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# APPEAL

[FROM A WELL-WISHING INDIAN FRIEND  
TO HIS COUNTRYMEN ]

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of THAPAL ESTATE,  
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CALCUTTA.

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## Advantages of British Rule in India.

I yield to no one in the love of my country, or in earnest and sincere good wishes for its welfare. Observing with close attention the work of our rulers in the interests of our country, I range myself with thousands of sensible men and confess in accord with them to being deeply impressed with the great good which has so far resulted from British Rule in India. We have every reason for believing that the nation which, taking us by the hand, has done so much to help us to stand on our legs and advance towards peace and progress, will continue to lead us yet further towards perfection.

But in the midst of this belief a feeling of embarrassment and deep regret comes over us at the senseless agitation and insane deeds of some of our countrymen. Indeed I ask myself often now a days "Are these the sons of our cultured and wise ancestors?" and I hardly know what to answer. Perhaps this travesty of our refined and high thinking races has been generated from a misconception—a huge misconception of true facts and right action. Rightly did our ancient teachers warn us that ignorance is the root of all evil.

If I can straighten one crooked path, if I can throw one ray of light, one correct thought in misguided minds, my life in this world will not have been in vain. I have resolved therefore to make an attempt however small and humble. I trust that those whom I wish to address will concede to me the claim that I have at least as much love as they for our dear country, as much interest as they in its welfare. I have studied their arguments and stand point: might I not ask them to hear my side, which is the side on which are ranged many thousands of

right thinking men. We may be all wrong, and the few agitators may be right; but they might at least pause for a moment and listen to the other side.

The main arguments which the minority whom we regard as agitators and misguided men entertain are these, that the British are eating up the vitals of our country; that they exploit the country to their own advantage, and they treat us with injustice. Are these allegations well founded? Let us consider the matter briefly but fairly and sanely in all its bearings.

First in regard to Religion. No one can deny the fact that the British allow us full and unrestrained liberty in the exercise of our religion. They have themselves brought our sacred books to the knowledge of the whole world; they have preserved our ancient monuments and empires; and when any other denomination has attempted to molest us in our religious exercises, they have protected us. Take one instance; previous to 1876 the Jain community was in much trouble and unable to bring out their procession: the Government, considering their case impartially as against contending denominations, took action which has certainly enabled the Jains to enjoy equal rights with all others. Is this injustice?

Secondly in regard to Education. In former times the education we received was narrow, limited, local: the whole world may be moving on in the full blaze of light with great power derived from knowledge in all sciences, but we remained on our little mats chanting our old world lessons under our *patchalas*, unfit for aught but to dream away our lives. The British, taking us in hand, brought to us all the vast and wide knowledge which was theirs, they appointed their own men of learning to teach us. Our minds have opened and widened, and risen out of the slough of fatalism; the knowledge of the whole world has become our heritage. We stand now abreast, shoulder to shoulder, with all other civilised nations in the domain of knowledge. And in return for this great benefit what do our agitators wish to do? Following stupidly action in another country where conditions are totally different, and not thinking of the difference, they wish to assassinate their true bene-

factors or turn them out of India. Can greater ingratitude be found on the face of the globe? Ingratitude, the basest of actions, is disowned even by animals, for an animal licks the hand that treats it kindly. Ingratitude brings down retribution from Heaven; and there is a law far more rigid and severe than the law of the British: it is the law of *Karma*, which our ancient wise teachers have taught us. Tremble to forget it my friends, tremble for your own future sakes and for your families and children.

Martyrs indeed! Ingrates is the correct term; and are you so insane as not to see the difference between the two words in this hitherto Heaven favoured country? See that the law of *Karma* (retribution) does not overtake you to the third and fourth generation.

Next in regard to Courts of Justice. We have learnt and we enjoy legal procedure and rules of justice unknown in former times. The figure head in our courts is the British officer; and so much is his rectitude appreciated that when a case is in his hands the person concerned feels that he will have justice. Indeed instances are pretty common in which an Indian concerned in a case in the hands of an Indian officer has asked the transfer of his case to a European judge. To cite one, out of hundreds of instances of the impartiality of the British, I have only to mention the recent Rawalpindi riot case. The judge trying it was a European; he had by law the power to condemn the accused, and he knew well the trouble which some natives were giving to Europeans: yet deciding impartially he acquitted the accused. Is this injustice? Are not agitators growing ashamed of themselves?

Take cases from among our traders, merchants, artisans, labourers. Be the man who he may, rich or poor, great or small, if anybody from the lowest to the highest in the land owes him money, or deals badly with him, he can take his plaint before a court of justice; and he knows that he will be heard impartially and justice will be done to him. Is this unfair treatment?

Take cases from among occupiers of land. Can any one say that an occupier who pays his rent and

lives in peace is ever disturbed in his possession or ousted from his holding by the Government? His own countrymen may trump up complaints against him, his own countrymen may do him injury; but in the vast areas of this great country, among its hundreds of millions of souls loving truth, not one can say that the Government has dispossessed any one from his land unjustly or unfairly. On the contrary the Government has for years devised means to give facilities to small and big landholders to improve their holdings as against the exactions of their own Indian money lenders. Is this injustice? or is there another name for it? Surely the agitators and their deluded followers have gone stark staring mad! If they are in this condition let them be placed in lunatic asylums, and kept there until they recover their correct senses.

Again, in former times money and valuables were carried concealed, and even then the possessors were often waylaid and robbed. Now any one may carry a lakh in his hands, and no one dare molest him. Is this unrest caused by the Government?

Formerly for fear of exactions and undue imposts owners of wealth hid their possessions and appeared as if poorer than they really were. Now every one who makes money may make an ostentatious display on his own person or in his dwelling, and no one dare ask him for more than the tax levied by law duly enacted with the consent of the legislature. Is this unrest?

Then about the services. It is an unquestionable fact that the British Government, with praiseworthy endeavour to treat all with equal favour, has thrown open almost every Department of service, great and small, to Indians competent to fill them. And we accordingly see Indians in large numbers every where in the service of Government, from clerks, tahsildars, and deputy collectors, to district officers, judges, commissioners of divisions, engineers, medical officers, and all the rest of them. Is this exploiting the country unfairly? All right thinking men blush at the shameless ingratitude of our agitators.

I am not in the service of the Government, I am able to observe and judge for myself; and I would ask our misguided agitators what would happen to the tens of thousands of our countrymen who derive honourable and lucrative incomes from service under Government, and are granted graceful recognition for good service, if the Government, taking the hint, were really to exploit the country in their own interests. I know what would happen: the tens of thousands would be turned out gradually, and replaced by Europeans. But the truth is that the Government are employing more and more Indians in the public services as Indians prove themselves fit: and this is a fact which does not admit of doubt for it can be verified from establishment lists of the present year and those of say fifty years ago. Our agitators either know this, or they do not. If they do not know it, they should inform themselves of the true facts before speaking. If they do know it, they commit a malicious falsehood as base as the ingratitude above mentioned.

Leaving no means untried for villifying the Government, our insanes complain that the Government is two-faced: sometimes favouring the Hindus, at other times the Mahomedans. Now assuming for a moment, for the sake of argument, that this plea is well founded, such action if pursued by the Government would, under the circumstances, only be in accord with our own religious books. Have the agitators read Raj-nithi and Mannu? According to our belief the king is bound to follow the lines of action laid down in Raj-nithi, and they are as follows:—

1. he should strive to gain benefit from the help of friends,

2. he should make himself acquainted with all the secrets of the enemies calmly, quietly, by means of detectives,

3. if necessary, and not injurious to the just, he can cause two contending factions to fight against one another,

4. if necessary and expedient he may cause a compromise between the two.

The chief object and desire of the British is to maintain peace in our country and to lead the country to progress, but when they find obstructors and malicious agitators they would be justified in acting in accordance with Raj-nithi. If the agitators say that this is dishonest, I will reply that they are going against their own religious books, and turning untrue to their own ancient teachings. But the plea that the British favour one section in preference to another is as untrue as all the other falsehoods specified above.

Now I wish to say something about bravery. We are Indians, and there is a story to the effect that in olden times when Indians wished to kill an obnoxious lion or tiger, they did not hide and shoot it, but they met the beast face to face. Now-a-days when Indians wish to kill somebody they wait till he is asleep, and then they kill him. Shades of our ancestors, is this bravery? It is rank, stinking cowardice. My friends, if you desire to fight and are brave, challenge your adversary face to face; but do not commit cowardly outrages which will disgrace your name for ever.

Assuming once more for the sake of argument an absurd proposition, namely that when the matter grows serious the Europeans, now forbearing, will not take the aggressive and knock terror and destruction into us. From this assuming another absurd proposition that our friends the anarchists may succeed in demolishing British rule in India by means of bombs—what would happen? There would then be left a section of our own countrymen who are the “Moderates” These would certainly oppose the anarchists. Then the latter would continue in trouble. Where would then be the advantage? I hope our friends the anarchists will see this, and understand the futility of their endeavour, if not the stupidity.

A complaint is sometimes heard that Europeans treat Indians harshly in this country. I will not notice the conduct of subordinates, but I wish to say something about the higher officials and the respectable non-official Europeans. As regards the last, if there is cause for



complaint none has ever come within my observation, and cases must be very rare. Generally speaking the gentlemanly manners and truthfulness of respectable Europeans are so universal in this country, that I affirm without hesitation that it is a perversion of the true facts to say that they are impolite, inconsiderate or harsh. As regards the higher officials, I am bound to say that they are at all times the ideal of good manners and refinement. If sometimes the manner of some officers towards Indians is cold, reserved, stand-offish, they have reason to be so, and this fact is pretty widely admitted by right thinking Indians. Speaking with an experience of over twenty years I can say that the natural habit of Indians is to go and see officers with some *mutlab* in their mind. For example to ask a favour scarcely deserved, or make insinuations against some person, or influence the officer unfavourably against somebody. Take one instance out of many: in a certain town a man of substance bore a grudge against a party of native musicians, because the latter did not accept the terms offered. He called on the district officer ostensibly for some other purpose, and in the course of the interview he mentioned, as if casually, that a party of musicians living in the bazar were a nuisance in the neighbourhood because of the noise they made, and the obscene songs they sang. Now supposing the district officer believed the man of substance, he might have issued orders which, as matters turned out, would have been unjust, and probably have caused an outcry against the officer. But he made inquiries and found that the complaint was false and untrue, and he discovered the motive of the falsehood. Is it a surprise that European officers avoid being on familiar terms with Indians?

I have said above that I am not in the service of the Government; but my trust in the uprightness and good will of the British is so great that I volunteered and have the honour to be a member of the Dehra Doon Mounted Rifles, in which excellent corps I am quartermaster sergeant. I hope that no anarchist will throw a bomb on me. I live in a hilly country in a forest created by my own hands which I hope to work on the model of

the Government Forests. If any agitator comes along into my Estate my tenants and I will give him no quarter. But we should feel grateful if these paragraphs cure him from his insanity, and help him to see the light of truth and breathe the free and peaceful air of Heaven in this favoured country which is managed so well for us by the British with our co-operation in municipalities, local boards, legislative councils, executive service, and the several Departments of the Government.

I have more to say which must be reserved for subsequent parts of this pamphlet.

## 2. Probable results of the present agitation.

The conclusion naturally arising from the preceding paper is that agitators are insane, and their followers foolish and unable to think rightly. In the present paper I will try to bring this conclusion to its proper limitations, and to point to the probable results.

The agitators are not quite insane, but having received from a benevolent Government an education according to western methods, they became dazzled by possibilities undreamt of previously. Mostly of the lower middle classes, without a name and without money, anxious to make both, unable to think out how to acquire either, they fell into the grand project of becoming patriots for the good of the country. Had they at this stage sat soberly and devoted themselves for some years to the study of the difficult subjects of administration in this country, to the abstruse questions of political economy, to the many facts and figures forming the basis of administrative action, and to the true policy and the real aims and objects guiding the Government, they might at least have understood something of the Government in India, and then they might have seen good reason for supporting the Government. But the preparatory studies were too tedious, and the support of Government was mamuli work common to most people. It was more heroic to oppose the Government.

When a person learns something, he begins to see how little he knows. But our would-be heroes knowing nothing, imagined they knew everything and could criticise the Government, and do better if they themselves were the rulers. So they began to write and to speak. Their vapourings were such rank nonsense,

based obviously on very imperfect data if not on their imagination, that scarcely anybody noticed them, much less took the trouble of refuting them. This silence caused them to think there was force and truth in their criticisms; and they derived encouragement. They read pestiferous literature about one or two misgoverned foreign countries whose internal conditions and administration were quite different from and quite inapplicable to those in India. Unable to see the differences, fired up with mistaken zeal, they concluded they were competent to regenerate the country; they began to believe in themselves and in their criticisms: and thenceforth they addressed openly whomsoever would hear them.

The spirit which presides over our beloved Mataram must have wept at the evil; but our would-be heroes were achieving a certain notoriety, and that was one part of their project. And now they began to embark on the second part, which was to make money from subscriptions that would be collected, and to make bombs wherewith to drive the British out of the country.

It has been said by a clever writer that humanity can roughly be divided into two sections—the deceivers and the dupes. Those referred to above, having begun by deceiving themselves and gone on to deceive others, are of the first category. These dupes are mostly young men, with brains weakened from efforts to pass college examinations, with eyes that need spectacles owing to weak sight. It is these unfortunate failures in the first struggles of life who, having failed to obtain Government service, listen to vituperations against the Government. It is these who go out collecting subscriptions to carry on the agitation against the Government, and fill the pockets of the agitators. It is these who have been taught to believe that it is possible to drive the British Government out of the country by means of bombs—unfortunate dupes made tools of by the agitators, already the sufferers.

Their prospect in life, such as it might have been with honest labour and half the money wasted, is being ruined: and I grieve for their families. Probably the agitators also will see their own great mistake, and

realize that they have gone the wrong way, when it will be too late by reason of age and broken hopes; and they will leave their families to mourn the mistake.

Such will doubtless be the result of their foolish action, all arising out of a want of knowledge; and I am again impressed with the farseeing wisdom of our ancient teachers who said that ignorance is the root of all evil.

Might I here, in all sincerity of heart, offer an advice to both agitators and dupes, for they are both my countrymen. If you, my dear friends, are really and unselfishly anxious to devote yourselves to the good of your country go step by step on the following course. Learn from your sacred books—those infallible guides to proper action—that you can gain profit from education and study, learn that true education generates humility, that humility begets wisdom, and wisdom gives riches. When you are rich you can be generous and philanthropic. By that time you will have acquired a knowledge of the many abstruse and difficult questions which make up the science of good Government.\* At present you know and understand little or nothing, you mislead yourselves and others still more ignorant; and you will bring destruction on your own heads, and much harm on your own country.

Some days ago I read in a newspaper that a prisoner in an agitation case, said that in his religious book there is a *bomb mahadeo*, meaning probably that mahadeo enjoins the making of bombs and the killing of people therewith. I think he has read his religious book incorrectly, because he read *bomb mahadeo* instead of *tung-ganesh*, which means that if you assassinate people you will get hanged!

To cite another thoughtless proceeding. We Indians have long wished to be enrolled as volunteers, and the proposal came up once more before the last Congress Meeting. But we always forget the axiom that when a person wanted a favour, he should first learn to deserve it. Do you deserve the favour? The rules of war, which volunteers must know and strictly observe, are the following:—

If a white flag is shown at sunset, there will be no fighting at night, even if the contending parties are face to face.

If a prisoner of war be taken he is to be treated honourably.

If non-fighting persons, and women and children are met with they are not to be molested.

Compare these rules with the conduct of our agitators and their dupes, and see if they deserve enrolment among volunteers. They disgrace the name of humanity by throwing bombs on non-fighting men and women, and try to kill persons sleeping in peace, and they expect to be admitted in the honourable corps of volunteers! This one proceeding, if nothing more, shows how utterly unable our agitators are to think rightly. I am inclined to the belief that they are after all really insane, if not hopelessly stupid.

Now take the opposite side, namely the kindness of Europeans towards Indians in trouble. I can cite several cases that came within my own observation, and there are thousands of our countrymen who can each relate as many more. But I will give one instance. Not long ago I reached Gurgaon railway station at night, and there were a few hackney carriages, all engaged by passengers. There was also there a European Sessions Judge coming from Delhi to try sessions cases at Gurgaon, and his name was Mr. Kilford, which the natives pronounced as Kalifut saheb. Suddenly one hackney carriage broke down on the way and an Indian passenger became lame. He asked all the other passengers to allow him a seat in their carriages, but none of them took him on the plea that there was no room. The Sessions Judge coming on, and seeing the predicament of the Indian took him into his own carriage. People reading this might think I am the *khoshamdi* of the European gentleman, but I am nothing of the kind, and the above named gentleman has retired from service.

If I had the power I would teach agitators a lesson in this way: I would allow them to rule say over one whole district with their own council, only making this

condition that if any disturbance, religious or caste dispute, chicanery, injustice, corruption, or neglect of duty arose, I would hold the would-be rulers severely responsible. But the trouble is that for the sake of giving a chance to a few who know little or nothing of the science of Government practically, I would be risking the peace and welfare of perhaps one million who are well satisfied to remain under British administration; and this would not be fair or just to the million. So that is really how the matter stands.

I might take an alternative course; I might tell agitators and their dupes that if they wish to die for motherland they have the choice indicated in their sacred books, namely go straight to Kashi (Benares) and take the *kashi-karaot*, which is the sacred saw Two men can easily be engaged to saw the victim in halves as was done in ancient times. That would be self-immolation without injury to anybody else, and would secure full blessing to the victim. But here also, a difficulty presents itself, because the British Government is so benevolent that it will remove the misguided self-immolator from the hands of the sawyers, and put him in jail for trying to kill himself.

But enough of all this tom-foolery and madness about dying for motherland. If anybody with half a grain of common sense will think rightly only for one moment, he will see how futile and foolish—how utterly foolish—it is to hope that the British Government will be deterred by bombs or *kashi-karaot* from pursuing its own lines of action which it knows, being well versed in the science of Government, to be for the welfare and progress of the country and the people. If that is so—and you cannot possibly deny it if you are really in your sober senses—then, my friends, why this tomfoolery, why not follow the advice given above, and settle down to honest labour for the good of yourselves and your families, enjoying the peace and security which, under God's mercy, reign throughout this great country.

### 3. Conditions necessary for self-government and the duties attaching thereto.

It is an unquestionable fact that there are in the present generation a good number of intelligent and well-educated Indian gentlemen able to administer their own interests. and the wish naturally arises to have self-government. The British, who under Providence, have been the agency for bringing us up to this standard, have not been slow to recognize the natural aspiration; and they have already given us our municipalities. our local and district boards, and our representative seats in the legislative councils of Lieut.-Governors, Governors, and the Viceroy.

Compare all this with what we had say three generations ago, and you will realize how great has been our advance. Has all this been wrung out by force? The person who believes so must indeed be a simpleton. The plain fact is that it has all been granted to us in pursuance of the settled policy of the Government—a policy laid down by themselves out of their own practical wisdom and foresight, and followed with a disinterestedness and benevolence which should claim the admiration of all as it does of thousands of our well informed countrymen.

But having reached so far by the grace of God and the power, ability and foresight of our Rulers, some of our countrymen wish at one grasp to hold all the rest: and the ludicrous dream is that they could govern this vast country better than the able nation which has guided us hitherto—the nation which, from a mass of confusion and corruption, has, by its own power, wisdom and practical sense brought us to the standard we now enjoy.



The wish of our agitators to rule our country reminds me of the following story :

There once were some fishes which a man placed carefully in a handsome aquarium, providing them with food and sunshine such as suited them, and guarding them against poachers. Came a bird with beautiful plumage which told the fishes that besides sunshine and food, they could also enjoy greater liberty if they would leave the confined area in which they were. The fishes, not knowing better, believed it, and leaping out of their own element fell on to the grassy lawn. The next moment they were gasping for breath, and the bird seeing its opportunity ate up two or three. A cat prowling about fed on the rest.

The fishes are the dupes I mentioned in a preceding part, the bird is the misleading agitator and the cat is any foreign power which would not be slow in eating up the dupes. •

Take a lesson from another story. A young man having spent his few young years in close study at school comes out into the open country, and feeling hungry wishes to make his own bread. He has *atta*, water, and fuel, but does not yet know how to knead the *atta*, nor how to bake the bread ; but because he has studied algebra, and gained a degree in philosophy, he imagines that the making of bread is quite an easy thing. He begins, and finds when too late that he has spoilt his material and has nothing to eat.

A third example may not be superfluous. A man of substance has a son under age who asks to be given the management of the estate to which he is heir. He makes this request because he has read something about political and domestic economy, and feels sure he will be able to manage the estate to greater advantage than his father is doing. The father, however, knows better, but wishing to teach his son a lesson gives him a part of the estate to manage. The son has absorbed utopian ideas and lacks experience ; sharpeners see their opportunity, and the result is that the son soon finds himself in difficulties with debts and a mortgage. He thinks he might do better if he had another chance, and

going to his father again he asks for another trial. "My son," says his wise father, "I entrusted a portion to you so that you might realize that something more is necessary besides book learning: It is practical training and experience, and these you will now learn under me."

I feel tempted to give yet another example very briefly. On-lookers who see an athlete handling a large iron ball in one hand, throwing it up into the air, and receiving it on the muscles of his arm, think it is an easy affair; but when the ball is placed in their hands, they find that they can scarcely lift it.

These four stories teach us a lesson from four stand points bearing on the same subject. We have not muscles enough to take up the herculian task of governing this vast country, though it seems so easy when we see others doing it; we have not practical knowledge and experience enough and must learn yet; and were we suddenly to jump out of our element and land on the field of politics and self-government, we would find ourselves in difficulties we never dreamt of. I join, therefore, in the opinion of many thousands of my more level headed countrymen, and I say with strong conviction that if tomorrow, or next year, the British Government were to leave us to ourselves, the country would soon pass out of our hands into the possession of any nation stronger and more fit than ourselves. The pity is that agitators and their dupes are so foolish as not to see a truth so self-evident.

Yet the wish to have self government is a legitimate wish which the Government have created by the education they have been pleased to give us; and it is a wish which all wisely thinking men believe will certainly be realized when the Government, which are working steadily and carefully towards that end, become convinced that we Indians are fit and competent to have it.

Bombs will not induce the Government to think that we are competent: that is really too ridiculous. Threats will not cause them to deviate from the right path they are pursuing: that would be weak-minded and childish; and these frailties are as far from

the British Government as the north pole is from the south pole. Then what are the agitators dreaming about? The methods which, in their utter stupidity, they have thought of, can only cause the Government to conclude that we are very far yet from the qualities of discrimination and reason so necessary for self-government. And by exhibiting our want of these qualities, we add these deficiencies to our lack of practical experience, which everybody knows. The result can only be a retardation of the realization of our hope.

I do not wish to add yet further to the list of our shortcomings, but the thoughtless proceedings of our agitators require that I point out to them at least one or two other difficulties they would encounter if they were burdened with self-government.

Firstly from differences in religious persuasions. In European and American countries which have self-government there is the one religion, the christian religion. In Japan material prosperity is the guiding principle into which religion does not enter. In India, on the other hand, the population of three hundred millions is divided into many religions and castes, the members of which cannot eat together, nor intermarry. Such being the case, how can they have that communion of spirit without which cross purposes and dissensions are sure to arise? Any working plan therefore of self-government should presuppose a union of spirit and common social interests. Is the man born who can undertake to make all the various castes and creeds unify into one homogenous whole? If not, then for the sake of our own peaceful homes let us not think of self-government, of which we have no practical experience at all, for dissensions would soon cause a split among ourselves: a struggle would soon arise for mastery, and our beloved country would be torn with anarchy and confusion.

A second class of difficulties would arise from the innate habit of chicanery, and deceit among us—the unmistakable signs of weakness. The true key to possible consequences can be had from an insight into the Civil and Criminal Courts, as the proceedings there

reveal the innate qualities of us Indians. A writer in the *Englishman* newspaper of 16th September 1898 reviewed the situation in the following remarkable article:

" Feuds, which in general may be viewed as manifestations of the ferocity of untamed nature, are found to differ in character according to racial or tribal temperaments. Among the warlike in and about this country they are made manifest in bloodshed and slaughter. Among believers in the unseen they operate by means of witchcraft and sorcery. Among our more enlightened brethren, who commit no slaughter, nor sorcery, feuds are worked through the agency of law courts provided by the Government for other purposes, but often used by our brethren for the mutual ruin of families, as the battlefield for the satisfaction of personal animosities. It is indeed a fact widely acknowledged that Indians, rich and poor, often ruin themselves by litigation, not infrequently against members of their own families. What the extent of this evil really is even the best informed have probably a vague conception, except that it is common. Reduced to facts and figures it will be found to be of proportions almost incredible. In an official publication known as the "Judicial and Administrative Statistics for British India" it has been recorded that during five years ending 1896 the number of cases decided in the courts of this country amounted to twenty-one and a third millions. Of this number over thirteen and a half million cases were civil, while less than six millions were criminal, and a little over one and a half million were revenue. What the cost of all these proceedings was to the people involved therein may be conceived from the fact that during the same period the courts credited in their accounts receipts amounting to nearly seventeen and a half crores of rupees. And the people of British India continue this enormous drain on their resources at the rate of about three crores annually. When we bear in mind that these large sums represent merely the courts' receipts, to which far larger sums paid to mukhtars, lawyers, pleaders, and barristers, should be added, it would be no exaggeration to qualify the tendency of the people to litigation as a calamity suicidal to the prosperity of the country "

Now imagine for one moment what would happen if the restraining hand and moral influence of the British Government being removed, all the innate litigious tendencies of Indians were set loose. From court proceedings they would go to another sort of proceedings in which *lathials* would figure prominently; and to the drain of money mentioned by the above writer, would be added the drain from *mar-peat*. Then the undercurrents of animosity and revenge would permeate into the halls wherein members of self-government had their seats: and good bye to the peace, security and progress of our country.

I will not specify other difficulties that may arise from self-government in our as yet unprepared country. It has been painful enough for me to set forth so much that necessarily goes against my countrymen. But the occasion demanded the confession, and I offer the pain which it causes me and must cause to many thousands of my good countrymen as a holocaust to God Almighty to save our country from agitators.

#### 4.—Directions in which improvements seem necessary.

I have laid stress briefly on the advance which our country and we have made under British Government, and on the foolish designs of agitators to have the whole at one grasp. I have admitted that the wish for further progress and for self-government is a legitimate wish, arising out of the education given so far to us by the British. But I have also said, and I maintain with an unshaken conviction, that for self-government we have not the qualifications and fitness necessary, and it is foolish to imagine that we have.

We have the abilities and intelligence requisite for further progress which would ultimately render us qualified for self-government: and I propose in the present paper to make an endeavour to understand in what other ways we may progress. These seem naturally to fall under the following heads.

moral and physical  
social and ethical  
industrial and commercial.

Progress is a relative term, and receives its signification from a comparison of two standards. For our present purpose, I will take the two I see among the British and among ourselves.

Now what do we find under the first of the three above heads? Among the British we find punctilious regard for punctuality, rectitude, truth, and thoroughness,—with the result that in matters of business, if they make an appointment for a meeting, a promise for the fulfilment of an undertaking, or an effort with some work in hand, we feel confident that so far as human

capacity is able the achievement is ensured. This is not because they have learnt more books than we have, it is because their sense of moral obligation is greater and deeper than ours, because their standard of thought is higher. I wish it were possible for me to make my countrymen see themselves as others see them in their daily ways and actions. But failing this, let us compare the above with what is usual with us in the great mass of cases when there is no European influence behind to control.

How often among ourselves are we punctual at a meeting or in fulfilment of a promise? How often can implicit trust be placed in our promises? How often do we trouble to do a thing thoroughly when superficial veneer would pass? How often are our motives not from self-interest, or malice, or jealousy? How often is truth not perverted, and justice not trampled under foot in satisfaction of personal animosity? Yet these factors, unimportant as they may seem in every day dealings, form a sum total which is of much consequence; and when the issues concern millions of souls we can imagine how very important they are if we wish to maintain as high an order of efficiency as is common with the British. Our one object therefore should be to cultivate these moral qualities: they must be generated in us by our mental force as an ideal to be realized, as a vital standard to be achieved; and our thoughts, words and deeds must be ruled thereby, and then only we might reach an equality with the British and be qualified for self-government. Until then it is comical to imagine that we are as good as they, and it is insanity to think we could do better.

The importance of physical training has seized us, as we see in our school and college grounds, in our football and cricket clubs, and in all the rest of the endeavours to train our rising generations; and there is reason to be hopeful of the results in future generations. But surely our custom of early marriage is a great hindrance to physical development. It is a subject on which much has been written, and I need not go over the many-sided evils arising from the custom.

Regarding the second of the three above mentioned heads, the complaint (started by some superficial one-side person and taken up by thoughtless parrots) is that Europeans do not treat us in a friendly way as equals. What I have said already on this point in a previous section touches this question; and I need only remind my countrymen of one or two facts in which all other reasons for the aloofness of Europeans are involved. We do not introduce our ladies to their men in social circles. how can we in all fairness expect them to introduce us to their ladies? It is their ladies who would object to the one-sided arrangement; and unless we do towards Europeans as we wish them to do towards us, it is presumptuous on our part to expect any other treatment. But how many of our ladies are educated enough in English speech, manners, and etiquette to be led into the full blaze of western social circles, even if tomorrow we were suddenly to tear down our grotesque custom of female seclusion? Let us admit the truth that we wish for things, and have not the faculty to see that we are not yet qualified for them. Leaving Indian ladies aside, it is a known fact that in occasional instances when Indian gentlemen are invited and admitted freely into European social gatherings, a score of little faults have to be tolerated. It is not uncommon in such instances to see soup taken by Indian gentlemen in a way which causes consternation among the ladies present, or to hear attempts at conversation which for tone and subject are disconcerting. Moreover conceive an Indian gentleman going through an iolanthe or a waltz, when the European lady with whom he wishes to dance knows well the idea Indians have of the propriety of men dancing with women. The acquiescing of Europeans to the arrangement is unthinkable, so long as Indian ladies also do not join at balls and evening parties. The fault is on our side; but with all our prattle we have so little right thinking that we cannot see where the truth lies.

I come now to the third of the three heads: industrial and commercial progress. The subject is a large one and would need a volume to treat it even



briefly ; but we can consider in broad outlines the main occupations of the people, namely agriculture, industries, and trade.

In regard to Agriculture, it has become the fashion to declaim that the soil, acre per acre, produces less than it did formerly, that the people are poorer by reason of the rise in the cost of living, and that the fault lies with the Government. But do these declamations represent the whole truth ? I think they are designedly incomplete so as to mislead. The facts are these : formerly the population being less dense and trade less extensive, less land for cultivation and for pasturage was needed, and the better kinds were taken ; fuel was more abundant, labour, cattle and food were cheaper, and agricultural and industrial products remained hoarded up in the country for want of proper road communications and means of transit, and the fear of highway robbers on long distance travel. In these conditions, when the season was favourable and the harvest yield plentiful, grain rotted on the threshing floors and store houses for want of market demands ; and when rains were scanty and crops failed entirely there was desolation, ruin and depopulation such as would appal the present generation, and such as did actually happen in the five great droughts and famines in the 30 years from 1769 to 1799, in the seven great famines from 1800 to 1830, in the seven again from 1831 to 1861, (see report of the Famine Commission of 1879).

In the present day, thanks to improved and more extended road and rail communications, and better administrative organization, when harvests are plentiful the producers get immediate and more profitable sale by reason of the rise in price ; and when crops fail rapid rail communications bring food from other parts of India. In so far therefore as the difference lies between the past and the present, the improvement is undoubtedly in the present, and the credit is entirely due to the Government.

But observe how our countrymen have acted. Owing to the great increase of population, due to continued peace and security in this vast country, owing also

to great development of trade due to the increased facilities for rapid transit, there has naturally been greater activity and greater demands on the productive powers of the land. Did our countrymen wake up to the occasion, march with the progress of the times, and take up the 150 millions acres of virgin culturable waste lands awaiting enterprise, and which the Government has not ceased to offer under favourable waste land rules? They did nothing of the kind. Europeans were taking every year thousands of Indian labourers from the densely populated tracts under indenture for tea cultivation in Assam, for sugar and rice in Mauritius, Trinidad, and other far distant colonies as they do still; but our countrymen, sunk in stupid laziness, have done little or nothing to open the 150 millions acres of culturable waste in their own Mataram for the production of the increased food supplies required; and they find fault with the Government because the cost of living has risen!

The cultivators, ignorant to a degree, knew of no other means of meeting increased demands but by taking from their soil crop after crop without intermission, or extending cultivation by taking the poorer lands near their homes until then neglected. It is these two proceedings, namely excessive cropping and the cultivation of the poorer lands, which are really the causes of the lesser yield about which we hear so much, and for which the Government is blamed by people who either do not know what they are talking about, or wilfully misrepresent the facts.

The cost of living has risen because that is the inevitable result of the spread of civilisation and the increase in population and trade. Do our agitators wish the country to revert to the old days? If so, will they remove the excess population and prevent further increase, will they tear up railway lines, and prohibit articles of luxury such as shoes and cloth umbrellas, cigarettes and improved apparel, and all the hundred and one things, which they would themselves miss the next moment? The more sensible plan, my dear friends, would be to take all the advantages you have: there

are, I repeat, 150 million acres of culturable lands awaiting enterprise in our country, you know your own Indian cultivators, you speak their own language, and have the experience of Europeans to profit by. You have received an education similar to theirs, you are quite as intelligent; what else do you need?

• The Government, impressed with the necessity of helping the cultivators, since their own countrymen do not do it, have ever since 1869 framed a policy; and from that time to this they have never ceased in their endeavours to help cultivators to learn the use of selected manures, improved tillage, the selection of seed, the rotation of crops and fallow, the use of ensilage, the use of improved implements, the rearing and care of cattle. The Government have introduced takavi advances, opened, or helped to open, co-operative credit societies in many parts to save cultivators from the grasp of our money lenders. You, my friends, could not do better than study with honest purpose and open minds all the benevolent endeavours of the Government; and perhaps then, instead of talking nonsense which shocks your more enlightened countrymen, you would feel yourselves justified in co-operating with the Government for the good of our country.

I come now to Industries and industrial enterprise, and cannot do better than quote the following brief review of the situation from a letter in the *Englishman* newspaper of the 15th June, 1907:

"In the distant past, when most of the modern leading nations had scarcely yet emerged from barbarism, there were workers in industrial arts in cultured India, who made textile fabrics and art ware which are considered as marvels of artistic conception and beautiful execution. But while foreign nations, awakening to progress, soon realised that union was strength, and therefore formed associations, syndicates, joint-stock companies which carried their interests far and wide, the Indian artisans in their respective homesteads plied their craft without community of interests, without cohesion for the common welfare.

"The consequence was they were unable to hold their own, or withstand foreign competition which spread through the land overwhelming the isolated handicraftsmen. These, unable to see the knowledge necessary in the emergency, never conceived the idea that their best means of resisting competition was to do as the foreign nations, and unite in joint-stock companies under modern principles. Remaining isolated, each in his homestead, they took to copying foreign designs, hoping by this means to pass muster with the products of European machinery and skill. The British observed the transition : thenceforward the voices of their competent authorities were raised with no erring sound ; and it was decided to take full advantage of the Paris International Exhibition of 1878 to draw the attention of all nations of the earth to the beautiful products of true Indian art and industries."

The earnestness and benevolence of the Government from that time to this in the interests of Indian industries have never diminished. I need not enter into a detail of all the measures and the many endeavours to teach Indians their own good interests and the way to proceed ; but I would invite our countrymen to study the proceedings of the Government, and then, as in respect of agricultural matters so in respect of this, they will, I have no doubt, see that wisdom lies in supporting the Government.

### Addendum.

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I will not repeat here the burden of our complaint against the handful of misleading agitators and their unfortunate dupes. But I wish to say a few words of protest against the two or three Europeans, like Sir Henry Cotton and Mr. Keir Hardie in England, who have thought it proper to sympathise with the agitators on the plea that they wish to serve our country. As it has, I hope, become abundantly evident that the agitators are in no way representative of our interests, and that their vapourings are repudiated with scorn and indignation by the large body of my countrymen, I trust that the two or three Europeans will desist from taking any part in the malicious designs. My countrymen do not need their services, and are quite able to look after their own concerns. Indeed, I voice the opinion of millions of my fellow subjects, when I say that we consider it an impertinence on the part of such self-constituted champions in meddling with the affairs of our country. We hope, now that the matter has been put straight before them, that they will desist, and if they do not, we will feel ourselves compelled to submit a formal collective protest to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India and through him to Parliament.

The summing up of the subject matter and the lines of action which in detail seem to suggest themselves must be reserved for another occasion.

THE EDITOR.

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