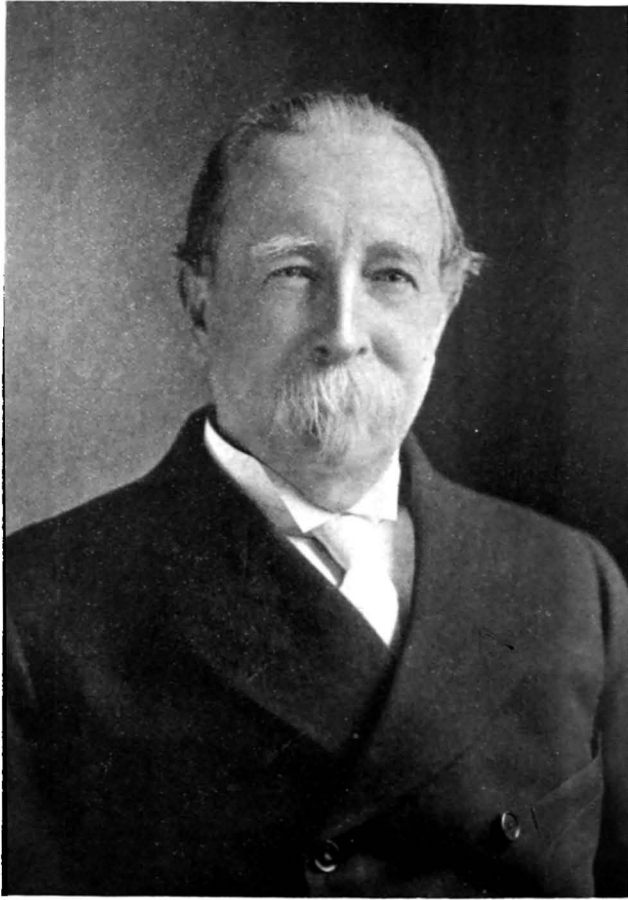


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ALLAN OCTAVIAN HUME



Yours sincerely  
A. S. Stone

# Allan Octavian Hume, C.B.

“Father of the Indian National Congress”

1829 TO 1912

BY

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, BART.

T. FISHER UNWIN  
LONDON: ADELPHI TERRACE  
LEIPSIK: INSELSTRASSE 20

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## APPENDIXES

### APPENDIX I

ETAWAH, 24th July, 1860.

To G. R. HAYWOOD Esq.  
*Secretary to the Cotton Supply Association,*  
*Manchester.*

DEAR SIR,—

Your letter and circular, dated December 1859 only reached me on the 17th of the current month—with whom the delay rests I cannot say—I at least am not in fault.

Fully concurring with you in the importance of increasing the quantity and improving the quality of the cotton grown in these provinces, I have for years given the subject as much attention as I could spare from my other multifarious duties, and am therefore in a position to answer most of the Queries put by you.

At the same time, lest, seeing how unsatisfactory many of my replies necessarily are, you should be disposed to wonder or cavil at my not having taken more energetic measures, to further the objects that I with you admit to be most desirable, allow me to remind you, that to an officer, to whom the entire government of six or seven hundred thousand people is confided, an improved or enhanced growth of cotton, can at most be but a very secondary object, to which time and attention can only be devoted, after weightier matters, such as the securing protection to life and property, the establishment and maintenance of schools, hospitals, and public libraries, the realization of Revenue, the construction of Public Works, etc., etc., have been duly provided for.



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And now to reply to your queries seriatim—

1. The cotton plant is grown in this, the Etawah District.

2. There is only one kind of cotton now grown in this district, I enclose samples, in the boll and cleaned. The former may be taken as a fair specimen of the best average cotton here grown—the latter will enable you to judge how far the Churkha here in use injures the fibre. The quality of the produce depends very much on the soil and season and fully half of the Etawah cotton is (taking the average of several years) inferior to the enclosed sample—on the other hand about 10 per cent. is superior.

3. No cotton of the American variety is grown here, nor would there appear to have ever been any vigorous efforts on a large scale to introduce its cultivation. Some few of the Zemindars seem to have tried a few acres of it some twenty-five years ago, but it took they allege so long to flower that the bolls never rightly came to maturity. I myself have sown it for three successive years without any success. I have so little time for gardening that I fear the cotton (though I saw it planted myself on the most approved form of ridge, and subsequently moulded and hilled) did not get properly looked after. Perhaps however the seed was in fault—the people here usually call the American variety “Nurma Kupas” or soft cotton.

4. Last year we had 57,675 acres of land under (cotton) cultivation and the produce amounted to 107,929 maunds or 8,634,320 lb., showing an average yield of only 150 lb. per acre; but the rains were very defective, and I think I shall not be wrong in assuming 250 lb. as the average yield per acre, in a fair season, of our average good land when reasonably carefully cultivated.

5. See No. 3.

6. Our soil varies in different parts of the district from very light sandy earth (“Bhoor” as it is here called) to a rich but still not clayey loam (known as “Do mut”). The climate is that of the rest of the districts of the central Duab—but perhaps a little warmer than some of its neighbours in January and February, cold at night and in mornings

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and evenings the temperature is often below freezing-point—in the middle of the day it ranges from 80° to 94° in the sun ; towards the end of February the heat increases and in March and the first fifteen days of April the temperature gradually rises, so that by the end of March the thermometer may be said never to fall below 65° and to rise to 110° at midday. During the latter part of April, May, and June till the first showers of the rain fall the heat is very great and the hot winds blow more or less continually. The thermometer very rarely, even just before sunrise falling below 80° and at 2 p.m. rising to 120° *in the shade* (we had it above that in our tents in 1858) and to 140° and even more incredible heights if exposed to the sun—however, towards the middle or end of May we sometimes have a little heavy rain which for a time cools the air. During June or early in July the periodical rains commence and continue with more or less violence till the end of August or the middle of September. The temperature during these months (dependent chiefly on the amount of rain that falls and the manner in which the falls are distributed) varies so much in different years and at different parts of the same season that it is difficult to give it any numerical representative, but perhaps if I assume 86° as the lowest and 112° as the highest average temperature in the shade during the rains, I shall not be far wrong. After the rain ceases there is usually a month of very hot and steamy weather, but during the course of October, the nights begin to grow cool, and the latter half of November and December are almost as cool as January. There is usually a fall of rain about the end of December which lasts a few days. The total fall of rain during the whole year is I estimate on the average 28 inches, of which 22 fall during the Rainy Season.

7. The cotton seed is usually sown during June after the first or second good fall of rain, but it is also at times (especially if the rains are late) sown in dry ground and there left to await the expected showers.

In years in which the rains are favourable, viz., in which the total fall is pretty equably distributed throughout the

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three months from 15 June to 15 September, no irrigation is required or resorted to. But when there is a failure of rain during the early part of the season the people irrigate wherever they can ; but if the rain still holds off irrigation is generally abandoned as too expensive and of little use. The out-turn is best when the rains cease a little before the plant flowers, which is on the average 75 days from the date of sowing in wet earth, or of the first good shower if sown in dry. The produce is scarce and of an inferior quality when rain falls on the flower, and still more so when it falls on the pod. We reckon a lightish loam best suited to cotton, and find that manuring it adds much more to the produce than it would in the case of wheat or barley—hence what little manure the people take the trouble to collect and cart is usually devoted to cotton lands. Irrigation is available in about one fourth of the district from the Ganges Canal (or will soon be when all the minor irrigation channels are complete) and in about another fourth from wells, tanks, rivers, etc. The people as a rule believe that irrigation neither improves the quality nor increases the quantity of the produce.

8. Clean cotton is on the average one-third of the total picking, that would give for last year only an average of 50 lb. per acre and in good years 80 lb. In this district three times the land now under cultivation could be easily devoted to the growth of cotton.

9. Nothing would be easier than to extend the cultivation, if set about in a proper way. What we chiefly require are money advances, increased intelligence and a ready and *good* sale on the spot (see further No. 12).

10. The only obstacles are want of capital and intelligence and the extreme uncertainty of the demand (see further No. 12).

11. Of the produce of this district we estimate that not *more* than one-third is consumed by the natives of the district itself, but that of the remainder not more than 2,000,000 lb. is exported to England, the rest being absorbed in Bengal.

12. There are no European merchants in this or any of

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the surrounding districts who purchase or as far as I can judge would purchase cotton. Nor are there any native merchants who purchase cotton on a large scale. Radhe Lall, Bhugwan Dass and Umrao Singh are the chief native cotton purchasers of Etawah, but they together scarcely purchase £10,000 worth per annum. Some twenty-five years ago Messrs. Wright and I think Ritchie at Agra, and Mr. Bruce at Calpee did a good deal of business in this line, here and in the neighbouring districts—and Mr. Bruce was a cotton planter as well as purchaser. All seemed to have failed. This was long before I came to this part of the country, and I cannot therefore offer any opinion of my own as to the causes of their want of success, but if any reliance may be placed in native accounts, their failure was due to causes independent of the trade in which they were engaged. Mr. H. H. Bell of Oomergarh, in the Muttra district, also I believe some fourteen years ago, tried (at the request of the late J. Thomason Esq., Lt.-Governor) the experiment of growing American cotton and purchasing the native variety, but he too would seem to have found the business unprofitable. You ask what agency should be employed to purchase cotton and send it home to England. I would suggest that the Association send out to Etawah some member of one of the large Manchester firms whose name would be a sufficient guarantee for the character of his transactions. That this gentleman should establish here a regular agency for the purchase and factory for the cleaning and pressing of cotton. This should be bought raw and cleaned under his own supervision—a good steam Pratt gin, for instance, would increase the value of the cotton 15 per cent. and save 5 per cent. in labour, while if fuel became ultimately any difficulty, as it possibly might, cattle, horse or mule power might be used as in the States. The cotton so bought and cleaned should be pressed, packed, and sent off from here to England (in boats to Calcutta by the Jumna). The cotton agent might at the same time gradually introduce better kinds of cotton, keeping up a small model farm both with the view of ascertaining which varieties are best for

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this part of the country, and which is the most advantageous mode of growing them, and also for the purpose of keeping up a supply of acclimatized seed for distribution and giving the growers practical lessons of how to improve their husbandry. Moreover as the produce increased the agent could gradually introduce good hand gins, and get a great deal of the cotton well cleaned by the people themselves. Besides the produce of Etawah itself, a factory at Etawah would command the whole produce of the very extensive cotton field of which it is the centre and which includes a great portion of Dholpoor, Agra, Muttra, Mynpooree, Furrackabad, Cawnpoor, Jalown, and the North of Gwalior. I don't hesitate to say that with two or three years of liberal, just, and ready-money transactions 25,000,000 lb. of *clean* cotton could be easily sent home annually from here, and if a system of advances to intending cultivators was adopted, I should not despair of multiplying the amount many times. The business would require capital, temper, time, intelligence, and liberality, and what is not common in India, regular *business* habits—but it would, I believe, be very profitable, and a few such agencies in India judiciously located would I believe enable our merchants in Manchester to command an almost indefinite supply of cotton of *any* quality that the physical conditions of soil and climate permit the growth of. What the highest quality here obtainable really is time and repeated experiments on a considerable scale, by men who know exactly what to try and how to try it, alone can show, but that the present standard can be very considerably raised even without the introduction of new varieties, I have myself twice practically proved. Even supposing that no cotton better than the sample sent were to be usually grown here, the scheme I propose would I conclude be remunerative. At present, the *grower* sells it to a petty dealer, after having "mangled" it with an infamous "churkha" that very seriously injures the fibre, the petty dealer sells it to a native merchant, who packs it (without any press, and so badly that it has to be repacked down country), and exports it sometimes direct

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to Calcutta, but more often only Mirzapoor; and then it passes through one or two more hands before it is finally shipped for England. Surely the direct agency properly managed, by which the cotton is cleaned without injury to the fibre, packed at once and exported without there being any middleman to absorb the profits, would be amply remunerative when the present ill-managed system affords profits sufficient to support five or six different parties.

Cotton of the quality of the raw sample herewith sent might I calculate on the average, if bought in large quantities, cleaned by good gins, properly packed and sent down the Jumna in boats, be put on board ship at Calcutta at Rs. 10 8 ans. per maund, or at £1 1s. per 80 lb. avoirdupois, or 3·15 per lb. (exclusive of cost of agency and risk of insurance). The question is what will the freight home cost, and what would the average value of cotton of the quality of the raw sample herewith sent be in Manchester if it had been properly cleaned by a good gin?

I must however note that the price of cotton here is liable to most extraordinary fluctuations; at the present moment if I had to buy cotton, clean it, etc., it would cost (even supposing I had all the means and appliances above suggested) at least 4½ per lb. before it got on ship board at Calcutta. This I take to be owing in great measure to the extreme uncertainty of the demand. Were there a regular agency for its purchase here, I do not think the price would vary as much as it now does or average higher than that above quoted.

13. The actual price of the cotton cleaned at Etawah is usually under the present retail system about Rs. 7 12 ans., or 15s. 6d. (it is much more at the present moment) per maund of 80 lb., but if bought and cleaned by horse or steam gins, on a *large scale*, would, besides being much better, stand in some 8 ans. or 1s. less. It costs now 8 ans. or 1s. to pack one maund of it very badly—with a good screw press it could be packed so as not to require reopening till it reached England for 4 ans. or 6d., and it is carried from here to Calcutta in boats via the

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Jumna to Allahabad, and thence by the Ganges and Hooglee for Rs. 3 or 6s. per maund, whereas, if properly packed, it would certainly cost 8 ans. per maund less in transit. We have therefore—

	At present.			As suggested.		
	Indian.	English.		Indian.	English.	
	Rs. as.	£	s. d.	Rs. as.	£	s. d.
Cost of cotton of quality of sample cleaned at Etawah, per maund of 80 lb....	7 14	0 15	9	7 6	0 14	9
Packing ditto ...	0 8	0 1	0	0 4	0 0	6
Carriage to Calcutta ...	3 0	0 6	0	2 8	0 5	0
Cost at Calcutta of maund or 80 lb.	11 6	1 2	9	10 2	1 0	3

I would add that though, allowing for contingencies, I have in answer No. 12 stated the price per maund of 80 lb. at Rs. 10 8 ans. or £1 1s., I should myself be sanguine of reducing this average if the business were conducted on a sufficiently large and liberal scale.

14. Etawah is admirably situated as a locality for a cotton agency—it is built, as the map will show you, on the banks of the Jumna, thus ensuring cheap and uninterrupted water carriage to Calcutta. It has moreover a good road from Gwalior on the one hand (crossing the Jumna and Chambal, over both of which I have established bridges of boats) and to Furrickabad on the Ganges on the other; the main rail-road from Allahabad and Calcutta to Agra, Delhi and the Punjab passes through it, and though two years will probably elapse before that portion of the line lying between Raj Mehal and Allahabad is entirely complete the section from Allahabad to Agra will it is believed be open to the public in less than a twelvemonth. Besides this I have during the last three years constructed some 400 miles of good cart roads leading from all parts of the district to the town of Etawah itself, so that really the only way in which

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the means of conveyance could, as far as I can see, be improved would be by the construction of a better class of barges for the transport of the cotton by river. These should I think be iron, and built in compartments. The sinking and burning of the boats now in use are a source of great loss.

15. The growers have only the common seed. If really good seed were furnished them numbers would be *glad* to buy it on a small scale at first and if it succeeded on a large scale afterwards. The fact is that as far as my experience goes, Hindoos like Englishmen, are perfectly ready to take any good advice or adopt any good plan, if you can only demonstrate to them practically that *it pays*. That is the touchstone. If the higher quality for any reason does not *pay* them so well as that they now grow, they will after a few trials abandon it—if it *pays better* you may depend on their sticking to it. One thing that is necessary for the successful growing of the foreign varieties is a short practical manual, *drawn up with reference to the requirements of this country and these provinces*. Louisiana and Alabama are *not at all like* the North-West provinces of India, and prize essays on the cultivation of Orleans staple cotton in the Valley of the Mississippi, are believe me but of little value in Etawah no matter how “experienced” the “planters” from whom they emanate. A good practical manual such as we require could be best compiled after a few years of experience at an Experimental Farm of the kind alluded to in my twelfth answer.

16. The native “Churkha” is the only instrument here used at present and they have no press for baling it. The cotton is packed for the market in the most primitive fashion imaginable. Bags of a cylindrical form, about 4 feet long by 3 feet in diameter, open at one end, are suspended (so that the bottom is about a foot off the ground) by four or more ropes run through the edges of the mouth or open end, to a like number of poles firmly planted in the ground round about the bags. The cotton is then thrown in little by little, and a man standing inside the bag keeps steadily treading it



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down till the bale is full—such bags usually contain 3 maunds 5 seers, or 250 lb. of cotton each. There is a smaller kind also in use here which weighs when full only about 150 lb.

17. The cost of cleaning cotton by the "Churkha" is 3 or  $3\frac{1}{10}$ th of a penny—a man who receives 2 ans. or 3d. per diem cleans 5 seers or 10 lb. in a day. The seed usually sells for about 10 per cent. more than the cost of cleaning.

18. Samples of the cotton here grown both in the raw state and cleaned are put up.

19. I have no seed that I can depend on. This year I have got a little from the Calcutta Agri-horticultural Society, which if it succeeds will enable me to distribute a little seed next year, but if the Association choose to furnish me with a considerable quantity of first-rate seed, I will undertake to get it tried in many places of the district and if it succeeds to have the seed so raised distributed on a large scale; but it must be distinctly understood that such seed must reach me free of cost and that I cannot myself go to any expense in cultivating it as I have already too many schools, libraries, and other district institutions *entirely* dependent on me, to undertake any new scheme at present.

20. Samples of the cotton fabrics of this district (with the prices in English and Indian money and other particulars on labels attached to them) are herewith forwarded.

21. In this district there is but little waste land and this latter is (with the exception of a few hundred acres, scattered about in tiny patches) altogether barren and unculturable.

22. I have unfortunately no time at present to discuss the gigantic question of "how the general trade and commerce of the district may be most effectually extended," and in regard to the one particular branch of commerce in which the Association must be chiefly interested I have, I think, already nearly sufficiently taxed your patience. Let me however be again reminding you of the extreme difference both of climate and soil between these provinces and not only the Valley of the Mississippi but also the Southern and Central portions of India itself. New Orleans cotton whether culti-

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vated according to American or Indian practice has hitherto succeeded but indifferently in these provinces, but who knows what success some combination of the two or some entirely new system of culture might lead to? On the other hand supposing it to be proved impossible to bring the American variety to perfection here, it is by no means improbable that the African or still better the Egyptian might succeed. What is required is experience—an experimental farm carried on on a liberal scale under a really able and educated man for half a dozen years, would probably settle the matter as regards the cotton field of which Etawah is the natural centre. If the Association really wish for this experience, really desire to improve the quality and increase the quantity of cotton grown here and elsewhere—they must put their own shoulders to the wheel—give up memorializing Government, and do what they want done themselves—at their own expense. In the long run they will find it the cheapest and best plan.

I need hardly say that any agency of the nature suggested by me in my twelfth answer, would meet with my most willing support, and that I should be at all times ready to afford any advice or assistance that my long residence in this district and intimate acquaintance with its people rendered me qualified to give.

I am, dear sir,

Yours faithfully,

A. O. HUME.

PS.—The Macarthy gins would be readily purchased here, if the people could be convinced that they answer. If one as a specimen were sent with full instructions as to use, and I could show them practically that it was a *paying* investment, there would be no difficulty I fancy in disposing of five hundred like it in a single year.

*Note.*—As ill-health compels me to go on leave for a few months any reply you may wish to send should be addressed to me *by name to the care of* the Magistrate and Collector, Etawah.

## APPENDIX II

### A LETTER TO MR. BEHRAMJI M. MALABARI,

ON THE SUBJECT OF HIS NOTES UPON INFANT MARRIAGES  
AND ENFORCED WIDOWHOOD AND GENERALLY ON THE  
PRESENT PROSPECTS AND METHODS OF NATIONAL PROGRESS.

*(Reprinted from the "Indian Spectator" of February 1, 1885)*

MY DEAR MALABARI—

I have read with the most entire sympathy your cogent and eloquent Notes on the evils attendant on infant marriages and enforced widowhood. Privately, for years past, I have strenuously urged on Native friends the necessity of reform in these and other kindred social matters; so that you must not attribute my long delay in answering your letter, enclosing these papers, to any want of interest in the painful subjects to which they relate. Most entirely do I agree with you, that much misery results from these customs; that in the present day (whatever may have been the case in times long past), the evil generated by them far outweighs any good with which they can justly be credited—that yearly this disproportion will increase, and that their abolition is even now an object in every way worthy to be aimed at.

There is so little genuine unselfish enthusiasm in the world nowadays, that agreeing thus far with you, I have been unwilling to appear in any way to throw cold water on your zeal, by tendering only a qualified concurrence in your views. But since you continue to insist on a public con-

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fession of the faith that is in me, I must in justice to the great national cause, which we both alike have at heart, say distinctly, what—rightly or wrongly—I really think about the matter.

In the first place I must say I think you *somewhat* exaggerate the evil results of these traditional institutions. I quite admit that there is full warrant for everything you advance—the terrible evils you refer to are real; but they are not, to my idea, by any means so universal as the ordinary reader of your Notes would, I think, be led to infer. Moreover, though I admit that the evil does, on the whole, outweigh the good, it is not fair to our people to allow it to be supposed, that they are so hopelessly blind as to cling to institutions which are utterly and unmitigatedly bad. In the existing state of the Native social problem, no really impartial competent judge will, I believe, deny that in many cases these institutions even yet work fairly well. There are millions of cases in which early marriages are believed to be daily proving happy ones, and in which consummation having been deferred by the parents (and this, my friends say, is the usual case) till a reasonable age (I mean for Asiatic girls) the progeny are, so far as we can judge, perfectly healthy, physically and mentally.

A Native friend writes to me, "The wife, transplanted to her husband's home at a tender age, forgets the ties that bound her to the parental hearth, and by the time she comes of age is perfectly naturalized in her adopted family; and though she is allowed no wifely intercourse with her husband until she attains a fitting age, still the husband and wife have constant opportunities of assimilating each other's natures and growing, as it were, into one, so that when the real marriage takes place the love they feel for each other is not merely passion, but is mingled with far higher and purer feelings. Misfortunes cannot alienate our wives, they have no frowns for us, even though we commit the most heinous crimes or ill-treat or sin against themselves. Those ignorant of our inner life call this a vile subjugation and say that we have made our wives our slaves, but those who live

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amongst us know that it is the result of that deep-seated affection that springs from early association and religious (if you will, superstitious) teachings.

“Where will you find a wife so true and contented as a Hindu’s? Where more purity of thought or more religious fervour than in the Hindu women of respectable families? Our men, alas! may be materialists, atheists, immoral, base, but our women are goodness in human shape—and why? because they have been shown an object on which to concentrate the entire love and veneration of their natures at a time when their pure hearts were unsullied by any other impressions or ideas, and taught to look up to their husbands, whose faces they could only look on after many solemn ceremonies, as their guardians, protectors, and gods.”

Everything in this world has its darker and brighter sides and the blackest cloud has some silver lining; and though my friend in his happy husbandhood (for his has been, I know, a happy infant marriage) generalizes too enthusiastically from his own experience, still he has some foundation for his contention; and infant marriage (though fraught with grievous misery in too many cases, though a custom marked for extinction and daily becoming more and more of an anachronism and more and more of an evil, taking its results as a whole), has not yet become that unmitigated curse, unrelieved by redeeming features, which, forgive me if I say so, your vigorous onslaught would, it seems to me, lead the European reader to believe.

Do you remember “Uncle Tom’s Cabin”? There was not one incident recorded in that novel, in connection with the grievous iniquities of slavery, for which actual warrant did not exist, and yet the general result was to produce a grossly exaggerated picture of the working of the system. Many look upon that highly coloured narrative as the first seed of the subsequent emancipation of the slaves; personally, I credit it mainly with the perfectly needless slaughter of about half a million of persons. It took hold on the mind of the nation. It grievously angered the Southerners, many

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of them the kindest and best of masters, beloved beyond measure by their so-called slaves, who, seeing themselves and their institutions wantonly maligned, became all the more resolutely determined to oppose any reform (prior to this numbers of the Southerners were themselves considering how emancipation could be gradually brought about). It grievously inflamed the righteous indignation of the New Englanders, and a certain better-minded section of the other northern States—and it led to John Brown and his marching soul and all the “battle, murder, and sudden death” that followed. You will be told that the North and South fought over the tariff, and so a large section of the northern States unquestionably did, but these would never have ventured to provoke or accept (for this is a moot point) a civil war, but for the enthusiasm of the honest anti-slavery party. But for “Uncle Tom’s Cabin,” I fully believe that slavery would have been abolished before now, and without any civil war.

But works of fiction attacking social evils always, it may be said, exaggerate the case, and Charles Reade and Charles Dickens will be pointed to as having equally picked out individual instances of wrong and so presented them as to make them appear the necessary and inevitable results of systems which, as a matter of fact, by no means invariably led to such serious consequences.

But even if such exaggeration be permissible in works of fiction, and if this high colouring does really do good *in the long run* (which is at least an arguable point) by attracting and concentrating attention, it certainly does not do this, in my opinion, in the case of grave prosaic State papers, like yours, and rightly ~~so~~ <sup>consequently</sup>, my experience and inquiries lead me to believe that in your righteous indignation against wrong and desire to get rid of what is evil, you have depicted that evil in blacker colours than the facts of the case, *taken as a whole*, really warrant.

As regards the question of enforced widowhood I have *in limine* a somewhat similar objection to take. It is productive of great evils, much unhappiness, much demoralization. It

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is a custom against which common-sense, and all the best instincts of our nature write, as in the case of slavery, the verdict "*delenda est.*" But with all that, it does not, taking the country as a whole, produce so much evil as might be theoretically inferred. It is bad enough doubtless, but it is not that gigantic cancer at the heart's core of society, that tremendous and cruel evil, the eradication of which is essential as the first step to national regeneration, that the casual reader unacquainted with the intricacies of social life in the East, might well conceive it to be from your eloquent and earnest denunciations.

But besides this I have another difficulty. I must divide widows into titular or virgin widows, and real widows. As to the former I have satisfied myself by a careful study of all the authentic and authoritative texts produced on both sides, that there is nothing in the Shastras to prevent *their* re-marriage; and there being positively no good that can be even alleged as resulting from enforcing their continued widowhood, while very grave evils unquestionably flow therefrom, I have no hesitation in earnestly pressing and entreating every good Hindu, who loves his family, his fellows or his country, to combine to make re-marriages in such cases *customary* and thus, as it were, *legislate for themselves* on this matter.

For the re-marriage of fully married or real widows, I cannot say as much. I entertain no doubt that according to the Shastras, the re-marriage of such involved a loss of caste. I regret that this should be so, but I believe it to be the case, and being so, I could press no Hindu brother, who conscientiously accepts these ancient writings, not merely as the teachings of eminently pious *men*, (and therefore necessarily imperfect, suited ~~only~~ to the time in which they were written and open to correction in the light of a more advanced civilization), but as the immutable commands of the Almighty—I could, I say, ask no such Hindu to do violence to his conscience by transgressing what he believes to be the laws of God, even were the evils resulting from this enforced widowhood tenfold what they are.

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Such I would only pray by sympathy and watchful care, by tenderness and love, to mitigate so far as may be the lonely lot of the poor women that they are compelled by religious convictions thus to isolate, and by educating *all* their women, and elevating their mental and moral status, to minimize the inevitable evils, resulting from this enforced, and in the cases of young women, unnatural widowhood. As for those fellows, whose whole lives, redolent of fraud, falsehood, greed or gluttony, show plainly how little *they* regard the Shastras, and who yet seize upon texts, out of sacred writings (every other command of which they disregard when it suits their own purposes) to justify the retention, as ill-used household drudges or unacknowledged concubines, of the poor women entrusted to their care, they are hypocrites whom I hope all brother Hindus, orthodox and unorthodox, will combine to reward as they merit.

No! let the real believer, who lives honestly and truly by his Shastras, still keep his widowed daughter or daughter-in-law, unmarried according to his creed—in such a house, no harm will come to her. It may seem hard upon the poor girl—but in a truly pious household trials are but the seeds of future glories. But let the hypocrite who, whenever he seeks the gratification of his own vices or passions, disregards the sacred commands he pretends to accept, though making a great show of reverencing them *when it suits his purpose*, remember, that call it by what name men will, there is a retribution for all wrong and that he shall surely himself suffer for all the suffering he causes, and for all the sin and sorrow this may evolve.

In the second place, besides holding that obnoxious as are the customs against which you take arms, you have somewhat exaggerated the magnitude and universality of the evils to which they give rise, I cannot but fear that your method of thus attacking particular branches of a larger question, as if they could be successfully isolated and dealt with as distinct entities, is calculated to mislead the public, to confuse their conceptions of proportion, to entail loss of power and intensify, what seems to me at this present



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moment to be, the most serious obstacle to real National progress.

I do not ignore the fact that in our practical work we may and often must, adopt the moral of the fagot fable and proceed to break the sticks one by one, but we must all, from the outset, realize the entire fagot and set before us as our ultimate aim and end, not the fracture of the one stick but the destruction of the entire bundle.

But to me it seems that you put forward these two unquestionably desirable reforms as if they were the most momentous questions of the day, and as if on them hinged the national regeneration, whereas they are mere fractional parts which can never be successfully manipulated by themselves, and which even if they could be so treated, would not, independently of progress in other directions, produce any very marked results upon the country as a whole.

The tendency of your Notes must be, I fear, to give all your readers a somewhat exaggerated and disproportioned idea of the importance of these matters, themselves only branches of the larger question of raising the status of our women generally, itself again only one of many essential factors in National progress.

Moreover, pressing these isolated points so strongly, as if they were obligatory and stood by themselves, and not as mere optional sections of a general enterprise, has certainly temporarily alienated some who would cordially have co-operated in many other sections. Now we cannot afford to alienate a single possible coadjutor, and it is only by starting on a platform co-extensive with the aspirations of the country that we can hope to secure the co-operation of even the majority of that powerful (though numerically small) body of earnest workers who have learnt to look in one direction or another, outside the sordid veil of "self" that still darkens the perceptions of their brethren.

The earnest and unselfish labourers for Progress in this country constitute but an infinitesimal fraction of the population, a fraction that becomes absolutely inappreciable if further subdivided. If, then, any real results are to be

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achieved, it can only be by linking together all those who love the light and would fain push the darkness farther back, in a common effort against a common evil.

Doubtless, division of labour is the seed of Progress, and throughout the universe specialization goes hand in hand with development. We may expect different minds to devote themselves more especially to different sections of the work, but they must be taken up as integral parts of the whole, subordinate portions of the common enterprise in which all are interested.

As it is, in consequence of the all-pervading spirit of division of labour, the minds of our reformers are, as a rule, too exclusively turned to individual abuses and too little in sympathy with the aspirations of fellow-workers struggling against other forms of wrong; and our first aim should be to infuse a spirit of catholicity into the entire body of those willing to labour, in *any* direction, for the common weal.

It is essential, I think, that we should all try to realize that closely interwoven in humanity as are the physical, intellectual and psychical factors, progress in any direction, to be real or permanent, postulates a corresponding progress in other directions—that though we may and must most specially devote our energies to overcoming the particular adversary that circumstances have most immediately opposed to us, we each form but one unit in a force contending against a common foe, whose defeat will depend as much on the success of each of our fellow-soldiers as on our own. In the hour of battle it signifies nothing whether a man is in the light or grenadier company, the whole regiment must advance—the individual can do little; it matters not whether one is in the cavalry, artillery, infantry, pioneers or what not, the success of each is the success of all, the defeat of any an additional obstacle to the triumph of the rest.

At present the greatest impediment to all progress here appears to me to consist in a general failure to realize the essential unity of the cause of reform. You find earnest

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men whose eyes appear to be closed to everything but the material wants of the people, and to whom the poverty of our population appears to be the one sole evil against which it is necessary to concentrate all efforts. You find equally devoted enthusiasts who see in the ignorance of the masses the source of all their sufferings and in their intellectual elevation a panacea for all woes. You find men of the purest and highest aspirations, careless to a great extent of both the material and mental wants of the nation, making their sole aim either its moral development or religious culture. There are some of your social reformers who hold that India is to be saved by the abolition or modification of some evil or obsolete custom or habit, and nailing this flag to their own masts are willing to see the rest of the fleet sink if only their ships forge somewhat ahead. And last but not least, you have the strong practical men, who Gallic-like care for none of these things but place all their hopes on the realization of their aspirations for the political enfranchisement of their countrymen.

What we want, it seems to me, at the present time most of all, is that all these good labourers should understand that they are comrades in one cause, that their aims, though diverse, are not only not antagonistic, but are inextricably interlinked parts of one whole—that if you could multiply tenfold every peasant's means you would serve the country's interests but little did you not simultaneously elevate the mental and moral faculties, so as to secure a wise, prudent, and good use of the money, root out old customs involving its rapid dissipation, and confer such a political status as would enable the owners to preserve and protect their newly found wealth—that no great development of brain power is possible on empty stomachs and where men's whole energies have to be devoted to simply satisfying the cravings of these, and that even if possible it would become a positive evil if unaccompanied by moral or spiritual evolution, and by means for gratifying the necessarily resulting political aspirations—that moral culture is best fostered, mankind being what it is, by removing from men's paths those terrible temptations to

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evil engendered by poverty, hunger, and natural envy of those more fortunate, and that the hope of attaining to the exercise of political functions is often one of the strongest incitements to a higher morality—that the extinction of a few evil customs will avail little without a thorough recast of the social framework, a thing only possible as the result of a general advance along all the other lines, physical, intellectual, psychical and political—and that lastly, nations in the long run always get precisely as good a Government as they deserve, and that no nominal political enfranchisement will in practice prove more than a change of evils unless such an advance has simultaneously or antecedently been made along all these other lines as shall render the country qualified to assimilate its improved political status.

Now, whether rightly or wrongly, it seems to me that a sporadic crusade such as the one you have now undertaken—not to capture the Holy Land, but merely to destroy one little stronghold of the infidels therein—is an utter waste of power, in so much that even if crowned with momentary success, it could have no permanent result while the hills that command it and its water-supply are still in the hands of the enemy. It would be like our capture of the Redan before the Mamelon was in our allies' hands.

And I think further that such isolated crusades have a distinct tendency to intensify that sectarianism in Reform which, as I have already said, seems to me the chief obstacle to progress. And when you threaten, as you often do, to abandon all other work and devote for the rest of your life your great abilities and energies, your fearless honesty and fiery enthusiasm, to these two comparatively minor matters, you seem to me, I confess, like a man who should concentrate all his attention and efforts upon a single plank in the bottom of his ship, leaving all the rest to wind and wave, to rock and rot, as Chance may will it.

No doubt specialization goes hand in hand with development; but national reform here is still in the amoebic stage, and no such specialization as this would imply is as yet practicable. We all remember the statesman who was said

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to have given to a Party the talents designed to serve mankind. Would you, following this erring example, give to two minor questions those powers designed to serve the national cause as a whole? Believe me, it would be not only to inflict on your country an irreparable loss—for there is no other single man whose services she could less easily spare—but it would be a sin against your own soul, like his who hid his talent in the napkin.

One single example will bring home to any thinking mind the extent to which the country suffers, by this premature specialization, and by the absence of co-operation and sympathy, and the lack of unity of purpose, amongst even true would-be reformers, working in different, and even in the same directions. In this age of materialism, when existing faiths, Eastern and Western, seem alike losing all vital hold upon the hearts of their votaries, when the glamour of this material world seems to blind mankind to the existence of other states, of which this present life is but an infinitesimal fragment—when “eat and drink and be merry, for to-morrow we die,” seems almost the only *living* creed—there is no one more important question than that of the moral and spiritual culture of the nation. Morality is the sole rock upon which national prosperity can be securely based—all other foundations are but as shifting sands. The old safeguards of national morality here are crumbling into ruin. To teach men once more the beauty and happiness of pure lives and pure thoughts is perhaps the greatest requisite of all if that national regeneration, for which we all sigh, is ever to be more than a dream. Throughout the length and breadth of the land are scattered, thinly it is true, men, the salt of the earth, Hindus, Christians, Mohammedans and votaries of other innumerable sects—men to whom pure lives and lofty aspirations are as the air to us grosser mortals; who give their time and hearts, and would gladly give their *lives*, to leading other souls along the holy paths that they have trodden to find peace—men who have really one common object, the moral exaltation of their fellows—men who if they could only

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widen their sympathies and lovingly band themselves in united action with all those fellow-labourers whose real aim, like their own, is the purification of mankind, would in twenty years raise the whole tone of national thought—but who, working on, each in his sectarian groove, not only without aiding, not only without sympathy for, but too often in positive hostility towards those whom they should hail as comrades and brothers, live and die leaving scarcely a foot-print on the soul-sands of the age.

Who can reckon the incalculable loss that the country sustains by this persistent antagonism of forces, which combined, would transform the nation in a single generation? Let us, who labour on a humbler plane, beware how we allow ourselves to drift into analogous dissociation, and pinning our faiths on no one particular reform, no one special panacea, even if we have not ourselves the opportunity of working in all directions, at least aid, sympathize, and co-operate with all who, in any form and in any direction, labour in singleness of heart for the common weal.

The time has not yet come when any of us, few as we are, can rightly take up a single branch of one of many questions and devote to that our entire thoughts and time, careless of all else. Your pet subjects are but side branches of the great question of elevating the status of our women, and cannot, it seems to me, be dissociated, theoretically or practically, from that. The majority of the opposition with which your proposals have been met in certain Native circles has had its origin in the conviction that our women and girls are not yet sufficiently educated to enable any great change in the social customs which regulate their lives to be safely made, at present.

To me personally, the promotion of female education (using the word in its broadest sense) as necessarily antecedent to the thorough eradication of the grievous evils you so forcibly depict, appears a more important and immediately pressing question than those selected by you.

I cannot plead guilty to being a benevolent let-alonist.

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I desire to press forward along all the lines, but I am averse to spasmodic onslaughts in isolated directions and I believe that for our entire work, and *à fortiori* for each fragmentary portion thereof, *festina lente* is the true motto.

Having alluded to female education, pardon me if before closing I say a few words on a subject too generally overlooked, viz., the intimate connection that exists between the elevation of the status of our women, and that political enfranchisement for which alone so many of our ablest co-workers think it worth while to labour ; it will illustrate my previous contention as to the essential one-ness of the cause of national reform. I will not argue with my Native friends, who twit me with Divorce Courts and Hill-station scandals, whether our modern so-called education does render European women as a whole less liable to fall. I will not argue with them as to whether, taking households by the million, there is more chastity in the East or the West. Thank God, I have known of thousands of pure households in both—and everywhere so long as this race of man exists, there will be weak women whom *no* education can touch, and wicked men, and whether there be more of these in this or that nation no mortal man is really qualified to judge ; and this moreover is wholly beyond the present question, since *all* will admit that a *properly* educated woman, whose mental and moral faculties have been thoroughly developed, must necessarily be less liable to err than one who remains uneducated. I by no means set up the average education of European girls as *all* that could be desired—all I ask for is a really good education for all Indian girls, and if the European system is defective let us improve upon it and adopt a more perfect one.

But what I do desire to make plain is that without the proper education of our females, without their elevation to their natural and rightful position, no great and permanent political progress can be hoped for. It is by such education alone that the national intellect can be completed and the East put in a position to compete fairly with the West.

As in the individual there are two brains whose har-

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monious co-operation is essential to the best mental work, so in the nation are there two intellects, the male and the female, whose equipoised interaction is indispensable to the evolution of a wise national conduct.

The male intellect, however cultivated, still remains imperfect until supplemented by that of the educated woman. Mill's essay on Liberty—his grandest work—owes its perfection, I firmly believe, as asserted by its author, to his long discussions of the subject with a highly educated lady. A nation whose women are uneducated, let its men have all possible culture, still goes into the world's battle with only one arm.

The superiority of Western over Eastern nations (and in many matters this is beyond dispute) is mainly due to the fact that in the former both the female and the male mind are brought to bear upon all great public questions. Ladies, it is true, do not as yet sit in the House of Commons, but there is not a vote taken in that House on any important national question which has not been fully as much influenced by the female as by the male minds of the educated classes.

In a despotically governed country where the Sovereign associates with himself one or more highly intellectual, if perhaps only self-educated women, the evil of the general mental degradation of the females of the country may not so distinctly and directly react on the public policy; but where by the spread of liberal institutions the popular voice becomes, as it is even here becoming day by day, a more and more powerful factor in the direction of public affairs the community which retains its women uneducated and deliberately deprives itself of their intellectual co-operation, can never hope to compete successfully with others in which public policy is the joint product of the cultivated male and female mind.

Political reformers of all shades of opinion should never forget that unless the elevation of the female element in the nation proceeds *pari passu* with their work, all their labour for the political enfranchisement of the country will prove



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vain ; and in so far as the two customs against which you righteously inveigh tend *inter alia* to depress that element, all are bound to sympathize with and support you in your proposed reforms : not overrating their importance, not pressing them too furiously before their time is ripe, but accepting them as two, amongst several, reforms by which our women must be raised to their rightful status, before India, whether still affiliated to England or not, can become either truly prosperous or truly free.

In conclusion I must apologize for the length of this rambling letter and even more so for presuming thus to differ in some degree from one so much better entitled to speak with authority than myself. But you insisted on having my thoughts on the subject, and right or wrong, in all their natural ruggedness, you have them now.

Yours sincerely,

A. O. HUME.

### APPENDIX III

#### LORD DUFFERIN'S RESOLUTION ON HINDU REFORMS

*A Letter from Mr. Hume to Mr. M. B. Malabari*

You ask me what I think of the Government Resolution.

I think it a capital one—all you could possibly desire in the present position of the question and more than you could, I think, have expected.

The entire question has been thoroughly thrashed out all over the whole Empire. All that *can* be said upon the question has now been put on record, either in the papers collected by the Government of India from all the several Provinces, which they are now about to publish, or in the many letters which you have elicited from all sorts and conditions of men, which *you* doubtless will also soon publish. There will no longer be, for any one who will study the exhaustive all-sided discussion of the case embodied in these two "collections," any possibility of doubt as to the *facts*. Action will be no longer fettered by the fear that there may lurk unknown difficulties.

The whole thing has been made clear—exaggerations of both sides brought thus face to face will neutralize each other, and the sober facts of the case will stand out clear and simple.

That two of the most complicated and controverted problems of social reform, which for at least a quarter of a century have engaged in a desultory fashion the minds of the public, should thus in three short years have been

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cleared of all misconceptions and misrepresentation and reduced to their simplest elements, is a great work and one for which the country will, hereafter, I feel sure, be adequately grateful to you.

One thing is now certain—all the best and wisest men in this Empire, without distinction of race, creed or colour, are at one with you as regards the absolute necessity of the great Social Reforms which you advocate.

It is only as to your methods that differences of opinion and, I think, some, misconceptions exist.

You are believed generally to advocate coercive legislation which neither I myself nor, I believe, the majority of Indians are at all prepared to accept. But if I now rightly understand you, all you really look forward to is legislation of an enabling and permissive character. Now even for this the time does not seem to me to be altogether ripe, but I see no reason why, if the agitation be properly kept up and a conviction of the disadvantages of the existing system be steadily forced home to a larger and larger number of minds, something of the kind might not properly be conceded in a few years.

This is how I view the question : If A chooses to marry a widow, or to keep his sons unmarried to eighteen or twenty and his daughters unmarried till they are thirteen, or even fifteen, or seventeen, B, C and D must always be left at liberty to cut A in their individual and private capacities : but this is a different thing from B, C, and D combining as a *Punchayet*, not merely to cut A, but to threaten E and F, who sympathize with A that if they do not straightway cut their friend A they will put them also out of caste.

That A's right of private judgment in such matters and *à fortiori* E's and F's should be protected by "enabling" legislation, appears to me to be by no means too much to hope for. I myself see no reason why when public opinion ripens on the subjects, the legislature should not prohibit *Punchayets* from putting persons out of caste on these grounds, while leaving it free to every individual member of any community to cut or drop any or every other member

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thereof in his private capacity, as may seem good to him. In my opinion, this is the legislation you should aim at, and the only legislation that could ever be necessary or justifiable. But even this legislation you cannot expect from a Government entirely composed of foreigners. Were I Viceroy at this moment with virtually only European colleagues, I should reply to you just as Lord Dufferin has done, viz., that Government is not in a position to legislate on such subjects. But as soon as we have a strong independent representative element in all our Councils, the situation will be altogether changed, and whenever and wherever a considerable majority of Indian Representatives press for permissive legislation of the character above indicated, then and there, be sure that Government will cease to oppose it. And I confess that until we have such representatives and until these support and press for such a measure, I see little prospect of your obtaining any legislative sanction for the efforts of the Social Reform Party. Now it is to secure this representation that the National or Political Reform Party are straining every nerve, and you and your party, if they are wise, will second their efforts with the heartiest good will. Together we must all rise or together be plunged in the existing Slough of Despond.

It is grievous to find honest patriots working in other lines, because they dissent from some of your methods instead of merely controverting these, descending to attribute to you unworthy motives and to attack *you* personally, than whom (whatever errors you may possibly have fallen into) a more earnest or honest lover of India and her people does not, I believe (and I speak after many years' knowledge of you) exist.

I know that some who attack you thus do not really mean all they say, but merely hope (and a very vain hope it is) to keep you quiet. They say, "Confound the fellow, why can't he keep quiet: what we want first and foremost is political enfranchisement, the fuss he keeps making about his widows, etc., tends to sow dissensions in our camp, and to direct the public mind from the more important work we have in hand,

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and in regard to which there is really no difference of opinion amongst us."

But this involves a double mistake. In the first place, though we differ amongst ourselves as to widow re-marriage, there is nothing in such diversity of opinion to prevent our combining, *if we are true patriots working unselfishly for our country's good*, to press as one man for those representative institutions in regard to which we are all agreed. In the second place no great political progress can ever be made unless a somewhat corresponding progress is being made in all other lines. One man must take up political, another social, another mental, another moral, another physical reform. And no one man or body of men can work too hard at, or make too much fuss over, his or their special line of reform, since push ahead as far as he or they may, they will only stimulate the champions of other causes to greater exertions and probably to still further advance in *their* special lines, and thus only amidst this generous rivalry of well doing in a dozen different directions will the nation grow and develop symmetrically in greatness and goodness. Every true son of India, however much he may differ from you as to methods, knows well that the reforms you aim at are noble and necessary ones, and every true son of India ought to feel it to be a sin against his country to say an unkind word against, or attribute the smallest unworthy motive to, one who is struggling so earnestly and unselfishly to advance in one direction that country's cause. I myself have devoted my life to political reform, but I none the less reverence those good and high-minded men who are everywhere (though all too few in numbers) labouring to raise the moral tone of the people, none the less sympathize with those learned and highly-cultured men who are striving to promote their education, or with those hearty honest men who desire by promoting athletic sports and games to raise their physique, and *à fortiori* is my heart none the less with those earnest and unselfish workers who, like yourself, are giving their lives to the cause of social reform. I can understand our differing amongst ourselves as to matters of

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practice, as to what should *first* be done and *how* to set about it, but I cannot understand such differences degenerating into personal injustice and ill-will ; I cannot understand anything but brotherly love and mutual sympathy between the co-workers in different lines in this one great national cause.

I say God bless all who are working for India.

## APPENDIX IV

THE news of the death of Mr. Hume called forth a remarkable expression of grief from Indians in all parts of the Empire. At a public meeting held in Westminster the Hon. Mr. Gokhale referred to Mr. Hume as "one of those men who appeared from time to time in this world, under the dispensation of a wise Providence, to help forward the onward march of humanity, whose voice sounded like a trumpet-call, waking up whole peoples from the slumber of ages, and whose title to an honoured place in the history of nations no man could possibly challenge. Mr. Hume loved India passionately, as every one who knew him could testify, and he loved justice and freedom also passionately. Thus it was that, after the close of a distinguished official career, he came forward to devote his great gifts to guiding India along the path of justice and freedom and self-respect. He came forward to teach Indians to walk nobly along the path of nationhood."

Mr. D. E. Wacha, Joint General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, wrote in the *Indian Review* that in Mr. Hume "Indians instinctively recognized a commanding personality. To those who had come into close contact and intimacy with him it was manifest that he was an Agamemnon and Nestor rolled into one—such were his force of character, his sagacity and his determined will. His was a unique advocacy inspired by the noblest and most righteous thoughts. He alone knew how to charm, how to strengthen, and how to teach. He is gone, but not without teaching us that though we have no wings to soar, we have feet to scale

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and climb, more and more by slow degrees the cloudy summits of our times."

Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, in the course of a speech made at Calcutta, said that "Mr. Hume worked in sickness and in health for the political advancement of the people of India with a self-sacrificing zeal and a single-mindedness of purpose which will enshrine his memory in the affections of the people, and will entitle him to the deepest gratitude of the most distant generations of Indians. His name will stand forth in the golden records of Indian history as one of the great builders of Indian national life and one of the truest promoters of Indian national union. . . . In the muster roll of distinguished Englishmen who had laid broad the foundation of the British rule in India and had enthroned themselves in the hearts of the people, Allan Hume would occupy a prominent position. Mr. Hume, in the golden record of Indian history, stood as a successor and lineal descendant of the Metcalfes and Bentincks, and the great band of missionary philanthropists who had sown the seeds of their educational progress, seeds which to-day under the beautiful laws of evolution were bearing such splendid fruits."

Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, speaking at the same meeting, expressed his confidence that "when the voice of blind passion and vulgar strife is hushed, the name of Allan Hume will find a conspicuous place in the roll of those good servants of England who are imperial in the true sense of the term; for the true imperialist is not the man who shouts the loudest about the imperial destiny of England, but the man who is conscious of the great trust which has been laid on England and which a great and righteous nation alone can discharge. . . . Hume's tomb is the whole of India and his most lasting memorial will be found not in marble or bronze, but in the hearts of those for whom he lived and died."

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, speaking at Allahabad, said that "Mr. Hume inspired, elevated and educated those who came under his influence by the nobleness of his nature, his world-wide sympathies, his profound



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earnestness, his selfless, ceaseless devotion to the cause which he believed to be good and which he espoused, and by his unshakable faith that right and justice would eventually triumph. He was truly a great soul—one of the noblest Englishmen ever born. He was one of those benefactors of mankind who came to initiate movements of great potentiality for the good of their fellow-men. Mr. Hume combined in him the large-hearted love of freedom, of justice and of equality of treatment between man and man. He hated oppression and wrong-doing, and sincerely and earnestly desired the good of all his fellow-men.”

The Hon. R. N. Mudholkar, speaking at Amraoti, said, “Misunderstood, misrepresented and reviled by shortsighted or perverse men, he was one of the most potent friends of British rule, a veritable pillar of strength to it. Directing the mind and energies of the thinking portion of the Indian community into the channels of constitutional agitation, he and his co-workers effectually minimized the chance of its flow into unsafe and dangerous courses, while his intense humanity and abiding sympathy for the Indian people deepened their faith in British justice. He was more than a far-sighted and noble Briton or a friend and benefactor of India. He was a saint, one of those beings sent now and then to the earth to rouse men to a due recognition of the higher and brighter side of human nature. In him India has lost a guide, a teacher, a leader, whose every word and every act was instinct with wisdom and deep affection; England a loyal, high-minded and far-seeing son; the Empire a statesman-like citizen, and the human race an ardent striver after great ideals.”

While the leaders of Indian public opinion referred to Mr. Hume's services in terms of unqualified affection and admiration, the Indian newspapers paid warm tribute to the departed leader. The *Bengalee* of Calcutta wrote that to Mr. Hume belonged “the credit of organizing the scattered elements of public life and focusing them in an institution which was to cement the public spirit of the country, to build and stimulate national life. The first

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Congress that met in Bombay in 1885 was a small gathering of leading men, of which Allan Hume was the guiding spirit, but it was the parent of the great National Congress which in the course of the last quarter of a century has revolutionized the political aspect of the country. To-day from the heart of educated India there will go forth a great wail of sorrow at the death of one who helped forward, such as few Englishmen have done in the lifetime of this generation, the political interests of the people of India."

The *Amritza Bazar Patrika* referred to Mr. Hume's character as pure and unblemished, rarely to be found in any other country in the world. He served India without any thought of reward.

The *Indian Mirror* wrote that the "awakening of what is known as the national life of India was due pre-eminently to Allan Hume and his colleagues in the earlier days. It was they who stimulated public spirit and taught the people of India to seek their political salvation by constitutional political work. Advance on the lines of orderly and peaceful self-development was the first article of their political creed. In doubt and difficulty they stood by India like the valiant crew of an ocean liner, cheering and encouraging by hopeful and wise counsel."

A Mohammedan journal (*Comrade*) wrote that Mr. Hume "was one of those few high-souled Indian Civil Service men who devoted their life to selfless service for the people of this country and fearlessly championed the cause of its social and political regeneration at the ready sacrifice of official preferments and honours. But though denied official recognition, Mr. Hume's philanthropic activities for the uplifting of Indians gained for him a warm corner in Indian hearts. So firm was his hold on the confidence of the Indian masses that even in the dark days of the Mutiny their thorough reliance on his justice and kindness was never shaken. Such a life should be a model for our modern Anglo-Indian officers."

The *Leader* of Allahabad wrote : "The sorrow and grief of the hundreds of millions who inhabit this vast and great

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and ancient land for the venerable departed can be given no adequate expression. An Englishman and a member of the Indian Civil-Service, Mr. Hume, with a freedom from prejudice rare as it was glorious, founded the Indian National Congress, an organization of which no Indian can be too proud. If a new life is visible in India to-day, if the Indians have a national self-consciousness which was non-existent before the year of the first Congress, if their national self-respect is higher, if the esteem in which they are held by the civilized world is greater than it was, if with determination and self-confidence they look forward to the day when their country will have responsible government such as is enjoyed by the self-governing dominions of the Empire ; the credit for all this is to no small extent due to the Congress that was founded by Mr. Hume and therefore to Mr. Hume himself. The names of Allan Hume and William Wedderburn will be inseparably associated for ever in the Indian mind as the two worshippable men who laid aside every consideration of self and of race in order to strive nobly and work actively for the regeneration of an ancient land now low in the confederacy of nations but with a rich promise of coming into her own by dint of unselfish exertion persisted in notwithstanding failure, in the simple faith in God that no good cause can fail."

The *Lahore Tribune* said Mr. Hume "corresponded with all public men in India and spent money freely in promoting the cause of the Indian National Congress. He wrote leading articles for newspapers, corresponded with the highest officials, carried on controversies, wrote pamphlets, and was tireless in his industry. He was by no means in robust health, but nothing deterred him for a moment from the work he had undertaken to do. If any man had a mission it was Mr. Hume. He had the fervour of a prophet and the enthusiasm of a fanatic held well under control by the practical insight of a statesman. And his selflessness was sublime. A man who might have become a Lieutenant-Governor was content to work silently for the people among whom he had lived so long. Now that he has been called to

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his rest we can only, in language all too feeble, express our undying gratitude for all that he did for us and our country with an earnestness of devotion and nobility of purpose which have scarcely any parallel."

The *Punjabee* said "his name was truly a household word, pronounced with love and veneration by the young and old. Though an official and a Mutiny veteran, he was known to the millions of Indians only as the originator of the sentiment of Indian nationality. . . . Fancy this ex-Secretary to the Government of India gathering up the scattered forces of Indians and promoting a national movement among them at a time when the echoes of the Ilbert Bill controversy had hardly died in the Himalayan fastness! He worked with a stout heart through all the discouraging and disconcerting circumstances. Never did he once quail before the huge mass of inertia that confronted him at every step."

The *Hindu*, of Madras, ranked Mr. Hume as the first of the noble band of Englishmen who after their retirement to England, keep a warm heart for India and Indians. "During the thirty-three years he came into contact with the Indian people he had conceived such a love for them that he could not bring himself to what most of his countrymen do by retiring to England and forgetting the country to which they owe so much. . . . And of all those who, by their untiring industry, winning persuasion, and steadfast work, brought the institution into being, successfully steered it through difficulties of every kind and watched its growth vigilantly and with anxiety, Mr. Hume's name will ever be remembered with the warmest affection and gratitude."

The *Indian Patriot* regarded Mr. Hume as a "father" of the Indian people, as well as the "father" of the Congress. "If the happiness of his life was ever ~~disturbed~~ it was mostly on account of his earnest solicitude for India and Indians. We owe to him our love and gratitude in a measure that few other men can claim, and it behoves us to demonstrate both in the most fitting manner possible. We must erect monuments of our love and gratitude to the great man, not only in one place, but in as many places as

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possible, so that posterity may see how we honoured the memory of a man who, though differing in race, made himself one of us, identifying himself completely with us and with all our aims for a better state and greater contentment."

He loved India (wrote the *Wednesday Review*) as no other British statesman has loved her, and he had his reward in the willing homage of a vast population. "Who can forget the enthusiasm which he roused among the people when he visited this country nineteen years ago! His tour was a triumphal progress, and showed what even a single Englishman could do to bind the people of India closer to England and deepen their attachment to British rule. What made Mr. Hume's advice so valuable was his candour, and he never cared to whitewash in a spirit of mistaken kindness the shortcomings of the people for whom he worked."

"One of the greatest Anglo-Indians of the last century," was the opinion of the *Madras Standard*. "But for his parental care, his unceasing interest, his extraordinary exertions, his timely advice and admonitions, and his great self-sacrifice, the Indian National Congress might not have steered clear of the shoals and rocks that beset its career. To the last he remained at the helm, faithful and true, and unshaken in his belief in its strength and usefulness. He looked forward to the formation of an Indian nation, happy, contented, and manly, and a tower of strength to the British Empire. And, we have no doubt, he died with the supreme satisfaction that a mortal can have of his life's great work being fairly on the road to fruition."

The *Mahratta*, of Poona, said that Hume's memory would "be cherished in India not so much for his official career as for the work that he did after retirement in rearing a national Indian institution—the Congress. No one else could be said to have done so much as he did to foster that nursling in those days."

The *Gujarati* thought that "Providence meant to preserve his life for a great political mission, and it will be admitted on all hands that Mr. Hume did nobly fulfil the mission that

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had been assigned to him. Even a man like Sir William Wedderburn, with all the gentle virtues of a God-fearing Christian and high-souled Englishman, has not escaped denunciation at the hands of some of his own countrymen. It is no wonder that Mr. A. O. Hume, with his more passionate temperament and irrepressible enthusiasm, called down upon his devoted head still more fierce denunciations and even abuse at the hands of the very same critics. But he never swerved from the path he had chalked out for himself."

The *Hindi Punch* wrote that the Political Rishi of modern Bharat Land had taken his *samádhi*—the last farewell—leaving his favourite child, now a grown-up and healthy handmaid, in the service of this country. "He watched and tended the child in the cradle. He witnessed with joy the baby's toddlings. He has seen the gradual growth of the maid, and he leaves her to-day wise and strong to blow the piercing conch-shell and arouse Britannia and to beg for just rights. It is no fighting suffragette who weeps to-day for her great and good father, but a gentle spirit that roams about teaching great truths and demanding great and oft-promised rights in the interests of the Mother-country. All honour to the noble parent! India mourns the passing of a great man, and that man has an abiding haven in the expansive and grateful heart of the Motherland."

Finally, the *Beharee* held that at his grave Indians must sink all their differences, and with a feeling of enduring gratitude to him knit themselves into a united body, common heirs to a common heritage, bound together by fealty to his love of our common Motherland. "The spirit of Mr. Hume will lovingly hover over the Congress gathering of 1912; and nothing, not even the brightest and the best monument we can raise to his great and beneficent memory, will be half as pleasing to him as the union of his political heirs in maintaining the integrity and greatness of the organization which India owes to him as the greatest consequence of the British advent and occupation of the country."

Public meetings were held at all the principal cities and

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towns, such as Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Benares, Nagpur, Bankipore, Poona, Amraoti, Yeotmal, Lucknow, Rai Bareli, Mainpuri, Meerut, Etawah, Gorakhpur, Cuddāpah, Bezwada, Berhampore, Nandyāl, Trichinopoly, Bapatla, and many other places. The resolutions adopted were similar in form and character, as may be judged from the telegram forwarded to Sir W. Wedderburn by the Secretaries of the Indian National Congress, which reads as follows :—

“Indians deeply mourn the death of Allan Hume. In him the country has lost its most sincere and sympathetic friend, the like of whom it may never see again, and the Congress its most beloved and esteemed founder. With unexampled energy, great perseverance and unflinching faith he had striven amidst good report and evil to promote the social and political welfare of the people and had lived to see the firstfruits of his noble and unceasing efforts. Though it is impossible that Indians can ever repay the debt of obligation they owe to him for his righteous and disinterested service, the name of Mr. Hume will be remembered with affection and gratitude by generations to come as that of a sterling Englishman of deep and abiding sympathy with their most cherished aspirations.”

The twenty-seventh Session of the Indian National Congress, held at Bankipore on December 26, 27, and 28, 1912, adopted a resolution recording “its sense of profound sorrow at the death of Allan Octavian Hume, C.B., father and founder of the Congress, to whose lifelong services, rendered at rare self-sacrifice, India feels deep and lasting gratitude, and in whose death the cause of Indian progress and reform sustained irreparable loss.”

## APPENDIX V

### ETAWAH'S DEBT TO MR. HUME

*(From the "Leader," of Allahabad, August 31, 1912)*

Few people unconnected with Etawah can understand what Mr. Hume's name means in this city and district.

A brief narration of facts pertaining to his administration of the district will be an interesting reading and remind many of the name and glory he had already won as an able and sympathetic administrator long, long before he figured as a political leader.

The history of Etawah is inseparably associated with his name, and his memory will ever be cherished in the grateful hearts of its residents. He was a young man hardly twenty-six when he was put in charge of the responsible and onerous duties of the collector and magistrate of the district. A born administrator, endowed with a clear foresight, strong personality, determined will, undaunted courage, God-fearing, and indefatigable, he soon made his influence felt throughout the district and came to be respected and loved by the rich and poor alike. Peace, progress and reform followed his administration. There was "nothing but hopefulness and peace" in Etawah, when suddenly the Mutiny broke out. The condition of the district preceding the dark days of the Mutiny is thus very vividly described by Mr. Hume in his characteristic lucid and forcible style :—

"Never apparently had the prospects of the district been so cheering ; crime was, and had been for the previous two



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years, steadily decreasing ; the revenue flowed in without the necessity of recourse to a single coercive process ; public libraries and numerous schools gave rich promise of future progress ; new lines of communication were being rapidly opened out, the railroad was fast opening ; the great canal, with its daily multiplying branches, steadily diffused fertility, through an ever-widening area, and all classes of the community, though not of course without their minor grievances, were on the whole singularly happy and contented. Suddenly the Mutiny burst upon us, effacing apparently in a day the labour of years" (p. 148 of the *Gazetteer*). With the spread of the Mutiny in the neighbouring district the situation here became extremely critical. Mr. Hume's energetic measures, wise counsel, determined attitude, with which the history of the district is replete, dispersed and quieted down the rebels ; and "in a few days the most perfect order was restored." During his temporary absence which the subsequent circumstances and his own "prostration with cholera" had forced upon him, he "kept up a continuous correspondence with the Indian officials and the well-disposed zemindars, communicating news and orders, deciding all difficult points referred to him, and endeavouring by proclamations and letters to keep alive every feeling of loyalty to the State." And even those who were rebelliously inclined were kept within bound by letters from Mr. Hume. He had been as anxious to return as his loyal and faithful officials and zemindars were to have him back. On his way back he learnt that no detachment had been, as was ordered by the Government, left behind by Brigadier Walpole, but "nothing daunted, Mr. Hume and his escort pushed on and reoccupied the station." His gallant dash at Anant Ram, the action at Harchandpore and numerous other skirmishes are still described in glowing terms. These point to his having been at the early age of twenty-eight as good a general and as great a statesman as any country might well be proud of. On July 2, 1858, Mr. Hume again fell ill and had to be relieved. That *very* day the rebel Raja whom he had

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already crushed before again raised his head. A period of unrest followed when he rejoined from leave and restored peace. This is a very striking example of his strong personality. A glance at the history of the period forcibly reminds one of another prominent trait of his character—his judicious selection of men and his unbounded confidence in their loyalty. Raja Lachman Singh, then a kumar, Munshis Debi Prasad, Ishwari Prasad, Ram Bakhsh, tehsildars, and Munshi Shiam Bihari Lal, Kotwal, among the officials, and Rao Jaswant Rao, K. Zar Singh of Par-tabner, L. Laik Singh of Marchandpore, Lal Chatur Singh of Sahar, Rao Jawahar Singh of Barhpura, the Raja of Malajani, the Baggpais of Lukhna, the Tewaris of Kudarkat, the rais of Takah and Babu Ajudhia Prasad of Etawah, *all Hindus*, were his faithful allies and were conspicuous for their loyalty. To each and all mutineers and loyalists he had but one reply—"It may be months, it may be years, but sooner or later the English Government will get the upper hand and every man will eat the fruit of his deeds." Memorable words indeed! They reveal intense sympathy and true loyalty. The two feelings are very happily blended, each overlapping the other. We leave Mr. Hume to describe with just pride the result of his just and wise policy and its moral effect upon those who came under the spell of his magnetic personality. "From the very day," he wrote, "I first at the borders of the district received the congratulatory visits of hundreds of our well-wishers, I gave it to be generally understood that I had no feelings of animosity to gratify. . . . The enemies of order had, even in the worst of times, always been in a minority, numerically speaking, but from the time that my intentions became generally known they certainly on the mainland parganas (excluding Auriya) scarcely exceeded 1 per cent. of the population. In this lay our strength, any surprise by the ill-affected and their mutineer friends was impossible; every move, every accession of strength, was reported at once from a dozen different quarters; men—nay whole communities—who had been plundering, were, instead of

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being goaded into rebellion, led to return to their peaceful pursuits and to submit to arbitration the adjustment of the costs of their transgression." The *Gazetteer* sums up Mr. Hume's career in the following telling words : " Few districts in the province can compare with Etawah for the loyalty of its inhabitants during the great rebellion. This was owing to the kindly feeling entertained towards Mr. Hume by the majority of the people and to the persevering efforts made by him to keep alive those feelings. . . . To Mr. Hume nearly all the credit is due. Etawah owes much to that distinguished officer, Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., for many years collector of the district. It was largely owing to his influence that the Mutiny disturbances left so slight a mark upon it, and his name still lingers gratefully in the memories of the people."

The Mutiny over, Mr. Hume devoted his untiring energy primarily towards the extension of education. Seven tahsil schools were opened. More than two hundred and fifty village schools were recognized and aid began to be given from the public funds. Hume High School, the chief school of the district, was raised by him to the status of a superior Zilla school. The structure of the school building is architecturally interesting. It consists of a fine hall supported in the centre by an enormous arch, and flanked on either side by two high and spacious rooms. Running round the entire building are long and roomy corridors. The original building before the extensions on the north and the south sides was in the form of an H. The entire cost of construction amounted to Rs. 34,000, out of which Rs. 24,000 were subscribed by Mr. Hume himself and the residents of the district. As long as he was collector of the district Mr. Hume paid a monthly subscription of Rs. 30 towards its support, but on leaving the district he presented it with a donation of Rs. 7200, invested in Government paper, calculated to yield from interest an amount equal to the monthly subscription he had paid till then. From the sum annually accruing four scholarships of Rs. 6 per mensem each are awarded to the four best boys of the

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middle section under fourteen years of age, for proficiency either in English or mathematics. In addition to this Mr. Hume made a separate endowment of Rs. 1200 for an annual prize to be given to the youngest boy who passed the entrance examination.

The first medical institution built in Etawah was built in 1856 by Mr. A. O. Hume.

Old Etawah lies among or at the head of the ravines, and the newer portions of the city stretch backwards to the north. Several *nalas* intersect the site of the town. Owing to the uneven nature of the ground, communication between the old and the new quarters was difficult before the time of Mr. Hume. But by means of cuttings, embankments and bridges he made fine broad metalled roads, and rendered communication at all times easy or practicable. He made so many good roads that even after forty-five years of his leaving Etawah, with all the municipal and district boards' arrangements, only very few roads have been constructed since.

In the centre of the city is Humeganj. Formerly the place was an unsightly and uneven piece of waste ground infested with wild beasts, but it was levelled and drained by Mr. Hume and it now forms the site of imposing public buildings and a handsome market-place also called the Humeganj, the principal grain and cotton market which is lined with handsome shops, remarkable for their fine brickwork arches. To the west of the grain market is Hume's Serai, which is entered by a handsome gateway resembling a triumphal arch. The imposing building of the Tehsili, the American Mission Church, which is now used as municipal office, the vegetable market, Hume High School, the Kotwali, the old Munsifi and the town school and the hospital, all stand upon the site and will ever remain a living monument of Mr. Hume and his work in Etawah. He also erected a *baradari* on the débris of Somersah's fortress and constructed a road leading to it, which is now out of order. The handsome residence of the collector and the small building used as a club were also built by him in

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the peculiar style of architecture which characterized all Mr. Hume's constructions. It was not only the city which received his attention, but the whole district bears testimony to his kind and loving regards and the real improvements effected by him. There is also a Humeganj in Phapund. Another Humeganj, consisting of a large, well-kept square, with a central metalled roadway and masonry shops, adorns Auriya.

I leave it to you and your readers to see for yourselves what claims Etawah has on the proposed Provincial Hume Memorial, and how far it would be in the fitness of things to perpetuate his memory at a place where he is already so much respected. The educative effect of such a memorial on the residents of Etawah and of the neighbouring districts would be immense. These places are admittedly still lingering behind in the onward march. They ought to receive due attention from those whose main study is to see that none lags behind. If the suggestion is favourably countenanced other details would be easily forthcoming.

ZORAWAR SINGH NIGAM  
(*Municipal Commissioner, Etawah*).

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