Muls are yet unborn, and we have not a shred of evidence to show that if called to power, we shall manage the ways and means of the administration better than their present custodians.

The Covenanted Civil Service question has been threshed out by this time, and the final decision on it is even now under deliberation by Government. The command of our military resources, which the Congress does not ask for except by implication in the other demands, need not be taken

au-sérieux. That the Government should ask our permission before going to war, could only have occurred to some patriot anxious to parade Peace Association platitudes before a delighted audience of schoolboys, in whose craniums the bump of combativeness was conspicuous by its absence.

I have touched briefly on most of the topics that have engaged the attention of the Congress. Their emissaries are abroad preaching what amounts to sedition towards the existing order of things. They are sowing broadcast the seed of future storms and whirlwinds. This raising of vague aspirations and vain hopes is unsettling men's minds. Your Patriotic Association must be up and doing, if the tide is to be stemmed in time; and you must begin nearer home. Your work here is cut out for you. While "informing the people of England" in the words of your circular, "of the real condition of India by printing pamphlets from time to time," it behoves the Association to take effective steps, both from the platform and the Press, to disabuse people's minds of the glamour cast on them by the false, though attractive, political programme that is being preached, and save our deluded countrymen from stumbling into pitfalls from which there is no escape for those who pursue the Will-o'-the-Wisps misnamed Political Liberty and Popular Government.

It is unfortunate in this connection that your public utterances should have been misunderstood to encourage the banding together of Muhammadans

against Hindus*as regards the aims and objects of the Congress movement. I do not think a man of your sagacity and experience could have failed to see that such a view of the matter was a mistake, both of fact and of strategy. The interest of the two peoples, rightly understood, are one and indivisible. The propagation of a spirit of unrest and discontent is as pernicious for the one nationality as for the other, and it behoves them both equally to unite and make common cause against this movement which has been set on foot by a few ambitious spirits, and eagerly taken up by the class whose principal claim to be heard is its blind adoption of foreign ideas, its familiarity with the tactics of English agitators, and its ill-judged imitation of the modern European love of change.

The task before you is that of educating native public opinion into an attitude, not of servile subjection, but of manly sympathy with the Government and a due appreciation of the difficulties it has to encounter in the work of keeping order among the vast and heterogeneous conglomeration of races and nationalities found in India. The velocity with which we are progressing would be accelerated ten-fold if our countrymen were brought to a fairer and more charitable view of the motives of our rulers than politicians of the new school are inclined to take, and were taught to meet them half way in their efforts for our good. If the newly-awakened energy of our English-educated classes needs a sphere of activity, it will

be your duty and the duty of the Indian Patriotic Association (League, I should myself prefer to call it) to give it the proper direction, and teach it to flow in channels advantageous to themselves and to their country. There are numerous fields of patriotic usefulness yet unworked, many urgent social and economic reforms on which the energies of our youths might be profitably employed. No one need be inactive with such tasks before us as the founding of a national system of education, the introduction of moral and religious teaching into our schools, the revival of our old industries, and a host of others which a foreign Government is powerless to undertake, but in which, if we put our own shoulders honestly to the wheel, it can and will render us valuable aid.

It is well that you have taken up this noble work. Round your standard will rally true patriots of all creeds and nationalities, Indian and English Unionists, haters of the common enemies of England and India, and of the creed which has Liberty and Home Rule for its articles of faith, and Sedition and Assassination for its ritual. You will carry with you the sympathy of all ruling Princes and Chiefs, of their ministers and advisers, and of all religious bodies and orders. Our great zemindars and all the old families jealous of the honor of their race will be with you, and all those who have a stake in the country. Nor will the sinews of war be wanting to you, for few of those who join your standard but will open their purse-strings in this

good cause, and if need be, lay down their lives for their country and their Queen.

Apologising for the length of this letter, and with my best respects

I remain,

MY DEAR SIR SAYED AHMED,

Yours very sincerely,

IMAD-UD-DAULAH

(SAYED HOSAIN.)

HYDERABAD, DECCAN ; }
20th August, 1888. }

MR. MAHOMED HOSAIN HAKIM
ON
THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

(FROM THE "PIONEER.")

A MEETING of Muhammadans was held at Bombay, at which it was decided not to send representatives to the National Congress. We quote one of the speeches made on this occasion.

Mr. Mahomed Hosain Hakim said that this year the promoters of the Congress had asked the Anjuman-i-Islam, if they wished to send any of their representatives to the Congress to be held next cold weather at Allahabad. There were many who, even to this day, did not know what the Congress was really about. He was blessed by God with some common sense and knowledge, but he could not understand what possible good the movement could do to the Muhammadans, nor could he understand of what avail it would be to his Parsee and Hindu brethren. (Every man of sense would admit that no rule in India had been so good, so just, and so merciful as that of the English.) (Applause). The British had given them education, and would it be a reward to them for the blessing of education they had freely given to his countrymen to say—"We have now been educated enough to know how to govern our own country, and therefore we no longer want these foreigners in our midst. Let

therefore the Governor-General pack off to England, and let the Governors of the different provinces follow him thither. The Civil Servants who have come out from England must also go, and we will rule in their stead?" They always professed that they were very loyal to Government and were their real well-wishers. But had they reflected on what the Congress would ultimately come to fifty or a hundred years hence? Had they reflected for a moment on its far-reaching results? His Hindu and Parsee friends would pardon him for saying that the Congress boded no good to the people, nor to the Government either. The organisation, had been taking a leap in the dark, little knowing where it would land them. (A voice: "True, quite true"). He was sorry that some of his own community had joined the Congress, among them being his friend the Hon'ble Budruddin Tyabji, who was deservedly held in the greatest esteem by every one. Now a son of this same gentleman had entered the Civil Service of India, having come first in the list of the competitors. Would such a thing have been possible under any other Government than the British? Had they no reason to rest contented and be thankful for what they had already got, and hope that, in the good time to come, they might get from the same Government more rights, as soon as they were considered deserving of them? Well, then, what was the good of their assembling in large numbers at Calcutta, Madras, or Allahabad, and joining their voice for the intimidation of Government?

The numbers attending these annual assemblages had been steadily increasing. Last year 600 persons attended the Congress, and a time might come when 10,000 persons might meet together. The Russians, as they were all well aware, were approaching nearer and nearer to India, and what would they think of these mighty assemblages? They would imagine that there was disunion in the enemy's camp, and that now was the time for taking advantage of it. Now, did the people wish the Russians to come and govern? They were a cruel and semi-barbarous race. They would demolish their mosques, the temples of the Hindus, and the fire-temples of the Parsees. They would grind their subjects down. Did they wish such a power to rule over them? Were not the British a thousand times better than the Russians? That being so, may the British rule of India last for evermore! (The Chairman: "*Inshallah!* May God preserve it for ever!") Look at the present political aspect of the great powers of Europe. Their relations were in a state of the utmost tension, and a spark might any day set the whole fabric in a flame. In such a state of things it was imperatively necessary for their own preservation that the races and communities of India should present a united front to their enemy; and let it be inscribed on their hearts that if they failed to make common cause against a common enemy, and continued to carry on their agitation by means of these Congresses, the consequences, fifty or a hundred years hence, might

simply prove disastrous. Then there were those who complained that Government had increased the Indian army by 10,000 men from England. But this was quite a necessary provision in view of the steady advance of the Russians in the direction of India. He would ask once again—What did Mr. Hume and others, who were interesting themselves in the Congress, want? Did they want the country to be relieved of all the taxes? Did they want to get rid of the police and the army? Did they obtain no justice under the British Government? Were they lacking in political wisdom and in capacity to govern the country wisely and well? No. Then why would they throw away the blessing they enjoyed for the very 'doubtful' benefits of the Congress? 'It was a most difficult task to govern well a country like India. The Government had achieved wonderful success in the performance of that task, bringing peace, and security, and prosperity into the land. See what even now was the case of some of the Native States, and contrast the government there with the British rule. To this day, in Cambay, the Boree subjects were not allowed to ride on horseback. And yet some of the educated natives, instead of being thankful for what they had got, abused the Government and said that the Government were not doing this, that, and the other. With these remarks the speaker moved:—

“ That it is not desirable, either from an educational point of view, or looking to the unsettled condition of Europe and Asia, even from a political

point of view, that the Muhammadan community should join the Indian National Congress in trying, however unconsciously, to force the hands of the British Government in India by an organised demonstration, however seemingly pacific in character." (Applause).

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE
GOVERNMENT.

By Sir Syed Ahmed.

THE Hon'ble Pandit Ajudhia Nath said in the speech which he made at Lucknow in praise of the National Congress, that the Government of India approved of its objects and sympathised with it; and in proof of this he said that "the Governor-General in Calcutta and the Governor of Madras gave parties in their respective Government Houses to the members of the Congress, and invited everybody, and welcomed them warmly, and instead of raising objections, expressed their sympathy with the Congress." He further said that when an address was presented to the Governor-General he made a favourable reply, and said as much as a Viceroy of the Queen could possibly say. The Hon'ble Pandit then said "that the present was a suitable occasion for telling them that if they feared the opposition of the rulers of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, they should attach higher importance to the opinions and acts of the Governor-General and the Governor of Madras." Although I cannot believe that the favour shown by the Governor-General and the Governor of Madras to the members of the Congress was inspired by any motive other than ordinary courtesy, yet in any case I have an objection to make against these acts of the Government.

For if the Governor-General and the Governor of Madras acted thus only out of ordinary courtesy, they should at the time have taken into consideration the danger lest the people to whom they showed this kindness should make an improper use of the favour so shown. Now, however, the Government knows that the supporters of the Congress interpret this kindness in another way, and wrongfully point to the conclusions that the Governor-General and the Governor of Madras "sympathise with the objects of the Congress;" and by this pretext try to deceive people into joining them. Government ought therefore to be very cautious in showing this kind of favour.

But if, on the other hand, the Governor-General and the Governor of Madras exhibited this favour to the members of the Congress for the reason which my friend the Hon'ble Pandit Ajudhia Nath has stated, and expressed their sympathy with the objects of the Congress, then that section of the people which is opposed to the National Congress has the gravest cause for complaint. Government knows well that there are two parties regarding the National Congress, or to be more explicit, that some nations, especially Muhammadans, are on one side, and some nations on the other. Then why should Government lean towards one side and express sympathy with it? It is necessary for Government to hold itself aloof from both parties. Its duty is merely to stop that disturbance from which there is every reason to expect an increase of hostility

between the two nations, and those acts by which general discontent is being raised against the Government. For the result of this fomentation of unreasonable discontent cannot be beneficial to the country.

I cannot imagine why my able friend the Hon'ble Pandit Ajudhia Nath should attach so much importance to the fact that Sir William Hunter, Sir Charles Turner, and three or four radical members of Parliament sympathise with the objects of the Congress. Is the government of the British Empire in their hands? Let us suppose a few members of Parliament sympathise with the National Congress, it must be remembered that there are about six hundred and fifty members in the House of Commons, leaving aside the House of Lords. Hence the significance to be attached to the support of three or four members is, as the Hindi proverb says, less than a caraway-seed in the mouth of a camel. To change the Government, or its constitution, and to substitute representative Government, is no easy matter. The people of Ireland, who have so weighty a supporter in Mr. Gladstone, besides many Members of Parliament,—what have they been able to do that our poor National Congress should think they can effect this? In my opinion if all the rulers of India should sympathise with the National Congress, yet even then the supporters of the Congress could not be successful. Some Members of Parliament may go mad, but all cannot.

Without doubt Government is itself anxious for the progress of the people of India. If the present

state of things be compared with that at the commencement of British rule, then the advancement that the British Government has given to the people of India is really astonishing ; and it is still inclined in the same way to give them further advancement, and is giving what it thinks expedient, and will continue to give. From the uproar of the National Congress no good result can follow. Rather it is to be feared that those proposals for the benefit of the people which the Government has under consideration, among which may be counted some of the recommendations of the Public Service Commission, may be postponed in order that the Congresswallas may not be elated, and fancy that they have been accomplished by their agitation. The Congress has been in existence three years. To what Congress do we owe the conspicuous benefits which the people of India have received from the commencement of the British Rule to the present day ? Similarly the Government is ready to give further advancement at suitable times. The Mutiny of 1857, which I am right in calling the Sepoy War, as Mr. Kaye has styled it, and which was due to the mistakes of some officials, threw back the progress of India a hundred years. If that Mutiny had not occurred, then hundreds of our young men of a soldierly temper would have been Volunteers ; the Arms Act would not have been passed ; many among us would have been Captains, and Colonels, and Generals in the Army ; and we would have said to Government :—
“ Do not trouble your European officers and British

soldiers. See—we, and we alone, will advance beyond the frontier, and will give the Russians a practical lesson how to advance and how to give fight.”

I cannot understand the meaning of the statement of my honourable friend that people should not fear the opposition of the rulers of the North-West Provinces and Oudh. Whatever the opinions of Government may be about the administration of the country, yet it has given freedom to all its subjects and to the newspapers to criticise its policy as they like. Hence, if the Government of the N. W. P. and Oudh be opposed to the objects of the Congress, why should those who join it fear? But, yes. There is one thing on account of which the Congresswallas may well fear their rulers—a thing which my honourable friend has not mentioned. Can the Congresswallas deny—their intentions may not be bad, and I do not charge them with bad intentions—but can they deny the fact that they have left no stone unturned in their attempts to spread discontent among the common people against the Government? Are not *The Star in the East*, *The Tamil Catechism* and the *Conversation between Farid-uddin and Rambakhsh*, in which many statements are false while real facts are placed in a wrong light, as well as many other of their speeches and writings, sufficient proof? If it be true that thousands of copies (the Hindustani newspaper says lakhs) have been printed in Urdu and Hindi, and circulated in the Provinces, while the men who distribute them

say to the *banias*, "see, how oppressive the taxes are, we are trying to remove them;" and to suitors in the law-courts, "see the stamp fees, what tyranny!" and to the landlords and cultivators, "how unjust the revenue laws are," and abusing Government before every kind of man in ways appealing to his circumstances or his comprehension; is not this a thing which gives the people of the N.-W. P. and Oudh very good reason for standing in fear of their rulers? And is it not the duty of Government to try to discover, by every means and method in its power, how far this dissatisfaction has spread, and how deep are its roots, and to ascertain whether or not the time has come for interfering actively and uprooting it? Is it not the duty of Government to prevent this disaffection from increasing, and thus to avert a time when it would be necessary to adopt harsh measures, such as has been done in Ireland? These things are included in the duty of the Government, and Government *ought* to do them, and it would be absurd to accuse Government of being hostile if she were to do her duty in these respects. The idea of my honourable friend about the rulers of our North-West Provinces and Oudh being opposed to the Congress, and the people not fearing the opposition of their rulers, is absurd. In my opinion the Congresswallas need fear nobody, but they have good reason to be afraid of their own actions, as well as of the hostility they are stirring up between Hindus and Muham-madans.

The Muhammadans paid no heed to the Congress for years as long as the Congresswallas told no lies about Muhammadans joining them, nor tried to secure their co-operation by deceitful methods. But in the Madras Congress they began to adopt this procedure, and to try to induce Muhammadans to take a part. Then those Muhammadans who wished to protect their nation from the bad results of the Congress stood up and warned their people of its evil effects.

SYED AHMED.

THE "PIONEER" ON SEDITION.

THE two following leaders have appeared in the *Pioneer*, the leading English journal in India, on the seditious methods adopted by the National Congress :—

The Spread of Sedition.

With characteristic indifference we are taking no steps to deal with the latest and most dangerous development of popular agitation in India. The Congress *Catechism* and its other incendiary tracts are being distributed every day in larger numbers in the vernaculars of India. In the Punjab the ground is "being prepared" by this means for the Congress of December, 1889. In Guzerat the agitators boast of having printed 35,000 copies in the local vernacular. The leading ideas of the *Catechism* are utterly subversive of British rule. First, it is assumed throughout that the present condition of the country is miserable. Frequent allusion is made to "our many grievances" and to "our hardships and disadvantages." Next, the people are told that they can expect no assistance either from Anglo-Indian officials, who "wish to keep matters as they are," or from the Indian Government. It is clear that this idea cuts at the root of loyalty, while it presents the rulers of the country in the light of tyrants. To remedy this state of things the prospect is held out of coercing the Indian Government by means of English public opinion.

Such a state of things, if possible, would mean ruin to the prestige of the Government and to its strength. Finally, the object towards which this coercion is to be directed is that "a Parliament must be established" in India. Mr. Hume confessed that this idiotic dream was his goal, but he generously allowed fifty or seventy years for its realisation. The *Catechism* points exultingly to the glorious time after "a year or two when we have won the day." Thus these four main ideas of the *Catechism* inculcate discontent, antagonism to the rulers, contempt for their authority, and revolution. This propaganda is dignified with the name of the "political education of the masses." To suppose that it will have no effect is to argue sheer ignorance of the people of Upper India. We have heard of a case of one of these pamphlets being read out before a crowd of ignorant men of a fighting caste, the result being that they became very excited, and cried out—"God grant that the fighting comes soon." The pamphlets had been distributed by a Bengali. To add to the effect of this seditious literature, the agitators are themselves travelling up and down the land abusing the Government and conjuring up chimerical visions of prosperity if the people do but unite and insist in having representative government. No argument is too absurd if a few ignorant supporters can by its means be gained. A Musalman named Bhimji has been touring over the Provinces, and telling the Muhammadans that if they joined the

National Congress their holy cities—Mecca, Meshed, and Jerusalem—would be better protected. Fancy, a Bengali garrison defending Mecca against the attacks of the infidels! He further drew attention to the poverty of the poor, and said that all this would be removed if the National Congress had its way. While this is going on in the vernacular the Anglo-Bengali Press from Calcutta to Lahore, with one or two exceptions, is attacking the Viceroy, the Government, and Anglo-Indians at large with a virulence that can only be explained as the result of malice united to the belief that Government is cowardly in the face of abuse. To embitter race-feeling the Tribune, a Bengali paper of Lahore, has even assailed the modesty and chastity of English ladies. Every scandal, true or false, that can be gleaned from the four corners of the Empire, is greedily laid hold of and served up to feed the appetites of the detractors of British rule. The result is, that throughout the English-reading Hindu public a settled discontent is spreading, based on misconceptions and untruths. Again, our easy-going nature thinks that truth will prevail in the end. But we forget that the Mutiny of 1857 was due to a misconception, namely, that the Government was planning an attack on the religions of the people. Government has been solemnly warned of the danger of letting this state of things continue by men who know the people far better than we do. Natives of India, among the most able, influential and honourable in the land—Sir Syed Ahmed, Mr. Syed Hosain

Bilgrami, the Maharaja of Benares, Sir Salar Jung, the Raja of Binga, Munshi Imtiaz Ali, and many others—have stated their firm conviction that if this agitation proceeds long enough, it will lead to a terrible catastrophe. Now, what has been the attitude of Government towards this rival and extraordinary propaganda? The *Catechism* undertakes to answer this question. It says that the Finance Commission and the Public Service Commission were the direct results of the Congress; and it goes on to state that Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain have declared themselves in its favour. The Congresswallas make great capital out of the circumstance that they were invited to the Government Houses in Calcutta and Madras: this fact being triumphantly paraded before the people in every oration as conclusive proof that Government approves of their agitation. The Hon'ble Pandit Ajudhia Nath said, in his speech at Lucknow, that "the Governor-General in Calcutta and the Governor in Madras gave parties to the members of the Congress in their respective Government Houses, and called them all and received them kindly, and instead of making objections, expressed their sympathy with the aims of the Congress." But unfortunately the Congresswallas need not rely entirely on misrepresentation in their attempts to prove Government to be on their side. The strong advocacy of their cause by Sir W. Hunter, a man on whom the Government had lavished its honours, is, in the absence of any rejoinder, a conspicuous victory, and has given a very great

stimulus to the movement. The active support of Mr. Hume and several unofficial Europeans is an indication of support from people closely connected with the rulers. They have further had the wit to secure a prominent Englishman of Calcutta as their next President. And, finally, the Congress has achieved a triumph in the pronounced approval of its methods by the Governor of Bombay. Lord Reay must welcome, he says, anything that tends to improve the administration. One of the improvements suggested by the Congresswallas, with that singular want of political insight which prevents them from seeing even their own interests, was the abolition of the Governorships of Madras and Bombay. Perhaps when the Governor of Bombay has been improved out of existence, His Excellency may have time to reflect on the inadvisability of playing at fireworks in a powder magazine.

It would appear, therefore, that the Congress agitators can lay claim to some social countenance and a certain amount of support in high quarters, which they do their utmost to magnify in the eyes of the uninformed public: and that the Supreme Government has contented itself with a mysterious silence, while its very existence is being undermined, and aspirations are being encouraged in the people which, being preposterous and unrealisable, are doomed to bitter disappointment. What is the cause of so anomalous a state of things? The cause is to be found in the singular elasticity of the proposals of the Congress. To the English public it shows itself, as

an English member of Parliament remarked, "ridiculously moderate" in its demands. It merely wants certain changes tending "to improve the administration," while the solid groundwork itself is to remain untouched. But to the ignorant masses it presents a very different front. It knows it can catch their allegiance by no such mild proposals. Nothing less than the abolition of taxation and the expulsion of the hated foreigner are the baits held out to popular ignorance and fanaticism. English supporters of the movement imagine that these are mere excrescences that will disappear in time. They are, on the contrary, the vital principles of the movement, and the apparent moderation of its formal demands is simply a diplomatic device in order to gain a vantage ground from the enemy for a further advance. The originators of the Congress showed their wisdom in assuming that we fall easy dupes to a little palaver. A little anecdote may here be mentioned. Two Englishmen, accompanied by a native friend, were walking one evening in an Indian town. One of them was a visitor from England; the other had recently come to the country. They were accosted by a jovial, English-speaking Hindu, who joined himself to the party, offered them his carriage, and escorted them to their hotel, holding forth magnificently on the depths of his loyalty, and how nothing could give him greater pleasure than to die for his Queen. Having arrived at the hotel he called for a peg, and remarked to the native member of the trio that he knew well how to catch the owls. So

it is with Mr. Hume and the Congresswallas. Unfortunately they, too, know how to catch the owls.

Such being then the attitude of the Congress towards the Government and the attitude of the Government towards the Congress, the question that arises before anyone who does not wish to see the mischief grow, is whether there is no means open of allaying or averting it. But to consider this it is necessary to take into account the feelings of that not inconsiderable portion of the population which is either outside the pale of the agitation or actively opposed to it: and this involves an extended train of argument which must be reserved for a separate article.

Sedition and its Antidote.

After treating of the character of the propaganda that is being spread throughout the country by the working party of the National Congress, we were brought up at the question—How Government is to deal with this fever that has seized on the body politic? The simple and straightforward method would be direct suppression, for which purpose a dozen policemen would be ample. But it is doubtful whether the British public would tolerate interference with the Press and the right of public meeting before the bloodshed came to enlighten its wits. And when the bloodshed comes, whether between Hindu and Muhammadan, or between Englishman and sepoy, the flame may spread so fast as to make its extinction very

difficult, especially if synchronous with a Russian war. However, without applying to England for a Coercion Act like that in force in Ireland, there appear to be ways in which the Government of India could vastly diminish the evil.

In Upper India there are three communities to be dealt with. First, the Bengalis, who are settled or employed in large numbers in the Provinces. They are the backbone of the Congress movement. In dealing with them no arguments are of any avail. Lord Dufferin personally appealed to them to moderate the tone of their Press. The consequence was, they redoubled their vituperation. This is the result of treating them as gentlemen, amenable to reason. They have one unanswerable reply, that their method pays. They are intoxicated with success. However, deeds and not words would very soon produce an astonishing change in their convictions. The second community are the up-country Hindus. At present they are undecided. Some, including their noblest caste, the Rajputs, are against the Congress; some are in its favour; and many are wavering, not knowing whether or not to accept the Bengalis, whom they dislike, as their leaders. It remains for Government, by throwing its weight in the scale, either to preserve the loyalty of the up-country Hindus, or to turn them as a nation into a seditious band far more dangerous than the Bengalis. The third community are the Muhammadans. These detest the Congress cordially, as the triumph of democratic principles means

for them utter and hopeless ruin. They are like the men of Ulster in Ireland without their wealth and education. But in dealing with the Muhammadans two great facts should be borne in mind. First, there is an almost universal and intense longing for reconciliation with their old foes, for friendship with their rulers. Their long series of misfortunes has crushed the old spirit of rivalry, and it needs but a slight manifestation of friendship to win their devoted loyalty. The second fact is their ignorance how to effect this reconciliation. They behave according to their traditional method and refuse to embarrass the Government. They see the country overrun by Bengalis, who publicly and privately do nothing but abuse the Government. Hence they sometimes argue that the way to please their eccentric rulers appears to be by abusing them. And there is a real and serious danger of old-fashioned Muhammadans imagining, from the extraordinary attitude preserved by Government in this Congress agitation, that it is really in favour of the Congress. A clear indication of this danger may be seen in the report of some Congress meetings held in Ludhiana. The itinerant lecturer Bhimji managed to convert an old Maulvi, who made a speech in the Jumma Musjid, in which he said that "the National Congress was a blessing sent by God for the relief of millions of poor people who at the present time were starving." Various remarks in the report clearly indicate that Bhimji had managed to produce an impression that Government was for the Congress, and that without

this impression he could not have secured the support of this influential but uninformed Maulvi. The opponents of the Congress were stigmatised as Wahabis and enemies of British rule ; and it was said that Bhimji called on the Deputy Commissioner and the District Judge, "both of whom received him most kindly, and expressed their sympathy in his public-spirited mission." It was further stated that the police were used to disperse an anti-Congress meeting and to protect a Congress meeting. It is obvious, therefore, that the adoption by Government of a negative policy, relying on the two parties to fight it out, is an unsafe one. In the first place, it is capable of misinterpretation. In the second place, in a fight between two popular parties, in which one side promises everything and the other side nothing, what chance is there of victory for the latter? And again, what guarantee is there that even the agitation that has sprung up against the Congress may not in the future take a dangerous course?

Things have, in fact, come to a pass when it is well for Government to review the principles on which India has been governed, for there are indications that it is fast becoming a second Ireland. We are threatened not only with "National" Congresses, but with perpetual Provincial Congresses in every part of India. The agitation is growing by leaps and bounds. The present condition of the Bengali community should be a solemn warning as to where our methods are leading us. We have given them more favours than we can possibly give to any

other race in India, because not only did we find them at a lower level, but we have put them to rule in many countries in which they are foreigners; and yet they are ostentatiously disloyal, as no other people in India are.

What is the cause of this? Not so much perhaps education, as some imagine; but the whole policy and principles of our rule which foster methods that run into sedition, and do nothing to encourage loyalty. Loyalty should be the watchword of our policy. Loyalty, carefully tested, should be the supreme virtue recognised by Government. Men should be given high posts only if their loyalty be proved; and, if well proved, loyalty should be rewarded much more liberally than has hitherto been the case. Loyalty to the Government whose salt one has tasted was the most sacred of Oriental political virtues. It was the pivot of Eastern States. At present it holds in the Native Army, but it is fast disappearing in "New India." If a man give proof of loyalty he is blackguarded by every Bengali paper as a sycophant and a flatterer, but if he abuse Government, they laud him as a man of public spirit and of independence. In a dozen ways we ourselves encourage this. When a man is troublesome we reward him with a high post to induce him to keep his mouth shut (which he seldom does), and so produce fifty imitators. When we give favours we manage to do it in such a way as to inspire no gratitude. We give it not as a favour but as a right, or we even admit it as a claim. We let it

appear not as if we had given it but as if it had been taken from us. The policy of Akbar was to crush opposition, and then, when his enemies felt wholly powerless and at his mercy, to raise them up and shower on them his favours. In this way he won their devoted loyalty. Loyalty of the heart and feelings of personal gratitude to Government—sentiments strong under Muhammadan rule, but weak under ours—have to be carefully fostered. In England they are unnecessary. But Government in India is on far weaker basis than Government in England. The Government is foreign and painful to sentiments of national honour. The disgusting manner of the increasing numbers of low class Europeans and Eurasians towards natives of rank is a source of constantly growing friction. There must be created feelings of personal loyalty to counteract this. But one essential element in this sentiment is a feeling of respect and awe. This can never exist if the rulers appear weak, timid, and frightened of their subjects. Their prestige and their unquestioned power must be maintained. But here a common English misconception must be removed. The prestige of Government rests on the prestige and position of those persons only who are by virtue of their position rulers, not on the prestige of every Englishman as member of a ruling race. The latter idea is odious to the people. It encourages every Englishman of the lower orders to swagger as if he were the Viceroy. We should show ourselves as jealous of the honour and position of

natives of rank as of our own. In testing loyalty the first criterion is that a man's acts and words should tend to make people at large contented. To stir up discontent should be treason. Methods of attacking Government, which have the least tendency to run into sedition, should be suppressed with a firm hand. Englishmen have a natural tendency to sympathise with any kind of healthy activity which appears among the people. But the safety of the Empire demands that this activity, whether English or native, should be confined within narrower bounds than are permissible in England. If people—Englishmen no less than natives—overstep these bounds they must be taught their mistake. (The National Congress has overstepped these bounds. Its strength or its weakness now depends entirely on ourselves. If it be seen that proposals for the advancement of the people suffer rather than gain by being debated in the Congress, the Congress will very soon collapse like a soap-bubble.) But if our statesmen stand with hands joined before a spurious public opinion, always giving in a little to popular clamour, the time is possibly not far distant when they will have to make way for the men of iron with the Commander-in-Chief at their head.

THE COMING MUTINY IN INDIA.

By Choudhri Nasrat Ali.

THE notorious pamphlet published in English and Urdu and purporting to be a conversation between two fictitious persons, Maulvi Fariduddin and Rambakhsh, gives some idea of the emphatically disloyal sentiments entertained by the founder of the National Congress and his co-adjutors, who, by constantly fanning the flame of rebellion, are trying to produce a general conflagration which will envelope the whole of India, and which it will be difficult to suppress or extinguish. They are foolishly endeavouring to conceal the fire beneath the ashes which has at last smoked out of and through the pamphlet. Beneath the ashes lie smouldering, not little sparks which might die out by themselves, but gigantic blocks of wood which will blaze out and destroy the public peace.

Every intelligent man, who cares to read the pamphlet, will be driven to the conclusion that a wide dissemination of such disloyal and revolutionary notions will one day make the well-contented and peaceful citizens, who clearly see danger in the present agitation, and who do not like the peace of the country to be disturbed and the social fabric to be destroyed by the flames of rebellion, forget the disastrous events of 1857.

The pamphlet was first published in English, but in order to secure universal circulation among

the masses, it was subsequently translated into *Urdu*, and many thousand copies of the Urdu version have been distributed gratis in Lucknow and the neighbouring towns and villages.

Mr. Hume and the partizans of the Congress have made many frivolous pretexts, and put forth pleas which are altogether inadmissible. The distribution of many thousand Urdu copies of a distinctly seditious publication must be taken to indicate a desire to throw the country into a political ferment, and create rebellion. This is clearly stated in the pamphlet itself, to be its aim and object. The revised pamphlet was re-published in 1887, and incorporated with the report of the Madras National Congress. Greatly annoyed and distressed at Mr. Theodore Beck's sharp review of the pamphlet,* wherein he has called the serious attention of the Government to the distinctly seditious [character of the publication, Mr. Hume has set up a weak defence and denied all responsibility for it. He has further insisted that controversial articles which were published three or four years ago should not be called in question now. This is not a satisfactory reply, for it was under Mr. Hume's personal responsibility and immediate control as General Secretary to the Congress, that the report for 1887 has been printed and published with the objectionable pamphlet full of seditious notions, as an appendix.

People are astonished at the extreme violence of the Congress and the Anti-Congress demonstrations

* The pamphlet here alluded to is *The Star in the East*.—ED.

lately witnessed at Lucknow and in its vicinity. The Congressists ascribe this to the strong Anti-Congress feelings excited by the political lecture delivered by the Hon'ble Sir Syed Ahmed Khan at Lucknow, on the 27th December, 1887. This is utterly wrong, and is intended to mislead those not acquainted with the real state of things. The violence of the Anti-Congress demonstration was owing, as a matter of fact, to the wide distribution in Lucknow and its neighbourhood of many thousand copies of the seditious pamphlet, wherein the British Government is strongly condemned as a grinding despotism, and the people are 'called upon to rebel against it. Those who desire peace at any cost and who know by experience' how the mutiny, only thirty years ago, spread like wild fire among the ignorant and brave races of Upper India, and what disastrous results it produced, clearly perceived the danger and determined to oppose the Congress, which is its real source, and stem the tide of mutiny before it had attained the magnitude and strength of a disastrous flood.

The people of Lower Bengal cannot realize the real character of the Mutiny of 1857 and the calamities and hardships it brought in its train. European gentlemen and their families were cruelly murdered by the brutal native soldiery as if they were born to be butchered or tortured to death. Thousands of natives who were suspected of being in "touch" with the British or of possessing wealth, were plundered and murdered in cold blood. At

Amethi, a respectable native gentleman was most cruelly tortured to death by the rebels, who poured gunpowder into his ears and mouth and then set it on fire, blowing away the poor man's brains simply because they mistook him for a wealthy man, and demanded of him a large sum which he could not pay. People were plundered to an unlimited extent. A plunderer went about the country with two bullocks loaded with ornaments plundered from Hindu and Muhammadan women.

The disastrous events of 1857 are remembered to this day with deep horror. Thousands of respectable women threw themselves into wells, tanks, and rivers, preferring death to dishonor. The atrocities perpetrated by the Russian soldiery on the Musalman population of Bulgaria after the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, resemble in character and extent those perpetrated by the brutal rebels upon Englishmen and natives in 1857.

The object of the writers, the printers, and the publishers of this seditious pamphlet seems to be to re-ignite the flame of rebellion throughout British India, which, in 1857, touched only a portion of Upper India. Like flint they have sparks concealed within them, and are seeking for an opportunity to let the hidden fire blaze out. Had they not been actuated by sinister motives, they would have confined their teachings to the intelligent and the cultured, and would not have circulated all this seditious stuff among the reckless, whose rashness makes them long for the sword which has

been taken away from them to ensure peace and tranquillity. If the ignorant masses are re-armed, then I confidently assert that they will not be able to distinguish between a lawful and an unlawful use of their weapons, for they still retain their primitive rashness, and can only tear the Indian Penal Code to pieces and twist the torn leaves into small bundles of grocery. It is a grave apprehension of such danger that has compelled the Musalmans of India as a whole, and many respectable and influential Hindus, to endeavour most strenuously to check the growing evil and prevent the coming storm.

Nothing can be more convincing than the evidence afforded by the fact that the British Indian Association of Oudh, considering the Congress movement distinctly seditious, convened a General Meeting on the 4th April, 1888, at which a Resolution was unanimously passed disclaiming all connection therewith. This is a political Association of the Maharajas, the Rajas, and the Talukdars of Oudh, both Hindus and Musalmans, and I have the honor of being the Assistant Secretary to this important Association. I say that the Talukdars' Association has rightly sounded the note of alarm, clearly perceiving the seditious forces which the founder and the promoters of the Congress are setting in motion. It was in no uncertain tones that an influential member of the Association, an Hon'ble Maharaja, spoke of the Congress as foreboding the disastrous events of 1857. It is therefore utterly wrong to say that it is Mr. Beck

only who has taken an alarmist view of the Congress agitation, as a similar opinion was publicly expressed by a great Talukdar of Oudh some time before Mr. Beck's trenchant articles appeared in public print. Do not the partizans of the Congress remember the remark made by a German to Nawab Fateh Nawaz Jung of Hyderabad while travelling in Europe, that the people of India had conspired against the British Government? Such being the general impression produced by the action of the Congress in foreign countries, which can know anything about India through newspapers only, great must be the danger apprehended by the peaceful inhabitants of this country from the practical measures adopted and carried out by the Congresswallas with such *éclat*. If such seditious ideas continue to be promulgated, the evil day may not be far distant when the whole country will be drenched in blood like the clothes of the Hindus besmeared with the conventional red powder during the Holi festival.

Before this notorious pamphlet had been printed and published as part and parcel of the Congress Report for 1887, on the direct responsibility of the Congress, the responsibility of publishing it in English rested with a few persons only; while the person or persons who had published an Urdu version of it might have alleged that they were responsible only for what was, after all, a translation, though this plea looks like holding up one's hand to save one's head from being struck off with the

sword. But from the fact of the objectionable pamphlet being incorporated with the Annual Report of the Congress, not Mr. Hume only, but every member and supporter of the movement, has become answerable for its disloyal ideas and tone. God only knows what made the Congressists incorporate this seditious pamphlet with the printed record of their proceedings, and how the man who has published it has escaped the punishment prescribed by law.

The foregoing remarks, far from being merely sentimental, are the result of my personal observation. They may appear very strange to those not acquainted with the real state of things, or who have not had the opportunity of seeing with their own eyes the mutinous spirit and the seditious proceedings of the Congressists. But with the overwhelming evidence before us there ought to be no doubt or misapprehension.

In support of what I have said above, I may refer the reader to those passages in the pamphlet which are calculated to arouse the general popular feelings against the British Government. I say it is advisable to check the disease before it gets firm hold of the system. Snake-bite is at first confined to a tip-toe, but when the poison pervades the whole system, no remedy can be applied with effect.

The pamphlet consists of a conversation between two fictitious persons, Maulvi Fariduddin and Rambakhsh, the former a pleader of a district called Hakikatabad, and the latter the mukaddam or

headman of the village Kambakhtpur. The political condition of Kambakhtpur, which means literally an unlucky village, is vividly contrasted with that of Shamshpur, another and a remarkably prosperous village. The former is represented as being under the despotic rule of one Raja Harbans Rai, and the latter as being under the constitutional government of another Raja named Dharam Singh. The one implies the despotism of the Indian Government and the other the constitutional government of England. Maulvi Fariduddin is represented as persuading Rambakhsh into the belief that if he wished to be relieved from the tyranny of a despotic Government, he must seek for a representative one, and co-operate with his educated and wealthy countrymen for obtaining the desired change; and that if he did this, the English nation would compel the Government to comply with the wishes of the educated natives. From beginning to end the pamphlet is an uniform and persistent attempt to show that the Government of India is an oppressive despotism, and that it is the duty of the native population to oppose their oppressors, might and main. Ignorant people are deluded into the belief that the people of the United Kingdom (meaning perhaps the Irish malcontents) will support their pretensions. Some professed organs of the Congress party have at last broken the spell, and plainly suggested that the Congresswallas ought to adopt the tactics of the Irish Home Rulers and raise funds. Great stress is laid on the views of Sir William Hunter,

and it is said that the learned Doctor being a confidential adviser of the Government, his letters in the *Times* truly reflect the decision of Her Majesty's Government. The reason generally assigned for this decision is that the British Government, fully conscious of its own weakness and inability to oppose Russia, contemplates making over the country to the natives. I have myself heard an educated native talking such nonsense to one of his temper and tastes amid the jeers and laughter of his jolly companions. A series of articles in the London *Times* are fondly regarded as an unmistakable sign of victory ; and with the leading English journal coming forward to support the cause of the Congress, representative institutions for India are, with these radical faddists, a foregone conclusion and an accomplished fact.

They foolishly depend for success in the attainment of their object upon those who are the component parts or consistent elements of British Government. These are honest men, no doubt, but not fools. Perhaps they do not sufficiently realize the fact that the population of India consists of an almost endless variety of nations, tribes, and sects, diametrically opposed to each other in their religious creeds, their social institutions, and their political interests. Geographically, India is but a peninsula, but from the vastness and heterogeneousness of her population she looks like a great continent. The inhabitants of one part of the country materially differ from those inhabiting

the other, not only in religion but in language, manners, and customs, and all the essential elements of social life. They do not at all seem to be the natives of one and the same country. Among Asiatic nations, religion occupies the foremost place in all their thoughts and actions. It serves as a touchstone for testing every problem, moral, social, or political. The native population chiefly consists of Hindus and Musalmans, who stand in the ratio of 5 to 1. Numerically, the other nations are extremely insignificant. How a well-balanced representative Government or Council is possible in a country so circumstanced, passes human comprehension; and if the balance of power cannot possibly be preserved between the rival sects and races, the inevitable majority of one in the Legislative Councils constituted on a representative basis, will naturally be strongly resented by the other. It would be utterly impossible to reconcile conflicting interests in such a Council. "It is puerile," rightly observed the Hon'ble Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in his famous political lecture, "to talk of two hostile races fighting with each other most fanatically outside the Council-room, and maintaining perfect good-will and concord between themselves inside the Legislative Chamber." * Not only the Muhammadans as a whole, but many respectable and influential Hindus also have come to regard the spread of sedition through the Congress as extremely dangerous to the peace of the country. Fully convinced of the utter

* This was said by Sir Syed Ahmed in a letter to the *Pioneer*.

impracticability of representative institutions in a country like India, they naturally look upon those who are longing for them as "building castles in the air." Those who apprehend serious danger to their country and their society, not only from the seditious pamphlet, but from the inflammatory speeches and underhanded proceedings of the Congressists, are naturally anxious to see the mischievous agitation summarily put down. The British Government has been mildly but deliberately overlooking these seditious proceedings, but it must be remembered that these same proceedings will one day compel it to take action.

As representative institutions, as demanded by the Congressists, cannot be worked in a country like India, the question naturally arises—In what will the spread of sedition end? The answer to this is obvious. It must end either in setting the ignorant masses, whose loyalty is thus being undermined, against the Government, and thus involving the Government and the loyalist party in trouble, or in the discomfiture of the party of sedition-mongers. In either case, the peace of the country is seriously compromised.

The partizans of the Congress will object to the use of the word *loyalist* in the above sentence; but they must understand that our loyalty is not due to "white men" as such, but to their beneficent rule under which we enjoy the inestimable blessings of peace and civilisation. I know full well that my outspokenness exposes me to sharp personal attacks;

but as a sincere Musalman and a representative of my community, I declare that the Musalmans are bound by their religion not to excite sedition and foment rebellion against their rulers for the time being. If they do this, they are sinners in the eye of God, and if they die in the state of rebellion, they will not enjoy that eternal bliss in Paradise, which they have so much coveted through their lives.

I am glad to find that my right-thinking and far-sighted Hindu countrymen are as much bent on stamping out sedition as I am, for they as well as I fully realize the fact that the attempt to set up a representative government in India is both senseless and hopeless, like the effort of a baby to catch hold of the moon by stretching out its little arms in the belief that it will successfully accomplish the feat.

The pamphlet represents the Viceroy of India as an unscrupulous Raja, and the English officers as reckless *Hakims* or tyrants, loth to hear and redress the grievances of their subjects, who are thus forced to regard their chief ruler (the Viceroy) as politically dead. They are further taught to believe that they are being ground down by their despotic rulers in a thousand ways. Rent is extorted from them before the proper time, no allowance is made for a bad harvest, and even their ploughs and bullocks are sold. No doubt these false charges have been brought against the Government with the object of turning a loyal and contented people into disloyal

and discontented subjects. Such grievances, if they are really found and felt anywhere, may be represented through a free Press, and equally free public associations, which already exist in large numbers. This safe and effective plan for ventilating popular grievances, real or imaginary, was rightly suggested by the Oudh Talukdars' Association, but it did not find favor with those who prefer dodging and skulking to plain sailing. The Government is calumniated and denounced before an ignorant and excitable populace which cannot understand the current political problems, cannot realize the administrative difficulties which surround their rulers, and cannot judge of the soundness or otherwise of the policy which the Government ought to pursue with due regard to existing circumstances and conditions.

To spread sedition in the country, the pamphlet has been translated into colloquial Urdu, easily intelligible to rude peasants and ignorant villagers steeped in their primitive barbarism.

The writer of the pamphlet seems to be an average man with a modicum of common sense and with very hazy notions of the subject he is treating of. While deliberately exposing the dark side of the picture, he has carefully concealed the bright side of it. He ought to have asked some zemindar whether the Government does not postpone the realization of the revenue for a bad harvest; whether it does not sanction remissions for crops injured or destroyed by hail; whether it has not exempted by

law agricultural implements from distraint and sale even in execution of a decree.

Furthermore, the pamphlet plainly says that the British Government is despotic both in its constitution and its actions; that the Queen-Empress, who has never visited India, has made over this unfortunate country to the Viceroy and his subordinate officers, who, like Raja Harbans Rai of Kambakhtpur, are unscrupulous tryants, who are squandering away millions of rupees extorted from the poor people, and who are by their oppressive rule creating strong discontent in the country. Who that knows the people can say that such notions are not calculated to poison their hearts against their rulers? Can the people at large understand the Budget account? If not, they are at least being taught to treat their English rulers as their enemies who are working their ruin, and upon whom it will be their duty, as true children of the soil, to avenge their wrongs when the day of retribution comes.

Further on, it is plainly stated that the present being a despotic Government, should no longer be suffered to exist. But here the fault is attributed to the system rather than to the officers of Government, who are said to be bound to respect the existing despotism equally with the subject-races.

The writer of the pamphlet seems to have a short memory. In the first few pages he has represented the *gomashas* or local officers as utterly careless of their charge, but further on he has painted the

English Collector in the most hideous colours, and tried to make of him a "Nero" in miniature. Of this I shall write more fully hereafter.

I do not know by what means it is sought to get rid of the present Government. That at the last meeting of the Congress Babu Surendranath Banerji strongly insisted on the Indian Arms Act being repealed forthwith, furnishes a clue to the motives at work.

The British Government may be for or against the introduction of representative institutions in this country ; but I would respectfully remind the Government that the manlier races of Upper India, apprehensive of serious mischief to themselves as a nation or nations, are fully prepared to oppose the so-called reform, might and main. Nature has so arranged the different nations making up the population of India that the weaker nation cannot reasonably expect justice and fair play from the stronger one. I confess I cannot pin my faith on a single newspaper letter from Mr. Budruddin Tyabji promising fair play to all who would enter the Congress and join in the senseless cry for representative institutions ; nor can I trust even a solemn pledge to smooth down numerical and other inequalities between rival races, contending parties, and opposite sects, whose representatives are to be the future rulers of the country. I cannot really believe that in the Council Chamber the law of the majority will not prevail, and that the party which has the largest number of supporters in the country will not

command a working majority in the Council. Such a pledge is transient and shadowy, like a dust-storm which rises up only to vanish in the thin air.

"The pamphlet" endeavours to excite the hatred of that "terrible swarm of locusts," *i. e.*, the great mass of ignorant cultivators and rude villagers against the British Government, by telling them that they are being ruined by enhanced rent and increased taxation on land. Of course, the object aimed at is to make them hate the Government as a cruel despotism; and extremely foolish as they are, it is easy to make them believe such foolish things. Being myself a zemindar of Oudh, I know very well that the landholders of the province possessed unlimited powers to enhance their rents prior to the passing of Act XX of 1886, and that many well-to-do cultivators who had acquired land by purchase became zemindars and enhanced the rents of their estates. I do not mean to say that they practised extortions upon their tenants and squeezed more money out of them than was justified by the capacities of their holdings or the necessities of management. Rents were enhanced in proportion to the rise in the value of land, increased facilities for cultivation, and increased produce of land. Cultivators were never deprived of their proper share of the improvements effected by human ingenuity, and it was to these improvements that the rapid rise in the value of land and a proportionate enhancement of rent were mainly due. The writer of the pamphlet, if he were an honest and

candid man, would have attributed the poverty of the cultivators to the systematic exactions of the *Mahajan* or village banker, but this he would not do and has not done, his real object being to show that the Government and its officers are abominable despots. Perhaps he was not aware of the fact that by Act XX of 1886, the Government, has reduced to a minimum the practically unlimited powers of enhancement of rent previously exercised by zemindars, who can now under the new law enhance their rents only once after every seven years, and even then at the moderate rate of one anna per rupee or 6-4 per cent. The wonder is that the Government has been severely blamed, instead of being warmly praised, for all it has done for the great body of cultivators.

Further on, the pamphlet plainly says that the present being a despotic Government has been working the country's ruin, and as a natural consequence, must be got rid of at all costs. Well and bravely said! This fearless outspokenness on the part of the indomitable writer of the pamphlet might fairly be rewarded with the exalted rank of the Commander-in-Chief of the rebellious forces in the coming mutiny. Of course, the Congresswallas would jump to the conclusion that representative institutions are only the panacea for the evil, but to the sober judgment of all sound and candid observers, representative institutions are utterly impracticable in a country like India, split up as it is by a thousand and one differences and dissensions.

To show that the present is a purely despotic Government and that its officers are tyrants, a sensational story is concocted about an English Collector, who is painted in hideous colours as a petty tyrant, and Rambakhsh is represented as telling Maulvi Fariduddin how cruelly he (Rambakhsh) was whipped 30 years ago by order of this English Collector, and how ashamed he felt of showing the lower part of his body, which still bore the marks of the stripes. The latter part of the above sentence is a pure fiction, as, in fact, is the whole story; and it is unquestionably meant to excite the people against the Government, for the *dhoti* commonly worn by the Indian peasant very imperfectly covers the lower part of his body. The writer of the pamphlet would have acted more wisely and to some purpose if, before preaching war against the Government, he had introduced a much-needed reform in the ordinary dress of the rude peasant of Upper India, or even in the wearing apparel of the more civilized inhabitants of Lower Bengal, where the notorious *sari*, a thin and flimsy piece of cloth, generally prevails.

The story, as related by Rambakhsh, runs thus:—"Once it so happened that the brutal English Collector came to inspect the village where I reside. The usual supply of grass for the Collector's camp was somehow delayed. The Tehsildar, Murtaza Shah, a notoriously bad character, who had once been convicted of forcible extortion and punished by transportation, pleaded his innocence before the

incensed Collector and laid the blame at my door. The heartless tyrant caused me to be cruelly whipped, called me a 'pig' and a 'block-head,' and threatened me with ruin, saying he would teach me how to obey the *Hakim*. He again ordered his *khallasi* to inflict thirty stripes on the lower part of my body, so I was bound, hand and foot, and whipped most severely, till I fell senseless on the ground."

Comment on the above is unnecessary. Is not this an outrage upon truth and common sense? The writer of the pamphlet fears neither God nor man, and most audaciously sets the Government at defiance. Even the native Tehsildar has been incriminated and stigmatized as a petty tyrant simply because he was an officer of a despotic Government!

Such a startling incident, I say, has never occurred since the establishment of British rule in this country, for who has ever heard of a district officer holding a villager punishable under the Penal Code for failure to supply grass, and causing him to be whipped almost to death? No doubt such sensational stories are invented with the criminal intent to undermine the loyalty of the rude peasantry who are completely swayed by their brutal instincts, and are scarcely amenable to reason. The pamphlet starts upon the idea that sedition is of little or no effect, unless it spreads among the ignorant and brave people. I hope the Government will pardon me if I should call its reticence, impolitic and inexpedient. That it is a harmless beginning of the

end I quite admit; but I would point out that a house is not burnt to ashes the moment it is set on fire. Radicalism has become more powerful in India than Nihilism in Russia, for while the Russian Nihilists seek to destroy the existing Government by secret machinations, the Indian Radicals openly and fearlessly denounce the Indian Government as the worst type of despotism, and are strenuously endeavouring, by inventing and publishing false stories, to make every member of the subject-race a pronounced enemy of the Government. I am really astonished at the foolish credulity of my countrymen, who seem to think it a child's play to pull off the moustache of the living lion! I wish they could realize the fact that such deliberate misrepresentations reflect seriously upon their truthfulness and loyalty. They seem to have taken it for granted that the British Government is blind of both eyes and that its officers are simply fools. The Congresswallas seem to believe that an unarmed populace would be able by mere brute force to shake the Government to its foundation, just as a violent earthquake once convulsed the land of Kashmir, and would eventually pull down the tottering building and construct a new and a more durable one with Bengalis for its main pillars.

They also foolishly imagine that the people of England would readily believe what they have never seen with their own eyes. This is the reason assigned by Mr. Hume in his reply to Mr. Beck for publishing such seditious writings.

Further on, the pamphlet says that the brutal Collector was compelled by the Government to resign, and would have been dismissed but for the recommendation of his relatives who held high office. This is meant to show what a tremendous power the English officer exercises in oppressing the poor under the protection of his relatives in high quarters. Then the people are taught to believe that such brutal officers cannot possibly exist under a representative government.

Such sweeping assertions by the writer of the pamphlet disclose his intention to set in motion seditious forces to destroy the peace of the country.

The hypothetical Maulvi asks the village headman to publish the stories of British oppression among peasants and others, through newspapers, with the view of forming native public opinion on the subject. Thus sensational stories showing grinding oppression exercised by the English on the subject-race are concocted to excite the masses against the Government. Is this acting in good faith? The loyal subjects of the Crown will not approve of such perfidious falsehoods. This treasonable policy has been persistently carried out by the Bengali Press. While every offender is held personally liable to punishment, this gang of sedition-mongers is allowed to write and talk rank sedition! The ominous reticence of a mild Government has spurred them on to overt and daring attempts at sedition. They have already come to regard the Government as a puppet in their hands.

(After commenting on the strictures on the Police contained in the pamphlet, the writer proceeds) :—

*The pamphlet, if circulated in Central India, will bring a handsome reward to its writer from the notorious dacoit, Tantia Bhil. Police Superintendents are said to be the chief source of crime, [the friends and accomplices of *budmashes*, and representative institutions are declared to be the panacea for these evils. Every false instance of oppression has been cited as a fair argument for getting rid of the present system of government. By denouncing the British Government as a grinding despotism, squandering away untold sums of money extorted from poor people and hastening their ruin, and by characterising public officers as heartless tyrants and warm friends of *budmashes*, the hypothetical Maulvi has apparently succeeded in inducing Rambakhsh to do his utmost to combine the people against the Government under the banner of the National Congress. I fear the next step would be to declare war against the Government. Common people do not know English law; they are a host of semi-civilized and half-educated men, utterly ignorant of the first principles of Government and of the essential conditions of reform. They are *ignorant* in the broadest sense of the word, and, as a necessary consequence, haughty and excitable. Such people are sure to assist their leaders, or rather ringleaders, in their overt attempts at sedition.

I invite a refutation of my arguments. But any one who undertakes to refute me, should not be of the type of Mr. Hume, whose judgment has been vitiated by old age.

(Here I may ask whether, at the Congress meeting of December, 1887, Babu Surendranath Banerji had not demanded the repeal of the Arms Act for himself. But it must be remembered that he is a Bengali, so he wanted the ignorant and excitable populace to be re-armed in order to assist him and his party more effectively in achieving their end, though I do not think the Government will give them its forts and its bomb-shells.)

Further on, Maulvi Fariduddin explains to Rambakhsh the advantages of a representative government like that of England, and strongly recommends the adoption of the representative system for India. In doing this, the writer deliberately ignores the animosity caused by religious and other differences among the different classes of the native population. In England fanaticism has completely died out, but in India religious feelings are as strong as ever and susceptible of excitement at a breath. Here the followers of one religion shudder at the very thought of being overwhelmed by their religious antagonists. The writer of the pamphlet seems to have had a short memory, or how could he forget the Mohurram and Dasarah disturbances, which only two years ago convulsed Delhi, Etawah, and other cities, towns, and villages? How the *Jumma* Masjid of Delhi was desecrated by the

Hindus, who tied a pig there to the inexpressible horror of the Faithful, who retaliated upon their enemies by slaughtering the sacred cow in a Hindu temple, must be fresh in the memory of every one. It was the strong arm of the British Government which prevented a general rising in many parts of the country and averted a dire calamity which threatened the social fabric with ruin at Delhi and elsewhere. Were it not for the opportune arrival at the Etawah Railway Station of the British troops proceeding to Burmah, nothing could have checked the riots at the former place, where the rioters, almost maddened by fierce religious emotions, were literally engaged in a bloody struggle when they were pushed back by the British soldiers at the point of the bayonet. Like the writer of the seditious pamphlet, Mr. Hume seems bent on earning a cheap notoriety by posing as a champion of oppressed humanity in India, just as his father, according to his own version of the story, paved the way for the supersession of a despotic by a constitutional government in Canada. But I cannot help observing that Mr. Hume desires to surpass even his father in revolutionising an empire perhaps ten times larger than the Dominion of Canada, if only the British Government would keep its eyes and ears shut against the storm that is brewing and if the Congresswallas succeed in stultifying English statesmen, and Sir William Hunter in electrifying the English people by his magic pen.

Then we find the deluded Rambakhsh trying his best to spread sedition among his friends and

neighbours, until not a single native of India is left unmoved with a yearning for a radical change in the principle of Government.

The hypothetical Maulvi is then made to say that his own friends and neighbours are likewise promulgating such views among traders, artisans, and others, and that this is done in order to secure unanimity, which is essential to the accomplishment of the object in view. But what is the object in view? Surely the subversion of the present system of Government. I wish they had induced the people to gather pebbles with which to pelt the British out of the country! No, I made a mistake. I should have said that the Government of India would be foolish enough to repeal the Arms Act in response to the vehement protests of Messrs. Bepin Chandra Pal and Surendranath Banerji, made with feminine obstinacy. My European friends probably do not know that *Trya Hat*, or feminine obstinacy, is a prominent trait of native female character.

The part of the pamphlet of which I am now speaking is the most treasonable, being an undisguised attempt to set every member of the subject-race against the Government. I remember that a Bengali paper accused Anti-Congressists of exciting popular feelings, to which the *Pioneer* retorted by saying that it was the partisans of the Congress who were answerable for the spread of sedition among the people, and every word of whose speeches and writings betrayed a criminal intention to make every native subject, from the prince to the peasant, a

sworn enemy of the British Government. Perhaps the writer in the Bengali Press never came across the pamphlet, every sentence of which breathes sedition, and which endeavours to combine all sections of the population in a regular league against the Government, with its countless ramifications spread all over the country ; for this is what the Maulvi says to Rambakhsh, that he would first establish a Central Political Association and then form minor or branch Associations in different parts of the country in order to teach the people such lessons. • What purpose, it may be asked, can be served by exciting the illiterate masses, destitute alike of a sober judgment and elementary knowledge of law, except it be to create a mutiny ?

The writer insists on a large fund being raised by public subscription to enable one agent to be quartered at every village, elementary political tracts to be printed and distributed all over the country, hired men to travel all over the land preaching sedition, and sensational accounts of the political condition of India to be printed and sent to England.

It has been foolishly assumed that the British Government will remain deaf to this trumpet-call to mutiny. I know full well that by widely circulating all this seditious stuff, they are moving heaven and earth to enlist English sympathies on their side, and to pass utterly false and highly-coloured accounts of British Oppression for true facts on the good people of England, who do not know the real state of things in this country. • But I really do not believe that the

English nation would be foolish enough to listen to the mad ravings of a knot of professional agitators, and disregard the earnest protests of the peaceful and loyal people against the introduction of the representative system in a country where it cannot and will not work.

Even if it could be assumed that reckless philanthropists of the type of Messrs. Digby and Samuel Smith would succeed in fascinating the intellect of the English public, and that Mr. Slagg would also succeed in wringing out of a reluctant House of Commons a tardy concession to the Congressional demand for representative institutions "on pain of courting a grievous calamity," as Dr. Hunter forcibly puts it, will the brave races of India quietly submit to an arrangement which they consider highly prejudicial to their interests and under which they are sure to be overwhelmed by their rivals? I do not really bring myself to believe that the British Government will decide the fate of 250 millions of human beings committed to its care by Providence, according to the selfish views of isolated individuals like Messrs. W. C. Bonerji and Dada Bhai Nourojee; for, to the sober judgment of all right-thinking men and sincere well-wishers of the people, a representative government is no less dangerous to a country like India than a fatal disease.

Further on, the writer boldly asserts that the whole native population sympathises with his party openly or secretly, and warns his co-adjutors against

divulging the secrets of their party. • How foolishly the Government is threatened with a revolution. I really cannot understand whether it is India or some other country that is painted in such gloomy colours. For aught I know, the writer of this silly pamphlet may have been a lunatic, or, if a sane man, he was a great liar. The National Congress has been almost pierced to death with sharp lances by gallant Musalmans and brave Rajputs in all parts of the country, and the stupid sedition-mongers, who foolishly imagine that the flimsy *saris* of the Bengalis will serve as iron walls to protect them from the dire consequences of their rash attempts at sedition, have been unanimously condemned as enemies alike of the Government and the country.

The writer of the pamphlet had better get his defective eye-sight restored to its normal condition by some ophthalmic surgeon, for he cannot evidently read newspapers.

Let the Government stand aside and leave the decision of the question of representative institutions to the discretion of the country, and you will see that the issue is finally settled, not by fictitious warfare on paper with pen and ink, but by actual war with the sword, the true arbiter of the fate of nations.

Further on, the writer predicts that a time will come when he and his party will win the battle and representative institutions will become an accomplished fact. This reminds one of a nursery tale about one *Shaiikh Chilli*, the Alnascher of Oriental

tales, who first bought hens which he sold and bought she-goats; these too were sold in their turn, and a cow was bought; this again was disposed of, and an elephant was purchased, the result being that all this buying and selling ended in a *fiasco*! I consider the crude notions of the *Congresswallas* mere childish freaks. I would ask them whom they mean to fight? The British Government, to be sure. Well, if the *Congresswallas* came out victorious, then what would happen? Why, an Indian Chamber of Deputies would be formed with Mr. Hume for its President, Sir T. Madho Rao, Dewan, Raghunath Rao, and Messrs. Surendranath Banerji and Budruddin Tyabji and other shining stars who move in the same orbit with them as Ministers. Then I would be sorely disappointed at not being pitchforked into the new-fledged Native Parliament. I am afraid I would be "hanged" as a traitor to my country at the bidding of the leaders of the republican party before distribution of public offices takes place in the new Republic. But I think I should rejoice at the prospect of sharing the fate of the "unlucky host," as I would see brought to book with me, the whole of the Talukdars' party, my esteemed friends Munshi Imtiaz Ali and Munshi Athar Ali; Munshi Ahmad Ali Shouk, Editor of the *Azad*; Mr. W. B. Thompson, Editor of the *Express*; Maulvi Abul Hasan, Munsarim, Office of the British Indian Association, so fiercely denounced by the Congress hero from Bombay at the meeting of the 7th July. My friend Munshi Newal Kishpre, *C.I.E.*,

and his party, should also be ready to be led to the "gallows." It would be useless to mention names when millions of Muhammadans and Hindus, who love peace and abhor the spread of sedition through the mischievous propaganda, would share the fate of their more active compatriots in the coming mutiny.

I cannot help observing that the extremely lenient attitude taken by the Government towards this mischievous agitation has much aggravated the evil. This cold indifference on the part of the Government, if maintained too long, will, in the long run, turn the little fire, which may be put down to-day by some sprinkling of water, into a fearful conflagration which it will be difficult to extinguish by the application of a mighty fire-engine. That ignorant people are taught revolutionary doctrines and promising young men are trained to treason in a reasonable atmosphere, is an evil which should not be lightly disregarded.

Sir Auckland Colvin rightly observed in his Bareilly speech that raw youths, fresh from a college or school, are apt to form too high an opinion of themselves, imagining that they are perfectly fit to do all sorts of work, and that those able and experienced men who lived in bygone times or who are still living, were all fools.

I am at a loss to know in what will all this incitement to sedition end. I cannot help laughing at those of my countrymen who are insane enough to pelt the living Lion in the foolish hope that they will kill him by the mere pelting!

Now, I must bring my review of the seditious pamphlet to a close. I know full well that my opponents will abuse me to their hearts' content, but my conscience has compelled me to speak out the truth in defiance of all calumny and abuse. I most undoubtedly regard these overt attempts at sedition as likely to destroy the peace of the country, like a thunderbolt burning down a smiling garden. On a future occasion I shall publish my views on the Congress movement.

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