

THE
TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA AND ENGLAND:
FROM A NATIVE'S POINT OF VIEW

BY

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LUCKNOW

PRINTED BY R. CRAVEN, AT THE LONDON PRINTING PRESS,

AND PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR.

1886.

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TO

M. A. McCONAGHEY, ESQ., C. S.,

Commissioner, Lucknow Division,

WHOSE MANY AMIABLE QUALITIES,

MORE ESPECIALLY, WHOSE URBANITY, AND HIGH-MINDEDNESS IN KEEPING
UNRESERVED INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES, AND WHOSE
ALMOST PATERNAL SYMPATHIES WITH THEM,

HAVE ENDEARED HIM TO THE

NATIVES OF OUDH,

THIS

Work

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

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P R E F A C E .

The sudden occupation of Panjdeh and the adjacent territory by the Russians last spring awoke the Indian people for the first time to a sense of the approach of a great and powerful neighbour. They had learnt a good deal about this neighbour from vague reports and accounts—often coloured and distorted ; but never anything from an authentic source. Those who witnessed the stirring events of last year, may remember how intense and universal was the interest excited throughout India on the subject of the Russian advance. A general curiosity was aroused in every quarter to learn anything and everything connected with the Russians, their Government, and their military prowess. I took the hint, and set about collecting facts and figures bearing on the subject. By the end of May last, I had written a book in Urdu—a language which I considered to be the best medium for conveying to the masses those facts and impressions respecting the Russians which I found embalmed in the works of the various authors consulted. These I have chosen from all parts of the civilized world, including Russia itself. The views of English writers alone, I thought, would not go down with the masses so easily. The whole subject has been treated *pro* and *con* ; and, moreover, in the form of a contrast between the Russian system of rule and the British : to which has been appended a brief enumeration of the views of my countrymen, of every shade of opinion, regarding public questions, as well as their prominent grievances, with an impartial criticism of these.

The book, as originally compiled, was intended for the masses ; but when my manuscripts were completed and ready for publication, I was pressed by certain friends of mine to bring out an English version of the book as well, besides

the Urdu—both to be published simultaneously ; and I began translating the book accordingly into English ; and in this work of translation my much-esteemed friend, Babu Nerod Chandra Ghoshal, kindly rendered me much valuable assistance. The arrangement of the book, however, (being for the most part a translation) is not, I am sorry to say, all that one could have desired. But such as it is, it is respectfully presented to the public. I greatly regret that, in bringing out the English edition, much unavoidable delay has occurred, the Urdu edition having been already published. Doubtless, had the book appeared a few months earlier, it would have, to a certain extent, I am disposed to think, met a public want.

My best thanks are due to Babu Nerod Chandra Ghoshal, and to the various eminent authors consulted, for the invaluable aid received from them in the preparation of this book.

MUHAMMAD MAHFUZ ALI.

LUCKNOW :
1st February 1886. }

INTRODUCTION.

What is Russia and what is the sort of treatment we might expect to receive at her hands, are the two momentous questions, besides a number of minor ones, of a kindred nature, which are, at the present moment, severely exercising the minds of all classes of the Indian people. Whenever our countrymen of the old school (with their antiquated notions and old style of thinking) happen to meet and discuss political subjects, it is really a treat to listen to their dogmatic opinions on some of the most difficult and subtle points of international law, political economy, and general administration. Indeed, the original views of these unassuming, simple-minded people, given out with an air of serene and unconscious self-sufficiency, unalloyed by any affectation, sometimes compare in interest to the fairy tales narrated in the Arabian Nights or Don Quixote.

The retreat of the English before the Russians is assumed by these men as an inevitable eventuality; and in serene unconcern they look upon this—without caring to make any comments—as an inevitable consequence of the Divine Will; or pass it over with the fashionable explanation that inflexible Destiny has so willed it. It is the subsidiary points of a more complicated nature, the gordian knots, so to speak, of the whole question, that engage their attention, and evoke from them really characteristic solutions. A Hindu gentleman, for instance, with a leaning towards the occult and inscrutable, would swear on the authority of a learned astrologer, that four years hence, Central Asia would be convulsed by a gigantic war between the old antagonists, England and Russia. Another, a faithful follower of Islam, can perceive nothing but a great Mahomedan revival and ultimate glory of the Faith, as the unavoidable issues of the approaching war. Whilst a third gentleman, who is supposed to have drawn his inspiration from such vague oracle as the “Sahib’s Khânsâma,” asseverates that negotiations are proceeding between the two Powers with a view to partitioning the Indian Empire “in the proportion of six to ten annas in the rupee.” A fourth, a country gentleman perhaps, in the enjoyment of ‘broad acres,’ and evidently having a stake in the country, is not satisfied with any of these gratuitous solutions, and avows his conviction that a Russian garrison of 300,000 men will be

permanently stationed in Hindustan, and that half the existing revenue of the State will be remitted, as a preliminary measure of reform.

Such, in brief, are the opinions of our 'eminent' thinkers of the old school—men devoid of all Western education, who laugh to scorn the more rational views of our University men or "YOUNG INDIA." But there is yet another class of so-called thinkers, midway between the two, whose views though not wholly uncolored by the course of events, are yet often liable to be equally quaint and ridiculous, owing to their general ignorance of facts, and, to some extent also, to their natural indifference to public questions generally.

Thus here is a perfect medley of opposite views, whose professors one and all, seem to be hopelessly in the dark as to the real facts of the case. It is time, we believe, that this mist of doubt and ignorance should be cleared away, in the face of the rapid advance of the Russians. The aim of these few pages will be to attempt something like a systematic exposition of the different phases of the question from a native point of view. The two weighty questions, with which this book opens, cover, we believe, the whole ground we have to traverse. It is admitted on all hands that Russia is a great military power, has a large army, a vast recruiting ground, and is otherwise almost invincible as a conquering, all-absorbing country. But this avowal on our part should not, we think, shut our eyes to the equally patent fact, that she has made considerable strides in material progress also, not comparable of course with that made during the same period by England, France, Germany, or Belgium, but yet progress in every sense of the word. It would be simply doing an injustice to a great nation to look at its doings merely with the gaze of idle curiosity, and not to trace the developments it has attained to to their legitimate sources, discover the influences they are likely to exert on the society and institutions around, and discuss their general aspects and bearings.

CHAPTER I.

THE RUSSIANS AS THEY ARE.

Russia appears to have been originally inhabited by a savage race, called the Scythians or Sarmatians, and was surrounded by such fierce tribes as the Goths, Huns, and Vandals. These, at different periods, subdued the aboriginal inhabitants, and gradually mingled with the original "Russian blood." But they also were no better than mere savages, and left no durable impression on the original Russian character. The last conquering tribe which overran Russia, was in race akin to the Tartar tribe, of which Jangez Khan was the famous leader. This accession of new blood made the Russian character more ferocious and warlike; and its singular effect on the national character of the Russians has been well described by Professor Gregorief of St. Petersburg. The Professor writes:—"Not only in externals—in dress, manners, and habits of life—did the Russian princes and *boyards*, the Russian officials and merchants imitate the Tartar; but everything—their feelings, their ideas, and their aspirations in the region of practical life were in the strongest way influenced by Tartardom.....During the continuance of the whole Moscow period, up to the very time of Peter the Great, the statecraft and the political management of the Russian Tsars, and magnates continued to be in every respect Tartar; so that without an acquaintance with real Tartardom it is impossible correctly to understand and estimate many phases in Russian history."

The whole Russian history is a living testimony to the indisputable fact that the Russians have a natural aptitude for committing all sorts of horrors of which human depravity is capable. Along with this horrible trait in their character,—they have developed an extraordinary power of endurance, an almost indomitable spirit of patient resistance and an unyielding perseverance—qualities inherited from their Tartar conquerors.

One of the greatest historians of the world, Herodotus, speaks of the ancient Slaves of Russia as a people who

"drank the blood of their enemies, tanned their skins for clothing, used their skulls as drinking bowls and under the form of a glaive or sword they adored the god of war." However, to estimate the moral qualities of an existing nation we need not always go to the ancients and cite them as our only authority. We might turn to Poland and other countries similarly situated, for instruction and enlightenment and see what the Russians have done there. We might tap the original sources of Russian history—its own historians and other impartial foreign writers—for authentic information. And the lessons their writings teach us we might usefully lay to heart.

Akin in race and nationality to the Slaves of Russia, the Poles occupied the south-western corner of Russia, and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries rose by a series of brilliant achievements to be one of the foremost nations of Europe. Brave and high-souled, the Poles prized the independence of their country above everything. A free and civilized nation, the Poles had cultivated the art of Government almost to perfection. They had established a constitution and an elective Monarchy, long before the Russians had emerged from their original barbarism. They had saved Europe from the Turks, and, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, had carried their arms to the heart of Russia, and established themselves at Moscow itself. Poland—alas! it is now no more—has given the world some of its greatest poets and novelists, and once it had been the home and asylum for the weak and oppressed. And yet such chivalrous Poland was doomed to be strangled on the altar of inordinate ambition and earth-hunger! Approaching her powerful but doomed victim under the mask of religion, Catherine, Empress of Russia, in concert with her equally perfidious allies, Prussia and Austria, planned and carried out the partition of Poland in the face of whole Europe, which did not, or perhaps could not, raise a finger in protest. The means employed by Russia to consummate this act of monstrous pillage, and efface the very name of Poland from the map of Europe,—a process which lasted for no less than 23 years, during which the country thrice underwent partition and lost nearly every acre of its land,—were so inhuman, treacherous and vile, that they could not help exciting the pity and indignation of the entire civilized world. But to make head against such a gigantic coalition of military powers was next to impossible, and the world kept discreetly looking on from a distance without daring to interfere. The more the national spirit of the Poles—who were burning with the most

ardent patriotism—was curbed, the more intense it seemed to grow. To crush this out effectually was the work to which successive Czars set themselves with a demoniac resolution, and Poland became one vast arena of ghastly barbarities and oppression, the like of which perhaps the world has seldom seen. A series of fierce persecutions was commenced sapping the very foundations of society, crushing out the ancient nobility of the country, subverting the national institutions of the Poles, trampling down their sacred traditions, and all but turning the country into a howling wilderness. The following account taken at random from historical records will go far to illustrate the atrocities perpetrated by the Russians:—"While one portion of his men were engaged in burning the wounded alive in the castle of M. Fentch, Manioukin marched another portion from Drohiczyn to Siemiatytche; and though he knew that the insurgents had already left the latter town during the night, he gave orders to send a few grenades to announce his arrival. Approaching the town, he allowed his army what is called "pagoulat" (ironically, to make merry). In this terrible word are included all the crimes and atrocious barbarities of the Bashi-Bazouks, of which the brave soldiers of the West can form no idea. Every brave man would certainly tremble at the sight of such "merriment." Drunkenness, pillaging, murder, violation of women, tortures of the defenceless, massacre of children—all are included in this Muscovite word "pagoulat." Manioukin having allowed his army sufficient "pagoulat," ordered the Cossacks to set fire to every house separately. The Cossacks only too ready to obey, scattered themselves through the little town, thrust straw under the roofs of the houses, and the whole town was soon in flames. What passed in the unfortunate town, thickly inhabited by a poor Jewish population, is difficult to describe. The clang of arms, the wild cry of the Cossacks engaged in pillage, brawling and wrangling about booty amidst the terrifying glare of the flames, the crash of falling houses, mingled with the groans and cries of despair of the inhabitants, looking at their burning property, which they were not allowed to save; the shrieks of women and children; the victims perishing in the merciless flames, and calling for help—presented a frightful sight indeed. More than 300 houses, nearly all in the little town, were burned down. In the same way numerous townships—as for instance, Wengrow, Miechow, Lukawica—were totally destroyed; and old men, women, and children, slaughtered in them by hundreds."

It is an historical fact that, during the Polish insurrection of 1863-4, in Warsaw alone, no less than ten thousand Polish soldiers were killed, nine thousand more were made prisoners; while above twelve thousand citizens of every age and sex put to the sword in cold blood. Altogether, after the insurrection was put down, the number of those who were killed in battle or massacred in cold blood amounted to no less than fifty thousand; and of those who were made prisoners to about a lac. Whilst the suffering of those exiled to Siberia—that cold, dreary Morgue, where the thermometer reaches 100° below freezing point—and of those confined in the dark Russian dungeons may be better imagined than described. The absence of all sanitary precautions in the management of hospitals, where hundreds upon hundreds were huddled together, bleeding and groaning, aggravated the misery of the wretches who had dared to resist the Russian arms in defence of their country. Nor was this all. Measures of fierce revenge were soon concerted by the inexorable Czar; and when the sovereigns of Europe protested, his characteristic reply was that, he could not permit foreign powers to interfere in behalf of his rebellious subjects.

But these horrors are as nothing compared with the unspeakable outrages committed openly and with a fiendish persistency on helpless women. Without distinction as to age or family, these were seized and shamelessly violated. History has known many a beastly conqueror, whose savage soldiery, in the intoxication of victory, have not spared the modesty of women. But the Muscovite savages have developed the loathsome practice into an art. They organized regular “women-hunts” in Poland; and to compass their brutal end, they resorted to barbarities at which humanity shudders. We shall quote here a few passages from a small book, which it was our painful task to go through, by way of illustrating the method generally adopted on these occasions. The writer says:—“Wherever a good looking girl—servant, governess, or daughter of the house—was discovered, she was marked out as a victim, and this without regard to the position in life. The nobleman’s and the peasant’s daughter shared the same fate. When their male relatives had been sent to prison, the girls were summoned before the officers and then outraged. But tender arts were generally employed as a preliminary; and they were often promised the liberation of their friends—father, brother, or relatives—as the price of consent to their own dishonor. When this way of wooing

was found unsuccessful—as it generally was—the tender lovers of the beautiful used violence to accomplish their lustful purpose. The scenes which thus occurred are indescribable by human pen. At one of those sensual orgies of the Russians, a girl of fifteen, the daughter of a noble landowner was openly violated by Lieutenant Gust, whose ferocity in overcoming her resistance was so brutal that the fiend actually tore the flesh from the girl's cheek with his teeth. Should flogging, threats of shooting father or brother, and other equally persuasive methods fail to overcome the modesty of the intended victim, the Cossacks were called in to secure the struggling girl while the officer worked his will."

Lieutenants Gust, Wolkoff, Colonel Borjesha, Dimitrieff, Shatroff, and Wornoff, distinguished themselves above all others in this refined system of rape. Before these savages, young women fled and concealed themselves as at the approach of demons. The author of the "History of Muscovite Government in Lithuania," speaks of these unfortunate victims of Russian lust in these heart-rending words:—"Some of the victims are personally known to me. Lying in bed in their last agony, they have told me the story of their misfortunes—how they were seized by detachments of Cossacks, carried from their homes, and brought before Muscovite officers. They told me how they were tortured, and how, after frightful struggles of resistance, they were attacked by Cossacks, and when exhausted by the struggle, dishonored by the officers. However we palliated their misfortune or endeavoured to raise their spirits, the unfortunate victims only desired death. Covered with dishonor, they could not live, and their lives soon ended." The same writer publishes a letter from a young lady, written before her death by suicide. She wrote:—"I feel that I am about to become a mother. I will not be the mother of a Muscovite. I see two extreme courses before me. I could not tear from my heart the love of my own child, who would be a living monument of my dishonor. I do not feel myself strong enough to reconcile those two feelings—my love and my hatred. My brain reels to contemplate it, and I feel it ought not to live. Forgive me and forget the grief I cause you by my death. May the Almighty have pity upon our unfortunate Fatherland!" Another revolting method usually adopted was 'to falsely accuse Polish ladies of professional immorality, and, by placing their names on the lists of abandoned women, subject them to Government surveillance.'

But the Russians did not confine their barbarities to one object alone. It was a pastime with them to obliterate everything which contributed, in ever so small a way, to perpetuate the Polish name and nationality. Hundreds of Polish Roman Catholic Churches were razed to the ground. Hundreds of the clergy were either hanged or banished; whilst upon not a few of the poor and ignorant peasantry was forced the orthodox Greek Church of Russia, and the least hesitation on their part to accept the faith was visited with certain and cruel death.

The outrages we have enumerated above are not isolated instances of Russian villainy: they were perpetrated with a set purpose, and persisted in with a dogged determination. They were not confined to one locality alone, nor were they resorted to as a temporary measure of expediency to strike terror into the hearts of the people. Nor were they committed out of mere revenge in the heat of the moment. It was not a struggle between an autocrat and his rebellious subjects, but a war of extermination undertaken by a powerful nation against another to efface it from the face of the earth.

After the close of the national rising of 1830-31, when Poland had been formally annexed to the empire and the Russian Government had initiated various measures of terrible persecution, Lord Palmerston, the then Prime Minister of England, sent a despatch on behalf of the suffering Poles to Lord Durham, British Ambassador at St. Petersburg deprecating those measures in the strongest language possible, and urging upon his lordship the desirability of expostulating with the Czar's Government. We cull below a few extracts from Lord Palmerston's important letter:—

“The abolition of the Polish colors; the introduction of the Russian language into public Acts; the removal to Russia of the National Library and public collections containing bequests made by individuals upon specific condition that they never should be taken out of the Kingdom of Poland; the suppression of schools and other establishments for public instruction; the removal of a great number of children to Russia on the pretence of educating them at the public expense; the transportation of whole families to the interior of Russia; the extent and severity of the military conscription; the large introduction of Russians into the public employments in Poland; the interference with the National Church;—all these appear to be symptoms of a deliberate intention to obliterate the political nationality of Poland, and gradually to convert it into a Russian province.”

After this Lord Palmerston refers to the impossibility of carrying out these dreadful measures into practice, and to the door they would assuredly throw open for the exercise of greater oppression ; and requests that if these facts be correct, the Ambassador will, in a friendly manner, ask the Government of the Czar to moderate the severity of the measures adopted in Poland. The innocent reply vouchsafed by the St. Petersburg authorities to this friendly despatch was that, all reports magnifying the severity of the new *régime* were mere calumnies on the Emperor. Before, however, the ink of this reply despatch was dry, a circular order was issued to the officers of Police in September 1832, calling on them to expatriate the Poles at once. The order in question was to the following effect :—

“ Take from Kamienieç one hundred and fifty families ; from Proskurow fifty ; from Latychew one hundred ;” and so on for eleven districts.....“ Choose those gentlemen who have families, and who are proprietors, farmers, or inhabitants of towns ; commencing with those who took part in the revolt, or whose mode of life is *suspicious*.”

The italics in the above are ours. What an instrument of torture and exaction was given to the Police by the last portion of the above order, which they were at liberty to twist into any meaning they liked ! To characterise the national rising of the Poles as a revolt was certainly an outrage on the national character of that free-born, high-souled people. They were fighting for their liberty, their country, and their honor, which had been trampled under foot by the fierce, uncompromising invader.

However, the inhabitants of the province of Podolia, petitioned the Czar within the same month, praying for a reconsideration of the step. The tenor of their petition will be shown from the following extract which we reproduce from the original :—

“ We, like other Slavonian nations, have our own language, rich in memories, and which we have used for many centuries Common to millions of your subjects, it was left to us by your predecessors, and we cannot dispense with it in our social relations, all our contracts, agreements and other documents being drawn up in this language.....Leave us this language, Sire, that we may be able to pray to God for you and your family in it.....Sire, you have thought it proper to suppress the convents and confiscate their property : but from those convents came priests and preachers, the want of whom is now keenly felt. Deprived of the succour of religion, the morality of our people, with everything overturned, would be exposed to great

dangers. We beg, then, that you will be pleased to remedy the evil which threatens us. We also beg, Sire, that you will be pleased to order that no one be transported to distant regions. The poorest man that exists loves that corner of the earth where he has first seen the light. The universality of this attachment, attested by the tears of numerous families, encourages us to make an appeal to the feelings of His Majesty himself."

Could human appeal have been more pathetic, heartfelt, or humiliating? And that appeal was not preferred by a race of convicted offenders, soliciting reprieve or clemency, but by a free nation asking for no other favors than the continued use of their own mother tongue and ministration by their national clergy to serve as a safeguard against immorality—favors which had been cruelly and sternly refused them.

The Russian, is hardly amenable to the feelings of mercy, or the dictates of conscience. He was no more moved by this touching appeal than a wild baboon would be if similarly addressed. Instead of recalling the cruel order, the fiat again went forth prohibiting the Poles from wearing even their national garb on pain of severe penalty. Here is the version of the order signed by General Schipoff in August 1838 :—

1. "The inhabitants of Polish villages and towns are not in future to wear the national costumes of Warsaw and Cracow. In consequence it is forbidden to wear square crimson caps, peacock's feathers, belts studded with metal ornaments, or to dress in blue, crimson, or white; this last color, however, may be used for shirts, handkerchiefs, and drawers.

2. The Russian costume, brown in color, is to be adopted in future; women, however, can wear green or red.

3. The Russian costume being much more economical, the central administration will cause shops to be opened in stated towns and villages in which Russian dresses will be sold to indigent persons at reduced prices.

4. A reward of one rouble will be given to those who hasten to obey this order; those who delay will be flogged, and their punishment doubled in case of persistence."

Here the utmost limit of persecution was reached. Nothing more inhuman, shocking, or awful can possibly be conceived in the annals of the entire world. The world has from time to time, seen many an infamous conqueror, many an unprincipled wretch like Nero and Siraj-ud-doula, many a savage, blood-thirsty Attila, Halâcu, and Jangez; but it has perhaps never seen such systematic tyranny and heartless cruelty as practised by the Russians even in the smallest things. There are certain recognized limits within which a

successful conqueror may exercise his right of conquest, by way of making an example, or striking awe into the hearts, of the conquered. The worst of Asiatic conquerors have seldom exceeded this undefined right beyond inflicting physical pain. Moral persecution of such an intolerable kind, refined and made more poignant by the ingenuity of civilization, was unknown to these rough warriors. Even the much-abused Mahomedan Caliphate, in the heyday of its universal conquest, had several not unacceptable alternatives to offer to its vanquished foes. But the Russian has surpassed every people, ancient or modern, in the depth of his iniquity and the gross villainy of his misdeeds.

The down-trodden Poles at last in their utter misery and despair addressed the following touching appeal to indifferent Europe :—

“ People of the West, hear the cry of alarm which this martyred nation raises. It is over its body that despotism hopes to force its way to the heart of civilization.”

Thus fell, torn and bleeding, a great nation of 12,000,000 souls, once the pride and glory of Christendom. It was not a mere conquest of the country, it was the political effacement of a whole nation through blood and carnage ! A Christian writer, in contrasting the Turkish oppression of the Christian populations of Turkey about which so much fuss was raised sometime ago, with that exercised by Russia, says :—“ The Turks are not the enemies of education. They have not destroyed any university in the Christian provinces of their empire. The Muscovites, on the contrary, have suppressed all the academies and superior schools in Poland and Lithuania. In the middle ages there were seven universities in Poland ; now there are but two, and these are not in Russian, but in Austrian Poland. The Turks do not force the Servians and Bulgarians to speak Turkish ; but the Russians prohibit the Poles from speaking Polish. The latter are heavily fined when found speaking their own language. They are mulcted as long as they have any property left, and when they have been deprived of all their possessions, they are thrown into prison and sent to Siberia, from which no one returns ; and so men are persecuted for speaking their native language, and knowing no other. As regards individual liberty, the liberty of the press, and the right of speech, such things do not exist under the most despotic tyranny of the Government of Czarland ; any man, under any other rule, even in prison, is really

freer than the Pole in his own home. The Turkish Bashi-Bazouks within the present century have killed some thousands of Bulgarians. But the Russian Bashi-Bazouks have murdered at least a million of Poles within the present century, and only since the massacre at Praga. The Turkish Bashi-Bazouk commits massacres, while the Russian Bashi-Bazouks massacre and torture. While the Turkish Bashi-Bazouks are counted by thousands, the Russian are reckoned by millions. The Turkish Bashi-Bazouks are a handful of irregulars ; the Russians are regular soldiers and civil officials. The real atrocities in Bulgaria were committed under excitement and fear of general rising. The Russian atrocities are systematically and uninterruptedly committed in time of peace. The Turkish Bashi-Bazouks have suppressed a few villages. The Muscovites exterminate a nation of several millions."

But, perhaps, the opinions of the Russians themselves would carry greater weight in this age of suspicion and incredulity. Here is what a Russian newspaper, the *Nabat*, says with regard to the professed mission of the Russian Government for emancipating the Slaves of Turkey and other adjoining countries :—"The Russian Government, bathed from head to foot in Polish blood, is raving about Slavonic brotherhood. The impalers who have cut out the very tongues of Poland, of Red Russia, and of Caucasia—who have reduced the foreign populations under their power to a condition so desperate, that, compared to it, the state of the Herzegovinian *rajahs* is actually to be coveted—they dare to speak about the principle of nationality ! Bandits shooting and torturing to death 'unites' because they desire to worship God as their fathers did—destroying their churches ; bandits, who still persecute the Catholics of Poland, close their churches, prohibit their processions, hang their priests, &c.—these are the men who dare to speak of the Christian religion as if it were persecuted by Mussulman fanaticism. What can be coarser, more hideous or monstrous than this hypocrisy."

In almost the same strain, but in a somewhat toned-down language, another distinguished Russian, the St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Times*, delivered himself not very long ago thus :—"Though we condemn the misrule and tyranny of the Turks, we do not think that Russia should embark in the great enterprise of Slavonic emancipation. So gigantic a work demands material and moral resources which we do not possess. Our Chauvinists and small-beer patriots ought to look at things a little nearer home. They wish to fight for

people whom they call brothers, but of whom they know little or nothing. The Slavonic idea is still a very vague conception, and we have many home questions to which we ought to direct our attention. We have our own Herzegovinians in the person of overtaxed, uneducated peasants. Is it not ridiculous to fight for the liberty of others when we have not yet obtained liberty for ourselves?"

After stamping out the last desperate rising of the unfortunate Poles in 1863, the Emperor Alexander II, indignant at the diplomatic intervention of Europe, said, to the horror of the civilized world: "If ever I am compelled to restore Poland, Europe will receive the land, but without Poles!" This blasphemous utterance was flung in the teeth of combined Europe, and Europe, as usual, meekly pocketed the insult. We think that in this Nineteenth Century, enlightened humanity would hardly tolerate an Alaric or a Janghez Khan; but the Czar of all the Russias *has been* tolerated, and his virtues sung even by a section of English politicians.

Turning our eyes for a moment from prostrate Poland, we find the same scenes enacted in Circassia, Lithuania, and Turkistan,—in short everywhere where Russian arms have travelled. With Turkey alone Russia has waged so many wars within the present century, that it would take almost a life-time to go over its intricate details. And if we take into account the cost of these long and sanguinary conflicts, and their results as a whole, the mind is filled with a gloomy picture of Russian restlessness and war-mania. We beg to call the attention of the reader to some of the unhappy features of the last deadly campaign which may not perhaps be quite fresh in his memory. We refer of course to the campaign of 1877-78. The facts we cite below admit of no cavil whatever, being all reported by impartial authorities on the spot or confirmed by official testimony of an unquestionable character.

The Naval correspondent of the *Times* with the Russian Imperial army wrote on the 16th of August 1877, to his journal thus:—"Yesterday, at Laneli, about two hours and a half from the pass, I saw one hundred and twenty persons who had been murdered in a savage manner by Cossacks and Bulgarians. Among the victims were two women, one of whom, very beautiful and young, had been killed, and thrown naked into a pool of water, while the other lay on the ground. I saw with my own eyes families, including children, who had been thrown into a well. The houses of these people, and the handsome embroidered dresses of the women, showed they had been rich. In one

house, women and young girls had been shut up, and subjected during ten days to outrages by Cossacks and Bulgarians. According to information given to me by an old woman belonging to this neighbourhood, the house was afterwards set on fire, and fifteen women were burnt to death. The Bulgarians when they heard of the arrival of the Turkish Army at Hain Boghaz, carried off the Turkish women and children, from three to thirty years of age, and fled to the Balkans. The victims of whom I spoke above were all collected together, and murdered in succession."

Another Naval correspondent of the same journal, writing from Adrianople on the 30th July 1877, says :—"I have seen here, in the house of Achmet Pasha, two Turkish women, wounded by Bulgarians, and a child two years old with a wound from a Cossack lance, and its leg shattered by a bullet." A correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, writing from Yenizaghra, says :—"It is quite impossible to depict the horrible spectacle which the country hereabouts presents after the Muscovite occupation. The whole region is at once a charnel-house and a desert.....The outrages committed all around by the Russian troops upon such as they spared alive have been inconceivably shocking and atrocious.....Those who have come in from Eski-Zaghra declare that in that district every woman and girl without exception has been brutally outraged by the Cossacks of Gourko, or by the Bulgarians."

The *Times'* correspondent with the Turkish Army, writing about the Russian butcheries makes this shocking confession :—"One of these sufferers, a little girl only two years old, had received a blow on the head, and a shot in the lower part of the body. A woman had three stabs and a blow. Another woman, aged sixty, had received two blows on the head, and a thrust from a lance. A female child of five bore three stabs ; a young married woman had been struck three times on the head ; and an old woman had been stabbed as well as struck. In addition to these victims, there were five injured women and three old men, who were wounded by long sword-bayonets and fire-arms." The correspondent continues :—"The wounds of these poor wretches were from blows, thrusts, and fire-arms. The first are sabre-strokes, which have been delivered with force ; the thrusts are from lances ; while the bullet-wounds have evidently been made with pistols. With what degree of thoroughness these deeds of devilry were done, may be gathered from the fact that the seventeen victims showed a total of thirty-six wounds. Of these, for example, a little girl of six years

bore four. It would appear, therefore, that the murderers went to work in cold blood, and were not content with killing or wounding at the first stroke."

Enough. To multiply these revolting instances of Russian blood-guiltiness would, we fear, be in itself an outrage on decency. The above facts were corroborated not only by independent war correspondents of the various English journals, but also by French, German, and Austrian correspondents, and influential Consuls of different nations accredited to the Turkish Government. The *Standard* correspondent at Bucharest reported to his Journal that at Kezanlik "the richest men amongst the Jewish community were singled out, and demand was made for a large sum of money. This was not at once granted, and the Bulgarians fired several volleys into the court-yard, killing many persons on the spot. The unfortunate Jews then gave up all the money they possessed, and the jewellery of the women and girls was next required. Before it could be delivered, the ruffians plunged in among the terrified creatures, tearing off necklaces, bracelets, rings, and ear-pendants, and often mutilating the living owners in their eagerness to get at the valuables. This was on a certain Saturday, and, after an interval of drunkenness and church-going on the following day, the Bulgarians were prepared for fresh outrages on Monday. The violence done to the women, and the murderous cruelties inflicted on the men, will not bear particular description; but the general result was that by the end of the day the number of the Jews was reduced from nine hundred to less than half.....The Bulgarians plied the Cossacks with drink, and another horrible massacre soon took place. Men and women were impaled on the spikes of iron railings, and children pinned to the doors and seats of the synagogue with lances."

Colonel Borthwick thus wrote to his friends in England, under date 20th July 1877, camp Schumla:—"Yesterday, I visited some of the worst cases of distress among the Mussulman refugees, and distributed a little help to them. I then visited eighteen women and children in a portion of the military hospital, and gave them assistance. It is bad enough to find helpless women groaning under wounds from lances, bayonets, and swords; but it is still more painful to behold little girls of seven and eight, boys as young, and one infant of nine months, treated in the same way. These things are not done in any sudden access of panic; they are perpetrated by a steadily-advancing army, without provocation, and on unoffending women and children."

So that for these cases of deliberate and relentless savagery, no extenuation can be pleaded. In fact it is from these impartial and trustworthy accounts, confidentially communicated to distant friends by eye-witnesses, that we are enabled to get a glimpse of the real character of the *soi disant* civilizer of Asia.

At the village of Oflande, the Commissioner of the Turkish Compassionate Fund, relieved two hundred and twelve widows and orphans whose male relations had been slaughtered in cold blood by the Russians and Bulgarians. The Commissioner says :—“I was taken to the spot where the bodies of these poor men were, and I counted seventy-five within the small space of a quarter of an acre. The Bulgarians received their orders from Cossacks who were present the whole time of the massacre. At the village of Mufliis, near Hain Boghaz, I relieved a hundred and fifty-eight women and children. Here another horrible massacre took place. The victims upon this occasion were all women and children, and over one hundred were murdered, not in the village itself, but at a place some hours distant from it, in the Balkan mountains. These poor women and children were taken into the mountains ; some of them were ravished, and then the slaughter began.” The bodies, the Commissioner says, were mutilated in a manner which would hardly bear exposure.

The above facts speak for themselves. As in Poland, so in Turkey, the native ferocity of the Russians was manifested in all its horrid nakedness. The unrestrained play given to fierce passions was never more painfully exemplified than in these series of wanton massacres and mutilation of the dead.

When these atrocities began to repeat themselves with such indecent frequency, the Sublime Porte felt constrained to address itself to the Great Powers, and on July 12th, 1877, the Ottoman Ministers transmitted a despatch to the Turkish Embassy at Paris which stated :—“A Russian division, arriving on the 7th at the villages of Kestan and Belovan, disarmed the Mussulman inhabitants, and distributed their arms among the Bulgarians. They then treated the Mussulman population in the same way as previously, massacring men, women, and children, and burning their houses. This tends to show that the Russians have devised a system of exterminating the Mussulmans on the passage of their troops, and that our unfortunate co-religionists must expect the most horrible and barbarous treatment from an enemy who expressly announced himself as the champion of the rights of humanity, and the impartial protector of all our populations. We cannot doubt that Europe will be indignant and deeply moved at the recital of such atrocities.”

Again on the 23rd July following, the Turkish Government addressed a second despatch to the same Ambassador. The despatch said that the Porte had received full confirmation of the atrocities committed by the Russians at Tirnova and the country around ; that at Tiamsi-Keni a mosque had been burnt down, with all the Mussulman refugees who had taken shelter there ; and the prisoners who had escaped the general massacre were forced by the Russians to fire on their own co-religionists who had gone to relieve them. The despatch added that Suleiman Pasha had also reported the massacre of the unarmed Mussulmans at Eski-Zaghra. In conclusion, a list of the houses burned and of the Turkish slaughtered was appended, showing a total extirpation of the race. The British Ambassador at Constantinople writing to his Government, reiterated that a sullen conviction was gaining ground among the Turks that Russia's only object in the invasion of their country was either to exterminate their race, or to drive them bag and baggage across the Dardenelles. Even his Majesty the Sultan was driven to soliciting the good offices of England for the suppression, once for all, of these violent proceedings.

The enormities committed by the Russians and Bulgarians, after the sacred armistice of June 1st, 1878, in the districts about the Rhodope mountains, drew the attention of whole Europe, and steps were immediately taken to appoint an international commission to enquire into the subject. The Russians, as might have been expected, evinced a sulky reluctance to join the commission, urging among plausible reasons the utter futility of such an arrangement. However, when they found themselves defeated in their nefarious purpose, they left no stone unturned to thwart its labours. They chafed and fretted as the Commissioners proceeded to turn up all available evidence, and regarded the whole proceeding with grim sullenness. What must have been their chagrin—when it was proved beyond all possibility of doubt that, a tract of country stretching for more than a hundred and fifty kilometres in length had been given up to unheard-of excesses by fire and sword—might be left to imagination to contemplate. Matters could no longer be minced. The last shadow of justification or excuse had vanished into thin air. The accusing spirits of the murdered dead stood in the background, appealing for justice. Grave misgivings now began to be entertained as to the ostensible object of the invasion. The vaunted mission to emancipate struggling nationalities had ended in a bloody farce. The Muscovite had been at last found out, in spite of his impenetrable

dissimulation. The mask had been unwittingly removed, and he stood there in all the diabolical glory of his accumulated sins. The labors of the commission in gathering these now incontestable facts were not confined to any one particular locality, but extended far and wide,—to hundreds of homeless villages. The Commissioners themselves have described their doings in the following terms :—

“ We have devoted ourselves to this object for nearly a month, during which time we have traversed, without halt or rest, most unhealthy districts, and mountainous regions most difficult of access. Neither rain in torrents, nor the heat of midsummer, nor the attacks of illness from which nearly all the members of the commission have suffered, have for one moment delayed our forced marches and our incessant work. We shall deem ourselves well rewarded for our labours if they are of service in obtaining some slight relief for so many unfortunate people, whose sufferings are so undeserved.”

Now this was written not by the interested Turk alone, or by his old allies, the English, who are sometimes suspected of painting the Russians in the blackest colours; but by a Joint Commission, including the representatives of the Six Great Powers of Europe and Turkey, where collusion or partiality was impossible.

The evidence adduced before the delegates, to quote from a recent work, was to the general effect that old men, women, and children had been killed without provocation; that villages had been attacked and burned, on which occasions women and children had sometimes perished in the flames; that isolated houses were burned when abandoned; that numerous villagers, after having been induced to give up their arms and return home, had been murdered by the Russians; that frightful tortures had been inflicted; and that a large number of women and girls had been subjected to the worst of outrages! The Commissioners further pointed out that these unfortunate victims of Russian lust were deprived of everything they possessed: their houses were razed or reduced to ashes, their furniture destroyed, their mosques blown to atoms, their crops confiscated or burnt, and their cattle seized and carried off. They also collected evidence from no less than 150,000 refugees on the road about Xanthi, Gumuldjina, Kirdjali, Mestanly &c., which was to this effect :—“The period of their departure seems to have always coincided with the entry or approach of the Russian troops. They appear to have fled, some from murder, pillage, incendiarism, and violation, of which they had been witnesses or victims; others under the effect of a panic, perfectly intelligible from the account of the cruelties suffered by their co-religionists

in the neighbouring villages. According to an account which we have heard from the lips of several thousands of individuals, the invading army, either by the force of circumstances, or possibly by chance, found before in this compact mass of fugitives, who were endeavouring to gain the mountains (the Balkans as the peasants said), carrying with them on *arabas* their families—old men, wives, children, and such effects as they had been able to preserve from the cupidity of the conquerors; and this large mass of individuals, driven at the point of the bayonet, when once concentrated and crowded together in the gorge of Hermanli, was shot down, massacred, and drowned in the Maritza and the Ourloudéré. More than two thousand children were thrown into the river by the mothers themselves, driven wild by terror, and believing this death to be gentler for them than that which they would receive at the hands of the enemy."

It makes one's hair stand on end to read this ghastly tale. Can human heart be so obdurate, so steeled against the throes of human misery? Indeed, it were hardly possible to believe, were not these facts corroborated by the unimpeachable testimony of the representatives of so many Powers, comprising England, France, Germany, Italy, Austria, and Turkey, and also tacitly but sullenly admitted even by the Russian delegate. These outrages, it must be remembered, were not committed in the barbaric times of the Huns, Tartars, or the Vandals; but in this present age of enlightenment, reform, and philanthropy!

The country around Hermanli was the scene where the most revolting atrocities were perpetrated. Here the whole of the Mussulman quarter was reduced to ashes, and crimes the most atrocious on record were committed. No less than a hundred and fifty houses and mosques were burnt down. The District of Demotica fared no better: not a trace of the former hamlets remained to show that they were once the habitation of human beings. The Commissioners have the candour to say that, they at first refused to believe the accuracy of the allegations made, and that to make sure they decided on visiting several districts where the atrocities were stated to have been perpetrated. The result of their labors they sum up in the following words:—

"It is death in the midst of a lovely country, the cultivation of which bears witness to recent activity of life. Nothing has been spared. It is noticeable that artillery fire has been only a secondary agent in this destruction; and that it has been necessary to employ torch and firewood to consume houses isolated one from the other, and often separated by long distances, mosques standing

remote on some neighbouring hill, and farms several kilometres distant. It was conceivable to every one that the man who was capable of kindling such a fire might also indulge in pillage and murder."

This was the disinterested verdict of the International Commission appointed by the unanimous consent of the five Great Powers to enquire into the truth of the allegations made against the Russian invading army. Russia, as we have seen, was very reluctant to join the commission, it being in a manner forced upon her by the other Powers. There is a hideous deliberateness and cool fore-planning evident (on the part of the Russians) from every line of the above dismal record. Before, however, the delegates finally separated they placed on record this deliberate opinion:—"We have done our best to soften everything alleged or proved against Russian army; but this is the limit of the concessions which our consciences permit us to make in deference to the requirements of courtesy due to a Government which in our opinion is doing its utmost to prevent the Mussulmans from returning to Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia. The safety of the emigrants, should they return to their homes, cannot be secured without the interposition of some other authority. We accordingly suggest the establishment of an International Commission, and we believe that the difficulties attending such an arrangement may be overcome by the mutual deliberations of the Powers."

The above, in short, are some of the harrowing episodes of the War of 1877-78, which was undertaken by Russia with the ostensible object of delivering the oppressed Bulgarian Christians from the yoke of Turkish tyranny. How hollow were their profuse professions of sympathy was only too clearly borne out by subsequent events. That it was a mere ruse in the furtherance of ambitious designs can hardly be now doubted. The fiction of the divine mission to emancipate Slave nationalities from foreign yokes and weld them into one homogeneous whole, was never more scathingly exposed than in the words of the ex-Professor of Kieff University, a Russian of Russians. Here is what the learned Professor, in a pamphlet written by him in 1877, says in regard to the internal condition, rather confusion, of Russia:—"What we consider revolting in Turkey, exists equally in Russia. The Russian people are exhausted by unjust imposts—by a system of taxation, superannuated and long since condemned, which lays all the charges of the State on the poor peasant, who has become a Russian Riayah. The agents of the Government possess and exercise a most arbitrary

power. *There is an utter absence of guarantees for the security and liberty of the people; and, moreover, Russia is beset with an amount of religious and national intolerance not to be found in Turkey.* These ills are so old in Russia, we have got so much accustomed to them, that we regard them with almost perfect indifference, although they are just as bad as the Bulgarian atrocities which shock us.....In a word, a State where a frightful administrative despotism dominates under the form of autocracy, where class privileges still exist in the system of taxation, where the policy of forcing everything to become Russian reigns paramount, where the dominant Church is supported by the police, where there exists no trace of individual liberty—such a State cannot support the cause of freedom and self-government among the Slaves of Turkey.” The ex-Professor further on deplors the fact that, not only Russian infantry officers but also Russian journalists did not appear to be aware that the Servians and even the Bulgarians had, under the complicated yoke of the Turks, preserved a sentiment of personal liberty and inviolability much deeper than what his own countrymen enjoyed. They did not understand, he says, that, thanks to the primitive state of Ottoman tyranny, there was much more freedom and equality in Turkey than in Russia.

But the most damaging condemnation of all comes from the Bulgarians themselves, whose cause the Russian Government had so ostentatiously espoused, and whose wrongs were made the pretext for her unwarranted invasion of Turkey. The intelligent class of Bulgarians began to see through the mockery which had at first deluded them, and as time wore on, actual experience made them for the first time conscious of the sinister designs of their *soi-disant* liberator. Mr. Layard, British Ambassador at the Porte, wrote to Lord Derby, the then Foreign Minister, during the progress of the last war, that the Christians of all denominations were convinced that they would have a far better chance of preserving and developing their national character and religion under Turkish rule, with all its faults and vices, than under that of Russia, and that their unanimity on this subject was very remarkable, and deserved the impartial consideration of those who still believed that Russia had declared war against Turkey for the benefit of the Christian races, and at *their* earnest solicitation.

The above facts speak for themselves. It were a marvel indeed if the Bulgarians had still persisted in their Utopian dream of liberation. That they began actually to loathe the very sight of the Russians, later events only too amply showed,

CHAPTER II.

THE RUSSIANS IN CENTRAL ASIA.

While on the one hand, Turkey was over-run and devastated from end to end, the officers of the Czar were maturing plans for once more embarking upon a policy of aggression in Central Asia. These unscrupulous schemers enjoyed unlimited power of "construction" and "destruction" which they exercised in the name of the White Czar. Unscrupulous officers, who could seize with impunity, and at trivial cost, foreign territories in any part of the world, were sure to be in special favour with the authorities at St. Petersburg.

Thus in 1864, fell the Khanate of Tashkend; while within the comparatively short space of twenty-two years, *i. e.*, down to 1875, nearly the whole of Turkistan, including the territories of the nomad Turcomans, had succumbed to the Russian arms and witnessed the same ruthless barbarities and frightful persecution, which characterise Russian occupation of foreign territories.

Relative to the conquest of Tashkend, *Nabat*, the Russian Journal, we have already quoted elsewhere, briefly but pithily observes:—"The Russian General Tchernayeff signalled his march to Tashkend by exploits beside which the massacres of the Bashi-Bazouks dwindle into insignificance; he is one of the pillars of the Russian Perambulating Press—a comic hero of routine and stagnation—in short, a faithful servant of Despotism and the *alter ego* of Fadeyeff—the editor of the 'Russian Peace' (the 'meer'). Kirejeff! this Russianiser of the Western Provinces, a man who has spent all his life in warfare against Polish nationality, and has found his only means of subsistence, in pillaging the Poles. These are the kind of men who dare to assume the rôle of soldiers of freedom fighting for the violated rights of nations!"

In Bokhara, likewise, the same scenes of bloodshed and rapine were enacted. This city had the reputation of being a famous seat of Mahomedan learning in the East, and many remarkable men were always flocking to it from Southern Asia. Here graves were dug open, mouldering bones scattered about, and sanctuaries desecrated, in a spirit of ruthless vandalism. Deeds of surpassing cruelty and horror, that might have shocked even a naked savage, were committed, forcing hundreds of hapless Mussalmans to leave their father-land.

During the summer of 1878, when we visited Cashmere for the benefit of our health, we happened to meet crowds of these homeless wretches, who had wandered to distant climes in pursuit of a living, leading in some instances, a sort of mendicant's life. We had frequent opportunities of conversation with them, during our jaunts, in the course of which we made detailed enquiries as to the circumstances which had conspired to drive them from their homes. We learnt that the great Colossus of the North was signalling his new *régime* of the "Garden of the East" with the horrors of the "Reign of Terror." In fact when we recall the dreadful tales related by these unfortunate people, we feel a chill of horror pass over our body.

Professor Vambéry, than whom, we suppose, no greater authority exists on Central Asian affairs, affirms, in corroboration of Mr. Charles Marvin's statement, that at the sanguinary action at Ak Tapa, no less than ten thousand Turcomans, were slain. Those who fled, were pursued, overtaken, and plundered of every thing they possessed, and finally slaughtered to a man. The number of killed not only included soldiers, but also old men, women, and children!

The affair at Geok Tepe was no less sanguinary. After the cessation of hostilities, no fewer than 10,000 Turcomans were arrayed in rows, and, in the course of a few hours, massacred in cold blood. Hundreds of defenceless Turcoman women met a similar fate, but not until they had gratified the bestial lust of their ravishers! At the close of this enormous butchery, a grand revel was ordered, in commemoration of the ghastly hecatombs; and the instincts of unbridled savagery, were enlivened by the inebriating fumes of drink. Drunken Cossacks fell indiscriminately on every living thing they could lay their hands upon, so much so that of the 40,000 inhabitants, only half the number remained to remember and hand down to posterity the terrible lesson they had been taught. Now these nomads of Central Asia, with their herds as their only earthly possessions, subsisted mostly by pillage, making forays sometimes even into Persian and Afghan territories. Few conquerors had envied their possessions, or coveted their extensive steppes, which could afford but scanty pasturage to their sheep and cattle. But Russian greed was not to be restrained by any delicate considerations of political morality in the matter of territorial usurpation.

Let us now turn our attention for a little while to Khiva, another of the Central Asian Khanates. During the last

invasion of this principality—an invasion described by Mr. MacGahan, correspondent of the *New York Herald*, and author of a famous work entitled ‘Campaigning on the Oxus,’ as associated with horrors almost unparalleled in the history of the world—one of the most violent acts committed by the invaders, was the exaction of a heavy fine from the ragged Yomuds,—a nomadic tribe of Turcomans inhabiting an adjacent tract called Hazavat, and allies of the Khan in the late war,—who could not meet it even by the sale of their paltry belongings, consisting only of their live-stock and grain. The Russian General, Kauffmann, demanded no less than four lacs ten thousand roubles, the greater portion of which was at last paid by women in silver ornaments. The rest could not be paid: the Yomuds had given their all! Payment in kind was forbidden. Seventeen elders were chosen from among the tribe, and the payment of the indemnity was made obligatory within a fortnight. But General Kauffmann, in violation of his plighted faith, retained twelve of these as hostages, and the very next day, sent an order to his Lieutenant, Golovatchoff, in the following terrible words:—

“Give over the Settlements of the Yomuds and their families to complete destruction, and their herds and property to confiscation. *At the least attempt to migrate, carry out my order for the final extermination of the disobedient tribe.*”

And this monstrous order was carried out to the letter. Mr. MacGahan was present when the General ordered his savage soldiery to advance. He says that when 25 miles from Khiva, Golovatchoff harangued the troops, concluding with these awful words:—“THIS EXPEDITION DOES NOT SPARE AGE NOR SEX. KILL THEM ALL.” The General afterwards wrote to his superior: “We burned grain, houses, everything we met; cut down every person, man, woman, and child. They were generally women and children whom we met. We cannot resist the temptation to quote once again the graphic, though painful, description given by Mr. MacGahan of this affair in his interesting work, we have already alluded to. The author says:—“It was a strange, wild spectacle. I spurred my horse to the top of a little eminence and gazed about me. In an incredibly short space of time flames and smoke had spread on either side of the horizon, and advancing steadily forwards in the direction of our course, slowly enveloped everything. Through this scene moved the Cossacks like spectres. Torch in hand, they dashed swiftly across the country, leaping ditches and flying over walls like very demons, and leaving behind them a trail of fire and smoke. They rarely dismounted, but simply rode up to the houses, applied their blazing

torches to the projecting eaves of thatch, and the stacks of unthreshed grain, and then galloped on. Five minutes afterwards sheets of seething flame, and darkling smoke showed how well they had done their work. The entire country was on fire. In half-an-hour the sun was hidden and the sky grew dark..... This was war, such as I had never before seen, and such as is rarely seen in modern days. It was a sad, sad sight—a terrible spectacle of war at its destructive work, strangely in keeping with this strange wild land.”

In corroboration of these shocking misdeeds, Mr. Eugene Schuyler, Member of the United States Legation at St. Petersburg, Member of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, and author of an exhaustive work on the Russian Administration in Turkistan, gives the following harrowing particulars of the atrocities committed by the Russians, of which he was an eye-witness :—

“On the 7th, when we began to meet the Turcomans, these orders were again brought to mind, and nearly everyone whom we met was killed. The Cossacks seemed to get quite furious, and rushed on them with their sabres, cutting everybody down, whether a small child or an old man. I saw several such cases. I remember one case in particular, which I could not look at for more than a moment, and rode hastily by. A mother, who had been riding on horseback with three children, was lying dead. The eldest child was dead also. The youngest had a sabre cut through its arm; and while crying was wiping off the blood. The other child, a little older, who was trying to wake up the dead mother, said to me “*Tiura*,” *i.e.*, ‘stop.’”

And how was this cold-blooded butchery rewarded by the bloody Czar? Why, it was rewarded by the bestowal on Kauffmann of the Second Class Cross of the Order of St. George!

Our description of the Khivan atrocities would not be complete, we think, without a reference to the treaty of peace, which was dictated to the unfortunate Khan after the suspension of hostilities. We have abridged the chief clauses as follows :—

1. The Khan of Khiva shall not enter into any relations with the neighbouring States, without giving notice of it to the Russian authorities.
2. The Khan has no power to sign any commercial treaty without the sanction of the Russian Government.
3. He shall not engage in any military operations against any of those States, without the knowledge and permission of the said Government.
4. The ships belonging to the Russian Government, or to any private Russian gentlemen, shall have the free and exclusive right of navigating the river Amoo; but in the case of Khan's vessels, sanction must be obtained from the said Government.

5. The Russians shall have the right to construct wharves or landing places on the left bank of the river, still under the nominal sovereignty of the Khan, and the latter must be responsible for the security of those wharves.

6. In addition to these wharves, the Russians shall have the right to establish their factories on the same bank, for the storage of their merchandize.

7. Russian merchants and their caravans shall have the right of free passage throughout the Khanate, and their goods must be protected from customs duties and all other kinds of dues.

8. The Khan must receive Russian commercial agents in Khiva and other towns in his territory.

9. The Russians shall have the right of holding immoveable property in the Khanate.

10. Complaints and claims of Khivans against Russian subjects are to be referred to the nearest Russian authorities for examination and satisfaction.

It was thus that the screw was at last put upon the poor Khan, whose dominions had been coveted for more than two centuries, and who was now reduced to the humble condition of a vassal, shorn of his sovereignty and independence.

In order to clearly understand the subsequent progress of Russian arms in Central Asia, it is indispensable, we think, to proceed in chronological order.

In December 1870, the first stage in advance from Krasnovodsk to Kizilavrat, a distance of 144 miles, was reached. In 1873, part of Khivan territory was annexed with attendant horrors, already described. Then the Tekkes, a Turcoman tribe, inhabiting the steppe between Kizilavrat and Merve were brought under subjection. Towards the beginning of 1876, Khokand, which had all along remained a faithful and an active ally of the Russians, was added to the Czar's dominions after the usual slaughter. In 1879, the Russians had reached Dengel Tepe, a total distance of 254 miles. In 1880, the Tekkes of Geok Tepe, who had made a stout resistance during the previous year, beating off the Russian General Lomakin with considerable loss, were conquered. And from that time forth the Russians continued to advance until they reached Baba Durmaz. Merve, 'the Queen of the East,' was subjugated in 1883; and the following year, the Russians over-ran the whole country up to Sarakhsa. With their last, but not least, acquisition in the direction of Afghanistan, we are already familiar: we mean Panjdeh—the apple of discord, some months ago, between our own Government and that of the Czar.

In all these acquisitions and conquests, it would appear, the Russians were guided by the worst of motives, and the means they employed to compass their sinister ends, were hardly less atrocious. Sometimes, it might be necessary, we venture to think, in the interests of commerce and civilization, to annex a territory; to extend it further in order to protect those interests; and to actually, though reluctantly, wage war with a view to secure them against threatening dangers from hostile neighbours and give them permanence. But it is certainly not necessary that these objects should be attained perforce by indiscriminate slaughter and rapine. We admit that, in order to awe truculent neighbours into everlasting submission—that they might not be ever tempted again to injure the cause of trade and reform—Governments are sometimes compelled to take strong measures. But there cannot be the slightest justification for wholesale massacres, in which the Russians habitually indulged. Could the cold-blooded murders of defenceless women and children be ever justified? What earthly necessity could have dictated these heartless measures? Besides, have not the conquered races a right to expect a better system of administration than what they possessed? Now by what kind of Government have the Russians displaced the native administrations? They have established on the ruins of these a colossal administrative machinery, more complicated and oppressive than the simple, pastoral “organisation” of these nomadic barbarians. Of the salient features of Russian rule in Turkistan, we shall have occasion to speak by and by. But, meanwhile, we feel constrained to ask, what right has a nation to conquer another, when it cannot provide a more beneficial system of government to that another? No excuse, whether based on the ground of promoting the cause of civilization and the interests of commerce, or of self-defence, can extenuate the enormity of war and conquest, if prosperity and contentment cannot be guaranteed in exchange. The English in India and elsewhere have not been always free from the reproach of “earth-hunger” and covetousness: indeed, they have sought territorial aggrandisement like other nations of the earth. But to their credit it must be said that, they have always religiously refrained from committing any excesses on defenceless men, not to speak of women and children, and have invariably substituted a more just and a more beneficent system of rule than what they found in the territory annexed. If it is true that the Anglo-Saxon race has usurped the dominions of weak monarchs and peaceable communities, it can also be urged in its vindication that it has, to some extent, expiated its sins by introducing abiding reforms into the conquered countries.

CHAPTER III.

THE RUSSIAN ARMY, INSTITUTIONS, AND ASPIRATIONS.

The numerical superiority of the Russian army is acknowledged on all hands. It is said that the levies she can raise within a certain period, would far out-number those raised by any other power. But in a regular campaign with a civilized Power, mere numerical superiority can hardly count for much. There are so many other considerations, equally important, which not unfrequently decide the fate of battles. For instance, transport difficulties, a defective commissariat, want of ammunition, unprotected flanks, a weak base, the hostility of local tribes, and many other fatal hitches incidental to warfare—all or any of these may turn the fortunes of the day, and expose a grand army, led by the ablest Generals, to serious perils.

The total Russian army on the peace footing, however, numbers 780,081 men ; but the pay allowed to both soldiers and officers is so paltry that perhaps the average day-laborer earns more than what they get. The ordinary food of the soldier consists of bread made of coarse grain, but chiefly of rice and a small quantity of meat. In time of war, of course, their salary is increased by half as much again as they get in time of peace ; but the excitement caused by pillage and the rye liquor always keeps them in good spirits. While marching, the Russian soldier has to carry his kit and accoutrements, besides a supply of ammunition ; whilst in time of war, he does all the work of a common laborer. With the exception perhaps of a few regiments, the uniforms allowed to soldiers of the line, are so wretched that it is really a surprise that, the Russian Government has devoted so little attention to this important subject. Almost superhuman efforts have been made, of late, to improve the intellectual status of the Russian officer ; but the majority of his class are still hopelessly steeped in ignorance ; while those delegated to the regions of Central Asia, are particularly ill-bred, corrupt, and given to every sort of licence, being generally the scum of official society in Russia.

Writing about a certain tribe of the Cossacks, who, it may be remarked, are the life and soul of the Russian army, and the gifted perpetrators of all kinds of horrors, an old writer, the Earl of M'Cartney, says :—"They consist of a mixed crowd of persons of all nations, who live in a singular sort of society, to

which no women are admitted ; they are a sort of male Amazons, who, at a particular season of the year, resort to certain islands of the Dnieper in their neighbourhood, where they rendezvous with the women dependent on them : on these occasions the union of the sexes is by no means regulated by those laws which prevail in other societies. The children born from these indiscriminate unions are left with their mothers till a certain age, at which the males are delivered to their fathers, and, like their fathers, become hunters and warriors, whilst the females remain with those of their own sex."

This state of things may have now altered ; but it is not at all to be wondered at if these wild, unlettered warriors should still regard their sovereign with feelings of dutiful respect, or even as their "God upon earth." And doubtless, a race composed of such varied elements, which first saw the light amid such horrid surroundings as war and bloodshed, and then began life as marauders and cattle-lifters, can hardly be expected to be better than a vile set of irreclaimable knaves and vagabonds—fierce in war and happy in pillage and incendiarism. It was this accidental circumstance—their co-operation with the levies of Russ—that conduced so strongly to the rapid growth of Russia's military power, and to her steady expansion. These staunch allies have been found to be very useful in all kinds of work ; and their indomitable energy has always impelled them to go forward as pioneers of Russian rule in all latter-day expeditions through the wilds of Western Asia. The following brief statement will assist the reader in forming a tolerably correct idea of the expansion of Russian territory :—

					Eng.Sq.Ms.	
In 1505 the Czardom of Muscovy contained about					...	784,000
„ 1533	„	„	„	„	...	996,000
„ 1584	„	„	„	„	...	2,650,000
„ 1598	„	„	„	„	...	3,328,000
„ 1676	„	„	„	„	...	5,448,000
„ 1682	„	„	„	„	...	5,618,000
					In Europe and the Caucasus.	
					Eng.Sq.Ms.	In Asia.
					Eng.Sq.Ms.	Eng.Sq.Ms.
„ 1725 the Russian Empire contained about					1,738,000	... 4,092,000
„ 1770	„	„	„	„	1,780,000	... 4,452,000
„ 1880	„	„	„	„	2,014,000	... 4,452,000
„ 1825	„	„	„	„	2,226,000	... 4,452,000
„ 1855	„	„	„	„	2,261,250	... 5,125,000
„ 1867	„	„	„	„	2,267,360	... 5,236,560

Thus the total area of this huge territorial acquisition up to the year 1867, since which time she has added other possessions to her area was 7,534,920 English square miles, of which 2,267,360 square miles represent her European, and 5,267,560 square miles her Asiatic, possessions ; *i. e.*, the latter are nearly

twice as large as the former. We have no statistical data as to the exact extent of the acquisitions which Russia has made since 1867 in Central Asia; but the subjugation of the famous Khanates, including the more recent acquisition of Geok Tepe, Merve, and other adjacent Turcoman country, represents a total area of about 13,76,874 square miles, with an additional population of more than 3,800,628 souls. It will not be beside the mark to say, therefore, that Russia has been very successful in the acquisition of foreign territory. But it certainly is a misfortune to a nation to have to make steady progress in one direction alone, and that so dangerously tempting, without making corresponding progress in the art of good government, which is undoubtedly highly efficient for the well-being of a great nation. So, consequentially, the moral, material, and intellectual progress of Russia have been seriously hampered. For generations past, Russia's foreign policy has run in one fixed groove—the illimitable expansion of territory by means of foreign conquest—while all manner of material and economical development of the country has been grievously retarded for lack of the requisite impetus. While the vital energies of the nation are being spent and exhausted in protracted foreign campaigns, trade and local industries have never adequately engrossed the attention of the rulers. And when the general stagnation of business consequent on the culpable neglect of trade—has induced sullen discontent among the people, foreign wars have been invariably undertaken by way of diverting public attention from home affairs. The much-needed moral and intellectual advancement of the people has equally suffered. Beyond the merest rudiments of knowledge, the mass of the people know nothing; it would be perhaps nearer the truth to say that, for the most part, they are hopelessly sunk in crass ignorance; and the pity of it is that the State does not care much for their education. Barring the inglorious conquests that Russia has made, no perceptible measure of material progress has been achieved by her; and when we compare the material condition of Russia with that of other European States, we are struck with the marvellous backwardness of the slow-moving Muscovite. Besides other disadvantages which the country has suffered through its vicious system of government, it enjoys the unique reputation of being by far the most insecure country in the European family circle, and, one of the most insecure certainly, in the world—one which is a prey to a most rigorous censorship of the Press, and to every imaginable kind of intrigue and conspiracy, and police and official restraint;—and one which is the

chosen nest of secret revolutionary societies—all engaged in an internecine struggle for obtaining their own selfish political ends. It is indeed a beneficent relief to the world that, in spite of its elephantine proportions, the Russian Empire is afflicted with this incurable heart-disease. The annexation of fresh territory imposes an additional burden on the resources of the country: the process of assimilation requires funds and an energetic staff of pioneers to introduce the alien system of government, and engraft their own semi-barbarous civilization on the rude customs and institutions of the conquered country;—the immediate effect of which is to make confusion worse confounded. Her fresh conquests are like so many excrescences, as it were, which she neither knows how to adequately manage nor indeed much cares for. Her management of these unwieldy, troublesome acquisitions, is like the first crude attempts of a young maiden, who tries her 'prentice hand at pancakes, and goes on throwing eggs, flour, sugar, and milk, into the pan, without the slightest heed as to their respective proportions, and then finds, to her mortification, the whole subsiding into a seething 'kickshaw.'

A cursory glance through the dismal pages of Russian history will suffice to show that, far from marching abreast of other European nations, Russia has not had the capability even of profiting by their example, much less of receiving the light they shed on her dark bosom. However, not liking the idea of lagging far behind, she has been roused at times to attempt extraordinary reforms. But since the chimerical dreams associated with those reforms, were never reconcilable, and always out of date, with the moral and economical condition of Russia, their realisation became a matter of practical impossibility; and the reforms themselves were often abandoned in despair. As Mr. Wallace forcibly puts it, 'No institution can work well unless it is the natural product of previous historical development.' Hence all those associations, formed under imperial auspices for purposes of political discussion, in imitation of the constitutional methods of Western Europe, were often more like school-boy Clubs: possessing neither system, organisation, nor cohesion. The members of these associations showed neither intelligence nor independence of spirit; while as regarded the actual work done by them, why, they devoted most of their time to mere academic discussions of impossible theories, indulging in dreams of political regeneration, and expatiating with delicious self-complacency upon their special aptitude for universal domination. On the other hand, all questions of social reform, were carefully eliminated from the programme of discussion. A writer has

drawn an interesting picture of these political associations. "If one said," says the writer, "that the press ought to be free, another rose and said, 'yes, free in all respects.' Then came a suggestion that freedom of the press was worth nothing and meant nothing, unless press offences were tried before a jury. 'The jury, by all means; but what is a jury without advocates?' 'And what are advocates, unless they possess full liberty to say all they think fit on behalf of their clients under the approval of their Judge?' 'And what are judges unless they are made independent of the Administration?'" The writer goes on to say:—"Thus, one question led to another, until at last it became evident that in the opinion of the Russians there was not one good institution actually existing in Russia; that moderate or partial reforms were past thinking of, and, in short, that the whole edifice of the State was unsound.

Among other deplorable results of prolonged military operations—every now and then undertaken by Russia—is the gradual extinction of all national yearning for freedom and autonomy. Indeed, with foreign conquests going on at continuous high pressure, it was almost impossible that the nation could devote much time to its home affairs. The natural result of this has been that the Slave mind, naturally melancholy, has been confirmed in that morbid condition of uncomplaining resignation, which has now become a second nature with him. Singularly enough, while the national voice was stifled, the popular belief in the omnipotence of the Czar was correspondingly increased, and his Imperial *Ukases* came to be looked upon in the light of divine ordinances. I am tempted in this place to quote a sentence from a recent work, published in Russia, which gives the clue to the whole system of Military law as framed by Peter the Great, and which his successors have ever since uniformly adhered to. Here is the remarkable ordinance:—"All the estate lies in the Emperor; all must be done by him, absolute and despotic master, and he ought to give an account to God only. That is why every word injurious to his person, every judgment hostile to his actions or intentions, ought to be punished with death." Thus owing to these causes, the great principle that henceforth governed the social and economical development of Russia, was that, initiative in all movements for reform was to be taken by the Emperor himself, if the movements were at all to be successfully carried through. As for example, the emancipation of the Serfs or Russian peasants—one of the most glorious achievements of Alexander II's reign—was conceived and carried out by the Autocrat himself; although their sufferings were long known.

These poor Serfs, numbered no less than 21,625,609 souls, including agriculturists and domestics, and were practically the property of the proprietors. They had no legal rights and could be disposed of like ordinary chattel. The proprietors were bound to furnish the State with a specified number of recruits—a duty which they abused in the most flagrant manner. It was an instrument of extortion in the hands of these unscrupulous hell-hounds; and able-bodied sons of these Serfs were pounced upon indiscriminately, oftentimes far in excess of the actual number required. Disconsolate fathers oftentimes appealed for their sons' exemption; but large sums of money were demanded for their release. If warned before-hand, the Serf would clandestinely dispose of his moveable belongings, and the cash thus obtained would be stowed away in some hidden corner of the house from which he would on no account bring it forth; being afraid of still further persecution. The Proprietor armed with plenary powers, would in that case proceed to inflict corporal punishment upon him and the scene thus enacted was really most painful. The miserable Serf, thus hard-pressed, would often seek refuge in flight, fire-raising or murder. It was to these men that Alexander I, with characteristic philanthropy had given relief: by delivering them from the tyranny and persecution of their Russian masters. The population of Russia before the Emancipation was classified thus:—Out of 70,000,000, (the present population is 100,000,000) about 14,000,000 were free, and about 120,000 were slave owners or proprietors: of these about 1,500 were like princes, owning 6,500,000 serfs or on an average 4,000 or 5,000 serfs a piece; while about 20,000 held from 100 to 1,000 each.

The Russian Empire, according to the cultivated area of the country, was thus distributed, about the closing period of the Crimean War: it was either owned by the Emperor or by the noblesse, or was dedicated to religious endowments. The unhappy classes which usually came under the category of serfs were these: 1. prisoners of war; 2. freemen who got themselves sold; 3. insolvent debtors; 4. the peasants in general. This monstrous disposition was in full force until the eighteenth century.

In Russia it is impossible that the views of the Emperor or of the noblesse should find a place in the local Press. Free discussion is wholly interdicted. Books, treating of such impious subjects as the rights of man or individual liberty, or, containing strictures on monarchical power and prerogatives, are never permitted to cross the Russian frontiers. Nor can any publisher in the country dare to bring out such works. It is treason to sell or have such obnoxious works. Foreign residents who take

in foreign newspapers have to submit to a very unceremonious treatment at the hands of the Press Censor : who freely tampers with them, opening them and reading their contents ; and if he happens to find in them any thing of an objectionable character—the portion containing it is immediately cut off ; and the papers then allowed to be delivered to the addressee. The only way of getting a newspaper intact is to get it through the Ambassador or Consul of one's own country, and take its delivery personally.

Travelling in Russia is a most troublesome and annoying business. From the moment you cross the frontier, or set foot on Russian soil, you begin to feel that you are in the land of spies, where your movements are closely watched. You are perpetually dogged by detectives in plain clothes wherever you go. The very atmosphere, as it were, seems surcharged with some vague, undefined risks. Not very long ago, a distinguished countryman of ours, Babu Nishikant Chatterjee, who was Professor of Oriental languages at the University of St. Petersburg, published some dire personal experiences of that unhappy country. The learned Professor was sick of the irritating formalities to which he was being perpetually subjected. He was bored night and day by Police officials and detectives. So many ridiculous precautions (which became, at times, almost insulting) were taken to prevent his getting an insight into the affairs of the country ; so many mortal ceremonies he had to go through at every step—that he could no longer bear this nauseous boredom. He was obliged through sheer disgust to throw up his appointment and all ; and leave the country—where he was treated almost as a common prisoner—for good. The Professor afterwards spent some useful time in Germany.

Every citizen in Russia must have a passport before he can be allowed to go from one place to another. Even children (going to school), and domestic servants must produce their passports when leaving home. Friends visiting friends must intimate the fact to the nearest Police authorities ! Life in such a place must be a curse verily. Russians alone, with their extraordinary power of patient endurance and habitual passivism, can tolerate this state of things. Our own countrymen even, who are proverbially more gentle, meek, and submissive, than any other people in the world, and whose silent, unresisting nature has earned for them the unenviable epithet of the 'dumb millions,' could never tolerate such revolting thralldom.

In 1860, Prince Dolgorouski published a remarkable work in Paris, entitled *La Vérité sur la Russie*, in which he speaks with the authority of a born Russian :—"It is impossible

to print a book on Russia, except in a foreign country. There is a common affection in the beurocracy for official falsehood. And hence a strong fear and hatred of publicity. No justice in Russia. The suitor purse in hand, must go through ten processes before he can reach the eleventh. Formerly the alpha and omega of government was only the will of a tyrant. The administration is a den of venality of the lowest kind, every thing is sold, and may be bought. As for the Russian clergy, most of the bishops are shameless speculators." It must be borne in mind that the masses of the Russian people, who have to bear the brunt of this terrible misrule, have neither the means nor the opportunity like the Prince or men of his class, of ventilating their grievances from foreign countries; otherwise, we might be able perhaps some day—who knows?—to get from the people themselves a perfect harvest of these gloomy and painful tales. The voice of millions of Russian people is literally choked by an unrelenting Censorship, which forbids truth to transpire, and would not tolerate for a moment any utterance of grievance. With so much despotism at home, it is easier far to imagine than describe the condition of those foreign races who have the misfortune, by a cruel irony of fate, to be placed under the Russian rule. Imagination reels before such a conception, however.

Since the ventilation of inconvenient or hostile views, through organs of public opinion is a risky affair in Russia, public grievances generally take the form of ingenious squibs and satires in verse, which the masses read with avidity. During the reign of Nicholas, grand-father of the present Czar, a very remarkable metrical satire in manuscript (for no Press would dare to print it) was brought out, which, on account of its unusual interest, gained a world-wide popularity. We are sorry our limits do not permit us to reproduce the whole, which gives us such a true picture of the relations then existing between the rulers and the ruled, and of the internal condition of the country. We shall, however, content ourselves merely with giving a few choice extracts from the valuable work of Mr. Wallace. The tirade is in the form of an apostrophe by the people addressed to the Czar :—

" 'God has placed me over Russia,' said the Czar to us, 'and you must bow down before me, for my throne is His altar. Trouble not yourselves with public affairs, for I think for you and watch over you every hour. My watchful eye detects internal evils and the machinations of foreign enemies; and I have no need of counsel, for God inspires me with wisdom. Be proud, therefore, of being my slaves, O Russians, and regard my will as your law.'

"We listened to these words with deep reverence, and gave a tacit consent; and what was the result? Under mountains of official papers real interests were forgotten. The letter of the law was observed, but negligence and crime were allowed to go unpunished. While grovelling in the dust before ministers and directors of departments, in the hope of receiving *Tchins* and decorations, the officials stole unblushingly; and theft became so common that he who stole the most was the most respected. The merits of officers were decided at reviews; and he who obtained the rank of General was supposed capable of becoming at once an able governor, an excellent engineer, or a most wise senator. Those who were appointed governors were for the most part genuine satraps, the scourges of the provinces entrusted to their care. The other offices were filled up with as little attention to the merits of the candidates. A stable-boy became Press-censor! An Imperial fool became admiral!! Kleinmichel became a count!!! In a word, the country was handed over to the tender mercies of a band of robbers. And what did we Russians do all this time? We Russians slept! With groans the peasant paid his yearly dues; with groans the proprietor mortgaged the second half of his estate; groaning we all paid our heavy tribute to the officials.....'

"But amidst all this we had at least one consolation, one thing to be proud of—the might of Russia in the assembly of Kings. 'What need we care,' we said, 'for the reproaches of foreign nations? We are stronger than those who reproach us.' And when at great reviews the stately regiments marched past with waving standards, glittering helmets, and sparkling bayonets, when we heard the loud hurrah with which the troops greeted the Emperor, then our hearts swelled with patriotic pride, and we were ready to repeat the words of the poet,—

'Strong is our native country, and great the Russian Tsar.'

"And lo! after all our boasting we were taken by surprise, and caught unawares, as by a robber in the dark. The sleet of innate stupidity blinded our Ambassadors, and our Foreign Minister sold us to our enemies. Where were our millions of soldiers? Where was the well considered plan of defence; One courier brought the order to advance; another brought the order to retreat; and the army wandered about without definite aim or purpose. With loss and shame we retreated from the forts of Silistria, and the pride of Russia was humbled before the Hapsburg eagle. The soldiers fought well, but the parade-admiral (Menshikof)—the amphibious hero of lost battles—did not know the geography of his own country, and sent his troops to certain destruction.'

"Awake, O Russia! Devoured by foreign enemies, crushed by slavery, shamefully oppressed by stupid authorities and spies, awoken from your long sleep of ignorance and apathy! You have been long enough held in bondage by the successors of the Tartar Khan. Stand

forward calmly before the throne of the despot, and demand from him an account of the national disaster. Say to him boldly that his throne is not the altar of God, and that God did not condemn us to be slaves. Russia entrusted to you, O Czar, the supreme power, and you were as a God upon earth. And what have you done? Blinded by ignorance and passion you have lusted after power and have forgotten Russia. You have spent your life in reviewing troops, in modifying uniforms, and in appending your signature to the legislative projects of ignorant charlatans. You created the despicable race of Press-censors, in order to sleep in peace—in order not to know the wants and not to hear the groans of the people—in order not to listen to Truth. You buried Truth, rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre, placed a strong guard over it, and said in the pride of your heart: ‘For her there is no resurrection! But the third day has dawned, and Truth has arisen from the dead.’”

“‘Stand forward, O Czar, before the judgment seat of history and of God! You have mercilessly trampled Truth under foot, you have denied Freedom, you have been the slave of your own passions. By your pride and obstinacy you have exhausted Russia and raised the world in arms against us. Bow down before your brethren and humble yourself in the dust! Crave pardon and ask advice! Throw yourself into the arms of the people! There is now no other salvation!’”

The Russian Czars have not only been indifferent to all national reform, but have also been always actively opposed to them. A printing press was established during the reign of Ivan, but it was suppressed by Peter the Great. Types and book-binding were totally unknown till then. The Emperor Nicholas would often scornfully remark: “Attend to your military duties; don’t trouble your heads with philosophy. I cannot bear philosophers.” It would seem the Russian Czars have made a point of not giving their people the benefit of education;—lest it might open their eyes to their own wretched condition; and led them—(people) to question their (Czars’) divine rights; and demand redress of grievances. The result of this short-sighted, selfish policy could not be otherwise than that other European nations have so far got the start of them in point of civilization that, it is problematical whether the latter will be able to overtake them even in a century. They have no local manufactures worthy the name which could successfully compete in foreign markets, and, with all their national vanity, they have not yet been able to invent anything which could be of service to humanity at large. Far from attaining to originality in any modern science or art, they have been content to remain slavish imitators of their more advanced

neighbours. A certain writer, an authority on the subject, observes with much force :—

“Owing to the peculiar constitution of this empire, the arts and sciences, in general, are but secondary objects in the minds of the nation. The nobles deem no profession honorable but that of arms. Ambition would be thought to stoop if it sought any celebrity from excelling by the chisel, the pencil, or the pen ; hence, the finest talents among the high born are never directed towards any of these points. Military glory is all their aim ; and if it chances to be united with the spontaneous growth of any milder genius, it is well ; the possessor is pleased, and his friends delighted ; but no fame accrues from classical endowments. The study of the arts and sciences is left to slaves, or at best, to slaves made free ; and they, unhappy men, from being descended from the condemned race, can never, by any exertions of their own, assert the inherent nobility of nature’s gifted mind. Slavery is a taint that can never be erased : and thus the generous ambition of genius is cankered at the root.”

The vanity of the Russians is only equal to their sensitiveness. They cannot bear to be called ‘apes’ or imitators by foreigners ; and so resort to the ingenious plan of picking something from all nations, and so assimilating the whole as to make the copy appear original. The deception sometimes succeeds admirably.

Putting aside higher education, arts and sciences, we find even elementary education in Russia in a deplorably backward state. While the percentage of those who can read and write in Germany, France, and Great Britain is fifteen, thirteen, and twelve respectively, in the extensive dominions of the White Czar, it is only two, *i. e.*, less than what it is even in our own poor subject country (which has only made a *beginning* in that direction), if we exclude the female portion of the population which does not, as a rule, attend schools. There are only 19,658 schools in Russia, having on their rolls some 761,129 students, both male and female, which is surely an infinitesimal portion, as compared with a teeming population of ten crores.

The present system of Government (combined with the serfdom and ignorance of ages) has done its work in Russia. Such grand questions as the rights of man or the principles of freedom and enfranchisement, have not as yet entered into the domain of Russian thought. The Russian is only a physical entity. He has not yet entered either into the spiritual or the metaphysical stage of human existence. His mental development, too, is at a stand still. While by the exercise of their physical and mental qualities, the English, Dutch, and French have achieved such extraordinary triumphs in the regions of

practical art and the applied sciences, the Russian has sat morose at his door, calculating his chances of over-running the habitable globe. Panslavic ideas have absorbed all his thoughts, all his mental energies. Completely handicapped in the race, he has latterly aspired to the commerce of the world, and to realize this grand project, he has resorted to desperate shifts. From a moral point of view his condition, as we have already seen, is even more to be pitied. His nature often displays his native savagery now latent in him. He has sometimes been a drag even upon the civilization of Europe.

With a deranged financial condition and the gigantic national debt of £416,500,000, Russia persists in keeping up her military expenditure at a high figure. Out of a revenue of £124,563,000 per annum, she allots for her regular military charges about £19,655,757 a year; and, in addition to this, she has to pay annually a sum of £170,000,000, in part liquidation of her debts, incurred on account of her aggressive campaigns, *i. e.*, altogether a sum of more than 36 crores. What a striking commentary this is on the actual internal condition of Russia, which boasts so much of her greatness!

In all the extant histories of Russia which have found their authors not only among some of its own audacious writers, but also in various gifted foreigners, sufficient data exist to prove that even the highest officers of State are corrupt. From the poor subaltern of a regiment and the insignificant civil officer of the lowest grade, to the high class merchant and barrister—all are infected with the same malady. Baron G. Fr. Kolb, the great German Statistician and author of "The condition of Nations" says: "The officials are often intensely hated on account of the work of their office, but quite as often because of their venality and corruption." The lower classes of the people, such for instance as the peasant class, habitually indulge in all sorts of heinous crimes. Murder and incendiarism are their daily sport; while a widespread notion exists among all classes that, no trade can ever prosper, unless it is largely dashed with fraud and chicanery. Hence these degrading practices are among the fashionable vices that pervade all classes of business men, being sanctioned by a vitiated moral understanding. In case the money, wrongfully acquired, is returned to the owner, their consciences are eased, and they fancy that no wrong at all was committed. Supposing a church elder misappropriates certain public money, entrusted to him for charitable purposes, but happens to make it good before the institution of legal proceedings, his misdeed is condoned, and he will be eligible for

re-election! It is a notorious fact that Russian jury often acquit confessing offenders. We shall cite a typical case here. A certain prisoner was convicted of murder; but as it happened to be the evening of a great religious festival, the conscience-stricken jury considered it an unchristian act to return a verdict of guilty, and so he was acquitted!

Likewise, the morals of the Russian bar touching their profession generally are, without exception, largely tinged with a degree of venality and rapaciousness, which in more civilized countries would be condemned as utterly unprofessional. The usual devices to which these over-clever folk resort with a view to making money are, to frighten the poor clients out of their wits by the force and glitter of their legal jargon, using mouthfuls of technicalities, or by exaggerating the risks to which they might be exposed, and thus wheedle out of them a good round sum in the course of a case, on the plea of employing it in certain secret proceedings, as for instance, in bribing influential officials. The engagements between counsel and client are made privately and kept secret; and even if damaging facts sometimes leak out, they make no scandal, and excite little surprise. In this respect, public opinion in the country is so tame that conduct, which in England and other advanced countries would perhaps lead to serious results, is quietly passed over and held to be no detraction from the merits or reputation of a successful barrister. Regarding the character of the official classes generally, Mr. Schuyler observes: "It is perfectly well-known that in the provinces of European Russia almost every police and administrative official adds to his scanty income two or three and even ten times the amount properly received from the Government, getting it in various ways out of the public."

The judicial organization of the country, likewise, is of a primitive character. The Russian legal code being founded on foreign systems, chiefly French, is neither suited to the condition of the people nor understood by them. Where, according to their simple notions, a crime is only trivial, or no crime at all, the punishment awarded by the code, is sometimes disproportionately heavy, and consequently much dissatisfaction is invariably manifested. It is a pity that Russian authorities in their blind zeal to possess at once an enlightened code of laws in harmony with modern ideas, have committed the almost irreparable blunder of practically divorcing it from the prevailing notions and morality of the country. As in other matters, so in this, they have made forced attempts to reach the European standard, whether the country suffered from any real desideratum

or no. In 'aping' the civilized institutions of other nations, they are guided by the sole impulse that it may not be said to their discredit that, they are barbarians or backward to other contemporaneous nations. Trial by jury, the creation of Justices of the Peace, and such other advanced institutions, owe their existence to this insensate desire, and are persevered in despite grievous failures. Speaking of the Judges, Mr. Wallace, a very impartial writer, observes :—

" They were for the most part poor, indolent landed proprietors, who did little more than sign the decisions prepared for them by the permanent officials. Even when a judge happened to have some legal knowledge, he found small scope for its application, for he rarely, if ever, examined personally the materials out of which a decision was to be elaborated. The whole of the preliminary work, which was in reality the most important, was performed by minor officials under the direction of the Secretary of the Court. In criminal cases, for instance, the Secretary examined the written evidence—all evidence was taken down in writing—extracted what he considered the essential points, arranged them as he thought proper, quoted the laws which were in his opinion applicable to the case, put all this into a report, and read the report to the judges. Of course the judges, *if they had no personal interest in the decision*, accepted the Secretary's view of the case. If they did not, all the preliminary work had to be done anew by themselves—a *task that few judges were able, and still fewer willing, to perform*. Thus the decision lay virtually in the hands of the Secretary and the minor officials, who were entrusted with the getting up of the case. And in general neither the Secretary nor the minor officials were fit persons to have such power. *There is no need to detail here the ingenious expedients by which they increased their meagre salaries, and how they generally contrived to extract money from both parties. Suffice it to say, that in general, the chancelleries of the Courts were dens of pettifogging rascality.*"

The italicised portions in the above are especially instructive.



CHAPTER IV,

RUSSIAN REVELATIONS IN TURKISTAN.

When the moral condition of the Russian Government and the Russian people, at the very head-centre of the Imperial Government and in close proximity to the great civilized nations of Europe, is at such a low ebb, it may be interesting to enquire what must be the state of things in the outlying provinces of that huge empire. The administration of Russian Turkistan, for instance, is chiefly in the hands of a set of military officers, who are admittedly a very atrocious type of individuals, being considered by the higher Russian officials themselves as the scum of military society at home, who are generally of a very low mental calibre, and whose education and morality are best gauged by the light of the heinous acts they are daily committing to the shame of humanity, and by the serious malversations they carry on regularly and without the slightest fear of being detected, in the departments under their charge.

We have already had occasion elsewhere to notice *en passant* the salaries received by Russian Officers. We shall now speak on the subject somewhat at length. The salaries of officers in Russia as compared with the kind of service, or the responsibility attached to it, are, like those in most oriental States, extremely inadequate. The official salaries range so low as £160 a year. And General Kauffmann is of opinion that this is one of the main reasons why the officials in general are corrupt and dishonest. Mr. Wallace, in his famous work 'Russia,' has also some fit remarks to offer with reference to the same subject. He observes :—"The more intelligent and honest officials dislike being banished to outlying regions, and easily find employment near the centre of the empire. The consequence of this is that the administration of the outlying provinces is to a great extent, in the hands of men of little ability, or of tarnished reputation." Whatever may be the real cause of maladministration in these remote provinces, it is an admitted fact,—and not only historians and travellers, but the Russians themselves admit it,—that maladministration of a very shameless character does exist there. A distinguished Russian officer stationed in Central Asia, in his official report for the year 1871, makes the following remarkable confessions :—

"In the eyes of the natives we are far from being on the moral height on which we ought to have placed ourselves as soon as we

arrived in Central Asia. We have not been able to inspire the natives with confidence, which ought to be the principal source of our moral influence and of our political preponderance. The high moral qualities which ought to have carried the civilizing mission of Russia to the natives have been wanting. Most of the functionaries of our administration in Central Asia have been distinguished by their bad characters. They have wasted the money of the Crown on their own pleasure; and, notwithstanding that several of them have been pardoned while their inferiors have been condemned, the investigations which the Government ordered to discover the guilty parties lingered on for several years, and remained without results. The natives see all these regrettable facts, and comment on them in their manner. They say:—"How are the Russians better for us than the Khokandians? They also take away from us our daughters and our wives, and also love presents, and waste the money of the Czar as the Begs wasted that of the Khans."

"The Asiatics have not found in us what they hoped to see, and what we promised them; and consequently they can, without the least scruple, point their fingers at our social sores, for they see them and understand them better than we. Our example produces on the people that we have conquered, as well as on their neighbours, an impression much more unfavorable than will at first be believed. Our civilizing mission has been limited up to this time only to the propagation among this people of our paper money, and in return we appropriate all their faults. That cannot give them a high idea of our moral superiority, and this is the reason why for a long time since we have not pretended to rule the Asiatics otherwise than by the continual pressure of our arms."

So the Muscovite stands here self-condemned. One is more struck with the frankness of the above confession than with the hideous disclosures it makes. And it is really edifying to see even Russians coming round to acknowledge the superiority of moral pressure over brute force. But the Russian misrule in Central Asia seems almost past redemption.

Another conscientious public officer, Captain Antipih, Prefect of Ura-tepe, wrote a minute in the year 1872, from which we subjoin a remarkable extract:—

"We constantly demand more and more from the population. With regard to taxes, unfortunately, we are always demanding more and more. But what have we ourselves done for the people? To the economy and the life of the people, we have brought absolutely nothing, except eloquent speeches made in Tashkand and in the sessions of various commissions.

"It is clear, then, that since the occupation of the country by the Russians the condition of the population, in spite of all her promises, has not only not grown better, but on the contrary, is every day

getting worse and worse. How far this constant increase of taxes and imposts can go, the population of course cannot understand. It is, therefore, not strange that the frightened imagination of the Asiatics saw in the late collection of statistical information the desire of the Administration to get hold of their whole property."

Mr. Schuyler in his famous work, while speaking of the dishonesty and speculation of the Russian officers in Turkistan, asserts with much emphasis that, whenever their open misdemeanour was reported to the Governor-General, the latter functionary almost invariably let them off without even a reprimand. In case, however, any punishment was ever thought necessary, the penalty awarded consisted merely in the transfer of the defaulting officer to another district. Mr. Schuyler states from personal observation an incident which occurred in 1873. The perfect of the Kurama district, a very fertile and populous tract of country adjacent to Tashkand, had not only embezzled district saving funds to the tune of 22,000 rubles, but had also extorted a sum of 90,000 rubles, or about a lakh and a half of rupees, by illegal exactions from the people, who, however, were kept for a long time from divulging his misconduct. But when matters could no longer be concealed, and complaints began to be more general and widespread, it was thought decent to take some notice of the affair. The punishment chosen was one of transfer, in view of the usefulness of the man in other respects!

Under this head, Mr. Schuyler mentions another incident, which happened during the same year, and a version whereof also appeared in the Russian journal, *Golos*, in its No. 172. This was nothing more than the misappropriation of a capitulation tax collected from the nomads of Semiretch by the District Officer of Tokmak which with the interest amounted to more than 23,000 rubles. At the same time large sums of money had been expended by the officer without the usual formality of being shown in the accounts. But, as usual, he was simply transferred to another district,—by way of punishment as it affair was reported from another of the Turkistan districts, were. A similar where an official of the Public Works Department had, by forged orders, drawn a sum of 15,000 rubles from the treasury; but his superiors, instead of having him apprehended, at first tried to cook up the accounts, but when that could not be done, they assisted him in making good his escape! These are everyday occurrences in Central Asia—in regions where Russian rule has displaced Mussulman administrations. All suspicions as to possible partisanship of prejudiced writers must now be laid aside, since it is frankly affirmed by the

Russian officers themselves, that their administration of Turkistan has been a gigantic failure, and it is an undoubted fact that, all classes of Russian officials in Central Asia, as elsewhere, are deeply permeated with the vices of corruption, extortion, and peculation, of a most shameful character. Mr. Schuyler, in his exhaustive account of these transactions, goes on to describe almost incredible, though interesting, personal experiences which he had in the course of his peregrinations through the Russian provinces in Central Asia, and says that, when these scandals became the general topic of conversation in the official circles, and even found their way into the metropolitan press, General Kauffmaun, by way of hushing them up, appointed a commission of enquiry in 1875, under the pretext of 'revising' the system of administration. Although their authority was very limited, extending only to an inspection of the account-books, and they were not allowed to take down the deposition of the native inhabitants who had been the victims of official extortion all round, the Commission nevertheless succeeded in ferreting out the following facts, which they thus state in their report:—

"The expenses, as compared with 1872, have increased five times, and have increased in an entirely unproductive and arbitrary way, as they have not been called out by the actual needs of the population..... Special attention should be turned to the expenses for the repairs of roads, buildings, and bridges, which demanded more than 5,000 rubles. What called out such a great expense, whether it was absolutely necessary at the time given, whether the repairs were properly conducted, whether the prices for the work and material are regular, are questions which are not to be answered by any entries in the books or papers of the Regency. Nothing in the accounts shows that this and similar great expenses were called out by any necessity. The formation of an army of digits which existed only on paper; the construction of a hospital of four beds for a population of 15,000 men, and the yearly expense of 2,000 rubles for the repairs of this one room; the construction of a house for the district prefect on a large scale, and with luxurious furniture, which cost over 28,000 rubles; the heating of the Government buildings which cost nearly 4,000 rubles, although in 1872 but 1,000 had been necessary; the appointment of an Inspector of public buildings, with a salary of 600 rubles, who in the leisure time allowed from his official duties fulfilled the functions of cook for the district prefect; the wages of gardeners and of watchmen, the allowance made without guarantee to the district prefect, to the Judge, and to other persons; special grants of money to assistants of the district prefect and district physician—all these were expenses which were not called out by the communal needs and are not to be justified by

economical considerations, and certainly bring no advantage to the local population. We can only wonder that the military governor confirmed the tax estimates which had increased in this remarkable way."

The Commission goes on to say that many items of expenditure were not at all shown in the accounts. For instance, local fund collections, communal and "city taxes" were all collected by district prefects and military governors without the usual sanction of the Regency—a sham council of elected members, chiefly composed of natives from the conquered districts, which exists simply to slavishly endorse the proceedings of the officials, being itself profoundly ignorant of its duties and even of the rules and regulations by which it is supposed to be guided. And out of these collections, large sums of money were expended without receipts. The Commissioners allege that, whatever accounts do exist are living proofs of official mismanagement and extravagance. As a natural consequence of these high-handed proceedings, a wide-spread disaffection was fomented, not very long ago, in many districts. Tashkand and Hodgent were the chief centres from which the infection rapidly radiated to other quarters. A great disturbance of peace occurred at the latter place, followed by another in the district of Tchimkand. This was, to the Russians, a rude awakening. Their eyes were for the first time opened to the grim reality of the situation. A general rising was apprehended. It was evident that the germs of a seething discontent existed below the placid surface of things. To counteract a possible outbreak, all the Russian officials, including Russian subjects, were provided with arms and warned not to go about unarmed. A distinguished official from Kashghar writing at the time said that, the inhabitants of Tashkand and the adjacent Russian territory were constantly petitioning Yakub Khan, the ex-Amir of Afghanistan, to invade their country, and take them once for all under his fostering protection. But despite this chronic misrule, anyone who ventured to enlighten the public as to the real state of things in those regions was summarily punished, and even newspaper correspondents were placed under the ban.

Thus the Russian system of rule, such as it is, has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. The Russians perhaps have yet to learn that, direct taxation in Asiatic countries is the last thing which a Western administration should attempt, and that justice, good faith, and moral greatness are the only effective means for winning the confidence of the conquered masses. Examined by the light of European foreign influence which finds its fitting exhibition in the external pomp and glitter

that surround Russia, the empire, in the words of a saying current amongst us, resembles a huge Anglo-Indian structure, made by contract, which, though really made of sand and ashes, looks imposing in its external style and decorations.



CHAPTER V.

THE CENTRAL ASIAN QUESTION AND OUR POLICY.

In the foregoing pages we have attempted a truthful though hasty sketch of Russian progress, in its moral, intellectual, social, and economic phases—a sketch which may be taken to apply to all times, to all conditions of Russian life, and is not in the least affected by the vicissitudes of war or peace. Thus equipped, Russia has undertaken her vaunted mission in Central Asia, to scatter the so-called blessings of her civilization, over which the Russian people, and the Russian official classes in particular, go into ecstasies. However that may be, the development of Russian activity in those regions has suddenly reached a stage which demands a most serious and careful consideration at the hands of all concerned in the welfare of this great empire, and especially at the hands of those optimistic Englishmen who have been so long living in a fool's paradise, and stigmatising their political opponents as chicken-hearted alarmists and Russophobists, while permitting themselves to be fatuously duped by the bland and smiling assurances of mealy-mouthed Russian diplomats. Happily, the awakening has come, and with startling rudeness. The storm gathering so long on our North-west frontier at last burst; but before it could do much mischief it was fortunately stemmed. Instead of calling names, or entering into the merits of this "Anglo-Russian question" with a captious spirit, it shall be our endeavour, in a modest way, to point out the risks and dangers that are ahead, and if the British Government is warned be-times, and our countrymen for whom we have chiefly labored are enabled to get a clear insight into the actual state of affairs, we shall have felt amply compensated for.

It is very far from our desire to unjustly charge the Russian Imperial Government with bad faith, political dishonesty, and unholy ambition; for no Government, however just it might consider itself to be, can altogether escape those charges. Now we charge the Russians with aggressively trying to force an unprovoked war upon the English rulers of this country. Unfortunately there is no International Court of Justice, before whom such weighty political questions, involving the fate of nations, could be laid for impartial adjudication. Even if there was one, it is not likely that a powerful Government like that of Russia would tamely abide by its decision, if that decision happened to

be against its will. We are thankful to say that the Government under which we are living is far more civilized, far more rational (than that of Russia), ever ready to listen to the voice of reason and justice, and existing (at least professedly) for the benefit of the 250 millions of people committed to its care. Fancy shrinks before the conception of the system of rapacious despotism, (exercised by the Russian Government) which is, verily, a curse and a reproach to civilized humanity. But now we had better let the Russians, and their mode of Government, alone. We have had enough of them. What we have said in the preceding pages, must have had, we believe, the effect of very much opening the eyes of our countrymen to the real state of affairs in Russia.

Now let us turn to our own Government. Let us examine and take stock of the measures concerted by our Government to checkmate Russian advance. With this Government we can, at least, wage a war of words. We can remind it of its pledges and responsibilities, and can point out to her her failings and shortcomings. The Indian Government, we are sure, is not absolutely the unredeemed despotism it is sometimes painted. Under these circumstances, it is more to our purpose to enquire what that Government has done and is doing for our safety and protection in the face of this great menace. It would be mere presumption, we fear, on our part, to comment on the authoritative and weighty opinions of so many able and distinguished statesmen who have contributed, in no small measure, to the literature of this stupendous question. But we believe every well-wisher of his country owes it to himself, as also to his country, to point out to the ruling race, the sandbanks and quagmires, which thickly beset the successful administration of this great and rising empire. It cannot be hoped that, we can take upon ourselves the Government of this country even in the course of a century. Meanwhile, we fear our father-land seems destined to become the prey of contending nations, and the battle-ground for England and Russia, or any other Power, not yet risen, disputing for supremacy in Asia. It might be interesting to the Czar and his advisers to know what a native's idea is as to what a government in India ought to be. They may welcome, perhaps, a cursory insight into the real feelings of a genuine native towards the present Government of this country. But it is first necessary to give a rapid sketch of the developments which have lead up to this Central-Asian question.

Up to the year 1868, Russian advance, as we have seen, was limited to the confines of Turkistan proper, and British

statesmen, in their hallucination, believed that the chain of Hindu Kush mountains was an impassable barrier to their further progress in the direction of Hindustan. But in the following year, the Russians directed their attention to the Turcomans. About this period, when the Russians were preparing to advance on Khiva, the great Hungarian traveller, Professor Vambery, returned to Europe from his Central Asian tours. The professor paid a visit to England, and interviewed Lord Palmerston, then Prime Minister, whose fame as a successful upholder of (British) national dignity was then resounding throughout the civilized world. Professor Vambery drew the attention of the Premier to the rapid advance of the Russians; but the latter treated his apprehensions with good-humoured laughter, remarking: "Sir, in regard to what you say as to the Russian progress in Central Asia and the danger which threatens us, I believe that many generations will come and go before these things take place." After Lord Palmerston there were many changes of ministry, and Liberals and Conservatives held the chief power in succession; but Lord Palmerston's policy remained practically unchanged. Russia continued to advance, and every step of her advance was a surprise and created no little sensation at the time. But when the momentary fever caused by every fresh Russian advance would leave them, the British politicians would settle down again to their old condition of inveterate apathy. Glaring facts were ignored, and the flimsiest excuses or explanations which the Russian Government deigned to offer were swallowed without demur. The astute Russians had gauged their docile opponents quite remarkably. In the strange pliancy of the English Foreign Office they saw the unmistakeable hand of Providence. Glory seemed to invite them. As half-orientals they might have even imagined that the sweet amiability of the English nation was another and an agreeable illustration of the old saw that 'nobody could fly in the face of fortune'. It was really amusing to see how readily English politicians would often betray themselves into putting implicit faith in the "solemn" assurances blandly given by the Court of St. Petersburg. They would lull themselves to sleep if any chance opposition was offered to Russian arms by any of the Central Asian tribes; or if her hands happened to be too full to make a forward movement towards India. Thus, in 1873, the Emperor Alexander II., pledged his imperial word of honor that Khiva would not be molested. The imperial words were:—"Not only was it far from the intention of the Emperor to take possession of Khiva, but positive orders had been pre-

pared to prevent it, and directions given, that the conditions imposed should be such as could not in any way lead to a prolonged occupation of Khiva". Again in February 1882, M. de Giers, the Russian Chancellor, observed to Sir Edward Thornton, British Ambassador at St. Petersburg: "Russia had no intention of advancing towards Merve or Sarakhs, or occupying any territory beyond what was already in her possession". The Russian Foreign Minister continued: "However, with a view to preventing disturbance, I consider it to be of great importance that the boundary of that country from Khojah Saleh to the Persian frontier, in the neighbourhood of Sarakhs, should be formally and definitely laid down". How properly were these solemn promises kept, the world knows only too well. How in utter disregard of all plighted faith, the Russians on the 16th of March 1883, occupied Merve with a flourish of trumpets, justifying their action with the naïve excuse that the Merveli had made a *voluntary submission*! Of course this last incident, like many before, had simply the effect of only temporarily opening the eyes of unsophisticated English statesmen. Such warnings had come times without number, at first only arresting the attention and then, as the usual explanations were forthcoming, meeting with the same easy indifference which has always characterised the action, or rather inaction, of the English Cabinet. Lord Lytton's Government, likewise, had its attention called to the frontier, when Khiva fell and Khokand was subjugated. To an outsider, Lord Lytton's policy might have seemed active instead of being what it really was—passive—but, as a matter of fact, that policy even, whatever its intrinsic merits or demerits, was not a settled or definite policy, consistently pursued. The original demand of Lord Lytton was contained in a nut-shell. It was virtually this that, an English accredited agent might be received at Cabul, who should have "eyes to see and ears to hear" as to what was passing beyond the Hindu Kush. Had the Ameer only assented to this arrangement, which was not very exacting in itself, and had not his ill-advised perversity brought on, on his unhappy country, the calamities of a foreign invasion, and, subsequently, the occupation of part of his territories—Kandahar—Lord Lytton's policy would have remained the same, that is, what it was before the commencement of hostilities. Besides, Lord Lytton himself in his proclamation to the Afghan people, on the eve of the approaching crisis, had declared that, "as they have given us no offence, so the British Government, wishing to respect their independence, will not willingly injure or interfere with them." It is, therefore, simply paradoxical to suppose that the

idea of annexing Candahar or any portion of Afghanistan, had entered into the calculations of the Viceroy or his advisers, till long after the war was fairly commenced. The primary object of the invasion would seem to have been only to give a good "wiggling" to the refractory Ameer, as the penalty of his having broken with his old allies and gone over to the side of the Russians. Circumstances, however, of which nobody in the world could pretend to have had a foreknowledge, forced that other course to be subsequently adopted. However, to give fair play to all, we must say that the rupture was primarily due to the ambiguous, vacillating attitude of the English Government itself, which attempted the doubtful experiment of wooing the Ameer in a cold, half-hearted way. In fact, Shere Ali Khan imagined he was being gradually thrown over. The half-and-half, day-too-late attentions which the Government of India was in the habit of paying to its pet "hopeful," led the latter to believe that he was simply sported with, and that all the high value set on his so-called friendship was merely a buffer to advance its own interests. Be that as it may, whatever anxiety has been of late felt by the British Government in respect to the Central-Asian question, it is due altogether to the open avowal by the Russian Government itself of its real intentions in Central Asia. In July 1875, Mr. Doria wrote from St. Petersburg to Lord Derby, then Foreign Minister, the purport of a conversation he had had with Baron Jomini of the Russian Cabinet : "If England found it to her interests to annex Afghanistan to her Indian Empire, the Russian Government would not regard it as a menace to them, nor would they endeavour to prevent it, and that, therefore, they could not comprehend why the future absorption of Bokhara and Khokand raise such excitement and alarm in the minds of Englishmen." After this unqualified confession, follows the correspondence which took place between the two Governments, and which unmistakeably shows that the northern boundary line of Afghanistan was tacitly acknowledged by our Government to be the legitimate limit up to which Russian predominance might be tolerated. Under the same impulse, evidently, Mr. Disraeli, then First Minister of the Crown, spoke in the House of Commons in May 1876, that he should like to see Russian influence established in Central Asia, as the cause of civilization would be thereby benefited !

However that may be, the attention of the Indian Government was presently wholly absorbed by the momentous events which followed the repulse of their mission from Afghanistan. And all the resources of the empire were husbanded to castigate

the offending Ameer, and bring about a re-adjustment of former relations. But for all that, the last policy of Lord Lytton proved to be a gigantic failure. Unfortunately even that policy was not prosecuted with sufficient vigour; an incorrect estimate was formed of the national spirit of the Afghan people; and a feeble force—and that, too, by instalments—was sent forward to crush a savage and united race—a force which could neither inspire awe nor dread in their minds, and which was pre-eminently calculated to give them a very contemptible idea of the great Empire, bordering on their wretched country.

As a consequence, the Afghan alliance was, for the nonce, discounted. The *protégé*, who had been so munificently served all along, had repaid his debt with ingratitude and turned a base traitor. However, there was always one noticeable feature in this so-called Afghan alliance, which was flagrantly ignored by the Indian authorities. An ordinary observer might have detected that, this friendship was based from the very outset on mutual mistrust, arising from different causes. In the nature of things, it could not be otherwise. The Ameer (and the remark holds good of all the Ameers who have ever ruled at Cabul), a semi-barbarian Asiatic ruler, was, in the first place, suspicious by his very nature. In the second place, he was thoroughly conversant with all the general facts relating to the history of British rule in India. He had seen or heard how the small, insignificant trading Company had, by extraordinary turns of good fortune and masterly diplomacy, succeeded in reducing one Native State after another, till it rose, minerva-like, to be a great imperial nation, ruling the greatest empire in Asia. The Ameer, perhaps, could never bring himself to be easy at mind with regard to the English alliance, in spite of the sincere professions of friendship by the Indian Government. Besides, the oriental mind does not much appreciate a friendship which is based on high principles and noble intentions—a friendship which is always insisting on dealing in a straightforward and honest way with all questions, political or otherwise. For instance, the Ameer could never perhaps understand how it would be consistent with real friendship on the part of the British Government to help him *only on condition* that he never entertained any aggressive aims towards his neighbours. Would not a friend like a friend to be a little benefited? Would not a friend come forward gladly to help a friend in trouble, brought on by a too zealous prosecution of those aims? An offensive and defensive alliance, in the eyes of the Afghan ruler, was a mere fiction if it did not guarantee these simplest obligations of common friendship.

On the other hand, the Indian Government too never felt sure of the Ameer's friendship who, they thought, was liable at any moment to secede from the English cause, pressed by the seductive influences of a powerful and intriguing neighbour. That they never placed implicit reliance on his profuse professions of friendship is indisputably borne out by the fact that, they permanently guaranteed him an annual subsidy of Rs. 12,00,000 to keep that friendship, such as it was, in tact. This handsome subsidy, however, in the case of Ameer Shere Ali Khan, was simply frittered away.

It is only fair to say, therefore, that all these views, whether emanating from the Liberals or the Conservatives, and whether recommending an energetic or a peaceful policy, were seldom quite so sound or definite as one should have wished. Instead of boldly striking out for ourselves a clear line of action, our policy simply depended upon the varying freaks of Russian diplomacy. We contented ourselves merely with watching the varying attitudes of the Russian Government—its frowns and seeming concessions, its subterfuges and machinations, its infraction of solemn treaties and engagements, and its audacious denials of facts accomplished. We have been often roused to follow its proceedings closely,—at least so much of these as was allowed to transpire. We have invariably labored under a morbid feeling of anxiety and irritation occasioned by these proceedings; but have never seriously thought of at once striking the evil at the root, and removing, once for all, the cause of all our uneasiness. We have suffered the Russian incubus to weigh heavily on our bosoms since about a generation, during all which time, our policy has been marked by shameful indecision and nervous vacillation. We never asked ourselves what was our clear duty to the country, be the Russians advancing or receding, be the Ameer friendly or hostile. Sometimes, we placed our trust in Russian promises and assurances; sometimes a presentiment of dread would creep over us as we contemplated the undeterred progress of the Russian arms. At others, a desire to retain the Ameer's friendship at any cost, would predominate over other feelings. Sometimes even this happy dream was dissipated by a revulsion of feeling towards the unfaithful and fanatical Afghans, with whom it was worse than useless to wage a protracted war, and with whom to keep up friendly relations required the utmost tact and prudence.

The retention of Candahar and the adjacent country as an advanced post was at all times conceived to be a feasible plan,

especially in the face of tacit acquiescence on the part of the Afghan ruler. Such, in brief, were the ideas and sentiments which governed our whole course of conduct, and which practically prevented us from adopting a definite, steady line of action. And, strange to say, there were always present some self-sufficient individuals in the Government, who would laud this haphazard, vacillating policy as the very cream of statesmanship.

But now the climax has been reached. It is almost impossible to redeem the past or repair the mischief which our own shilly-shally policy has wrought. Among the many errors, which the Indian Government has been mechanically, as it were, led into, was the invitation and enthronement of Abdul Rahman Khan on the Cabul *masnad*. It is a notorious fact that he was a pensioner of the Russian Government, which at one time entered into a formal engagement with our own to restrain him from entertaining any hostile designs against his cousin, the late Shere Ali Khan. Dominion and an independent crown, supplemented by a princely subsidy, may have, to a certain extent, moderated his old rancour against the English. But he cannot be expected to believe that, this profuse munificence on the part of his benefactors, was actuated by a sense of his right to the Afghan sovereignty. He knows that he was invited to take up the reins of government, as a last bitter alternative, when no other suitable candidate was in the running. He feels, too, that he is courted and lionised not out of any real sympathy or any intrinsic merit of his own; but because he guards the great alpine gates to India, and furnishes the first line of defence against an invading force. He knows that he is provided with arms and ammunition, and a magnificent subsidy to boot, simply and solely to oppose the Russians, should they attempt a southward move. And he is not fool enough to ignore the circumstance that, his services might at any moment be dispensed with, and he himself sent about his business, if he was found to be unfit for that post of immense trust and responsibility, or failed to keep to his engagements with his hitherto capricious patrons. The fate of Yakub Khan must always remain a grave warning to him.

The moot-point in the discussion, however, is, Has the present Ameer offended the Russian Government by his adherence to the English cause? So far as appearances go, we imagine he has. We do not like to be the prophets of evil. We disclaim all intention to unnecessarily wound the susceptibilities of the present Afghan ruler. What we say is, who can tell if there has not existed a secret understanding between him and his old

patrons, the Russians, before his departure to take up his new charge, of a nature calculated to betray his present benefactors on a fitting opportunity. Every student of history knows that, the rulers of Afghanistan have had pretensions to the Valley of Cashmere. Supposing Abdul Rahman, after consolidating his position in Afghanistan by summarily removing all possible rivals to the throne, filling his coffers with Indian gold, arming his soldiery with weapons of precision, and raising strong fortifications all over his country with the help of English Engineers, in the way he has been lately doing, throws off the mask, and plays into the hands of the Russians, by which time also the latter may have thoroughly established themselves along the valleys of the Murghab and the Tjend, and ready to pour their battalions into the Herat or the Balkh province on the shortest notice! If this eventuality ever happened, Russian generalship, Afghan valour, and British gold and arms will have all combined to overthrow British supremacy in the East.

At the best, it may be alleged without fear of contradiction, the Afghan alliance is not to be trusted—at any rate, entire reliance should not be placed on the assurances of the Ameer. We should not neglect the defence of our own natural frontier in our blind zeal to strengthen that of our so-called Ally. We could afford to fritter away any sum for defensive works within our own natural frontier, rather than lay out millions for works, which at best we can never claim as our own, and which might be handed over to our enemies or lost to us for good by an unforeseen turn of events. We had much rather seek our “scientific frontier” on the banks of the Indus than on those of the Hari Rud. A wise, vigilant, and circumspect policy should be our guiding principle in view of the approaching struggle. Meanwhile, Russian pledges may be accepted, but with caution and reserve, and Afghan alliance recognised and fostered, consistently with our own vital interests. Whenever, dealing with this difficult and delicate Central-Asian, or rather Russo-Afghan, question, we must place before our mind’s eye facts which have become matters of history, and refuse to be judged by mere sentiment or blind conjecture. The facts are that, since her advent into the regions of Central Asia, Russia has been continually pledging her honor to abstain from all interference in its affairs, and as often violating those solemn pledges. Not to go farther back, Khiva was conquered as late as 1873, Geok Tepeh fell in 1880, Merve was occupied in February 1884; while military outposts were thrown successively into Sarakhs, Pul-é-Khatûn, and Zulfikâr on one side, and Pul-é-Khisti and

Panjdeh on the other, during the current year. Equally patent facts are that Russian agents have, before this, constantly visited an Ameer (not the present one though) with a view to their own ends, and responsible officers like the Governor-General of Russian Turkistan, General Kauffmann, have turned their leisure to valuable account by exchanging friendly mis-sives with that ruler. The last, though not least, group of facts is that, a ruler of Afghanistan has, before this, fallen out with the Indian Government, refused our accredited mission, received several from our enemy, belied all professions of friendship with us, ill-repaid all our past favours, and broken faith generally. These are stern facts, admitting of no extenuation or qualification, which it would be better for our rulers to bear in mind. History repeats itself often, and we have no guarantee that these incidents will not be repeated at some future date. We deliberately leave aside the question of the forthcoming delimitation of frontier, as a question which does not in the least affect the arguments we have adduced, and which could not be a dominant factor in the future course of action which either Government, and especially our own, might be compelled to adopt.

Taking into consideration all the issues of the broad question—the rivalry of England and Russia for ascendancy in the East—how is the intervening problem, What is to be the ultimate fate of Afghanistan, to be solved? The solution of this important question rests, in a great measure, on the future line of action, which the Russians may choose to take, and also on the strength, moral and material, which our own Government may be able to put forward as a counterpoise. When the two frontiers, we mean the Russian and the Afghan, have been brought into such close contact, Russia will have naturally acquired the same relations with Afghanistan, as we have the good fortune to possess at the present day; and with the exception, perhaps, of ordinary international disputes regarding frontiers, which are usually got over by means of our modern paper treaties, our Government, will have been virtually deprived of the preponderance she enjoys to-day. In that case, it might be urged with much plausible reason that, the Russian Government possessed greater facilities for interference in Afghan affairs than are possessed by the British Government in Egypt. It is a foregone conclusion that, frontier disputes will be abundantly rife; and probably the Ameer, whoever he may happen to be, in response to the request of either party to allow it to cross his frontiers, will be constrained to say to either, as equal ene-

mies of Islam, in the famous words of the Afghan Prime Minister, Noor Mahomed Khan, when interviewing Sir Lewis Pelly:—"In the first place, the people of Afghanistan have a dread of this proposal; and it is firmly fixed in their minds, and deeply rooted in their hearts that, if Englishmen or other Europeans once set foot in their country, it will sooner or later pass out of their hands. In no way can they be re-assured on this point, and it is impossible to remove these opinions from their minds". In short, it cannot be pretended that the entry of the British into Afghan territory, under whatever pretext, would be welcomed by any section of the Afghan people. They will resent it, as they have so often done, with fatal consequences to ourselves. It is the policy of "drift" that trusts to blind chance or seeks a haven of temporary security in adventitious alliances. It betrays its want of inherent vigour, and stultifies us, as a great Power, in Asia. It is verily a buffer which conceals from our view our own real position, and is illusive enough to betray us into false steps, as it has more than once done. It is unquestionable of course that the more Russia advances from the west, the more the English will advance from the side of India, until, not improbably, both the English and the Russian frontiers would join hands, as it were, in an attitude of perpetual hostility, and Afghanistan be gradually partitioned between the two Empires. From the European standard, such a partition would perhaps be looked upon as a rare blessing. The verdict would, not improbably, go forth that, a petty State, in a miserable corner of the earth, which could not justify its existence by acquiring civilization on its own account, was improved off its face by two great civilized powers, bent on eradicating barbarism from such dreary, inhospitable regions. Such ideas would prevail in enlightened Europe. From the Russian point of view, the acquisition of these new interests (not to speak of the obvious impetus which the Russian trade would thereby receive, by finding fresh markets for her local manufactures) would place the Russians in this enviable advantage that, in all disputes occurring in future, they would have the opportunity to bring to bear on the English Government, friendly or hostile influence, as policy or circumstances might dictate. This phase of the question may not, perhaps, be clearly realised by the uninitiated; but it is nevertheless a contingency which might at any time occur, and that by slow and gradual developments, as the inevitable consequence of all that has preceded.

However, so long as the independence and integrity of Afghanistan are living facts, the result of Russian activity promises

to be nothing more than mere diplomatic fencing, of a more or less successful character, if the past can be any guide to the future. The great and momentous question, however, remains,—What provision is to be made, meanwhile, to avert the threatening danger? Rumours of a great scheme for strategic railways, defensive fortifications, and the increase of general armament are in the air; and it is needless to say their practical realization would be looked forward to by the Indian people with the greatest concern and satisfaction, provided the country be not saddled with any unnecessary extra charges into the bargain.

We find it difficult to agree with Sir Henry Rawlinson and politicians of his school that, whatever progress Russia has made in Central Asia, is only a practical development of her original design to invade India at some future date. It is true that, in proportion to the area of her conquests, she has not been much materially benefited, and has rather had to sacrifice her best blood and treasure. But when she realized that in Europe, all possible outlets for her progress and activity were barricaded with bristling steel, what better field, we ask, than Central Asia, could be recommended for the display of the many-sided talents of her intrepid, bellicose officers. In all engagements that took place in Central Asia, the natives fought with old, rusty matchlocks; and a few weeks' skirmishing invariably sufficed to settle the whole business. Thus, the field of operation was ever expanding and was almost uninterrupted, rendering every step in advance, a fresh inducement to a further advance. To a certain extent, sometimes, the truculence of the neighbouring tribes, or the peculiar constitution of the conquered country itself, or perhaps the exceptional organisation of the society inhabiting it, offered a fresh temptation to extend the sphere of operations.

Likewise, we cannot be brought to concur in the opinion, generally expressed, that our own Government is a poor match for the Russians. The land forces of our enemy, are certainly superior to our own in point of numbers, as we have already seen in another place; but then our moral strength, so to say, far exceeds his. It is true that, Russia spends the greater portion of her revenue in her war department, squandering as much as 29 crores per annum in actual military charges, connected with the regular services and the establishment, and 4 crores in her naval establishment, besides 17 crores more, which are annually devoted to the reduction of her enormous national debt, incurred on account of these wars. Out of a total revenue of £124,563,000 per annum, the figures given above represent no less than 40 per cent., which are absorbed by the military ex-

penditure alone of the Empire ! But a protracted war between two civilized powers (Russia is, by the way, quite equal to the modern civilized standard of military equipment) means a heavy outlay, which no country in the world, however rich, can meet out of its normal revenues, and which is always met by gigantic foreign loans. In the matter of relative national income, happily, our own Empire comes out stronger. Leaving a wide margin for all accidents, the British Empire, including India, collects annually a sum of about £288,000,000, or more than twice as much. In point of population, the disparity is even more pronounced. While the Russian Empire contains 100,038,000 souls at the outside, the British Empire has a teeming population of more than 31 crores ; or more than thrice as much. While in moral and intellectual greatness and all other respects, the United Kingdom assuredly carries away the palm.

We, however, labour under one great disadvantage, which might upset all our happy calculations. Without affecting to find fault with our constitutional form of Government, (although we native Indians have not yet come in for an adequate measure of franchise), which, we are bound to concede, is perfect so far as it goes, we beg, for the nonce, to institute a contrast between the Russian system and our own. In Russia, the absolute will of an absolute autocrat, directs all the machinery of the State—a method which secures to Russian policy, a degree of stamina, secrecy, and continuity, so grievously lacking in our own. In the secret conclave of a Russian cabinet might be hatched a certain policy, which would never transpire until it has accomplished its end. Whereas, in England, no Cabinet Minister is authorised to conceive and carry out a policy, without first submitting it to the scrutiny and judgment of the nations' representatives, assembled in the House of Commons. Every act and policy must be made the subject of a stormy controversy, and every side of it discussed threadbare before it is adopted. Party conflicts may be and are very good for purposes of domestic legislation ; but for large measures of Imperial concern, they do not, we fear, answer so well. Privacy in State matters is the golden rule, which is seldom broken with impunity. This privacy is not secured to any measure that comes before Parliament. Without interfering in the legitimate aspirations of the public to be taken into confidence with regard to all public measures and questions, a scheme for protecting great State secrets might be devised with the best of results in the long run. We do not pretend to suggest the lines such a scheme ought to take. We only suggest that such a scheme is necessary in the interests of the Em-

pire. The frontier question has become so universal that, it is now accessible to the meanest understanding; and, moreover, since our quarrel with the great Northern Power would seem to be an eternal one, the British people, as a great practical nation, may not, we hope, be above adopting such measures as would ensure the safety of our country, and, for that matter, the protection of our lives and property. Would it be presumptuous to suggest a cautious and partial re-organisation of our Parliamentary system under the circumstances, so as to minimise the evil effectually? Statesmen like our present Viceroy, with their rare gift of diplomatic talent, and large and varied experience in the arena of practical politics, might be expected to be equal to any emergency, and might be able to grapple with any difficulty, however great or intricate. But unless the system itself is revised, no adequate measure of relief need be looked for, and the incipient evil will linger on, to the confusion of our foremost statesmen. In all cases, when the country might be about to embark on any great Imperial policy, the leaders of both political parties should make it a point first to come to an agreement whether the policy in question involved momentous issues or not. If it was found to do so, then on an appointed day, it might be laid before the House, when a discussion on its merits should take place, and a division taken in the usual manner. But simple party majorities should never be allowed to carry the day. It might be made compulsory that, the support of at least one-half of the members of the opposition should be enlisted before the policy would be put into practice. If this method were adopted, we are sure, our foreign policy in regard to questions where our national honor was concerned, would be sounder and more consistent than it has ever been, and party prejudice would be successfully knocked on the head.

We believe that, as circumstances at present stand, the best precautionary measure that our Government can concert, with the greatest amount of safety, is to strengthen our own natural frontier, and, by degrees, add to our moral, economical and military prestige.

To increase our armament to the level of the Russian would be simply to add to the burden of the already groaning India. Indian revenues from local industries and the soil, as compared with the area and population of the country, and relatively to other countries, are simply insignificant; while the development of every reform and civilised institution, depends almost entirely on State aid. The country is admittedly one of the poorest in the world. Even the amount which our military item already absorbs, is regarded by our countrymen as an unmitigat-

ed burden. Under the circumstances, the wisest alternative, barring a moderate expenditure in the absolutely necessary quarters, in our humble opinion, would be, to throw open the door of citizen-soldiership, of course with caution and necessary qualifications at the outset, to the loyal and educated gentry of the country. Patriots of approved loyalty to the Throne, whose legitimate aspirations to serve their country have been hitherto withering under the cold shade of official discouragement, might be usefully enrolled as volunteers to defend their hearth and home from the common enemy. A corps or two of these "loyalists" might at once be formed, as a tentative measure, being recruited from those classes who, by their physique and education, have distinguished themselves specially to merit the Imperial favour. A measure like this, initiated with tact and discrimination, with its basis enlarged cautiously and by degrees, would, in a few years, raise an army corps of at least one hundred thousand, well-equipped and well-disciplined men. A concession like this, given for the asking, would not fail to conciliate the warlike races at a pinch, and secure the staunchest support and allegiance of the Indian people at large. There exists in this country a perfect profusion of 'raw material' in the shape of what may be called unrecruited levies, which might, with a little care and patronage, be turned into the strongest bulwarks of the Empire, and at paltry cost. However, if the concession is delayed, till popular clamour forces the hands of Government, as so many other concessions have done before this, we are afraid, all the gracefulness of the measure will have vanished, and the concession itself might come to be looked upon as a shabby compromise. To avoid this risk, which seems inevitable, it were better if early attention were bestowed on the question and a practical solution speedily arrived at on its merits. The concession we need hardly say, would prove to be an imperishable monument of Lord Dufferin's reign, nay it would be a source of strength instead of weakness, as insinuated in some quarters.

The other scheme which we would fain beg leave to submit for the consideration of the authorities, is pregnant with still better results. Indeed, it has been the subject of some acrimonious controversy already between certain sections of Indian politicians, and, for the time being, would seem to have ended in a *fiasco*. At all events, it is still in abeyance. The scheme in question is nothing more nor less than the practical reclamation of the armies of the Native States from what may be called their 'tagrag and bobtail' character. It has been asserted that these armies, put together, are twice as large

as the Anglo-Indian army ; or in other words, they number about 300,000 men. But this large number is rather deceptive. It no more represents the real strength of the Native States, than does their gorgeous equipage their actual financial position. The native levies are largely composed of worthless irregulars, armed and disciplined according to the queer old fashions of feudal times, and led by chiefs, whose notions of military science have, at least, the merit of being original, if not sound. Except for show, and as a gaudy remnant of the gorgeous past, they seem to be incapable of doing so much as even police duty at home, or inflicting any palpable harm on the disciplined forces of a European Power. They have not been taught any sort of discipline, and their *morale*, generally, is of the very lowest. In fact, they have hitherto proved a tremendous drain on the exchequer of the Native States, and a very troublesome nuisance in times of disturbance or unusual agitation. To disarm these ponderous levies would be the height of folly, if not actually suicidal. Despite what Anglo-Indian Jingoese may choose to say as to the expediency of disarming them, we beg to submit (and venture to say that our opinion would be echoed throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula) that the course is fraught with not a little moral retribution in the long run. It would prove to be a death-blow to British credit and British honor in the East. In times gone by, our Foreign Office was credited with a lively knack of cultivating mutual mistrust in its relations with the Feudatory Princes of India. So if the Russian scare had taken place in those times, our Government would have been, we are afraid, morally impotent. The support and alliance of these Princes cannot certainly be under-rated. In our approaching struggle with the armies of the Czar, their aid—even moral aid, we say—would be most valuable. Whilst their disaffection in such a crisis, even though they might be induced to place their contingents at the disposal of the Paramount Power, would be most undesirable, and might prove to be the precursor of untold troubles, we had almost said, disasters, to the British Empire. It cannot, therefore, be too earnestly brought home to the authorities that, an unalloyed good would result if the policy of mistrust were abandoned for good, and the Native Princes taken freely into the confidence of the Indian Government, in all matters connected with their mutual defence and protection from an external enemy. The present rabble forces of the Native States might, with advantage, be converted into a regular army ; some portion of which might be utilised for internal work and garrison duty, and the rest as a strong reserve force. One cannot gainsay the advantages that would

accrue to the whole Empire by a wise assimilation of the two armies, provided the matter is dealt with in a spirit of mutual sympathy and straightforwardness, and no invidious obstacles are thrown in the way of this happy and much-desired arrangement.

By a wise and careful adoption of these two courses, *viz.*, the organisation of native volunteer corps, and the re-organisation of the Native armies, much of the present and prospective cost in our Military Department would be directly curtailed. The increased expenditure could not be met by a fitful recourse to direct taxation, which would be very obnoxious to the people; nor indeed by a recourse to that other equally injudicious alternative, the raising of a large State loan. As a happy mean between these two desperate extremes, the methods we have taken leave to suggest above would, we think, answer most satisfactorily from a financial point of view which, in all cases, is the most important consideration.

This is the positive side of the question. We must now look at the other side. The disarming of natives, as a practical measure, might have been a wise step so far as it helped to restore order at one time; but for a great nation, to perpetuate a measure of temporary expediency by a rigid adherence to its vile provisions, in season and out of season, is, to say the least of it, the height of indiscretion. It cannot fail to be disastrous in the end, as the Government of India must feel to their cost. It may indeed be allowable for a civilized State to temper and moderate the truculent and restless spirit of a warlike nation by the adoption of wise restraints. But to incapacitate that nation, for all time to come, for all warlike purposes by a foolish resort to violent means, calculated to permanently impair its physical energies and moral courage, is simply suicidal. Measures like these would be wise enough only so long as they did not interfere with the manliness of a great nation. National degeneracy and individual cowardice are sins, for which responsible administrations must answer, and for which they will have oftentimes to repent and pay dearly. That glorious Indian aristocracy, the members of which loved to wear arms, side by side with blazing jewellery, and who had inherited from their illustrious sires the noblest traditions of chivalry, and cherished them with a dignified pride, now shrink in abject terror at the mere mention of arms and battles; and, what is still more humiliating, have become a set of obsequious flatterers, who do not hesitate to stoop to the meanest truckling to power, and who have bartered away their consciences and sold their self-respect. They whine with

servility before authority, and bow reverently to all acts of high-handedness. It pains us to dwell on this melancholy subject. Our regret is the greater, because we don't look for any speedy reform in this direction. Suffice it to say that the Indian people as a nation have lost all touch with the profession of arms; and the demoralization has permeated the ranks of the bravest races, such as the Sikhs, Rajputs, and Pathans. What is the dismal result? We have to depend for our protection on foreign legions, and a mercenary native army, whose services we retain at the sacrifice of about 16 crores of rupees a year!

Perhaps it would be useless too strongly to emphasise the oft-repeated fact that, in the disturbances of 1857, the mass of the Indian people refrained absolutely from taking part, and shunned the mutineers as firebrands and anarchists of the worst description—a class, indeed, which still forms the bulk of our native army, and whose proportion is as two to one to the European soldiers garrisoned in India. Despite all this, the Indian Government has made so much fuss over this arms question that, what with inflexible restrictions as to their retention and the almost prohibitive duty levied on it, the Indian people have been all but practically deprived of them as a means of personal and national defence.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GOVERNMENT, ITS OFFICERS, AND NATIVE GRIEVANCES.

We have elsewhere alluded to the subject of Government improving its moral tone in its relations with the natives. What we mean by this is that it should, by removing those causes of dissatisfaction, which unhappily an invidious system of administration, and sometimes the individual conduct of Anglo-Indian officials have helped to produce, enlist the sympathies of a population rapidly verging on disaffection. Up to the present moment, Government has practically thrown away all opportunities for conciliating the native races by a direct appeal to their sympathies. In Indian politics, it is not so much what you are able to do as what you sincerely intend to do, for the people, that actually wins their hearts and satisfies them. Hundreds of bills may be proposed and passed in the Legislative Council, without the people being ever the better or worse for them, so far as their devotion to the country, that gave them light, was concerned. This is the keynote to their whole character, and gives the clue to how they may be successfully governed—a clue of which Lord Ripon availed himself so largely and with such signal success. Without in the least exaggerating the situation, it is our deliberate opinion that, the first task to which Government can usefully devote itself, is to touch the main-springs of Indian grievances with a sincere wish to redress them. It cannot be too strongly brought home to the rulers of India that, unless the nation at large is able spontaneously and unanimously to say (like the Englishman when referring to his own country and Government), “Our Empire,” “Our Government,” “We who constitute this vast Empire, &c.,” it will never actually feel that it is not down-trodden by an alien bureaucracy.

Without wishing to wound the susceptibilities of those estimable fellow-countrymen, who delight in nodding ‘Quite so, Huzoor,’ to the smallest crumbs of official condescension, and who may find it convenient to brand us as rampant sedition-mongers, we give it out as the result of our mature observation that, a seething discontent, more or less acute, does permeate many classes of the Indian people. No doubt there must exist, according to the degree of culture and enlightenment of the disaffected, a wide divergence as to the manner and matter of their complaints; but nobody can venture to deny that there is not a single soul among our teeming masses which is devoid of certain

specific grievances. The highly educated, whose sphere of thought and action is totally different to that of any other section of the community, and who, moreover, have the advantage of a larger stock of information on almost every conceivable subject, enabling them, with comparative ease, to grasp and discuss all political questions of the day, are aggrieved because they are haughtily treated by their conquerors. They bitterly complain that, the lofty airs of the Englishman and his contemptuous exclusivism have not only flagrantly impeded the course of general progress and reform, but have in many prominent instances, done actual wrong. Now to deny the pride of the Englishman would be to deny his national existence. This pride, in an intensified form, rules the inner consciousness of his Anglo-Indian prototype in this country. In fact our first impression regarding this trait of the English character was that, it was nothing but natural that a superior race, imbued with high aims and backed by noble traditions, should be inclined to look down upon us as an inferior race,—crushed by successive waves of conquest, and ground down by an irresponsible despotism. It was nothing but natural, we thought, that a cultured man of the town, or a country gentleman of good breeding and high family, should feel tempted to sneer at a vulgar clown of uncouth manners. But if you look beneath the surface, you will find that these conditions hardly hold water in the kind of haughtiness displayed by our friends, the Europeans in India. Theirs is the kind of pride which only a conqueror can feel and show, and which acts at times, as it were, like an evil inducement to our countrymen to be roused to a sense of their position and feel inclined to efface the bitter memory of their past humiliation. In fact, the over-weening Englishman by his attitude would seem to say: “Unless you can alter your natural position of a conquered race, we cannot alter our attitude of contempt.” What is more lamentable, his over-bearing manners are completely divorced from all consideration of politeness or courtesy. Our men of position and culture, and even our Princes, come in alike for a share of the rudeness at the hands of the commonest and most insignificant Englishmen. Those who have come in actual contact with these can alone realise what we say. The Anglo-Indian is intoxicated with his pride of a conqueror, and because he can boast of national unity he can afford to laugh to scorn all possible consequences of his rude manners, and is rather encouraged than otherwise to persist in them.

That this peculiar attitude of the Anglo-Indians is called forth by any vulgarity in the manners or behaviour of our coun-

trymen in general, does not appear. Excepting, of course, the classes which come under the general head of the "great unwashed," and whose frailties, need we say, are the same all over the world, we have got here in India, a very large class of persons—the great middle class of the country—whose manners and general deportment compare favourably with those of identical classes in any civilized country in the world. There may be peculiarities in etiquette and other conventionalities of polite society in one country differing as widely as ever from those in another. But these need not embarrass a really cultured man, who may, at a glance, detect where mere conventionality lies, and where real good breeding. It is really a great injustice to a people to judge of its virtues and vices by one's own national standard. It is quite natural that, in the presence of a foreigner, with whose social manners one might not have much acquaintance, one may feel disconcerted, diffident, and suspicious, and perhaps even forget one's own good manners in the anxiety to make one's self understood or to appear courteous to the other party, according to the latter's tastes, which have been, in nine cases out of ten, only vaguely surmised. Hence arise blunders in our own manners, misconceptions in the minds of others, and, perhaps, a sense of pique and consequent disrespect in both. Besides the hereditary princes and the ancient aristocracy, we have got in India a very considerable class of gentry—the *Shurafâ* as they are called,—whose respectability and good-breeding are as ancient perhaps as humanity itself. We include of course both Hindus and Mahomedans in this category. The forefathers of these, in days gone by, had won imperishable renown in the field, or as social or religious reformers, had acquired considerable local influence over the masses. The profession of arms in those 'good old days' was reckoned to be the noblest, and emperors and subahdars vied with each other to win the allegiance of these gentlemen. But how do they fare to-day? They are fast dying out—in the political sense! The Anglo-Indian rule has gathered round itself dissembling fools and fawning toad-eaters. It is the peculiarity of that rule to foster and encourage such men. Unhappily, there have been many backslidings, of late, even among the *Shurafâ*; but the majority still cling to their traditions, and disdain to lower themselves by adopting the new creed. From the European standpoint (which is the modern one), however, they have lost all traces of civilization, and can boast of no material wealth, their country having passed through so many successive revolutions. Though riches and material splendour, have long since departed, yet all the elements of social breeding, which go to

from an honest, upright man still exist in them in full force. They care not so much for wealth as for personal honor and self-respect. Yet what is the sort of treatment they receive at the hands of the Saheb, Mem Saheb, Ayah, or the vulgar Khânsama? Execrable, as all the world knows. The airs of the Ayah, a class generally recruited from the scavenger caste—the lowest in the Indian society—or of the Khânsama, who are invariably picked up from the lowest stratum of society, are particularly nauseating and offensive, in that they are tinged with the presumption, *viz.*, of being Saheb's servants, who is the Lord anointed of India's dumb millions.

The conceit of the Anglo-Indians does not display itself merely in their social relations with the natives, but, as we have said, is sometimes the cause of far reaching mischief. The smallest displeasure of the Mem Saheb or of her 'lord and master' has, times out of mind, set in motion the formidable executive machinery of the State, causing the disgrace of some of the most respectable Hindu and Mahomedan families, and injuring their vital interests. The natives have a quaint saying among themselves that, the gaunt apparition of slavery has not yet been wholly exorcised from their country, but has, through the evolution of time, appeared in a new, and more frightful form—that of a white Brahmarâkhshasa! Even the pettiest English officers in the public service are, as a rule, so deeply imbued with their insular prejudices about superiority of caste and social exclusivism that, they regard all our humble efforts for reform and national improvement with extreme jealousy, if not with absolute hatred; while their official position and credit at all times give them peculiar opportunities for sounding the ears of their superiors in office, with evil reports and malignant tales, prejudicial to the varying interests of individual natives or of the native society at large. They have the power to nip our national aspirations in the bud at one stroke of their pen, and they, not unfrequently, use that power with a vengeance. They are so savagely intolerant of all attempts at equality that, unless you absolutely cringe to them, they regard even your polite freedom with unconcealed vexation and disrelish. The result is that many honest native gentlemen, of high birth and social position, have still a natural abhorrence to call on these official magnates, and studiously hold aloof from them. And they have to bear this scurvy treatment, because they have a dark skin, which they cannot polish off! The white Brahmin is an enemy of our national progress, and lets no opportunity escape to throw obstacles in the way of that consummation or cripple it permanently. Thus it is that his ostentatious impartiality and seeming

honesty of purpose, in the matter of agrarian disputes between landlord and tenant, and in questions affecting the commercial interests of the subject population, and his frigid antagonism to all our national aspirations for political rights and privileges, are accounted for.

To rake up the dire memory of the ill-fated Ilbert Bill in this book, would be to exhume and vitalise the crumbling bones of a painful, though long-forgotten, controversy. The unearthly clamour which accompanied it, and which shook the Indian empire to its very base, must still be ringing in the ears of some. But the fact remains that, that little measure which purported simply to remove caste inequality in the eye of the law, not only brought out in full force all the latent elements of race antagonism and fierce partisanship against the native races, but also dragged the viceregal throne itself through the mire. Everybody is familiar with the history of that eventful period, and we have no wish to soil our pen with a description of it. But it must be remembered that, while themselves preaching sedition and anarchy on the basis of divine right of conquest and dominion, the Anglo-Indians had the hardihood to assert, as some of the "heaven borns" persist in doing to this day, that all this bad blood and revolutionary spirit was due simply and solely to the intractable perversity of Lord Ripon. And they gloried in the plenitude of their insurrectionary triumph ; while the discomfitted natives (as they were thought) of the soil hid their diminished heads through horror and dismay. This Ilbert Bill had, at least one unlooked for effect. The natives had not, until then, felt inclined to formulate any specific or systematic charge against their Anglo-Indian brethren for affecting superior caste : they had only been hitherto vaguely charging this upon them. But now that charge was placed beyond all possibility of question or misgiving, and for the first time assumed a tangible shape.

Some of our patriots had hoped that, by gradually taking part in the administration of their country, they would be able, in the maturity of time, to take upon themselves the functions of Government. And, indeed, their dream had been partly nursed by high-souled Englishmen themselves. But the implacable hostility of their conquerors, and their ingenious methods of evading native demands, have placed an almost insuperable barrier upon the fulfilment of their long-cherished desires. The millennium has receded ages backwards. The Indian Civil Service examination is held hundreds, nay thousands, of miles beyond the seas. The plucky natives who compete for it must overcome their social prejudices, spend a good round sum,—which to

them is often a great hardship,—master a difficult foreign tongue, and be of a very tender age when they leave dear home, on the merest chance of passing a most difficult examination;—and all this enormous worry and expense, with no commensurate advantages (as compared with their British compeers), worth such great sacrifice. For in case they are lucky enough to pass, they cannot hope for better preferment in the public service than a common Assistantship, or at best, a Judgeship. But if they chance to fail, the Fates are up in arms against them : their trump card is played out. They are not allowed to re-compete for the examination, and must submit to the ignominy of a public defeat, and the mortification consequent upon loss of much (in many instances, borrowed) money.

No justification can be pleaded for the perpetuation of this invidious arrangement, except perhaps a foolish reluctance to give up vested interests. Can it be true that, the great Ruler of the Universe has stopped his supply of great men to the ever-favored East ? Can it stand to reason that the land which at one time was the nursery of civilization, science, and philosophy has become suddenly sterile ? Are no more Birbals and Faizees to be expected ? No, this cannot be. We cannot for a moment believe it. Even in our own times, we have seen a Sir Salar Jang and a Sir Madhava Rao, of whom we believe, any country in the world would be proud. But, Oh ! for want of recognition, our great men die unknown, unhonored, and unsung. Hundreds of Birbals and Faizees have come and gone, without the world ever so much as even caring to know of their existence:—

Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air !

But, unhappily, our Government, which is sometimes called ‘paternal’, treats them with chill indifference, disdaining, as it were, to patronise such cheap ware. The boasted comparison between Mr. Mahmud and Colonel Alikhanoff, of which so much was made some months back, would be convincing and real enough, were natives as a rule given any responsible post in the higher grades of the executive service, or a position of trust and influence in the Foreign Office. The larger scale of pay in the Indian service, which is so often and so self-complacently set off against the greater amount of power and influence enjoyed by the Russian officer, is, from the native point of view, a matter of comparative insignificance, and is generally regarded as an odd ruse to lull our manifold grievances.

The rapid progress of education and the appliances of modern civilisation, have wrought such a wonderful change in

our social and economical condition that the old methods of English administration, however successful they might have been in the past, have become, at the present moment, altogether unsuited to our present requirements. It is now generally felt that a more modern and apposite set of rules, compatible with the spirit of the age, might, with advantage, supersede the fossil system foisted upon us. The chief canons of bureaucratic Government, which the conceited official mind has magnified into grand Indian administrative truths, seldom change in this country. It would be an evil day for India, if those long-standing abuses for which the bureaucracy is mainly responsible, and for the reformation of which there is yet time, were allowed to become the settled grievances of the Indian people. Unless energy and promptitude sufficient to grapple with the difficulty, ere it is too late, are brought into play, no appreciable mitigation of it can be looked for. Despotic Government in India has hitherto existed by sufferance as it were. It exists only so long as the nation does not awake to a full sense of its wrongs and declare its will. It is little wonder if, under the circumstances, the views of a clique of selfish Anglo-Indians, should continue to be accepted as the gospel of enlightened administration in the East, and hoodwinked Secretaries of State go on dragooning 250 millions of human beings into eternal submission, without a voice being ever raised in protest. Compared with an unsympathetic bureaucracy, administrative autonomy is certainly a great boon ; but the government of a worthy nation by another, when the interests of the governed are wantonly sacrificed to the ambition and cupidity of the conquerors, is a stupendous anomaly, a colossal wrong, which must sooner or later result in injury to both. In an absolute monarchy, you have to deal with only one tyrant, who might, at times, be brought to reason and even bullied into submission to the popular will ; whereas, in the other case, you are actually brought face to face with a whole phalanx of greedy vultures, ready to fall on you and tear you to pieces.

Such, in short, is the head and front of the grievances of the educated community; and all that it wants in the shape of a remedial measure is that, the conquering race should now desist from handicapping the natural development of the country by its cold, inimical attitude towards the conquered, and refrain from delaying the work of a day for an indefinite period. The educated community complains of the existing abuses, and demands reform in the future. At the same time, it is fully alive to the manifold benefits conferred by British rule on the country, and is sincerely grateful for them. It is indebted to that rule for the suppression

of *Suttee* and infanticide—monstrous practices which, however, the custom of ages had, in a manner, hallowed and sanctified ; and it gives its conquerors full credit for ridding the country of those terrible pests—the Thugs—whose ghastly trade had, until quite recently, brought desolation to hundreds of Indian homes. It acknowledges with heartfelt satisfaction the establishment of Schools, Colleges, Railways, Hospitals, Post Offices, Courts of Justice, the Telegraph, &c. And above all, it is under ‘a debt immense of endless gratitude’ to the ruling race, for having effectually stamped out brigandage of every kind, and for restoring the long-banished blessings of peace and order. The mind reels back in dismay at the contemplation of the weltering anarchy in which the country was sunk, before the advent of the British. In the country—where formerly family and tribal feuds so often crimsoned the ground, and where swords were drawn on the most frivolous pretexts, even if any one chanced to make a noise in coughing on the streets, or walked about in an affected manner, where zemindars and subahdars were perennially at war with one another, and who, even sometimes, raised the standard of revolt against the chief constituted authority—there now reign, thanks to the British Government, perfect security and tranquility, with trade and commerce expanding into their natural developments. It were base ingratitude if we did not thankfully acknowledge these inestimable boons ; and educated native community has both the good sense and candour to acknowledge them unreservedly. They freely admit that the gloomy aspect of things, described above, was the natural outcome of former misrule, which had thoroughly disorganised society and taught men to believe that, idleness and destiny were convertible terms ! Besides giving a healthy impetus to local manufactures and trade, the English rule has been mainly instrumental in stimulating a brisk external trade with foreign countries, which, since the days when our Dacca muslins and Cashmere shawls ceased to find a market abroad, had rapidly declined. Education, which in those aristocratic days was limited to a few favored classes only, has long since engaged the earnest attention of Government, and even the masses,—for so many ages left out in the cold,—are now beginning to be brought, thanks to British rule, within the pale of instruction and culture. Polite literature has not been purged of all absurd conventionalities. The loathsome obscenity and sickly amatory tone of all native compositions, chiefly poetical, which once formed the chief characteristics of our indigenous literature, are now scrupulously eschewed. The vernaculars of the country have now developed into manly and vigorous languages, and, if we are not much mistaken,

a sound, healthy, and useful literature is springing up all over the country. Not only this, Government has shown its anxiety for the people by establishing a magnificent department for the conservation and improvement of the Indian classics and literatures. Modern arts and sciences have replaced filthy works on black art, cabalistic science, and jugglery. Adam Smith's researches into the region of political economy and the equal distribution of wealth, and the sublime ethics of Bentham, Mill, and Spencer, have revolutionised native thought and feeling, and radically changed their course. The right understanding of questions, like the "rights of man", his duties and responsibilities as a social being, have all instilled into our beings a new light. A new and a happier era has dawned upon hitherto benighted Hindustan. There are signs everywhere of a new vitalizing force reinforcing her almost lifeless body. She seems at last to have shaken off the lethargy of ages, and the rotting invalid that was unable yesterday to utter an audible groan, makes to-day her stentorian voice heard through a thousand tongues—her mouthpieces in the infant NATIVE PRESS !

The effulgent rays of Western light, reflected as they are through British rule in India, have not neglected to illumine even the dark corners of the country—our out-of-the-way Native States. Polygamy, open sensuality, murder, assassination, poisoning, and intrigues, have come to a stand still, whilst a general and praiseworthy inclination has manifested itself everywhere to copy and adopt European standards in all things, pertaining to the social or moral well-being of the people. In not a few of these Native States, advanced institutions on the English model exist, and are daily multiplying. Many of them have freely adopted the free-trade doctrine of modern liberalism ; and to the credit of most, it may be alleged, without fear of contradiction, that they have free-handedly founded schools and hospitals in their territories, conferring no small benefit on their grateful subjects. While, taking all in all, the tone of general administration in nearly all the Native States has improved, indications have not been wanting of a deep-rooted desire in them to see British rule in India perpetuated, and the integrity and happiness of the empire preserved for ever.

So far as these peaceful victories are concerned, it goes without saying that, the British rule in India has almost amply vindicated itself. But there remains so much more to be done that, every educated native wishes in his heart of hearts that, the car of progress and enlightenment and reform did not stop short in its hitherto uninterrupted course, and that that rule should far more signally fulfil its noble mission by achieving still greater

victories. But we surmise that, the English race in India has scored by far the most solid triumphs in the field of morality. The most ignorant among the masses believe in the humanity and sense-of-justice of their conquerors. It is the deep-rooted conviction of the educated native that, the English race is the most humane under the sun, and that it was this race which, at the cost of fabulous sums of money and at immense national risk, obliterated the great stain of slavery from the face of the earth. He knows that it is this noble race, which has always taken the most prominent part in all the liberal and philanthropic movements which have ever agitated the modern world. The fact must remain deeply graven on the tablet of time that, among the same great-hearted people have flourished, at different times, noble souls who have dauntlessly undertaken the perilous duty of condemning Indian abuses, and fighting for our rights and privileges ; and in return for this gratuitous service, have been made the butt of the fiercest party onslaughts in their own country,—and all this at a time when we had not the slightest consciousness of our political status, and could not ventilate our wants and grievances even by signs or gestures. Can it be insinuated for a moment that these men, in championing our cause, were actuated by any sordid motives? No : they were actuated by one sole motive—that of serving helpless humanity in its sore hour of need ! Their large-hearted sympathies were exerted without even the flimsy solace of acknowledgment or thanks from those for whom they labored.

Thus, if you analyse the feelings of the educated native, you will find that, he has both the good sense and gracefulness to see both sides of the English rule—its good and bad features. And what is more, he does not strike the balance between the virtues and vices of that rule with any malignant feeling of race prejudice or ineradicable national bias. Though it may suit Anglo-Indian tastes to denounce his earnest pleading for the cause of his mute brethren as fussy meddlesomeness and professional agitation, his mission nevertheless is a stern reality, which must assert itself in the long run. The educated native is the natural leader of his countrymen (just as his prototype in other countries), and possesses real, tangible influence with the masses. He is the proudest monument of British rule—the glorious product of the golden wedding between the East and the West. But there is another class of thinkers, or rather non-thinkers, whose grievances are so elaborate and vague that, we regret we cannot adequately do them justice within the brief limits of this book. However, we shall do our best to notice succinctly their salient

features. The complaints of this murmuring class are as follows :—

1. "The English Government has deprived us of our living. It has closed against us all possible doors of employment."
2. "It has ruined our trade and local industries."
3. "It has saddled us with various imposts and taxes."
4. "The procedure of English law courts has looted us out of house and home".
5. "In one word, it has reduced us to the abject condition of hewers of wood and drawers of water".

Let us try to examine these various complaints one by one, calmly and dispassionately, by the light of these two standards :— I. What are the reciprocal duties of Government and its subjects ; and their relative spheres of action ; II. Where to draw the line between the rulers and the ruled as regards their respective share of responsibility, in matters where the fault appears to be chargeable to both. In this connection, we need hardly say, we will speak only the truth, and nothing but the truth, and try to lay the fault at the door of the right party ; although in so doing, we fear, we might, please neither. We must take up the question of service, which means State service, first. The general verdict of these men on this point is that, employment now-a-days is an *unqā* (*rāra avis*): it is no longer obtainable. Let us see how far this random assertion is justified by facts.

From the latest published statistics, including the last census report, it would appear that the average number of individuals, in the various departments of the public service, is no less than 1,375,000 in round numbers. Of these 190,000 are enrolled in the army, as soldiers or sepoys (the total for the European army being about 63,000 men, or nearly one-third of the whole). In other departments of the State, the average of Europeans is so low that their grand total scarcely exceeds a few thousand individuals. So that, even after deducting the number of Europeans employed in the army and in other departments of the State, there are still left more than thirteen lacs of our countrymen who fill myriads of offices in the State, and who may be said to almost wholly absorb the public service. This is a number which no Government in the world, however philanthropic or munificent, could afford to very much increase without serious risk to its hard-acquired revenues. The complaint, then, as it stands, that Government is a bad patron of public servants, falls to the ground.

But the sting of the complaint does not lie there. The service-seeking native seldom deigns to take into consideration what

number of servants Government can afford to retain in its employ and what not. He argues in a round-about way that, if monarchs are responsible for the well-being and maintenance of the *riāyah*, why not the British Government, which arrogates to itself all the glories and prerogatives of imperialism, and is, therefore, bound to utilise the services of all unemployed natives (or at least of the gentle folks among them), and find openings for such of them as are helpless and impecunious. This foolish notion is entertained by those disappointed placemen, who—their occupation having now gone—in days gone by used to pander to the idle conceits of bloated *Raieses*, who patronised these idlers, because their so doing was called *qadr-dāni* (i. e., recognition of sterling merit). The interesting occupation of these privileged idlers, (who existed by sufferance) consisted in the rehearsal of verses, descriptive of some mythical hero or lover, or in simple story-telling, which they would sometimes improvise with remarkable skill. Taking advantage of the credulity of their auditory, these “abandoned geniuses” would now and then introduce some striking moral into their tales, with a keen eye to some specific end, generally of a pecuniary character. Besides, education in those days was mainly confined to the higher classes; and, as the be-all and end-all of all mundane learning was thought to be service, only these men of the higher class were naturally first in the running when any suitable opening offered. Thus, because for generations this state of things had continued, learned men had been supported because they had to be supported, and wits and story-tellers were patronised out of foolish charity, the notion that State was responsible for their daily sustenance became in a manner universal, and still lingers on, to the utter misery and ruin of hundreds of respectable families. Clever talk and tact and intrigue in those days brought money; and, in this way, hundreds had risen from the ranks to be the lucky possessors of large fortunes and unlimited authority; whilst thousands, others whose sole business it was to hang on the great, fed on them. Idleness and vulgar adulation became the fashion, and many men, with strong limbs and able bodies, who could have earned a livelihood for themselves, never felt ashamed to eat other people’s bread.

This is the key-note to the whole complaint, which our countrymen generally, and the members of ancient families in particular, prefer in season and out of season, and of which they demand redress at the hands of the already too bountiful Government. Not only is their demand absurd in theory, but it is also impossible to be put into execution. To ask Government to cram *en masse* its whole unemployed population into the public service is

certainly a most extravagant demand. It might be news to our aggrieved countrymen to hear that, out of the immense population of this country, there are no less than some four crores of individuals, who are shewn in the Census Report as having no profession at all of any kind. What a self-accusatory revelation ! This large figure doubtless represents also a considerable portion of the unemployed classes, of which, perhaps, respectable persons form a not insignificant section. Supposing, for a second, Government were to employ, in a fit of righteous liberality, all the respectable candidates for service, out of the forty millions of non-professional individuals, where to find the money to pay them ? Surely we don't think our countrymen imagine that, Government gets all its money from some fruitful pagoda-tree. Indian revenues are derived, as in other countries, from land and the other usual sources, and cannot be increased without pressing most heavily on the already over-taxed population of this country. So, we don't suppose our countrymen, in their inordinate desire to possess themselves of all the loaves and fishes of the State, would like to have the old saw 'to rob Peter to pay Paul' illustrated in their own case. Is it not something ludicrously strange that, on the one hand we charge Government with reckless extravagance and the imposition of so many unbearable taxes (which are often profitably invested in the cause of progress and civilization); while on the other, we blame it for not being more liberal in giving us employment ? But the fact is that, in the fervour of our denunciation, we unconsciously sometimes lose sight of consistency. Supposing again that Government were to cashier its few thousands of European servants, and appoint in their places, on the same emoluments or, if possible, on even much reduced salaries, natives of this country, would not there still remain a very large proportion of our countrymen to be provided for ? Would the change be at all perceptible from a financial point of view ? Even if the places now held by Europeans were doubled, and two natives appointed for each European, with the aggregate amount of salary as now drawn by the latter divided equally between them, still there would be no palpable alleviation of the misery complained of.

There is another count in the general charge which it might be worth while to notice *en passant* : while we charge Government with unduly meddling in our most trivial affairs, we are not ashamed to invite its help and co-operation, when our estates get involved in debt, and we are on the high road to ruin ! And when that Government refuses to lend us a helping hand, we freely indulge in billingsgate, and curse and blame it. It shall be

our duty to expose the faults of Government unsparingly, but we hope our countrymen will permit us to speak the truth, when their own case is concerned, even though that truth be harsh.

Altogether, we are bound to say, that our countrymen are laboring under a profound hallucination. They seem to forget that, when Governments are not responsible for the payment of carpenters, blacksmiths, and other artisans and laborers, they cannot, in fairness, be responsible for the support of place-seekers. And when our artisans and laborers never take it into their heads to turn the casual dulness of their trades into a set grievance against the Government, we ask in all earnestness, what right have our servant classes to expect Government to listen to their unjust demands? Of course, we do not deny that the complaint has just one sound basis to stand upon and only one, which we believe we have already briefly touched on in the preceding pages. It is the practical unfulfilment of Her Majesty's solemn pledge, as conveyed in her famous Proclamation of 1858, to admit natives of India, without distinction of creed or color, to the highest offices in the realm, in spite of repeated promises to the contrary. The whole complaint, however, hinges on the weighty circumstance that were the pledge redeemed, say even partially, natives of India would be directly admitted to a share in the administration of their own country, and not an in considerable saving would accrue to the State, and has no reference whatever to the general grievance as to the paucity of State employment. Were it otherwise, a moment's reflexion would convince the most muddy-headed that even the utmost stretch of State patronage could not find employment for more than a few thousand out of the thousands and thousands of our destitute countrymen. Putting aside, for the nonce, this phase of the question, let us ramble for a moment into the domain of possibilities, and take for granted that, Government did take into its service the whole army of native place-seekers. Who would venture to say that this would be a blessing in any sense of the word? In no country in the world has an extensive employment of clerks and ministerial underlings ever promoted the cause of national advancement. Experience has shewn that it is only the development of national industries, backed by a healthy foreign trade, which can, with any degree of success, restore the deranged equilibrium between labour and capital, and renovate once more the decaying energies of national life. Our countrymen, we believe, need no moralising on the point that, no kind of improvement in the world can be effected without wealth; and

how greatly does the production of wealth depend on the development of trade !

Now the broad distinction between trade and service, as sources of income, from a financial point of view, is briefly this : trade is capable of rapid and unlimited expansion, with a proportionate return of profit ; whereas service, however well paid, can bring in only a limited amount of income. It is almost impossible to accumulate wealth from the service proceeds, because there is so little inducement in this kind of vocation to do so, being associated with a certain amount of false dignity, which has to be kept up at the cost of hard cash. Every class or degree of servant, whether private or public, here in India, considers it derogatory to his honour to ply a trade or engage in manual labor. Even the lowly chuprassie, process-server, or punkha-coolie will turn up his nose at our thriving Marwari, and piece-goods seller, let alone the petty stall-keepers of our bazaars. He seems to think he carries the baton of executive authority in his hands by being on the roll of public servants. He always studies to keep up appearances by investing something extra out of his meagre earnings in his suit of garments, and will not mind a few additional rupees, if he can but properly maintain his imagined dignity. The same holds good with regard to every class of public servant up to the bloated Subordinate Judge on Rs. 800 a month. Appearances have to be kept up in proportion to the amount of one's income or position in the service. If a Peshkar getting Rs. 50 a month, does not keep a palanquin and four bearers, he is pronounced niggardly, and lowers himself greatly in the public estimation. If a Deputy Collector, from motives of economy, curtailed his expenditure, dismissed his extra domestics, and disposed of his carriage and pair, he would be the butt of most uncharitable remarks from the whole society. In such a condition of things, it is worse than useless to inculcate habits of thrift : accumulation of wealth is next to impossible. Whereas, the elementary principles of trade are based on thrift and economy. A banker or jeweller, for instance, cannot afford to be a spend-thrift, or rather he can never be so prodigal as an office clerk would be relatively to his income. Our good-natured Bania is generally prompted by the sole desire, *viz.*, to improve his wealth by adding part of his daily profits to his original capital. Whereas our fat Munshi—the slave of show and appearances—if he has been able to lay aside a small fortune out of his fixed income by the strictest economy, can never hope to go on increasing his treasure for all time to come. The saving process, and that too on such a poor scale, must come to a

stand-still sooner or later. On the other hand, there is almost unbounded scope for trade to develop itself and enrich the land which fosters it. Besides, the saving process can, at the best, be beneficial only individually : it may facilitate the accumulation of a few thousands or a few lacs in a few places only. But it can never metamorphose the whole nation into a nation of mighty plutocrats. What benefit, we ask, can the country at large derive from such an unproductive system of laying by money ? Even though the process served to place the thrifty servant in a position of comparative ease and competence, could his individual wealth stave off that prodigious loss which the country sustained in the importation of foreign goods, for which, we Indians, are constrained to pay fancy prices ? Could he ever hope to stay this ever-surg-ing flood, which has been now for nearly a century ruining our local arts and manufactures, and sucking the nation dry, as it were, of its very life-blood ? If there is any valuable lesson more than another, which we ought to lay to heart, it is this, that our only hope of national salvation lies in the development of trade, internal and foreign. But our grievance-monger complains that, the English Government has deliberately strangled his country's trade, so much so that, as regards even his daily necessities, he has to look to the skill of foreign manufactures ; that this exhausting process has, year after year, drained so much wealth out of India that, in the markets of the world she is known only as a bankrupt, unable to pay its way, or clear off her enormous and fast accumulating debts ; and that she has left now no energy of her own to sustain herself.

We beg to endorse every word of the above complaint ; but we do not quite agree that this state of things is due entirely to the action of foreigners, as the Europeans are called. In the first place, we manufacture no ware for the foreign markets, or suited to the tastes or necessity of the foreign consumer, except perhaps a few dainty and exquisitely-worked stuffs, such as shawls and muslins, whose exportation, in the nature of the manufactures themselves, is necessarily limited to a few dozen bales only per annum. Whatever articles of manufacture our native workmen turn out is consumed locally, and their consumption is mainly dependent on the patronage of the well-to-do natives. Our artisans unfortunately don't seem to care to manufacture any surplus quantity for exportation abroad. In the second place, even if they did so, they could not hope to compete on equal terms with Europeans in the manufacture of goods, for the latter turn out their ware by machinery, which the natives must first learn to manufacture before thinking of competing. So that there can

be no question of a fair competition any longer between native and European, the latter being so advantageously situated. It goes without saying then that, our own neglect and want of knowledge, have reduced us to our present miserable condition. We cannot in fairness blame others for having taken time by the forelock and improved their opportunity, the while we were sleeping the sleep of neglect and apathy. It is all our own fault for which we must pay the penalty. On the other hand, it cannot be said that, we have taken to the foreign goods out of any special liking for them, or because we wanted to encourage the foreign trade. We took to them, because we found them more cheap, more useful, and more neatly done. It was our own interest that was the motive power in this bargain of necessity. Any way, the fault rests entirely with ourselves. We accuse foreigners because, being more industrious and enterprising, they have quietly stolen a march on us idlers!

It is a mistake to suppose that, in the foreign trade of this country, the imports exceed the exports. From the report of the well-known Famine Commission and other official trade returns it appears that, during the year 1879, the total value of imports amounted to more than 58 crores, while that of exports to more than 67 crores, thus shewing the latter to be in excess by a clear 9 crores per annum. But it is lamentable to think that, whatever our country earns in this way is drained away to England in other ways, and all through our own neglect and apathy. However, even this large figure does not include any local manufactures properly so-called, as might at first sight be supposed. Our exports are chiefly confined to raw materials, and products of the soil, such as food-grains, opium, raw cotton, jute, indigo, tea, coffee, oil-seeds, silk, hides, and raw wool, which the foreign purchasers buy of us at comparatively nominal prices, and manufacturing many of them into good, serviceable ware, sell them back to us at exorbitant rates. The greater portion of our foreign trade, *i. e.*, as much as 60 per cent. is with the United Kingdom, and consists of these raw articles. But there is another feature in this export trade, worthy of more than a passing notice. Although we get a tolerably fair return indirectly for our labor, out of this trade, as well as in retail sales, we get comparatively nothing in wholesale transactions. The latter are almost wholly in the hands of Europeans. All the large speculations in the country are done by Europeans, and they are steadily driving the native away from his own heritage, and rapidly gaining ground in the country. A few facts and figures, we believe, will better illustrate the position than mere dry generalisations.

Up to date, there are 90 cotton-mills all told in India, giving employment to some 70,000 operatives. These are distributed thus : 49 in the island of Bombay, and 24 in other parts of the Bombay presidency, *i. e.*, for the whole presidency, 73 ; 9 only in Bengal and the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh ; and 8 in the presidency of Madras. The Punjab and the other parts of the empire have no cotton-mill at all. Now these mills are showing signs of increasing vitality every year, and furnish a source of handsome income to those happy speculators, who have invested in them. But we beg leave to ask, on whose skill and enterprise does their existence, in a great measure, depend ? On the Europeans certainly ; though we are bound to concede that the Parsi and Hindu merchants of Bombay have done a great deal towards establishing mills. A very large number of Europeans are among the share-holders of the companies, and manage to make large profits in a land not their own, and under the very nose of myriads of well-to-do natives, let alone our impecunious herd of professional employment-seekers. Take again the case of other industries, which have sprung up as a result of the British rule. There are many jute, sugar, paper, and ice mills, which now dot the country. But who supports them ? The ubiquitous, but much maligned foreigner ! In the majority of cases, these are either owned or managed by Europeans. There are other considerable fields for safe and profitable investment in the country, like the railways and other public works ; but who among us cares to buy a share in them ? The indigo and tea plantations, likewise are totally in the hands of enterprising foreigners. Except, perhaps our tenants' dues and remuneration for labor, what do we get out of these speculations ? Absolutely nothing. And why are we content with so scanty a share ? Because, as everybody will admit, we are indifferent and not enterprising enough !

At all events, however loudly we may complain, the English nation has not injured us a whit in the matter of our trade or local manufactures. While we have elected to rest on our oars, they have gone on steadily rowing their boats till they have well-nigh won the race. Our countrymen may remember the story of the tortoise and the hare which has such a forcible bearing on their own case. Be that as it may, it is our firm conviction on the contrary that, whatever little interest has been aroused, of late, among our countrymen, in regard to commercial enterprise, is due entirely to the disinterested efforts of the British race. Howsoever we may grudge the large profits they make out of these Indian speculations, it is only fair to concede that, their very example is a lesson of deep and pregnant import to us to bethink our

position and improve. The only just ground on which we can, however, base our complaint is, regarding the opium and excise revenues—which Government has been ill-advised enough to make its monopolies. There does not appear to be any justification for the continuance of these monopolies, except perhaps, that an insolvent Government, in its anxiety to increase its revenues and provide a margin for years of deficit or of unusual expenditure, might at times yield to motives of selfish greed and to the exigencies of an embarrassed financial situation. And in the present financial condition of the country the large revenues, derived from these otherwise questionable sources, can hardly be dispensed with, until, indeed, proper substitutes are found for them. The same is the case with the salt monopoly, which has always pressed so cruelly on the masses. It will certainly be a red-letter day in the annals of British rule in India, when this odious impost is wiped off the Indian budget.

With regard to the taxes generally, it is the settled belief of our "grievance-mongers" that they are atrociously bad, and press most detrimentally on them. These men regard them as the chief cause of their national poverty. We shall endeavour to see how far this complaint of theirs is founded in fact. There can be no doubt that, these taxes are a pressing burden on the people of India, in view of their present economic condition; and a relief, therefore, howsoever small, cannot but be hailed with unanimous delight by the masses. But that part of the bill of indictment which contrasts the excessiveness of the present taxes with the so-called lightness of those raised during the Moghul rule, is a tissue of falsehood—a gross libel. Taxation no doubt has reached its climax in India; but the poverty of the masses is due to other and various causes, which we have incidentally noted in more than one place in this book. The amount of land revenue raised annually by the present administration, as gleaned from Parliamentary Blue Books by the Famine Commission, averages a little over Rs. 2,20,000,000. During the reign of the Emperor Akbar, when the empire was not so large as it is now, Abul Fazl, the great minister and statistician, says, (in his famous work, *Ayee-e-Akbari*), it amounted to only about Rs. 1,60,000,000, a sum six crores less than what the Anglo-Indian Government collects. But these sixteen crores during Akbar's reign were not typical of all successive Moghul administrations. The land revenue rose gradually from about the year 1600 A. D., till, at the time of Shah Jehan, it had reached the full complement of 22 crores, *i. e.*, equal to our present land revenue. It very much increased during the reign of Aurangzeb, having risen to

no less than Rs. 38 crores. This was about the year 1700 A. D. But this was manifestly due to the rigid system of collection enforced by him; and partly to his territorial acquisitions;—though, during even his palmiest days, he was not able to conquer as much territory as is owned by the British at the present day. Similarly, during the reign of the Emperor Shah Alam, who may be said to be the last Prince of the proud line of Moghuls having any semblance of power, when the Afghan invader, Ahmed Shah Abdali, occupied Delhi, the treasury officers of the empire presented him with a statement, shewing the land revenue to be Rs. 345,066,400, or about one-third more than the present land revenue.

In the same manner, if we compare the land revenue of British India with that of the Native States, we shall find that, in the districts adjoining the States of Rajputana, Nizam's Territories, Travancore, and those lying in the Bombay presidency, &c., the maximum amount of land revenue has never reached a figure higher than Rs. 1-12 per acre, or Rs. 1-11 per head. On the contrary, in the districts belonging to those States which border on British territory, the average rates are from three to four rupees per acre, and about the same amount per head. Now adding to the land tax, revenues derived from other sources, the total annual income of the Indian Government was about 69 crores in the year 1884-85. But the total revenue of Akbar, from a more circumscribed area, amounted to the respectable sum of 42 crores; while during the glorious reign of the all-powerful Aurangzeb, it rose by degrees from about 50 crores to no less than 80 crores. However, this abnormal increase was in a great measure due to the exceptional character of some of his taxes and to the strictness with which they were collected. The unflinching rigour with which this stern ruler collected his vicious imposts, especially the obnoxious *jazia*, is apparent from that remarkable epistle, which a great contemporary ruler, Rana Raj Singh of Udaipur, addressed to his Majesty in the year 1676. We cannot resist the temptation of quoting a few lines from that letter, in view of its special bearing on the present affairs of India. The Rana wrote:—"During your Majesty's rule, not a few of the provinces have been lost to the empire. Since distress and misery have become the order of the day, it is to be feared, lest other neighbouring States should catch the contagion, and be drawn in to the crumbling ruin. Your Majesty's subjects have been ground down by oppression, and every part of your great empire has been desolated and impoverished. Discontent and misery are spreading wide apace, while fresh calamities spring up on all

sides. When want and poverty have assailed the Imperial Household itself, and princes of the blood Imperial are hardly able to maintain their position, who can tell what must be the plight of the nobility in general? The soldiery murmur, merchants and traders complain, Mussalmans are disaffected, and the Hindus cowed down and miserable; while groups of misery-stricken wretches, ragged and haggard-looking, stroll about the streets wailing and crying, and striking their breasts in an agony of despair. How can a Sovereign, who does not scruple to exact such heavy taxes from these people, keep up his imperial dignity, under the circumstances?" Perhaps, it may be out of place here to enter into a controversy as to the intrinsic propriety or non-propriety of the imposition of the poll-tax *jazia*, since the question is so largely mixed up with religion. But we nevertheless feel tempted to ask that, when a Mahomedan ruler, known to be so pre-eminently orthodox, raised by a series of unjust taxes and imposts a sum considerably more in amount than what the Mahomedan law sanctions; and defiantly overstepped the ordinary limit of ten per cent. in the most systematic manner: what possible ground of justification could he have had for the imposition of a fresh tax in the name of religion and the Prophet?

The following table will show the general incidence of taxation in India, in respect to the whole population as well as per head:—

<i>Class.</i>	<i>Amount.</i>
Average on whole population	Rs. 2 0 0
1. Agricultural classes (including land revenue paid to Government)	" 2 12 0
2. Agricultural classes (excluding land revenue paid to Government)	" 0 14 0
3. Artisans	" 1 0 0
4. Traders	" 1 10 0

It might be useful, in connection with the above, to give an account of the receipts and expenditure of the Government of India. The following statement gives full details, under separate heads, of both sides of the account:—

PRINCIPAL HEADS OF REVENUE—

	£.
I.—Land Revenue	21,546,300
II.—Opium	8,850,000
III.—Salt	6,350,000
IV.—Stamps	3,578,000
V.—Excise	4,010,500
VI.—Provincial Rates	2,793,900
VII.—Customs	1,030,000
VIII.—Assessed Taxes	511,800
IX.—Forest	982,300
X.—Registration	280,800
XI.—Tributes from Native States	695,200
Total	50,631,800

Direct Demands on the Revenues—

	£.
III.—Refunds and Drawbacks	213,900
IV.—Assignments and Compensations	1,232,100
Charges in respect of Collection, viz :—	
V.—Land Revenue	3,346,600
VI.—Opium (including cost of Production)	2,946,500
VII.—Salt (including cost of Production)	459,600
VIII.—Stamps	129,400

£.

IX.—Excise	103,400
X.—Provincial Rates	111,400
XI.—Customs	136,800
XII.—Assessed Taxes	13,200
XIII.—Forest	701,500
XIV.—Registration	176,700

Total ... 9,571,100

Post Office, Telegraph, and Mint—

	£.
XV.—Post Office	1,254,400
XVI.—Telegraph	788,700
XVII.—Mint	88,200

Total ... 2,131,300

Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments—

	£.
XVIII.—General Administration	1,575,300
XIX.—Law and Justice	3,294,200
XX.—Police	2,805,800
XXI.—Marine (including River Navigation)	487,900
XXII.—Education	1,210,800
XXIII.—Ecclesiastical	165,200
XXIV.—Medical	737,900
XXV.—Political	743,300
XXVI.—Scientific and other Minor Departments	452,000

Total ... 11,472,400

Miscellaneous Civil Charges—

	£.
XXVII.—Territorial and Political Pensions	680,000
XXVIII.—Civil Furlough and Absentee Allowances	215,700
XXIX.—Superannuation Allowances and Pensions	2,206,400
XXX.—Stationery and Printing	502,700
XXXI.—Miscellaneous	304,700

Total ... 3,909,500

Famine Relief and Insurance—

	£.
XXXII.—Famine Relief	12,000
XXXIII.—Protective Works—Railway	898,100
XXXIV.—Protective Works—Irrigation	270,600
XXXV.—Reduction of Debt	319,300

Total ... 1,500,000

Expenditure on Productive P. W. (Revenue Account)—		£.
XXXVI.—State Railways (Working Expenses)	1,886,300	
East Indian Railway (ditto)	1,891,300	
Eastern Bengal Railway (Working Expenses)	180,000	
XXXVII.—Guaranteed Railways (Surplus Profits, Land, and Supervision)	495,100	
XXXVIII.—Irrigation and Navigation (Working Expenses)	581,800	
		<hr/>
XXXIX.—Charges in respect of Capital—		£.
(a) Interest on Debt	1,409,400	
State Railways	531,800	
East Indian Railway	64,100	
Irrigation and Navigation	875,200	
(b) Annuities in purchase of Guaranteed Railways (including Sinking Funds)	1,220,600	
(c) Guaranteed Railways Interest	3,222,400	
		<hr/>
Total	12,358,000	
		<hr/>
Expenditure on Public Works not classed as Productive—		£.
XL.—State Railways (Capital Account)	191,100	
XLI.—State Railways (Working and Maintenance)	175,900	
XLII.—Subsidised Railways	91,000	
Southern Mahratta Railway	148,300	
XLIII.—Frontier Railways	138,700	
XLIV.—Irrigation and Navigation	782,300	
XLV.—Military Works	973,400	
XLVI.—Civil Buildings, Roads, and Services	4,069,000	
		<hr/>
Total	6,569,700	
		<hr/>
Army Services—		£.
XLVII.—Army	15,970,200	
		<hr/>
Total	15,970,200	
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XLVIII.—Exchange on Transactions with London	3,252,900	
		<hr/>
Total	3,252,900	
		<hr/>
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	71,140,000	
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Deficiency of Gross Revenue as compared with Gross Expenditure, £		1,148,800

Now the first thing that strikes one on examining these accounts, is the large deficits which year after year disturb the equilibrium between our normal revenue and expenditure. In criticising, however, the budget of any Government it is first necessary to examine whether every item of expenditure fulfils the primary condition of indispensable utility or not. Now in the above statement, there are not a few items of expenditure which are conspicuous by the wrong use to which they are devoted, and for which, we are persuaded, Government cannot make any justifiable excuse. The ecclesiastical allotments, for instance, which

are applied to the up-keep of a vast establishment of clerical gentlemen in all the principal stations of India, are wholly indefensible. These clergymen are paid, because they minister to the religious wants of the European community. But the Indian tax-payer, we maintain, should not, in common fairness, be made to pay an enormous sum like £158,039, towards the maintenance of the ecclesiastical establishment; from which he does not derive any benefit—either present or prospective. If Her Majesty's British subjects, whom the Indian tax-payer already pays so handsomely for their secular duties, are so badly in want of religious ministrations, why, we suppose, they can very well afford to pay for it from their own pockets, instead of thrusting unlawful hands into the pockets of poor Indian people. One cannot too strongly condemn such a course, especially when one finds that Government expends so little, comparatively, in the department of education. Seventy-three lacs of rupees devoted annually to this branch is a joke beside millions spent on the Military and Public Works Establishments. Expenditure under the vague head of 'Miscellaneous' covers, one may be sure, a good deal of extravagance, which only the inventive genius of a bloated officialdom can devise and account for. The revenue derived by the State from Excise, has likewise much to be said against it from a moral point of view; specially when we consider that the bulk of the Indian peoples are, both by habit and training, total abstainers. The encouragement which Government gives to the increased consumption of drink, is well known and cannot be too strongly condemned. It certainly marks a new era in the administrative annals of India. We could cite many more anomalies in our financial system; but it would be a digression here. However, we must seek our consolation in the fact that, in spite of divers financial vagaries, our money is, on the whole, better managed than in most Asiatic States. It must be remembered that, in the days of the Delhi kings there were imposts on Hindu religious fairs, trees and plantations, peasants' homesteads and cattle, and on marriages solemnized. These unjust taxes were about forty in number, and the whole amount of collections was paid into the imperial Treasury in one lump sum, without the incomes being shewn under separate heads. Such taxes exist up to the present day in many Hindu and Mahomedan States of India, only within a few miles of British territory, and are chiefly levied from the people of other nationalities than the ruling class, to the special benefit of the latter. Besides these invidious imposts, there are sundry other novel taxes, which are collected without any apparent rhyme or reason and which

have no counterpart, we believe, in any civilized country in the world. To collect taxes anyhow, seems to be the ruling passion ; for, without them, a native potentate is shorn of his importance as a ruler. The imposition of taxes is looked upon as the first prerogative of royalty : all monarchs, since the beginning of the world, have done so ; and why should not the Hindu or Mahomedan sovereign indulge his little vanity ? In one of the first class Native States this passion is indulged in to such an abnormal extent that even poor bath-keepers have to pay a tax. In the same model State there is a time-honored impost on the repair of a boat ! Even wretched boatmen have to pay toll every time that their boats have to pass *under* the State bridges : which to these poor fellows are of no earthly use. In the matter of customs the underlings of the State exercise so much tyranny upon poor, way-worn tourists that, neither your refined appearance nor your rank, if you happen to possess any, are any safe-guard against their exactions. In fact, these harpies are ever on the look-out for respectable-looking and wealthy tourists. Even garments on one's person, and pieces of rags are subject to this odious tax. There have been instances of respectable women having been subjected to gross acts of incivility at the hands of these tax-collectors ;—as for instance, forcibly snatching their bundle of clothes, and rudely opening and examining its contents. We speak this from personal observation. A great hue and cry was raised recently in the Native Press about the same customs duty, levied in another first class Native State.

One must have visited Nepaul and seen on the spot, to be thoroughly convinced, how these illegal imposts and contributions, more particularly, the customs, are levied. It is indeed impudent in such a small kingdom to give itself the airs of a modern civilized State, to the extent only of aping its questionable foibles. In another Native State, not very far from this place, there is a tax on the building of dwelling houses, assessed according to the number of stories raised ! And, generally speaking, in almost all Native States, regular taxes are levied from the people on the occasion of marriages, deaths, or any religious ceremonies, taking place in the family of the reigning chief. But to cap all, there are some States which, while taking to themselves the credit—if any—of giving sumptuous receptions to touring Viceroy and Governors—lavishing their hospitality in princely dinners, illuminations, and fireworks—manage to recoup all their outlay, thus incurred, by subsequent contributions from their groaning subjects ! These are normal, necessary taxes with which oriental rulers must keep up their sham sovereignties ; and they are

expended not for the melioration of the condition of their *ridyah*, not in the establishment of any civilized institutions, nor indeed, in any commercial or other kind of development of their petty States ; but in personal aggrandisement, in State equippages and pageants, and in palace expenses—acts, perhaps, scarcely less iniquitous and criminal than actual usurpation of other men's property, or criminal breach of trust pure and simple. Now contrast this high-handed mismanagement of taxes and contributions with the fair treatment these receive at the hands of the British Government. Excepting, of course the extravagant emoluments given to European soldiers and employés, and a few anomalies in expenditure, the greater portion of the revenues raised by the Government of India is devoted to the improvement, well-being, and protection of the country. In spite of the obvious ignorance and apathy of the people, the Government, we believe, have not, on the whole, neglected to do their duty. We beg to gladly endorse every word of what the "Imperial Gazetteer" says in this connection, the remarks being so apt and conclusive. The Hon'ble W. W. Hunter says: "The Indian Government is not a mere tax-collecting agency, charged with the single duty of protecting persons and property. Its system of administration is based upon the view that, the British power is a paternal despotism, which owns, in a certain sense, the entire soil of the country, and whose duty it is to perform the various functions of a wealthy and an enlightend proprietor. It collects its own rents; it provides, out of its own capital, facilities for irrigation, means of communication, public buildings, schools and hospitals. It also takes on itself the business of a railway owner and of a manufacturer on a grand scale, as in the case of opium and salt." As we have already said elsewhere, the Indian Government is not the sort of rampant, heartless despotism, which weighs so heavily on the Russian people, or on the subjects of many oriental rulers. Notwithstanding its alien character, it has many redeeming qualities, which cannot be too highly praised.

Doubtless, with a view to meet a grave and sudden emergency, we mean the dire famine of 1876-77, Lord Lytton had to impose a new tax on the people. But that this measure of relief was an administrative error, subsequent events only too clearly proved. The paltry sum raised by the tax failed altogether to grapple with the difficulty. While this fresh taxation aroused popular discontent far and wide, its receipts could scarcely cover one hundredth part of what the Government and the general public actually contributed towards relief-works and charity. In spite of their most strenuous efforts, and a vast outlay of money,

calculated at about 15 crores, the dire famine of 1876-77 carried off no less than five and a quarter millions of people. However that may be, Government has invested millions of its money in similar other undertakings. Governments, like individuals, have their days of prosperity and adversity. There are moments in the history of human affairs, when tremendous calamities befall nations and empires. But it is always edifying to remember that few among the civilized States (at least) act apathetically or parsimoniously, when such grave calamities actually happen. Our own Government, happily, is not an exception to this humane rule. Could we blame it, were it so ? Our countrymen must remember that, our Government has to meet such unforeseen crises periodically ; and that we cannot, therefore, be too exacting in our demands. Among other works of public utility, the British Government has during the last decade expended in the construction of railways and irrigation works no less than 29 crores of rupees. But its chief glory, it must be owned, consists in the splendid educational system, which it has reared up with so much fostering care, scattering light and knowledge broadcast over the face of the land. In the year 1878, the total number of schools in India was 66,202, having on their rolls no fewer than 1,817,942 pupils—a comparatively poor percentage, no doubt, compared with the percentages obtaining in European countries or the United States ; but still a vast improvement upon the old system, or rather no system. At any rate, our percentage is decidedly higher than what it is in Russia in the matter of education ; and we rejoice not a little at this discovery. Taking all in all, we make bold to say that, excepting the costs of the army and the police, the major portion of our public revenues is expended annually on various local works (ordinary and extraordinary) of public utility.

Of course, it can hardly be expected that a Government which, despite its perfectly absolute character, chooses on mere principle (though perhaps rarely in practice), to consider itself responsible to the people for its doings, so far, at least, as the taxes they pay are concerned, should not be tempted, in imitation of the time-hallowed Asiatic custom, to embark on a wild course of bestowing rewards *khilats*, *jdgirs*, and *mansabs*, under a mistaken sense of imperial generosity, out of the public funds (wrung callously from the pockets of the most indigent people on the face of the earth), merely to gratify personal vanity and false show. The institution of the Order of the Star of India has cost us, within the last half decade, a sum of Rs. 1,40,000. This adherence to a rickety old custom, symbolical of rank imperialism, is so wholly out of keeping with the present circumstances of the

country, not to speak anything about the recipients of those honors who are never much the better for them,—after they are promoted to their titular ranks or receive their paltry *khilats* or *jâgirs*,—that its abandonment would not be looked upon with regret by any sensible men in the empire. If the titles brought with them any corresponding advantages, say in gold or in landed property, worthy of an imperial Government or of the recipients themselves, who are unfortunately very indiscriminately chosen, there might be reason enough to perpetuate a pet old custom—a barren legacy of the past ages. But as the institution at present stands, it benefits nobody: while it seriously affects the pockets of the tax-payer, it brings no substantial profit to the recipient of the honor. And, by the way, its bestowal costs next to nothing to Government. The millions of rupees which our Government expends annually in the systematic inauguration of those judicious measures of reform and improvement, and in the establishment of those wise and beneficent institutions, which are so eminently calculated to make the people happy and prosperous, will have, we believe, repaid ten times over in the long run. The money devoted to such useful purposes is, unlike the money expended on a sham “Order,” most legitimately employed.

We do not, in the least, mean to pose as the apologists of the Anglo-Indian rule in all its aspects. We do not say that, we cannot detect any dark spots on it; of which, we believe, we have already given our readers a pretty fair idea in the preceding pages. We speak of the Anglo-Indian rule as a whole; and by way of contrast. We do not in the least insinuate or imply that the taxes raised by Government, are not (at least many of them), relatively to the amount of income and expenditure, unnecessary or burdensome. If carefully looked into, there will be found some items of expenditure which, though not very large in amount, press nevertheless most heavily on the population, and are, therefore, perfectly uncalled for. For instance, there will be found in them not a few serious bungles in the Department of Public Works or the Army, which call for a severe and searching investigation at the hands of the authorities. The Commissariat Department is another notoriously peculating department. In the native society people who serve in this or the Public Works Department, are usually considered as rolling in riches; and this belief we think dates from the very formation of “John Comyany,” to trade with the East. Not very long ago, *i.e.*, in 1880, the attention of the Government of Lord Ripon was called to the odious salt duty, and the whole question, which had been already so ably and comprehensively dealt with by the Famine Commission, was reviewed.

The painful conclusions at which the Government of India arrived, left not a doubt in the mind of the ex-Viceroy that a very shameful wrong was being done to the unhappy millions of this country. The illustrious Marquis threw his whole energy into the scheme and with the sincerity of purpose characteristic of him, made very substantial reductions in the tax: whilst he devoted a valuable portion of his time to devise effectual means for the relaxation of the great severity and hardship inseparable from the working of such a monstrous system of taxation. Thus, when under the enlightened guidance of public opinion, our countrymen will come to regard Imperial coffers as "public treasury," and leave off getting incessantly fidgety over the vagaries of the Finance Minister,—considering every item of State income their own, and every pie expended as done by themselves, such horrid monstrosities as the salt duty in question, will have been effectually obviated by sober criticism and temperate agitation. But we strongly protest against the flippant way in which Indian taxes are generally discussed, and the off-hand manner in which opinions are formed by our countrymen regarding the so-called unjustness of many of them.

On the whole, then, it will be seen that the English rule has both its good and bad sides; and that it is as unjust to hold it up as an embodiment of an all-wise and economical rule, as to condemn it as an unmitigated despotism. We believe, we have attempted impartially though, we fear, rather in a discursive way, to give it credit where it was due, and withheld it where it was not due. We have laboured to place before the public the general grievances of some classes of the people, whose opinions we thought carried any weight or in any way represented the sentiments of the masses. In this category we have included at once the educated, half-educated, and illiterate classes. While we have given almost every grievance emanating from these worthy people its due place in the book, we have tried to examine whether that grievance is a just one or simply imaginary. At the same time, while we have ventured to acquit Government of those charges, which have been levelled at it under a misapprehension or from biassed judgment, we have not hesitated to arraign it on those which we have honestly believed to be in the main correct and incontrovertible. Moreover, we have not played the rôle of an austere, unbending critic, deriving grim satisfaction from mere fault-finding: on the contrary, we have striven even to point out possible remedies for wrongs which suggested themselves to us; and tried to disabuse the minds of our countrymen of many a cherished hallucination; and respectfully coun-

selled our rulers to be moderate, and to listen to the just wishes of their murmuring subjects.

We now proceed to discuss the subject of English law in its applicability to India. Many and various are the grievances of our countrymen against this law and its procedure. But we have neither the space nor the inclination to discuss all of them or enter into a detailed discussion of the general course of legislation in India. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that, as in other matters so in this, there exists considerable misapprehension among our countrymen, and that of a kind easily removable. Nothing in the world is more natural than to mistake other people's motives ; and the subject of English law and procedure offers the most extensive field for random speculation. We trust our countrymen will grant that, as it would be nothing short of madness to take the English law to be the expression of Divine Will, infallible and free from all defects, so it would be arrant nonsense to say that, the entire code of a great, learned, and an enlightened nation is altogether faulty, especially in the face of the well-known fact that every Bill, before passing into law, is first published to the world to elicit intelligent criticism (from the outside public) which is duly considered by the Legislature, and that even when Bills have passed into law they are constantly modified and revised so as to conform to the requirements of the people. Under the circumstances, it is still more uncharitable to hold that the laws prepared with so much care and attention, and at such cost, are intended simply to oppress, and perpetuate wrong-doing and injustice, and all this with a view simply to levy the stamp duty, to find ways and means for the up-keep and maintenance of so many law courts. And yet there are some people who think so ! It is one thing to complain that we are not properly represented in the Legislative Council, that we are generally out-voted, that our humble proposals are oftentimes vetoed, or that the wisest possible publicity is not given to legislative measures ; and quite another to indulge in the sweeping assertion that the entire English law is an anachronism, quite unsuited to the requirements of the country. Doubtless, there are certain intrinsic defects in the law itself, which *prima facie* are sufficient to condemn it, but not taken as a whole, as our countrymen imagine. But they don't much affect society at large : only parties at suit are affected by them in certain cases. The generality of important defects are weeded out periodically, as we all know, by Legislative Councils themselves. We believe the complaint of our countrymen that there is one law for the European and another for the Native, has certainly much force

in it. Their other complaint that, the Legislative Councils are generally packed bodies, filled almost with officials, and that the native members admitted to them are more often round men in square holes than real representatives of their countrymen, enjoying the latter's suffrages, and fighting for their cause, is equally just and reasonable. Again the orthodox community among the natives has its own grievance against the English law. It says that the principles of this law, clash with those laid down in the Hindu Shashtra and the Mahomedan Sharâ. Now with the altered political condition of the country, this complaint seems to have no chance of redress. However, were the knotty point seriously accepted for solution by Government, we fear our countrymen would have to rack their brains in vain in search of a precedent. But supposing the British Government were to die out of India (we really don't know how to express it), would our countrymen stand to their colors and still urge such a complaint? Who would decide whether the Hindu law should have precedence or the Mahomedan? At any rate, no arrangement of the sort ever existed in India before, at least these last 800 years. The grievance of the disaffected classes throws into the shade the grievance of almost every other class. Well, these classes are irreconcilable to the backbone. They start with the initial complaint that the English laws are made by an alien race! Now, this is a complaint which baffles all redress, and to which Government cannot be prepared to do full justice. May we put it to our countrymen to say who is responsible for this upset of the natural order?

The objectors, however, have not so much grievance against the principles of the English law as against its general consequences. The majority of them have neither the capacity nor the inclination enough to compare for themselves the legal ethics of the East and the West or to study the Bills proposed in the Legislative Councils, with a view to help the framers of law with their local knowledge and experience. Their entire complaint lies in a nut-shell. They say, 'there is so much injustice in the English law courts;' 'there is no end to litigation, which often results in total ruin to both parties,' 'the graded courts are so many dens of swindlers to loot poor litigants,' and so forth. No sensible man, however, would listen to this kind of empty rigmarole. There is not an iota of reason in the whole complaint, based so largely on foolish assumption and prejudice.

There can be no question as to the existence of sundry flaws in the English law and procedure as prevailing in India, and sometimes these actually prove prejudicial to the interests

of the public. Doubtless, this is partly due to the necessarily limited familiarity of our European jurists with local usage and custom, and to the dearth of the native element in the Legislative Councils. But it is altogether a blunder to suppose that the alleged muddle in the procedure of our law courts is due entirely to the English law. Our humble conviction is that the detriment sometimes done to us is traceable either to accident or error; sometimes to our own ignorance or moral defects; and sometimes to the individual fault of the presiding officer. We admit that, the procedure of our law courts is often intricate and protracted; and that sometimes very unique and romantic decisions are delivered. In the Non-Regulation Provinces, this is more generally the case, where the Civil Service is swamped by Military men. Even among civilians, there is a small class of officers which enjoys almost perfect immunity from censure; and so inflicts its queer, more often stupid, notions on the Indian society. We mean our 'griffins,' who, no sooner do they land in India than are invested with large executive powers; and being totally unacquainted with the country and its peculiar usages, often fall into errors, and sometimes cover themselves with ridicule. There are, besides, capricious officers and officers endowed with a good deal of obstinate spirit, who interpret the law according to their own peculiar notions. Miscarriages of justice are more often due to the individual idiosyncracies of officers than to any gross flaw in the law itself. However, there is yet another class of functionaries—the officers of justice *par excellence* whose systematic oppression is generally imputed to defects in the law. In India, no matter the oppression of this or that officer, it is the law which is pilloried, and condemned by the people. The natives usually complain: "There is much subtle oppression under this Government;" "English laws are very strict," and so on. Now so much irresponsible power is vested in the Police that, the whole body almost without exception, turn it into a formidable engine of oppression. The policeman's badge sends dismay into the hearts of the most-respectable and law-abiding citizens. There is no protection to honor against his insidious encroachments. Cerberus-like, he always watches for an opportunity to pounce on wealthy and respectable persons, found tripping. He will fabricate false charges in order simply to squeeze something out of his victims. Persons in the mofussil live perennially, as it were, under a huge incubus, and propitiate the chief and his myrmidons with periodic presents of black-mail. In fact, these ruffians are a curse to the society and a reproach to the Government, whose laws they are charged to administer. A

drastic reform in the organisation of this class of public servants would, we need hardly say, be hailed with unmixed joy by the whole native community. The unlimited power which hedges them would seem to require the shears, first of all; and then, the service may be recruited from really respectable classes which, unfortunately, has not been hitherto done.

We have now got to the end of what we had to say in regard to the question of English laws and their general bearing on the native community. We have tried to reflect the sentiments of various classes of people, from their respective stand-points, in reference to this important question. Now we believe the sweeping generalisation that, English law is radically defective, cannot hold water. It will be found from a calm and comprehensive examination of the whole question, in all its bearings, that occasional miscarriages of justice and perpetration of wrong, so often ascribed to intrinsic defects in the law, are more often due to multifarious causes, which very often have nothing in common; and which necessarily have nothing to do with law. Unfortunately, chance or luck has placed us under the tutelage of a race many times our superior in material wealth and civilization, whose admirable legislative and administrative schemes do not exactly square with our own. But is there any possible escape from the existing evil? It would be foolish to assert that the English are a thick-headed race who do not know right from wrong. On the contrary we are tempted to hope that the nation, which is universally acknowledged to be foremost in material civilization and enlightenment, ought not to lack good sense and sagacity enough to make wise and beneficent laws for a subject race (no matter its intellectual equality), calculated to promote its highest weal; and thus win its hearty allegiance and gratitude. As to divergence in the modes of thought and opinion, these we believe must exist so long as Asiatics are Asiatics and Europeans Europeans. Why go even so far as that? What does our daily experience tell us? Does it not tell that, there are not two men in the world who are found to be of exactly the same opinion upon all matters? It is not surprising, therefore, that one set of people should, according to their lights, argue a point one way and another, in quite a different way. And it cannot be gainsaid that the average Englishman will argue out a point better than the average native;—the simple reason being that he is more educated. In spite of the rapid diffusion of education, there are not many fellow-countrymen of ours who could approach the best educated sons of England. How many Sir Henry Maines, Sir

Fitzjames Stephens, and Herbert Spencers have we got amongst us? Difference of opinion must always exist between the European and the native, so long as their respective stand-points of judging things generally, are not the same. When Hindu civilization was at its zenith, not only arts and manufactures flourished everywhere, but even the cause of philosophy, metaphysics and the Shastras had reached a state of perfection, marvellous to contemplate. There were serious differences of opinion among learned men in those days too, as now; in some instances even indeed to an extent almost incredible. The famous wranglings and disputations of the Nuddea Pundits over nice points of law and philosophy, must ever remain memorable in the literary annals of Hindustan. The never-ending quarrels between the Naiyâiks and Vedântists and between all teachers of religion and law, in fact, constitute a wearisome chapter in the Hindu history. It is well known that different interpretations are often put upon the same Shastric precept or doctrine; when its aid has been invoked to decide some knotty point of law. The Sharâ of the Mahomedans (who in their palmy days—when they carried the whole world before them—loved freedom of speech better than unnatural reserve), too, was at one time more comprehensive and adaptable to the requirements of the Mahomedans as a code of moral and social ethics than the laws of other contemporaneous nations. Islam embraces many minor creeds or rather religious ramifications, having their own peculiar systems of theology, widely divergent from one another. To accentuate the importance as it were of this healthy order of things, there is a happy saying current among Mahomedans: “Ikhtilâf-ul-Ulmâe-Rahmatun;” *i. e.*, ‘Difference among Doctors of religion is a blessing.’ And all these differences of opinion are—will the reader believe?—in respect to the details of the plainest and most obvious questions,—questions on which difference is punishable only with death, being considered rank blasphemy, according to the Mahomedan law. There must be differences of opinion as long as the world lasts. No individual or party can pretend to infallibility; much less should coerce others into his or its way of thinking. It cannot be expected that any Government could frame such laws as would satisfy all demands, and meet the wishes of every one of us. The legal machine is a slow-moving, cumbersome apparatus; which yields its products only in proper seasons and at appointed times. But meanwhile, it behoves all well-wishers of their country to keep that machine going by lubricating it with the oil of ceaseless watchfulness and agitation.

Let us now look at the broad result of this divergence of opinion, between the rulers and the ruled, as it at present stands. It is not much to be wondered at that, owing to this divergence of opinion ; and also to the wide difference that must naturally exist between the modes of thinking of two alien races, joined together merely by the artificial tie of conquest, there has been brought about a state of things which is destined to mark an important epoch in the history of this country. We are in the midst of a transition period, which must in due course settle itself down into a condition of total placidity and rest. The British Government, meanwhile, is on its trial, oscillating as it were between conviction and acquittal. If the principles of administration introduced by the conquerors are intrinsically sound, they will stand the test ; and, it is needless to say, the conquered will be gradually brought into touch, so to say, with those principles, and come to share the blessings of the innovation equally with their conquerors. What to-day looks like a tangible grievance to us, might turn out to be a baseless complaint. And what we have persistently overlooked as an insignificant evil might prove in the end to be a gigantic wrong or nuisance. In the history of the world, truth has always triumphed. Men, blinded by prejudice or self-interest, may have succeeded in smothering it for a time ; but it has always shone forth in the end. We find this wherever we look. Just recall the nascent condition of the agrarian question half-a-century ago. What a mighty change has occurred in the world since ! The long-ignored rights of the agricultural classes which had been usurped by the strong from time immemorial, have now come to be recognised, wholly or partially, by all right-thinking men in the world. In all civilized countries, this great question is now seriously occupying the minds of the greatest statesmen. Even backward Russia was forced the other day to do justice to its 2,000,000 serfs ! Land Bills and Tenancy Acts are the order of the day almost everywhere. Not very long since, oppression of the poor was a common pastime with the powerful in this country. Might was the only right recognized in the rough ethics of our forefathers. Now all that has been changed : the door of the English law courts lies thrown open to all oppressed people alike ; and justice, in spite of its frequent miscarriages, is meted out at least on principle, and not according to the caprice or the sudden impulse of the presiding Magistrate, as in days gone by, when law and evidence were laid aside, and the sweet pleasure of the Hakim convicted or acquitted just as it pleased.

It is impossible at the outset to avoid friction with a race so diametrically our opposite in thought and feeling. When you

ingraft a brand-new system on an old order of things, the most difficult and delicate thing always is to reconcile hostile interests ; and to ward off those accidents, which are incidental to a change of rule. That these difficulties are practically unavoidable is borne out not only by the teachings of political economy, but also by the invaluable lessons taught by history. Precisely for the same weighty reasons, our own Government too cannot steer clear of those administrative and political pitfalls which, we fear, thickly beset its path ; even though they might threaten it temporarily. Even in case, it did attempt, by a clever stroke of statesmanship, to eschew these difficulties, what would be the result ? For the sake of an evanescent evil, it might perhaps have to run the risk of impeding the natural course of progress—a retrograde step which, it might be ever so difficult to expiate by subsequent sacrifices.

All that a prudent Government would do under the circumstances, was to let the present evil be gradually effaced by the new order of things ; and to blend the national energies of the people with the ‘spirit’ of the foreigners. It is customary to determine the national depravity of a people by their character and habits, their litigious and pugnacious spirit, and so forth. There is no earthly reason why we should not apply the same standard, when judging of our own national character. Well, judged by this standard, we are terribly quarrelsome and litigious ; and have inherited a passion for complaint-making which, unfortunately, does not seem to burn itself out. We shall cite a case, illustrative of the fact. In the year 1884, a revenue officer, in the course of his tour, visited Kakori, (a small town in the district of Lucknow), with a view to effect mutation of names regarding land proprietorships. He had been doing the same thing in many other places under his jurisdiction ; and almost all cases that had until then come under his cognisance were made the subject of a hot contest between parties at suit. In fact, the officer had to face much difficulty in settling these disputes ; and his experience had never been varied in so much as even one single case by any exception, *i. e.*, in which there was no dispute. But when he came to Kakori he was nearly dumbfounded by what he saw and found there. There were many gentlemen (some residing in the town and some serving abroad) having shares or other interest in the landed property of the village. Many landed interests had long since changed hands, considerable variations had been effected in the proprietary right by means of inheritance, sales, or mortgages, of which not a small portion consisted of mere verbal transfers. Yet the whole village community rose

as one man to give spontaneous testimony to one another's rights and titles to the land they actually held! Not a dispute occurred over any plot of ground, not a voice was raised against the ownership of any individual. During the whole course of his experience, the revenue officer had never met with such an agreeable surprise. To him this land of 'peace and happiness' was altogether a new and a strange discovery. Now, to what was this friendly and conciliatory spirit, among a community, not at all seemingly unlike their neighbours in the surrounding villages, due? Certainly to their advanced moral condition; and, to some extent also, to their general good sense. It gives us much pleasure to testify that the inhabitants of Kakori, unlike those of most other provincial towns of Oudh, have still so much regard for the sacred rights of "society" that they hesitate to commit an open act of bad faith; and whenever any disputes arise, they are soon made up by mutual concessions and good-will. We have cited this case only in proof of our contention that, it is not necessarily the English law and procedure of our courts of justice that constrain us to go to the law. It is all due to the presence of the same lawless classes, brigands, or desperadoes, by whichever name you call them, who, during the declining period of the Native Rule, lived by crime and violence, and who to-day can find no channel for the gratification of their innate depravity and wickedness, except by despoiling "society" through the easy instrumentality of our law courts. The powerful zemindar, who formerly extended the area of his broad domains by slaying and robbing his neighbours, now finds ample scope for his inherent knavery by rack-renting, oppressing, and evicting his tenants. He was not quite so stern in the 'good old days' when he could summarily replenish his treasury any moment he liked, by robbing or usurping the rights of his weak neighbours. The evil spirit remains, all the same, though the means for its gratification have materially changed. The sword has been reluctantly laid aside to give place to the sharpened tongue. In one word, it is our own demoralization, which maintains so many law courts; and not the system of English laws, as popularly supposed.

At all events, our enlightened codes of laws, however judiciously drawn up or wisely conceived, if they are not suited to the condition of our society at large, are simply worse than useless, and likely to prove abortive in their application as in their general result. For instance, a police officer, and for that matter, every member of a civilized society, whose duty it is to aid in the apprehension of a public offender, will, in this strange land either think it uncharitable, or at least out of his sphere of

legitimate duty to do so. On the other hand, at other times, they would not feel the slightest compunction in procuring the conviction of perfectly innocent persons ; nor, indeed, will they dread any reprisal from the public, in the shape of social ostracism, temporary or perpetual. Such cases are of every day occurrence in India. The same holds good of the gentlemen who figure in the witness-box, and sometimes also of our Magistrates : who administer laws, not because they are convinced of their absolute justice or righteousness, but because it is their duty to administer them. Subornation of evidence is likewise a prominent feature of the procedure of our law courts, and professional witnesses occupy a conspicuous place in Indian society. Consequently as a deterrent of crime, our criminal laws are not, we are afraid, as effective as, perhaps, they might be. As a matter of fact, unless our national character changes greatly, we fear, no human law will ever be able to effect any amelioration in the present condition of things. Out of the vast population of the country, there might, perhaps, be very few men indeed who understand their obligations to society aright ; or who go to the witness-box as a matter of pure duty. In the generality of cases, even where truth and justice have to be vindicated, they religiously shun the *ijlās*, and regard themselves as taken there on ‘*begâr*,’ or impressed for useless attendance !

The law, in short, is utterly powerless to improve our moral status : it can at the best only refine the methods by which its penalties might be avoided. It has little, if any, hold on the mind of the hardened offender ; and cannot dissuade him from his evil purpose. It may inspire in him a wholesome dread ; but it cannot change his instinct for wrong-doing. While it may encourage him to be a hypocrite, it cannot in the least reform his mind. We have already noted the universal complaint that the English courts and their procedure, entail a heavy loss on suitors, reducing many of them to absolute poverty. But may we ask who is responsible for the large sums of money we give away as pleaders’ fees ? Is the constitution of the law courts, or the system of the English laws in vogue responsible also for this condition of things ? Indeed, what fabulous sums do we give away to vakils ; besides the large sums of money that we expend in greasing the palm of the court harpies,—*serishtedars*, *nazirs*, and others—in bribing witnesses, concocting evidence, paying hush-money to the police, and forging documents ! Can we then justly find fault with an administration, which strives at least to do its duty, and pays us our money’s worth of justice ?

It is our own depraved mind, our own spirit of quarrelsome-

ness and retaliation, our own tainted morals, which goad us to go to the law to seek justice. Why should we go on cheating one another, why should we injure our neighbours with a view to our own interests, why, indeed, should we make the existence of so many law courts a necessity? We stand here self-condemned: it is our own foibles which have much to answer for the abject condition in which we are grovelling. In fact even Europeans, it is melancholy to think, have not been able to escape the corrupt and vitiating influence of the Indian atmosphere. We find that English barristers, in pursuance simply of the old usage of the country, enter into such unprofessional engagements as to honorarium and 'thanksgiving fees' (shukrâna), as would, we fear, surprise the practitioner of the West. The conduct of their native *confrères* is, if possible, worse than theirs in this respect. District Collectors, in charge of Court of Wards Estates have, oftentimes in the interest of their wards, to seek the good offices of some too-obliging mohâfiz-daftar or court munshi,—which offices have to be invariably purchased by gold!

It is incredible that this general demoralization of the Indian society, is due altogether to the system of English laws and administration. The latter are responsible only so far as they have superseded the old order of things. Their effect, if at all, could be only so much as is natural in a change of *régime*. Besides, the injury and embarrassments, inseparable from a change of rule, are always temporary; or are felt only so long as the alien system of administration does not adapt itself to the new conditions in which it is placed. But it must not be forgotten that, whatever delay is caused in the process of assimilation is due wholly to us, who persistently refuse to profit by the innovation.

It will be generally allowed that the traders and artisans of British India are far better off and prosperous than the classes which live chiefly by service. The former have never been known to have had a grievance against Government; and are distinguished for their sobriety and industry which, by the way, are not to be found in any other class in India. Profit brings contentment; and, so long as these people are able to turn an honest penny, under its fostering ægis, they have no cause to be dissatisfied with Government. Unfortunately, our well-to-do countrymen generally and aristocratic classes particularly, have a hereditary distaste for all kinds of trade, however profitable. The Indian artisans and manufacturers under the fostering care of the British Government, are now plying independent trades; and making large profits. There is an increasing demand for the products of their toil, in spite of the

keen foreign competition ; and their wages are getting higher every day. The rigours of the old "begâr" system are fast dying out ; and our *mistries* and smiths now retire on handsome fortunes in the evening of their lives. Labor (as distinguished from "respectable" service) has become so dear that, if you be in need of a coolie, an âyah, or any menial, you will have to pay something extra, beyond the ordinary wages, to obtain one : and even then it is sometimes difficult to get one. Among lower class professions, that of the agriculturist is certainly one which causes some degree of anxiety. No less than 80 per cent. of India's population are agriculturists ; or have some sort of connection with the soil. A very substantial portion of the population which, before the introduction of the foreign rule into the country, subsisted by doing some or other kind of handicraft, has now taken to the soil as the only means remaining for earning a tolerably decent livelihood. All the available land of the country has been already taken up ; and still the pressure does not seem to abate. Out of about 87 million agriculturists in India, no less than 40 millions—according to Dr. Hunter, the great statistician—pass their lives on insufficient food from one end of the year to the other ! And there is no knowing how far this destitution might increase within the next few decades !.

Caste is another among the many stumbling-blocks to Indian progress. Its rigid, stereotyped rules do not permit the slightest change in the ancestral trade or profession. One must go on doing what one's forefathers did two centuries ago, regardless of the times or circumstances. If machine-made articles come into universal use to-day ; the Indian handicraftsman is obliged to shut up shop and retire from the field. Caste rules forbid his crossing the seas to learn machine-making ! The hidden virtues of advertising are quite unknown to him : he has yet to learn the benefits of floating joint-stock companies. These are the operating causes which have enabled Lancashire to steal a quiet march upon our caste-ridden local manufacturers and to take the large and paying industry of cloth-weaving completely out of the hands of our *julâhas*. And wonderful to relate, these people could never for a long time even guess that their trade was slipping away between their fingers ! The same is the case with our respectable classes. They all seem to be swayed by one grand idea,—that of entering the bar as Pleaders and Mukhtars ; while equally respectable professions, such as engineering, mechanics, hard-ware or glass manufacture are held in thorough disfavour. The result being that this one line is now so much crammed that the average pleader can hardly earn a decent livelihood, in spite of resorting to desperate shifts.

The population of some of the Native States is certainly more prosperous and thriving than that of some parts of the British territory ; but the cause of this is not far to seek. The perennial revolutions, to which the country was all along subject, obviously affected only those parts which formed part of the Delhi Emperor's domains proper. The Native States and other minor kingdoms almost invariably escaped the general upset. Under the circumstances, it would seem that whatever poverty exists in British India to-day is to some extent attributable also to the terrible effects of ancient anarchy and constant foreign invasions. In British India itself such of the towns or places, as have been out of reach of these disorders, seem to be comparatively more flourishing. The wealthy city of Benares, for instance, contains a far more happy and prosperous population than that of most other provincial towns.

The complaints we have enumerated and commented on in the foregoing paragraphs, are of secondary importance, compared with those we have taken the liberty to set out in the earlier pages of this volume. But there is yet one more class of grievance-mongers, whose dissatisfaction, we are sorry to say, has almost reached the stage of acute discontent. This important section may be thus classified :—

1. Those who have lost their estates or other property in law suits ; and who look forward to a change of *régime* to attempt recovery of same from their antagonists.

2. Those who under such a strong Government as that of British India, find no opportunity for the gratification of their wicked propensities and ambition.

3. The unemployed classes who fancy themselves aggrieved against Government, by its so-called coldness, and who hold that Government mainly responsible for their not getting employment.

4. Those whose estates were confiscated after the Mutiny ; or whose near relatives were punished for rebellion.

5. And last, but not least, those evil-minded persons—the roughs of our large towns or centres of civilization whose spirit of mischief is only lying dormant ; and who are always looking out for an opportunity to loot ; and feather their own nests.

These five classes of people are the loudest in wishing the advent of the Russians ; and are always hankering after a change of *régime*. But this undue preference for Russian rule is not based on any testimony, hearsay or otherwise, which they have been able to gather, that Russian Government is a model of good and righteous administration ; but because these classes have a

cordial dislike of the English Government and, in fact, of everything English. They are by no means enamoured of the Russians : no, nothing of the kind. They only desire that some Power should come forward and drive out the English ;—of whom they seem to have had enough. Or perhaps they simply wish that the English were out ; no matter whether any other Power stepped into their shoes or not. They do not love the Russians ; the only abhor the English. In other words, what they desire is simply a change of *régime* ; though that might be attended with ever so great an amount of risk.

The feelings of intelligent and educated natives on the other hand, when they behold the rapid strides with which the “double-headed eagle” is advancing towards India, may not inaptly be likened to those of the scared man, who, having seen his neighbour’s house on fire—the unchecked flames rapidly devouring every conceivable object they can find, the timber crackling in the midst of lurid fire ; blocks of red-hot masonry falling every now and then with an infernal thud ; women and children flying terror-stricken and aghast for their lives ; their dear belongings reduced to ashes before their very eyes ; and above all the din and uproar of the neighbours : their frantic gesticulations, and fruitless efforts to arrest the progress of the conflagration, and rescue the burning property—is suddenly roused to a sense of his own danger, lest his own domicile should catch fire and be drawn into the general disaster. The educated native mind is filled with undefined horrors as to what the near future might bring forth ;—the Russians having, by a sudden *coup d’état*, brought their frontier so close to our own. We have seen enough of Russian doings in Europe and Asia ; and far from being fascinated with the high-sounding distinctions conferred on the Mahomedan Governors of Merve or Panjdeh, we have been only forewarned to put our house in a state of defence ; and be ready for any emergency : not so much in the interests of the British Government as in our own, which, however, are indissolubly linked together at the present moment. The interests of security and peace we hold to be of the first importance ; and those who attempt to disturb these, whether they be Russians, Englishmen, or our own countrymen, are the enemies of Hindustan. Happily, we enjoy to-day the blessings both of peace and security, and a tolerably good Government besides which, it would be most foolish to exchange for an imagined “Utopia,” supposed to be in the gift of the White Czar.

As a matter of fact, this longing for a change of rule in our countrymen has been comparatively of recent growth,

an amiable foible inherited from sulky, disappointed forefathers—which has been mistaken by other nations for a fixed, natural sentiment; and for which, unfortunately, we are regarded with disfavour, and even suspicion sometimes. It is really a great pity! The annals of Hindustan abound with innumerable instances of internecine struggles and civil wars; but not a single instance can be cited among them, in which personal interest and selfish motive have not played a most prominent part. Nor can it be alleged to the credit of the subject race that it ever rose *en masse*, during any period of its history, in defence of its rights and privileges. Ambition raised empires, and ambition overthrew them. We could never boast of a genuine patriot like Abdul Kader, Kosciusko, or Garibaldi amongst us. In all periods of our history we have striven to strangle one another, run each other down; while our patience to suffer wrong, however monstrous or intolerable, has been all but stoical. As a natural consequence, we have always yearned for the advent of some blessed military Messiah, who might deliver us from our thralldom.

It has never been our aim, as a nation, to so qualify ourselves as to be able to govern ourselves. The blessings of freedom or of national independence have never entered into the spirit of our political dream. It was impossible that we could ever breathe freely, whilst the incubus of autocracy weighed heavily on our bosoms. While other nations have been making successful bids for autonomy or national independence, we have been longing for the same end by a simple change of masters! Not to speak of our political condition, our moral and economic conditions also have suffered fearfully through this constant change. Every conquering race that has subjugated us, has wanted to thrust upon us not only its language and peculiar ways, but also its religion. Our ancient learning, our arts, and institutions have been literally crushed out under the weight of successive conquests and invasions. Each conquest in its turn has revolutionized the basis and principle of administration in the country, compelling people to adapt themselves to the new order of things; and learn its bye-ways—the process extending, in some instances, over centuries. And by the time, they have half learnt them, another wave of conquest, has upset the whole fabric of government, forcing them to unlearn what they had learnt before; and to begin their novitiate afresh. National weakness and demoralisation, the natural results of national slavery and foreign tutelage, have vitiated our moral character; and we find even our “business morality” extremely

lax as compared with that of other nations. Obsequious submission to the strong, and oppression of the weak and helpless, have become in a manner permanent traits in our national character. Our wives and children likewise have been brought up in the corrupt atmosphere provided by us. It could not indeed be otherwise. The constant bickerings among our female relations—their petty jealousies and mutual backbitings—and the heart-burnings to which these often give rise—have turned into veritable pandemoniums our otherwise happy and peaceful homes. The early training of our children, which we think, should form a fitting preface, as it were, to their future good lives, has suffered likewise at the hands of our ignorant women. Strange to say that our women—whose heart-rending sufferings (at the hands of their proverbially tyrannical mothers-in-law and *nands*, *i. e.*, husband's sisters) have often formed the burden of many a national song, agonising in their soul-stirring pathos—themselves tyrannise over their daughters-in-law, when they become in their turn mothers-in-law. And when these worthy wives and daughters go to form our household ; and when a number of such households makes up what we call a nation, the component parts of it, if loose and disjointed must, in time, render the whole fabric disjointed. In fact, every family unit is a nation in embryo, a State in miniature as it were ; and if we can only succeed in freeing it from the strong hand of personal rule and paternal despotism ; and manage it with a little tact and kindly forbearance, introducing mild and humane treatment for arbitrary authority and sternness of manner, and sympathy and smiles for cruelty and cold snubbing, what a mighty change, indeed, would come over the spirit of our domestic relations ! A sense of self-respect and self-reliance would be instilled into our children ; and they would soon acquire a habit of unfettered thinking and acting ; and thus, with the consciousness of their newly-acquired freedom, they would not fail to imbibe greater freedom and moral courage, and a feeling of nervous impatience for all manner of high-handedness and wrong-doing. A far nobler and manlier race would then take the place of the degenerate race now extant,—worthy to govern as well as be governed, and able to take its place by the side of the greatest nations of the earth. Our political salvation would then be a question of days, nay of hours. The victory was within easy reach of us, if we but tried to make it our own. Let this kind of education take root, and let it first of all begin from our very domestic circle ; and we doubt not but that India's future will be a bright and happy one.

Law and all the machinery of the State, are simply the outcome of our moral and economic conditions ; and they have no existence apart from these. If the law and the system of Government are, relatively to our true condition in life, mild, crime would increase ; and society would be thrown completely out of gear. If on the other hand we are morally sound, and the laws unduly severe ; then it stands to reason that they (laws) defeat the very purposes for which they were made. No nation, we believe, can keep another under subjection, unless it is morally superior to the other, for the simple and obvious reason that a minority can never rule a majority, for ever, and by dint of mere physical force. Thus, whatever abuses and defects still exist in the English system of administration are, to some extent, also attributable to ourselves ; and, for the matter of that, to our peculiar national constitution : and their removal certainly depends in a great measure on our own endeavours and ultimate reform. Nothing could be more absurd than to hope for reform in the system of Government by a simple change of *régime* ; for that system is nothing more nor less than the mere outward reflex as it were of our true condition in life, the change of which would perforce necessitate a change of that system too. Wherever a slave may go, in whatever sphere of life he may move, he can never be *other* than a slave. The time for dependence on other nations is gone ; unless, indeed, we are still disposed to continue under their debasing tutelage. We must henceforth gird up our loins to start in the race of life on our own account ; and all by ourselves. A nation's battles are always fought by the nation itself ; though others might help it. Our own battles have all been hitherto fought by others ; while we have been sitting idle all the time at home ! This cannot go on for ever. We must either make up our minds henceforth to live by the sufferance of others, or 'be up and doing' and make a real, earnest effort to improve our lot. Shall we hesitate ? No, we must march forward, with colors flying, and drums beating, to the glorious moral victory that awaits us. We humbly exhort those noble souls amongst us who have been devoting the most valuable portion of their time to the discussion of political questions alone, to utilise their powerful pen and tongue even in the cause of our social, moral, and intellectual advancement. We implore them in the name of dear, old Hindustan to pay some attention to the economic development of the country ;—by rescuing its local industries from that gradual decay, which seems to be their destined end ; and once more giving them a new and a healthy impetus.

We must, at the same time, most earnestly and sincerely

call upon the British Government to shape its laws and policy in consonance with the altered conditions of society ; and be always guided by this enlightened principle as the country advances and the old order of things changes. It must always be reading and noting the signs of the times. It should leave off its attitude of sullen opposition ; and remove those obstacles to the natural development of the country which have hitherto proved the latter's ruin. The small modicum of enlightenment which our countrymen have been able to pick up hitherto, is due almost entirely to the beneficial action of Government. All the learning that they have acquired up to the present day, has been of a most unpractical kind : they have been nourished for the most part on abstract principles and theories, and led on through the barren regions of speculative philosophy. But this is not enough. Existence ought to discard once for all baseless dreams and theories ; and learn to find its proper nourishment in its own real strength. The hungry milk-less child has been soothed long enough by gentle patting: it has now outgrown its patience. It has seen through the deception of the process, and now cannot rest satisfied until all its wants and wishes are fully met.

While we have so earnestly and unreservedly called upon Government and our own countrymen to do nothing but their duty towards each other : it behoves us none the less to make a solemn appeal to the Anglo-Indian press, to be more sympathetic and charitable in its tone towards the natives ; and not soil its hitherto proud reputation for justice and fair-dealing, by importing race feelings into the discussion of public questions. We believe there is no class of public men in India, who possess greater influence for good than the brilliant writers on the Anglo-Indian press ; and who, if well-disposed towards their native fellow-subjects, could, in an infinitely short time, revolutionize the whole economic condition of India. At the same time we must beseech the Native Press and the Native Political Associations to adopt a platform of dignified criticism and defend native interests and native public opinion in a spirit of courtesy and dispassion, checking and controlling the intemperate zeal of their younger and less experienced brethren ; and not imitate the bad example set them sometimes by sober gentlemen on the Anglo-Indian press. There is, we believe a great future before the Native Press ; and if it only followed the chastening example of the better class of English 'papers' in London and the Provinces, it could mould and shape a robust public opinion in the East which could not fail to command the respect and attention of all right-minded men.

To tell the truth, we are engaged in a sort of moral crusade with the English in India ; and the interests of our national honor demand that we should strain every nerve to win the great constitutional struggle that lies before us. We must seek the sinews of war in national unity, moderation, and the justice of our cause ; and must not rest until we have gained the fullest redress of our grievances ; and the amplest recognition of our just claims and privileges. In this bloodless *jihād*—unlike those often preached by the wicked races of the earth—we must be prepared to make a lot of self-sacrifice ; as it will be one in which the East and the West will be pitted against each other in a desperate bout for moral superiority ! Giving vent to a temporary feeling of venial vanity, we might exclaim : “ We mean to reduce the West by cutting off its supply of culture ; by causing depression to her arts and manufactures ; and by bombarding the spirit of pride inherent in her sons ! ” In this terrible struggle, “ India for the Indians and for England, ” shall be our war-cry ; and we trust this sentiment will evoke responsive echoes throughout the length and breadth of this land.

THE END.

OPINION REGARDING THE BOOK.

We beg to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of a pamphlet, entitled "THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA AND ENGLAND," written by Munshi Muhammad Mahfuz Ali, of Kakori, Manager of Raj Singâhi in the Kheri district, and printed at the Urdu Press, Lucknow. We must confess that it has seldom been our lot to light on a more ably-written book, treating of a political subject, in the Urdu language. In fact, we are much indebted to the author for his having provided for us such a treat.

The author has, at the outset, very clearly and impartially portrayed the oppression and violence practised by the Russian Government on its subjects, as well as the grossly outrageous conduct of the Russian officers and soldiery towards the fair sex of a conquered country. Afterwards, he describes the main features of British rule in India, and, in a thoroughly loyal and independent spirit and with much truthfulness, points out both its sins and virtues. In the course of this criticism, he gives a list of the grievances of the people which have conduced to alienate their sympathise from the British Government. But he does something more. He traces these grievances to their legitimate causes, and where they are ascribable to the folly or misapprehension of the people themselves and where to the errors of the Government, he does not hesitate to say so. In our opinion, the latter half of the book deserves the special consideration of the Government which, we trust, it will not fail to command. Altogether, we believe, the brochure is sure to prove as useful to the general public as to the Government. Indeed we feel much proud that, despite the degeneracy of the present age, we have still amongst us such talented individuals as Munshi Muhammad Mahfuz Ali. It would seem that he has inherited that gift of true statesmanship, which at one time formed our national pride and glory. Publications like the one before us are eminently calculated to benefit the country as well as the Government, if the latter only cares to appreciate them.—*The Hon'ble Syed Ahmed Khan Bahadur, C. S. I., in the Aligarh Institute Gazette, of 30th March 1886.*

