

THE
WESTERN FARMER
OF
AMERICA.

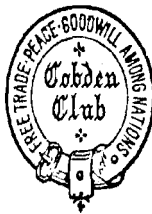
BY
AUGUSTUS MONGREDIEN,
Author of "Free Trade and English Commerce."



CASELL, PETTER, GALPIN & CO.:
LONDON, PARIS & NEW YORK.

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1880.

THESE PAGES
Are respectfully Inscribed
TO
THE FARMERS OF AMERICA
BY THEIR
SINCERE FRIEND,
A. MONGREFFEN.

*Forest Hill, near London, England,
May 1880.*

THE
WESTERN FARMER OF AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE golden rule for successful trading is "to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market." Strange to say, the American farmer * reverses this rule. He sells in the cheapest and buys in the dearest market. For what he raises he gets a lower price, and for what he consumes he pays a higher price, than the land-tillers get and pay in any other country in the world. This is a very singular state of things, and is well worth thorough examination.

While the Western farmer himself neither receives nor seeks any legislative "protection," he is compelled by law to supply his wants, not from the cheapest sources, but from certain privileged establishments to which he has to pay extravagant prices. While he requires no State subvention, because his occupation is of itself a profitable one, he is heavily taxed to support unprofitable manufactures in the Eastern States, and has to make good their losses out of his profits. That this is hard upon him everybody must admit, but no one can realise how really hard it is, or how vast a sum is year after year wrung from him in this way, without resorting to figures and setting it forth in

* The word "farmer" will be used throughout these pages as meaning the producer of all articles derived from the cultivation of the soil whether grain or cotton, meat or tobacco, &c.

dollars and cents. This we shall proceed to do as accurately and as briefly as we can.

For this purpose let us inquire—

1. How much is actually taken yearly out of the pockets of the American farmers by compelling them to buy dear, instead of allowing them to buy cheap, goods.
2. What becomes of the enormous sum that is yearly drained from them in this way.
3. How this dreadful and wanton waste can be avoided.

CHAPTER II.

HOW MUCH IS ACTUALLY TAKEN (YEARLY) OUT OF THE POCKETS OF THE AMERICAN FARMERS BY COMPELLING THEM TO BUY DEAR, INSTEAD OF ALLOWING THEM TO BUY CHEAP, GOODS.

By the census of 1870 the population of the United States was found to be 38,600,000; and the number over ten years of age was 28,229,000. Of these, 12,506,000 were engaged in various kinds of occupations, the rest being women, young persons of both sexes, idlers, &c. What were the respective employments of these 12,506,000 workers? According to the census returns there were—

5,922,000	persons engaged in agriculture.
2,685,000	“ “ in professional and personal service.
1,191,000	“ “ in trade and transportation.
654,000	“ “ in mechanical trades and mining.
2,054,000	“ “ in manufactures.
<u>12,506,000</u>	

In round numbers, there were two millions of persons engaged in manufactures, and these were exclusively privileged to supply nearly all the physical wants (except food and lodging) of the other ten and a half millions of workers and their families.

As in these pages we only profess to represent the case of the American farmer, we must confine our attention to the six millions of persons and their families who are engaged in the cultivation of the soil. It is quite true that the remaining four and a half millions engaged in professions, in trading, in mining, and in personal service, are sufferers to

quite a proportionate extent, but they do not come within the scope of the present inquiry.

Now let us see what is the actual amount which the farmers (that is, soil-workers generally) spend yearly on the goods produced by the manufacturers.

In the first place, the six millions of agriculturists of 1870 must by this time have increased to at least 7,500,000, as will no doubt be seen by this year's census. To be within the mark we will call them 7,000,000, nearly all of them having wives and children. Now, what is the average annual expenditure on all articles of consumption, except food and drink, of each of these families? On careful investigation, and consultation with conscientious inquirers and with persons most competent to judge, we feel confident that we are within the mark in computing such annual expenditure at 200 dollars per family, including within that average the small minority of unmarried men among the 7,000,000 agriculturists. It must be borne in mind that this amount includes:—1. Woollen, cotton, linen, and silken fabrics, and, therefore, every species of clothing for male and female, as also sheets, curtains, blankets, carpets, &c. 2. Iron and steel manufactures, and therefore all iron-work, wire, cutlery, tools, farming implements, farriery, agricultural machinery, as well as railway conveyance on iron, which cost very much more than it would have cost had it been imported from abroad. 3. Leathern fabrics, and therefore boots and shoes, saddlery, gloves, &c. 4. Earthenware and crockery, tinware and glass, and numberless other household necessaries, all of which come under the price-inflating influence of the Customs tariff. It is on these objects that the greater portion of the agriculturist's outgoings is expended, for he is but at little expense for his food. Moreover, this yearly average of 200 dollars per family comprises a large number of rich and well-to-do persons, and it may safely be assumed as rather under than over the reality.

Having now cleared the way thus far, it is easy to calculate the total sum annually spent on manufactured goods by

the farmers and agriculturists generally of the great Central and Western States. The amount being 200 dollars to 7,000,000 families, is, therefore, 1,400,000,000 dollars in the aggregate.

The next step is to ascertain what portion of that amount the Western farmers would save if, by the abolition of import duties, they were left free to supply their wants from the cheapest market, wherever that might be, whether in America or in Europe, whether in New England or in Old England. This question is easily solved, as, fortunately, we have the guidance of positive facts supplied by the official returns of the United States Government. From these we learn that prices are so high in America and so low in Europe, that, in spite of the enormous duties levied on them, considerable quantities of European goods are imported into the United States, where they must, of course, leave a profit to the senders, or they would not be sent. Let us enumerate some of the leading articles imported in the year 1878, stating their amounts and the rate per cent. of duties which they had to pay:—

Articles Imported.	Amount in Dollars.	<i>Ad valorem</i> Import Duties paid on them, according to sorts.
Woollen Manufactures	\$24,604,000	54, 57, 66, 70, and 77 per cent.
Cotton	15,458,000	35, 45, 57, and 63 per cent.
Linen	14,384,000	30, 35, and 40 per cent.
Silk	20,103,000	50 and 60 per cent.
Iron and Steel	6,554,000	30, 35, 45, 48, and 50 per cent.
Leather	6,906,000	20, 25, 35, and 50 per cent.
Earthenware and Crockery	3,978,000	40 and 45 per cent.
Tin Plates and Ware	9,874,000	27 per cent.
Hemp and Jute Fabrics	1,005,000	40 per cent.
Window Glass ...	675,000	68 and 72 per cent.
	<u>\$103,541,000</u>	

What do these figures mean? They mean that the prices

which the Western farmers (and the American people generally) now pay for their woollen cloths and stuffs are so excessive that the British woollen manufacturers can afford to pay from 54 to 77 per cent. import duties for the admission of their goods into the States, and still get a profit. That is to say, that (taking the average duty at 66 per cent.) the Western farmer could, if he were allowed to buy where he could buy cheapest, get the same quantity and quality of woollen and worsted stuffs for 12 dollars for which he now has to pay 20. Eight dollars out of twenty thrown away!

They mean that the prices which the Western farmers now pay for their cotton and linen goods are so excessive that the British makers of the same goods can afford to pay from 30 to 63 per cent. import duties for the admission of their manufactures into the States, and still get a profit. That is to say, that (taking the average duty at 50 per cent.) the farmer's wife could, if she were allowed to buy where she could buy cheapest, get the same articles for 6 dollars for which she now has to pay 9. Three dollars out of nine thrown away!

They mean that the American railways are constructed of iron which costs so dear that the British makers can afford to pay 30 to 50 per cent. import duties for the admission of their goods into the States, and still get a profit; so that the railway companies are compelled to charge the Western farmer a proportionately excessive rate for the conveyance of his produce to a market. The burden of the difference, of course, falls on the patient back of the Western farmer!

Those figures mean, in short, that the same enormous artificial inflation of natural prices runs through every article (except food) with which the farmer has to provide his family.

The American has extraordinary advantages over the British farmer. He has, first, a soil so fertile as to produce freely with cheap tillage and no manure; second, a climate highly favourable to agricultural operations; third, abundance of land so cheap that the fee-simple costs less than is annu-

ally paid for rent in England. But, on the other hand, the British farmer enjoys for the present one decided advantage: he sells his produce in the dearest, and buys his clothing, implements, &c. &c., in the cheapest market in the world.

Let us, however, continue our inquiry as to the total annual amount taken out of the pockets of the Western farmers by exorbitant protective duties. These duties have a very wide range. They are as low as 10 per cent. on diamonds which the Western farmer does not use, and as high as 93 per cent. on cleaned rice which he does use. They are levied on no less than 1,600 different articles, some of them yielding less revenue than it costs to collect it, and the whole producing a complexity which gives comfortable employment to swarms of clerks, &c., at every seaport. The heaviest per-centage rates are those imposed on articles of general and necessary consumption by the people, which accordingly contribute very nearly three-fourths of the total amount collected. But let us strike an average. By a careful comparison of the total value of the chief dutiable foreign articles imported in the year 1878, with the total amount of duties levied in that year on the same articles, it has been clearly ascertained that the average rate of duties paid on their value was $42\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. Were the average confined to the articles named in the table at p. 9, it would no doubt much exceed $42\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., but, to be within the mark, we will adopt the general average. This average then ($42\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.), is the measure of the difference between the prices which the Western farmers now pay for what they consume, and those which they would pay were foreign articles admitted duty free. The prices which the manufacturers in the Eastern States make the American people pay for their goods are not, and cannot be, less, but are, and must be, something more than $42\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. in addition to British prices, or else how could the Britisher pay an average of $42\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. duties, and still make a profit on what he sends to America? If the prices paid by the Western farmer to the manufacturers of the Eastern States only exceeded British prices by, say 25 per cent., no

British goods, having to pay $42\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. import duties, could possibly be sent to the United States. The very fact of large imports being poured in, year after year (as shown in table at p. 9, for 1878), in spite of the $42\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. duty for admission, makes it clear that the prices in America must be at least 50 per cent. in excess of those current in England, or else those sendings would leave a loss, and would be discontinued. Those importations, be it noted, are not fitful or intermittent, but are, though fluctuating in amount, constant in their recurrence. The continuous overflow, however slight, of a tank is clear evidence of its being full; and, in the same way, the continuous importation of goods burdened with a $42\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. duty is clear evidence that the ordinary prices of such goods in the importing country must keep sufficiently high to make such importations profitable.

However, to err on the side of caution, we will, instead of 50 per cent. or $42\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., take 40 per cent. as the overcharge which the Western farmers have to pay for the goods which they require to supply their wants. Now, we have shown at p. 9 that their annual expenditure on the supply of those wants amounts in the aggregate to 1,400,000,000 dollars. Let us see what proportion of that sum is unnecessarily squandered. If the American farmers were allowed to buy, as they could buy, for 100 dollars what they are now compelled to pay 140 dollars for, it is clear that they could buy for 1,000 million dollars what they now pay 1,400 million dollars for, and consequently they would save 400,000,000 dollars every year. In other words, by being left free to buy where they could buy cheapest, they would benefit to the extent of 400 million of dollars, which they now lose by the operation of the protective duties.

Truly a startling sum! A stupendous sum! That such a pile of wealth should year after year be unnecessarily and wantonly flung away and wasted seems utterly incredible, and yet it is literally true. "What!" we can imagine a Western farmer exclaiming, "do you mean to say

that we farmers, our class alone, are every year, out of our hard earnings, needlessly and heedlessly throwing away 400 millions of dollars, and that we could, if we would, save in our yearly expenses a sum large enough to defray the whole of the national expenditure nearly twice over?" "Yes, sir," we reply, "it is a fact. We have clearly shown that the same articles of consumption that you could get from the Britisher for 100 dollars, you have now to pay 140 for. Now, if you, one with the other, rich and poor, spend 200 dollars a year on such articles, the common rule of three shows that but for your heavy Customs duties you need only spend 143 dollars for the same things instead of 200, and that, while living just as comfortably, you would on an average save fifty-seven dollars a year. Now, as there are 7,000,000 of you agriculturists, multiply that number by the fifty-seven dollars which each would save, and you will find it comes to 400,000,000 dollars. The fact is, that you never realised the amount of your loss—never put it into figures. It is so mingled up in small doses with your daily spendings that, though enormous in the gross, it does not strike you in the detail. You go on paying thirty cents for a knife instead of twenty; or fifty cents for a piece of canvas instead of thirty; or ten dollars for woollen clothing instead of six; or your wife buys a printed calico gown for three dollars instead of two, and so on throughout the whole range of your requirements; but you do not stay to inquire how much you are overcharged at each step. Now, this has been calculated for you. For every seven dollars which you now spend you ought only to spend five; the other two dollars are simply thrown away in consequence of your import duties."

It has been said the American farmers actually prefer paying seven dollars to the Eastern States manufacturers to paying five dollars for the same thing to the Britisher, especially as the extra two dollars do not go out of the country. Well, if the two dollars do not go into another country, they at all events go into another pocket, and surely the farmers can hardly be persuaded that it is the same thing

to them whether they pay seven dollars to a man in Massachusetts, or five dollars for the same article to a man in Lancashire. We believe, on the contrary, that the hard-working Western farmer prefers getting as much as he can for his money. But if we are wrong, and if it be really true that the farmers are content, knowingly and voluntarily, to pay out of their pockets a yearly contribution of 400,000,000 dollars as a free gift to the Eastern States manufacturers, to enable them to carry on a losing business, which, without that assistance, would have to be given up, we can only admire and wonder. And we wonder all the more as this immense sacrifice is made in vain, and is of very little or no benefit to any one. This we shall show in the next chapter, when we examine what becomes of the 400,000,000 dollars which the farmers lose.

At all events the farmers ought surely to have a voice in the question, whether they really do (as it is stated they do) prefer losing, or whether they prefer saving, the \$400,000,000.

Again, it is said that the American farmers have flourished and prospered; that they have profitably extended, and are still extending, their operations, and that therefore they cannot have suffered the yearly loss alleged. That does not at all follow. No one contends that an average loss of \$57 per annum sustained by each agriculturist could turn the scale and make farming a losing business. It does not destroy the farmer, but it sweeps away so much of his profits. By the census of 1870, the total value of (cereal) farm productions amounted to \$2,448,000,000. Out of this farmers could afford to throw away a certain portion, and still thrive and make money. But that is no reason why they should persist in throwing that portion away. A man with an income of \$2,500 may live on \$1,000, muddle away \$500 on rotten speculations, and still lay by \$1,000 a year, but he would certainly be richer if he did not muddle away the \$500. A waste of \$57 a year multiplied 7,000,000 times does none the less amount to \$400,000,000 in the aggregate.

Again, it is said that the prices of some of the Eastern

States' manufactures are not so much higher than those of the foreigner as we make out. But, if so, why keep up such heavy import duties? And again, if so, how is it that, in spite of those heavy duties, foreign goods can still afford (see p. 9) to come in? The Western farmer might say, "Come, I do not mind paying 10 per cent. dearer to you than to the foreigner. Reduce the import duties therefore from an average of 42½ per cent. to 10 per cent. If your prices are, as you say, moderate, surely, with a bonus of 10 per cent., besides freight and charges, you can withstand foreign competition! But if not, and if the condition of your existence as manufacturers is an import duty of 42½ per cent., which means that we farmers, as a class, are to subscribe out of our earnings \$400,000,000 a year to keep you gentlemen of the East pegging away at a losing business, we protest against it. It is paying far too dear 'for a whistle.' We will withdraw from a game in which we are to find the stakes (and heavy ones too) for others to win, and we will go in for buying where we can buy cheapest."

It should further be observed that the more freight the Western farmer has to pay to get his produce delivered into the European markets, the smaller the net residue that comes to him; for the European buyers' prices include freight. Cheap freights from America to Europe, therefore, mean large profits to the farmer, and dear freights small profits. But as the enormous American import duties prevent heavy and bulky goods, such as iron, coal, &c., from being freely sent from Europe to the United States, and as ships must make a certain amount of freight on the round or cease running, what happens? They make up for getting little or no freight from Europe to America, by charging nearly double freight on the cotton, grain, and other farmer's produce which they convey from America to Europe. This surcharge of freight from, to compensate for the absence of freight to, American ports, amounts in the aggregate to a very large sum, which comes out of the pocket of the Western farmers, and constitutes another heavy burden inflicted on them by the present oppressive tariff.

But the mischief done to the American farmers by heavy import duties is not confined to the immense direct losses inflicted on them. Their interests are also vitally injured in another way. The very essence of their prosperity depends upon their having large and increasing outlets abroad for the large and increasing amount of their produce. They grow far more grain, meat, cotton, &c., than their own country can consume, and must look to their foreign customers to take off the surplus. But the protective duties step in to thwart, cripple, and restrict the farmers' dealings with their foreign customers. How are the farmers to export if the manufacturers will not allow of imports? "What is the foreigner to pay you in," we would say to the farmers, "if you refuse to take his goods? Will it be in gold and silver? No such thing. It is now well established and universally admitted that debts between nation and nation are not paid in specie (beyond the merest fraction), but in commodities, and that all commerce is substantially barter. If you will only take from the foreigner such of his goods as he can make a profit on after paying 42½ per cent. import duty; you limit his power of buying from you, and consequently your own power of selling to him. It becomes a necessary condition of your dealing with him that you should get so low a price for your produce and give him so high a price for his goods, that the margin shall make up for the 42½ per cent. import duties. These, therefore, cut against you both ways. Not only you pay more for what you consume, but you get less for what you produce. You may not feel the pinch so much just now, but average harvests in Europe would make it absolutely necessary for the United States to secure free sales by making free purchases. If you aspire to feed the world you must take in payment what the world can give you."

Let us now look at another branch of the subject.

CHAPTER II.

WHAT BECOMES OF THE \$400,000,000 YEARLY TAKEN OUT
OF THE POCKETS OF THE AMERICAN FARMERS?

THE amount of Customs revenue which the United States Government derived in 1878 from duties on foreign goods imported was \$130,000,000. To this amount, the agriculturist, being rather less than half of the total population of the country, contributed about \$60,000,000. This was, therefore, the proportion of the \$400,000,000 overcharged to the American farmers on their annual expenditure, that went to the legitimate purpose of national revenue; and, so far, \$60,000,000 of the total is satisfactorily accounted for. But what of the remaining \$340,000,000? Who are the lucky men whom this mighty sum, drained year after year out of the farmer's earnings, goes to enrich? Strange and incredible as it may appear, careful examination and analysis will show that all this money has been, and is being, absolutely wasted, squandered, and spent as uselessly as it would be in hiring an army of men to dig holes and fill them up again. It has neither enriched nor even benefited anybody. While it has to that extent impoverished the farmers, it has only served to fill up the gap and make good the losses occasioned by the misapplication of capital and labour in the Eastern States to the wrong kinds of production.

Let us trace where these \$340,000,000 go. They form the extra sum paid annually to the manufacturers of the Eastern States over and above what the farmers would have had to pay for the same articles were they allowed to make their purchases from abroad. If the Eastern manufacturers were able to produce their goods as cheaply as

the foreigner, all that money would be saved to the farmers; but as they cannot, the farmers are made to pay the difference. Nothing whatever is got by anybody in return for those \$340,000,000; and that sum is simply thrown away and sacrificed to make up for the want of skill, or of capital, or of whatever else it may be, by reason of which the Eastern manufacturer makes no more profit by selling an article at \$140 than the Britisher does by selling the same article at \$100. If, indeed, the Eastern manufacturer could produce the article for \$100, and if he did get \$140 for it, he would be benefited and enriched; and it might be some consolation to the farmers for their loss of \$340,000,000 a year that it went to form large accumulations of wealth in the pockets of their fellow-citizens in the Eastern States. But this consolation does not exist, and we shall presently show that, in spite of the enormous sum overcharged to the farmers, the profits of the Eastern manufacturer are precarious, fluctuating, and by no means above the average of other occupations. His charge of \$140 for what the Britisher can afford to sell for \$100, only leaves him a bare living profit, because it costs him \$40 more to produce the article than it costs the Britisher. Why this should be the case we cannot here stay to inquire, but such is the fact. Indeed, how else could British goods be largely imported into the States in spite of the 42½ per cent. import duties which they have to pay?

It is these \$40 uselessly spent out of 140, which, added up, form the \$340,000,000 which the farmers of America are called upon to throw away every year without any benefit to themselves or to anybody else. It is sheer waste; just as it is sheer waste to pay one man exorbitantly for doing the same work (no more and no better) which another man, more expert, will do cheaply;—just as it would be sheer waste to go on thrashing with a flail instead of using a machine, merely because the man with the flail was a neighbour, and the machine-maker was a stranger. We can fancy a shrewd Western farmer saying, "A man down East makes an article which he can't afford to sell me

under \$140, while a man over the water offers me the same article for \$100. I want to deal with the latter, but to prevent that, they clap \$40 duty on to the 100, and then tell me that, as now, in either case, I shall have to pay \$140 for the article, I may as well buy of the man down East, because he's a kind of brother, whereas, the man over the water is only a cousin. All I see in it is, that I am done out of \$40."

That the Eastern manufacturers only make the average profit, and their men the average wages, of other occupations, is the necessary result of internal competition. No trade can for any length of time maintain higher rates of profit or of wages than the average, because people soon flock from other trades into that, and thus they all settle down to about the same level. There does, indeed, at intervals occur a sudden spurt of demand, causing for a brief period high prices, high profits, and high wages, but these bright, short flashes of prosperity cost the manufacturers and their men very dear. Fresh capital and fresh labour are thereby freely enticed into the trade, and when the spurt is over, there is not sufficient vent for the increased supply. The result is, ruin to many, loss to all. Such a spurt occurred in 1872-3. In 1874 the reaction came, and there followed five years of commercial depression and suffering. An immense body of American workmen were thrown out of employ, and in the course of those five years (mostly in 1877 and 1878) upwards of 600,000 persons left the East to seek a living in the West. During those five years a large number of industrial establishments closed their doors, and in the iron trade alone 250 blast furnaces were blown out, and 60 to 70 rolling mills ceased work. In the six years 1873 to 1878, the average number of commercial failures in the United States per year was 7,866, against an average of 2,889 the previous seven years. In short, those five years were the worst that American commerce had ever experienced. Yet during all that time the farmers were yearly disbursing \$340,000,000 to support the manufacturers. So far, however, from enriching them, this large sum was

engulfed in their losses, and was squandered in vain. It is abundantly clear that, as we said at p. 19, "the profits of the Eastern manufacturers are precarious, fluctuating, and by no means above the average of other occupations."

Just now (1880), the iron manufacturers are enjoying another temporary spurt, owing to the wealth created by the farmers and the consequent necessity for more railways; and this leads to another question of vast importance to the farmers. At what cost are those new railways to be constructed? Is the farmer's produce to be conveyed to the sea-board on cheap rails at a fair rate, or on dear rails at an exorbitant rate? Are the railway-makers to pay Pennsylvanian prices or British prices for their rails? If the former, the cost of the required iron and steel will be nearly twice as much as if the latter.* Now, as the rates of freight must be in proportion, every one who may use the railways about to be constructed will have to pay high fares and freights for ever, because the legislature interdicts cheap iron and artificially makes it dear! Surely this would be an enormous evil, and all the less excusable as it could so easily be avoided!

At first glance it appears almost impossible that so vast a sum as \$340,000,000 should be lost in the mere diversity of value between what two different sets of men in two different countries can produce by the application of the same amount of capital and labour. And yet the explanation, when sought for, is soon found. To take a man away from what he can do well, and set him to do what he can only do badly makes an immense difference in the result of his labour. A baker would earn poor wages indeed as a tailor; and a clever carpenter would starve on his performances as a watchmaker. A Western farmer produces excellent and cheap crops, but if he were to set up as a woollen manufacturer he would soon come to grief (unless indeed his neighbours subscribed handsomely to make good his losses and bolster him up). The difference between what men produce who are expert and what men

* The import duty on steel at this time amounts to 120 per cent.

produce who are inexpert, constitutes a very large percentage on their production, and a large percentage on the total production of the world means a sum to which \$340,000,000 is a trifle. As things are, to take the world at large, the human race do not produce perhaps the hundredth part of what they might produce if their labour were properly and intelligently applied. The greatest creator of wealth at the smallest cost is division of labour, and whatever interferes with it is an obstruction to human productiveness. Every man ought to be allowed to do the work which early education, long experience, natural aptitude, peculiarity of position, or other circumstances enable him to do best; and that legislature is sadly mischievous which shunts him off from the right on to the wrong line, and compels him to lay aside the work which he can do well and take to that which others can do better.

It may perhaps be asked, "How are the Eastern manufacturers, and the workmen they employ, to live if the farmers withdraw the yearly subsidy which is their only support?" The answer is easy. The increased imports which the abolition of Customs duties would bring about would necessitate increased exports to the same amount to pay for them; for there can be no additional import without a corresponding additional export. There would arise a brisk demand for fresh capital and labour to produce those increased exports, and that demand would absorb whatever capital and labour might be set free by the diminished consumption of the Eastern States manufactures. It is quite an exploded notion that if you import what you made before, workmen are thrown out of work. It is not so; they are merely thrown on to other work to supply the articles that will be exported to pay for the new imports. The same amount of American capital and labour would be employed as before, with this difference, that then, their operations would be remunerative, whereas, before, they were not. No doubt this transference of capital and labour from one kind of business to another is attended with temporary inconvenience and delay to the parties interfered

with, but not more than was the introduction of steamboats, railways, electric telegraphs, and other improvements, which largely benefited the many, while they were, for a time, displeasing to a few. Indeed, it would not be long before the owners both of the displaced capital and of the displaced labour would feel and recognise the advantage of being engaged in industries which were self-supporting, instead of industries which were dependent for their very existence on a national subvention revocable at any moment at the will of the people.

The manufacturers of the Eastern States "object to their trades being called losing trades, because they and their workmen live out of them." But they do not live out of them! They mostly live out of the \$340,000,000 which the farmers yearly pay to those trades over and above what they need pay if they dealt with others. They live out of that, and of as much more paid to them in the same way by the rest of the American people. We believe that many trades would thrive better unassisted, but by clinging to Protection they proclaim their dependence on it. Were it otherwise, why keep up such heavy import duties, and how is it that, in spite of those heavy duties, foreign goods can still afford to come in? Surely those must be "losing trades" in which \$140 worth of capital and labour are spent to produce \$100 worth of goods. Such trades depend for their maintenance, not on their own merit, but on other people's help. They are private establishments supported by public involuntary contributions.

We feel sure, however, that the manufacturers of the Eastern States underrate their own strength, and that they would soon walk alone, if they were deprived of the go-cart of Protection. Under the wholesome stimulus of open competition, the energy, activity, and shrewdness of their race would rapidly enable them to recover the ground they had lost under this enervating influence of the coddling system. We would venture to say to them, "Why, gentlemen, should you not, with raw cotton at your doors, compete with the Britisher, to whom it goes across the ocean? Yet whereas

in 1860 your export of cotton manufactures was \$11,000,000, it was only \$11,500,000 in 1878, a paltry increase of \$500,000 in eighteen years! In England the increase within the same period was \$60,000,000. There is no doubt that had you been left unencumbered by the fatal boon of Protection you would have made infinitely greater progress, and you might by this time have proved formidable rivals to the Britisher in neutral markets. Again, in the three years 1866 to 1868, agricultural exports formed 74 per cent., and manufacturing and other exports 26 per cent. of the total exports. In the three years 1876 to 1878 the agricultural exports formed 80 per cent., and the manufacturing and other exports only 20 per cent. of the totality. No doubt that, but for the fatal boon of Protection, you would not have lagged behind in the race, and that your relative proportion of exports would have shown an increase instead of a diminution. Again, in spite of the vast expansion of the world's commerce, the tonnage of the United States mercantile navy is actually less now than it was twenty years ago. From 1855 to 1863 it was upwards of 5,000,000 tons; from 1874 to 1878 it was little more than 4,000,000. English tonnage in 1861 was 4,350,000 tons; in 1877 it was 6,115,000. Within the last twenty years English tonnage has increased by 2,000,000 tons, while yours has diminished by 1,000,000. Formerly your mercantile navy shared the carrying trade of the world with England; now, not only that is lost, but your own produce is carried away from your own ports in foreign bottoms. Is it that the American of to-day has degenerated in energy, skill, or enterprise? Not a bit of it. But here also Protection has shed its baneful influence. Iron has superseded wood in the construction of large ships, and your tariff makes iron nearly twice as costly to the American shipbuilder as it is to his British rival. Abolish your import duties, and you will speedily see your mercantile marine restored to its former splendour."

To sum up, the vast amount yearly wrested out of the earnings of the American farmers is simply a useless and wanton waste. It makes them by so much the poorer,

without making others one whit the richer. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that we have in these pages only calculated that share of the general loss which accrues to the agriculturists. These barely form half of the total population of the United States, and the other half suffers a fully proportionate loss on their yearly expenditure, from the same causes and with the same results. What steps should be taken to put a stop to these extravagant and unjustifiable losses shall be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW TO PUT A STOP TO THE INTOLERABLE LOSSES WHICH
ARE YEAR AFTER YEAR INFLICTED ON THE FARMERS
OF AMERICA.

FORTUNATELY, great as is the grievance, its removal is easy. The remedy is in the farmer's own hands. It lies in the exercise of his voting power. It is simply this: let the American farmers give their support to no candidate for a seat in the House of Representatives who does not pledge himself, if elected, to propose, or at least to vote for, "*a reduction of 5 per cent. every successive year on the import duties, till the whole are abolished.*" Never mind what party he may belong to. The relief of the farmers from an intolerable burden is not, cannot be, and must not be, a party question. It is a paramount and inevitable measure which comes before, overrides, and casts into the shade all party distinctions. To refuse the abolition of the tariff is to refuse justice to the agriculturists. It amounts to a persistence in the iniquity of confiscating the farmer's property. Up with the tariff means down with the farmer!

If it be said that abrogation of the tariff would suppress one of the sources of State revenue, the Western farmer's ready reply would be, "Out of the \$400,000,000 yearly taken from us, only \$60,000,000 go to the revenue. There are plenty of ways of raising \$60,000,000 of revenue without resorting to the clumsy, wasteful, roundabout process of inflicting on us a loss of \$400,000,000 to enable the State to get \$60,000,000. You might as well say that there is no other way of roasting a pig than by burning down the house. We shall be all the better able to pay the taxes necessary to replace the import duties if our earnings are left with us intact."

The farmers, by insisting on justice being done to themselves, are at the same time fighting the battle of the American community at large. All are sufferers from the same fiscal absurdity, and all ought to join the farmers, heart and hand, in enforcing the redress of a common grievance.

Every farmer should hold this language to the candidates: "I will only vote for you if you will vote for me; and voting for me means voting in the House for *A reduction of five per cent. every successive year on the import duties till the whole are abolished.*" If this were done pretty generally, the tariff, in its present shape, would not survive the first sitting of Congress. The voting power of the farmers is overwhelming, and will further increase after the next census. They hardly know their own strength. They are the backbone of the great American Republic. They own most of its soil, they have created most of its wealth, and they form the most numerous and influential body among its population. The exercise of their voting power would forcibly influence the commercial policy of the government, and if they choose to exercise it, an end will be put for ever to the yearly exactions from which they are now suffering. In other words, they have but to signify unmistakably by their votes that they wish to be freed from the unjust burdens laid upon them by heavy import duties, and those duties will speedily cease to exist. Is it possible to imagine that they should feel the evil, know the remedy, and hesitate to apply it?

It is doubtless true that many, perhaps most, of the American farmers are unaware of, or have given little attention to, the facts set forth in these pages, and hence their silent endurance. But if every farmer who reads this, and concurs in our views, would order from the nearest town ten or twenty copies of this little paper, and would distribute them by hand among his neighbours, or by post among his friends at a distance, a spirit of inquiry would rapidly be roused, and a definite expression of public opinion would soon be elicited. By such means each man would con-

tribute to the good work, and, with little trouble and little expense, the exact state of the case might be laid before every farmer in the Union. It would be for him, after obtaining a knowledge of facts so interesting to his class, to decide whether he would continue to endure the grievance or insist on its removal.

Meanwhile, all honour, Western farmers of America, to the brave and blessed work which your indomitable energy and brawny arms are accomplishing! While in Europe millions of able-bodied men are dragged from the plough and the loom to be trained to bloodshed and destruction, you are pursuing your beneficent conquests over nature, and converting barren wastes into orchards and cornfields. Surely the least that you can demand in return is that your earnings should not be wrung from you by unjust laws, and that you should be allowed to enjoy undividedly the fruits of your unremitting toil.

IT IS FOR YOU TO DECIDE, AND TO ENFORCE YOUR DECISION.

APPENDIX.

IN order to ensure all possible accuracy in the estimate of the yearly expenditure of the American farmers and their families, the writer printed and distributed among those persons whom he deemed most competent to judge, fifty copies of the following memorandum :—

“ESTIMATE OF EXPENDITURE IN AMERICA.

“It would greatly assist the undersigned in the completion of a little work on which he is engaged, if you would kindly give him the best estimate in your power in relation to the following subject.

“By the census of 1870 there were in the United States of America, out of a population of 38,600,000, a total of 12,506,000 persons engaged in various occupations. Of these 5,922,000 were engaged in agriculture, which number has by this time (1880) increased to at least 7,000,000.

“*An estimate is wanted* of the average annual expenditure of each of these 7,000,000 persons (most of whom have families) on all articles of consumption, except eatables and drinkables. Those articles would comprise every description of clothing, household ware, tools, agricultural implements, railway conveyance, &c. &c.

“Of course, strict accuracy is unattainable, and all calculations must necessarily be conjectural and approximative. It may be noted—

“That by ‘agriculturists’ are meant, not only the cereal farmers, but the producers of all articles

derived from the soil, whether grain or cotton, meat or tobacco, &c. &c.

- " 2. That there are in the United States 2,600,000 farmers, who, most of them, own the soil which they till, and whose annual expenditure must be considerable.
- " 3. That the wages of farm labourers in the North and West, range (see an article in the *Times* of 26th August, 1879) from \$19 69c. monthly (\$236 per annum) to \$38 22c. monthly (\$458 per annum). In the South, under the competition of negro labour, wages are only \$15 monthly (\$180 per annum).
- " 4. That, as food and lodging cost the farmers and labourers but little, most of their expenditure falls on the articles of consumption comprised in this inquiry. The question therefore is, 'What is the average yearly expenditure, on such articles, of each of those 7,000,000 persons in the United States of America, who are engaged in agricultural pursuits, some of whom are single, but most of whom have families?' It will be esteemed a favour if you will address a communication at your earliest convenience to

"A. MONGREDIEN,

"Author of '*Free Trade and English Commerce*.'"

"FOREST HILL, near LONDON.

"8th March, 1880."

The answers received (and they were not many) ranged from \$150 per annum up to \$5 per week (\$260 per annum). In the work we have taken \$200 as a fair mean. But, even upon the lowest estimate, the sum is so vast, that it really matters very little which valuation is adopted. If any reader thinks that \$200 per annum is too high an estimate, let him boldly strike off 25 per cent., and

the balance will still be found amply large enough to justify all our conclusions.

For our American statistics we are chiefly indebted to that valuable compilation, "The American Almanack for 1879," by Mr. A. R. Spofford, to which we beg to refer those who may doubt the accuracy of our figures.

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A. C. 353

NAINI TAL,

October 8th, 1888.

MY DEAR HUME,

I promised to you in my letter of September 25th that as soon as the tour I was then making was over I would reply to yours of the 19th idem. I lose no time in fulfilling that promise.

2. I have to thank you very much for the kindly spirit in which your letter is written, and for the information which you give me with regard to the statements in respect of my attitude towards the Congress party, which have reached your ears. You write—"To put the matter as succinctly, as possible, the essential points of these misrepresentations, are—that you are personally hostile to the Congress—that you desire to ruin all who take a prominent part in it—that you will favour and reward all who oppose it, and that no man has a chance of promotion or recommendation for honours from you who is not willing to spend money in opposing it and who does not publicly and privately denounce it."

3. "Now, monstrous as this may seem, not only is it believed, but I can hardly find it in my heart to ridicule and scold (as I do) those who accept such absurd falsehoods—because, I am sorry to say, that these have been promulgated not only by men like Sir Syed Ahmed—who told all his friends that one of his ridiculously violent speeches had been made at your suggestion—but also by responsible European officials, who really cannot, it seems to me, have believed all they told people."

4. After indicating what you consider my views on the subject possibly to be, you add—"Now if this be really, as I believe, your position, will you say so? Will you say so in some speech? Will you say so in a letter to me, which I may publish, or of which, if I may not publish it, I may use the purport, and which I may show privately to all infidels? Or will you take some other means of making these points clear?"

5. Before entering further upon the subject, I must, in justice to an old friend, say that it is not I only who have

been misrepresented. I have known Sir Syed Ahmed for the last thirty years; and have found him, as I believe all who know him have always found him, a man of the most scrupulous truthfulness. I have not a shadow of hesitation in saying that it is as absolutely impossible that Sir Syed Ahmed should have made any such statement as has been attributed to him by your informants, as that I should have taken up the irreconcilable rôle which in the same quarter has been assigned to me. What I have to say in this letter is identical in substance with what I have said in conversation with all those to whom I may have spoken on the subject. It will enable you to judge how far the responsible European officials of whom you speak, have my authority for the views which you tell me they ascribe to me.

6. If I am compelled in some considerable measure, in the course of what I have to say, to differ from you, or to criticise from a point of view which may seem to you disappointing, the action of the Congress party, I hope to do so in the spirit of moderation and reasonableness in which you have written to me. It is inevitable that this movement, which invites the attention both of those who are concerned with the Government and of the public at large, should be seriously weighed and examined by all who are resident in India, and especially by those who are responsible for the administration of its several Provinces. It is to be expected by critics of the Government that they should in turn be criticised. It is equally inevitable that the conclusions arrived at by those who approach the subject from different points of view should in many respects differ; and all that I need ask, you will, I am sure, gladly concede: *viz.* that credit should be given me, when I differ from you, for the same measure of good faith and good will which you would claim, and receive, at my hands.

7. "If then there be anything objectionable in the "movement it must be either in its methods or its measures." You will remember these words in your speech at Allahabad, on the 30th April last, and anything that I now have to say may conveniently follow upon those lines.

8. I may at once concede that, until very recently, in fact until the issue of the Report of the Third "Indian National Congress" held at Madras, I saw little to object to, whether in method or in measure. It was possibly questionable whether in the present embryo state of political life in India, agitation such as was encouraged by the operations of

the Congress, was not likely to cause some miscarriage of the ends desired. The experiment is quite new in India, and the circumstances which surround it are not wholly favourable to its development. Events have shewn too, that those who anticipated that agitation would produce agitation, and that we should shortly see the country divided into two or more strongly hostile camps, were correct in their surmise. It remains yet to be seen whether, in a country of which the Government is carried on in the conditions imposed upon us in India, it is possible to permit contending parties the same freedom of political action and uncontrolled liberty of organisation which in England has, after long centuries and in very different conditions, been but comparatively of late years acquired. But, however this may be, I, at least, saw nothing worthy of grave objection in the method adopted during the first two Congresses; much, on the contrary, that was interesting and new to me. The measures aimed at seemed to me, indeed, not such as would commend themselves much to the people of that part of India with which I am best acquainted but any objections I personally may have felt toward them were objections of degree rather than of kind. I thought that the people of these Provinces cared little about the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State, and absolutely nothing about Volunteering. But if, on the other hand, it seemed to me that the claim for any considerable system of representation would not be understood or supported by any considerable section here, or suitable to their present state of political development, I was entirely at one with the Congress party in desiring extension on some broader basis than at present obtains, of the Legislative Councils; a measure, for the rest, which had been before the minds of high authorities in this country before the Congress party had been heard of, and is independent of their initiative.

9. With the issue of the Report of the Madras Meeting, I must admit, with the greatest regret, that the sympathy with which I had hitherto looked upon the party, received a severe check. In the speech to which I have above referred you say—"But what have been its methods? Firstly, quiet teachings and preachings throughout the greater part of the country of simple elementary political truths. The people are taught to recognise the many benefits that they owe to British rule, as also the fact that on the peaceful continuance of that rule depend all hopes for the peace and prosperity of the country. They are taught that the many hardships

“and disabilities of which they complain are, after all, though
“real enough, small in comparison with the blessings they
“enjoy * * * These teachings have gone on so quietly and
“unostentatiously that they have never once attracted even
“serious attention, much less unfavourable comment. Second,
“amongst our methods is the distribution of elementary tracts
“setting forth similar doctrines and embodying teachings con-
“ceived in a like spirit in regard to the rights and duties of
“subjects. Of two of these, *viz.* Mr. Veraraghava Chariar's
“Congress Catechism and a Conversation between Moulvi
“Furiduddeen and one Rambuksh of Kambakhtpur, some
“50,000 copies were circulated during the past year, and
“perhaps half a million will be so circulated during the present
“year; and so far as I know these are the only tracts yet sent
“out. Although they are to be met with in every one of the
“twelve languages of India, they are also published in English,
“and every one of you may judge them for himself. I sub-
“mit that when read as they stand, there is not one of you
“who will not agree that they are loyal and kindly alike in
“spirit and in word.”

10. I wish I could agree with you that in the teachings and preachings and elementary tracts, or in those, at least, with which I have become acquainted, the people are taught to recognize the many benefits they owe to British rule, or the fact that on the peaceful continuance of that rule depend all hopes for the peace and prosperity of the country; or that the pamphlets to which you refer are kindly and loyal alike in spirit and in word. I have read carefully and repeatedly through both of them; and while I find frequent passages such as those which I will presently quote, holding up the British Government and the English officials in India, to the indignation of the people as unjust, inconsiderate, ill-informed, and reckless of the consequences of their actions, I have failed to find in them a single passage in which the advantages conferred upon India by that rule have been so much as referred to. Here and there some of the officers of the Government in India are given credit, if not for good service rendered, at least for good intentions. But anything that may be said upon this score is far more than obscured by the thickness and depth of the darker shades of the picture. Of the India of today, as we know it; of India under education; of India compelled, in the interests of the weaker masses, to submit to impartial justice; of India brought together by road and rail; of India entering into the first class commercial markets of the

world; of India of religious toleration; of India assured, for terms of years unknown in less fortunate Europe, of profound and unbroken peace; of India of the free Press; of India, finally, taught for the first time that the end and aim of rule is the welfare of the people and not the personal aggrandisement of the Sovereign, I fail to find a syllable of recognition. These are the pamphlets which, as we are told in the Preface to the last Congress Report, are circulated in thousands about the country, and for the substance of these pamphlets the critics of the Congress necessarily hold the leaders of that party responsible. I will quote some of the passages which illustrate the strictures which I have been compelled to make; and which I regard as at one and the same time grievously misrepresenting the British administration in India, and teaching the people to ascribe to it sufferings and wrongs which are no where defined, or even indicated; but which are over and over again insisted on, without precautions taken, such as candour and prudence dictate, lest ignorant and illiterate men—in other words, lest the great majority of those to whom they purport to be addressed—should be tempted to impute to that administration all that, however hard and disagreeable, is necessary and inevitable in the circumstances which burden their lives. I will quote first from the Tamil Catechism. “The disabilities under which we “(the people of India) labour are never fully realized by them “(the English Parliament). If our many grievances could “only be made clear to their view in their true colours, you “may rest assured that they would be gradually redressed. “The English Nation, as a body, has no conception of all the “hardships and disadvantages under which we labour under “the existing administration here. Nor do the English “officials in India ever report to the Members of Parliament “what we know to be the true state of this country. * * * “They necessarily believe that all they do is right, and that it “is done in the best possible manner, and lastly, they not un- “naturally do not desire either a reduction of their salaries “or their powers, and this would certainly follow if the “English public came really to understand how matters at “this present time really stand.” Again, “It is only by per- “sisting in the agitation that we can make our grievance heard “in England. If the English nation begin to evince interest in “the affairs of this country, the opposition of the Anglo-Indian “officials, who wish to keep matters as they are, will soon “cease to be effective * * * * The Government offer

“some native gentlemen seats in the Council, merely, it would seem, to lead the people of England into the belief that in the Government of this country Native opinion receives due weight.” Again, “Then, too, Government mostly chooses, not people who will fight for our rights, but more or less foolish big men, who will do just what they are told by Government: So it follows that very few of the Natives, who have hitherto sat in Council have tried to do good for us * * * *” “So you see, even if our people tried, which only a few ever have done, to fight our battles, they could do nothing, for these Councils are a mere sham.” Again, “Progress and reform are equally impossible * * * *. The Members who owe their seats in Council to the good-will of the Government will naturally, as a rule, vote in their favour. And they dare not fight for the people’s cause on pain of never being reappointed.”

11. To me who witnessed in 1885 the debates over the Bengal Rent Act, in the Viceroy’s Legislative Council, and assisted in 1886 in the passing of the Oudh Rent Act, by which the rights of the cultivators in Oudh were affirmed and maintained by the Government; who witnessed the strenuous opposition of the Bengal Zamindars, and the Oudh Talukdars, ably led and strictly conducted by their representatives in the Legislative Council; and who had occasion, I may add, at the same time to admire the capacity and thorough sifting of the subject which characterized their proceedings in Select Committee, the assertion in these paras., that the Legislative Council is a sham; that progress and reform are equally impossible; that the Government will not choose members who fight for what they believe to be their rights; that the native Members of the Council never oppose the Government; that the measures of the Government are opposed to the rights of the people, is amazing. It was on behalf of the rights of the very class, the ryots, to whom these pamphlets are addressed, that the Government, in strong opposition to the Native members of its Legislative Council, was in both instances contending. It would have seemed incredible to me that within a few months of the opposition and public excitement which these measures aroused, any one could have penned the passages to which I call attention. They may pass muster in England, because, as is said, truly enough, in the same pamphlet.—“The English nation do not at all understand the real state of affairs here * * * *” “Every thing in short, is so different, that to understand matters

“here, an Englishman who has never lived in India, must *make a regular study of the subject.*” To us, however, whose business in life it is to make a regular study of the subject, it must be matter of the deepest regret that those who are equally well informed with ourselves should, in the course of their endeavours to remodel the scheme of administration in India, put forward illustrations such as these. My own experience of the native members of the Legislative Council is that, while they are apathetic so long as questions are under discussion in which they feel no immediate concern, so soon as they think their interests are at stake, they stand to their guns like men. What their attitude would be if, in some great political question, they found themselves in opposition to the Government, neither you nor I can say. But it is only just to them to assume that if they attached importance to such a question they would act in conformity with our past experience of them.

12. I pass now to the second pamphlet. Distinction is there drawn between the happy state of the villagers of Shamsapur and those of Rajah Harbansrai. “He (Rajah Harbansrai) lives away in the *Sudder*, and he never comes near us, and he never reads any of our petitions, and never consults any of us; indeed he wo’n’t see us, but sends out an order for us to speak to the *Naib*, (his Deputy, or head Manager, or Agent), or the *Gomashtah* (Factor), who lives in the Rajah’s house here, and as for the *Gomashtah* he never knows anything about us or the village, for one comes for six months and then goes, and the other comes for a couple of years and then he goes, and then another comes and so on. And except dear old Rai Sacharam, there has never been a *Naib* or *Gomashtah* here who did not think he knew more about everything than any of us, or all of us put together. They are all alike, these *Gomashtahs*. *Jau, Chupraho*; (go away! Hold your tongue;) don’t do this; don’t do that; pay this; pay that!”

“*Moulvi Fariduddin*—Well, when a Government behaves as Rajah Harbansrai does, we call it a ‘*Despotic*’ Government. But how does your village thrive?”

“*Rambaksh*—How does it thrive? Why *Moulvi Sahib*, you know that there is never a day but what there is some case from *Kambakhtpur* in Court; that we are growing poorer and poorer, that land is going out of cultivation, that we have scarcely oxen enough to plough what we still till.

“Look down the street, why the houses are, half of them, nearly in ruins, and the two *abkari* (liquor) shops, that the *Sirkar* has set up here, are always full. Even this chopal, built by our forefathers and so much needed for our meetings and our guests, is now in ruins. Look at Shamshpur. It is twice as populous as this village, and yet there is no *abkari* shop there, and the *Lumberdar* (senior proprietor) says there never shall be, and so say they all. Thrive indeed! Of all the miserable places in this whole District *Kambakhtpur* is nearly one of the worst.”

“*Moulvi Fariduddin*. I am afraid that is too true. But why is this? *Rajah Harbansrai* is not a bad man. I live in the *Sudder* and see much of him. He is rather a kind, good man, though so occupied with his great big house there, and his troops of servants, that he has no time to look after his affairs in the *Mofussil*.”

“*Ram Baksh*. That’s just it. I don’t say he is a bad man, but we never see him. We send him petitions, but he takes no notice of them. So far as any good to us is concerned he might be dead; but, for all that, he must have his money, and almost every year, more money and more money, till we poor people are almost skin and bone. Ah! If we were only cattle, as the *Saheb* said, we might perhaps make a rupee or two out of our skins; it is about all we have left.” The *Rajah Harbansrai* is obviously the Government of India, and the Provincial Governors are, I suppose, his *Naibs*; while under and because of their rule ignorant people are invited by this pamphlet to believe that they are growing poorer and poorer, that land is going out of cultivation, that they have scarcely oxen enough to plough what they still till, that the houses are half of them nearly in ruins, that the liquor shops are always full, that of all the miserable places in the world India is nearly one of the worst, and that the skins of its inhabitants is about all that they have left. The pamphlet proceeds.

“*Moulvi Fariduddin*. Ah! *Rambaksh*, the *Chota Saheb* may think you cattle, but you are wiser than he was. For this evil *dustur*, which is ruining you and your neighbours and village is the ‘DESPOTIC’ (*Khul Muktiar*) *dustur*. And when rulers govern their subjects in this same way, we call theirs a ‘DESPOTIC’ Government, and

“ ‘DESPOTIC’ Governments always ruin the countries in which they are carried on for long. They may be necessary in the infancy of a nation; they become crimes when it grows up. Now you have a practical knowledge of both systems; you see how Shamshpur is prospering under a ‘CONSTITUTIONAL’ system, and you know only too thoroughly what Kambakhtpur is coming to under the ‘DESPOTIC’ system, and pray have you any doubts as to which of these two is best? * * * * *

“ *Rambaksh*, (after some consideration) Well, there is our good Queen-Empress, she never comes here, certainly; and we never see her, and I hear the people in Hakikatabad sent her a petition last year, and they do say nearly a lakh of people signed it, but she never took any notice of it. But they say she is so busy there over in Vallayat (England) and has so many countries elsewhere belonging to her that she has no time to attend to us Indians. When I come to think of it, may God long preserve her, but I don’t know that it does signify much to us who sits upon the Gaddi (throne) over there in Vallayat. I must say that this is all rather like Rajah Harbansrai’s *dustur*. Certainly, I never heard that she consulted any of us Indians on any point, and as to *gaonkhurch*, (village expenses) well, I have heard in Hakikatabad what krors and krors of money are every year spent by the *Sahab log* (Europeans) and without consulting any one! No! This is not at all like the Shamshpur *dustur*.”

“ *Moulvi Fariduddin*. And then look at all the *Naibs* and *Gomashdahs* she sends. Are they not like Rajah Harbansrai’s? Very respectable men, no doubt; they don’t take bribes; they don’t certainly try to injure us, but what do they know of us and our real wants? Don’t they pooh pooh our old customs, and, *har ke amad* (each who comes) insist on introducing some new fangled device for improving the condition of the country which not unfrequently ends in doing it harm? Do they consult us? Do they ever really talk over any thing with us? Do they take care to see that we approve, and agree to every thing, nay to anything they see fit to do? Is it not with them as with your Kambakhtpur *Naibs*? ‘What do you know you cattle folk? Hold you tongues. Do this, don’t do this,’ Is this like the ‘CONSTITUTIONAL’ management of Shamshpur or like the ‘DESPOTIC’ of Kambakhtpur?”

"*Rambaksh.* Ah *Moulvi Sahib*, you are a learned man, but I see now what you mean, and I suppose our Government is what you call a 'DESPOTIC' one, and that perhaps, is why the whole country now is discontented (it never was so when I was a boy), and why every thing seems, from all I hear, to be going wrong, and why the Government jumma is always being raised, and with it our rents, and new taxes are imposed and * * *

"*Moulvi Furiduddin.* Yes, certainly, our Government is a 'DESPOTIC' one, and a 'DESPOTIC' Government is always, when long continued, bad for every country, and we in our country are suffering in a hundred ways on this very account. But don't think I am speaking evil of our *Governors*, for I know many of them personally, and know that as a rule, they are good and well-meaning men, men in many matters, far more highly educated than the best of us. It is not the officers, it is not the members of Government, or the Lieutenant-Governors or Viceroy, that I find fault with. I hate the foolish fault-finding spirit, in which some of our newspapers abuse, and wrongly attribute bad motives to many of those whom I know to be good men. What I condemn and protest against is the system; it is against the system (*dustur*) of the Government, not against the Gentlemen who carry on the Government, (and who are as much tied down by that system as ourselves) that I complain."

13. The Government of India is here described as a despotic Government; which except by a misuse of the term as usually employed, it is not. It is contended that after a certain period of their existence all despotic Governments are pernicious. It is assumed that this period has arrived in India; and the present Government of India is thereupon charged with the existence of misrule and of public suffering which can only be remedied by the gradual and progressive introduction of representative Government. On the above four assumptions rests the final conclusion. With regard to all four the onus of proof rests with the Congress party; and until some serious effort has been made to dispose of it, I think you must expect to find a considerable section of the community, both here and elsewhere, will hesitate to accept the conclusion.

14. I find, for the rest, in the above paras. plenty of teaching as to the hardships and disabilities of which the people are to complain. I fail, however, to find any definite,

or even indefinite statement of the nature of those hardships or disabilities, beyond the assertion, (of which they can appreciate the value,) that nothing is left to them, but their skins. I entirely fail to recognise in the picture of the material ruin of Kambakhtpur (the Luckless Village) anything in any way approaching to the British India of today, such as I know it. I fail equally to find a single paragraph that is kindly, whether in spirit or in word, in this terrible and unrelieved picture of a starving, oppressed, and brutalised India, groaning under an unsympathetic and oppressive rule, and robbed by men who, in the words of the pamphlet, if not "quite so bad as Mr. Zubburdust, nevertheless exist in great numbers abusing their official powers, and guilty of most unjustifiable acts of high-handedness." Abuse of official powers, and acts of high-handedness have not been unknown to India in past times, and under former dynasties, and many many years must pass, probably, before they will wholly cease to exist. But I venture to remind you that, such as they are, they are the exception and not the rule among our English officials; and that to base upon exceptional cases an accusation against the order at present existing, with a view to its subversion by general acclamation, is not consistent with a quiet teaching and preaching of simple elementary political truths; as, on the other hand, to force upon the people these hideous caricatures of British rule in India, is in violent contradiction to the statement that "the people are taught that the many hardships and disabilities of which they complain, are, after all, though real enough, "small in comparison with the blessings they enjoy." How can they be so taught, consistently with the theme to be proved, *viz.*, the calamity of despotic Government? You will have seen in the newspapers that these pamphlets have incurred the severest censures from a variety of native pens. It is easy to say, as the "National Congress" newspapers habitually contend, that these pens are hired or are self seeking. I, for my part, feeling so strongly as I do, the extreme unwisdom and unfairness of writing and circulating among ignorant and excitable people, foreign to us in blood, and differing in religion, such accusations as these, against the present Government in India, am unable to agree that native gentlemen who profess to share the same view are necessarily actuated by feelings other than my own. I can quite understand a man saying to himself, "This is minching Mallecho; this means mischief." I think it was in an evil hour for the interests of the Congress party that those pamphlets were penned or published. . Space

forbids me to deal with them at greater length, but I should like to indicate them to you in a spirit of the most friendly remonstrance, as bearing, in my eyes, a character which is absolutely inconsistent with what, judging from the remarks in your speech of April, they seem to carry, to you. In that "good will to all" which you desire to adopt as your watchword they even appear to me to be conspicuously wanting.

15. Another of the methods of the Congress which seems to me open to serious objection is that of identifying itself with the majority of the people of India and of habitually assuming that it has the right to speak in the name of that majority. In your introduction to the Madras Report you have been careful to point out that the Congress is as yet far from representing the people, or "by any means so broad-based upon the people's will, as has been supposed and asserted." Indeed the only possible ground on which any claim for general representation could be put forward consistently with what you have said in your preface, is, that "if the matter was carefully explained to them, 90 per cent. of the adult male members of the entire community would ratify and express concurrence in the conclusions of the Congress." That is as it may be. There is much virtue in your "If." But I am unable to reconcile this statement with the appeal put forward by Dadabhai Naoroji, who is, I believe, the accredited "representative in Great Britain of the National Indian Congress," purporting to come from "200,000,000 British subjects in India, to the British people." You admit in your preface that "we cannot, making all allowances, see grounds for supposing that more than 10 per cent. of these (a population of nearly 200,000,000) at the utmost, even indirectly and passively supported the Congress." I do not know what is meant by indirect and passive support. But I would ask you to consider whether, in the face of an admission such as this, your representative in London should have been allowed to publish *urbi et orbi*, an appeal in the character of the representative of the whole population of India. As a minor illustration of this same objection I may perhaps be allowed, in passing, to refer to the passage in your preface in which you speak of the "pretended defection of the Mussalman community from this national movement." It does not seem to me, even in view of the facts that were known to the public at that time, that the use of the word "pretended" is justifiable.

16. Of the unmeasured and often scurrilous language of some of the Congress newspapers I will say nothing, for I

see that you yourself in your speech at Allahabad deprecate it. I can only regret that they may be tempted to appeal for countenance to passages such as those which I have extracted from the pamphlets authorised by the Congress. Style is, of course, matter of opinion; and if you had not in your speech of April expressed disapproval of railing accusations, and asked the supporters of the Congress to "deal in all charity with their opponents," I should not have ventured to call your attention to the paragraph in your own preface, in which you write—"we can only conclude of any who persist in denouncing "our political Congress, because it is not also a Social Conference, that Divine Providence, in its inscrutable wisdom, "has seen fit to withhold from them either integrity, or intellect, or *both*." (The italics are not mine.) To say of a man who differs from you that he must either, in plain English, be a knave or a fool, or both, is not, I may perhaps venture, in your own words, to remind you, to "deal with him in all "charity," or to afford yourself ground for hoping that you will "sooner or later enjoy the permissible, nay blessed, "revenge of returning good for evil." That those whom you have so vigorously criticised, have some not insufficient ground for the error into which you pursue them, is evident to me from a perusal of the three fundamental objects of the movement as stated in pages 2 and 3 of your speech—*viz.* "First: the fusion into one National whole of all the different "and, till recently, discordant elements that constitute the "population of India. Second: the gradual regeneration along "all lines, mental, moral, social and political, of the nation "thus evolved; and, third: the consolidation of the union "between England and India, by securing the modification of "such of its conditions as may be unjust or injurious to the "latter country." The gradual regeneration along the social line is there stated to be one of the objects of what is called the national movement. A few lines afterwards I read that, "people are found fatuous enough to urge it as a reproach that "the Congress does not directly meddle with social questions. "Why the man who should insist on using—let us say a "plough—as a vehicle in which to drive along a pukka road, "instead of confining it to its proper use of ploughing the fields, "would not be a greater fool than the man who should endeavour to work out the delicate and intricate questions of "social reform by the aid of the rough-and-ready engine of "the National Political Congress." What, I think, people have objected to, is not so much that the Congress does not deal

with social questions, as that, with social questions so urgently requiring to be dealt with, a body having for its main object political changes, should have thrust itself across the path of reform. What, if I understand them rightly, your critics say, is, not that they expect the Congress team to draw the ponderous car of social reform, but that they find you putting your political *char-a-banc* before their social reform horse, with the result that neither will you progress, nor can they make a single stride. They fear that the people of India will find it infinitely more agreeable to clamour for place and power, to cry aloud to all that pass by, that they are, in spite of much testimony to the contrary, aggrieved and neglected, to scramble for the loaves and to dive for the fishes, than to impose upon themselves the rigorous discipline of social reform, and to abandon time honoured but harmful practices. They ask of them only that they should listen to those who appeal to the physician to commence by healing himself.

17. You have compared in your remarks at Allahabad, the Congress party with the infant Hercules. Let us be consistent in our comparisons: and remember, in this connection, that the prodigies of the infant were confined to the limits of his domestic circle, and directed to the extirpation of the poisonous and life-crushing reptiles which infested it, and which threatened to strangle him; the cleansing of the Augean stables, (and, I may add, the pursuit of the golden fruit) being reserved for maturer years.

18. So much for the methods of which you spoke in April last. I hope that I have dealt fairly with them, and explained, in all moderation and good-will, the reasons for which they have caused me, to my deep regret, to disapprove of the action of your party. If I may be allowed to refer to my own opinions, I may venture to say that I also am in the Liberal Official Camp. But this does not oblige me to agree with all the methods of attack or to approve of all the implements of warfare employed by volunteer auxiliaries.

19. With regard to measures, as I have already said, I believe that the desire to extend the Indian element in the Councils was antecedent to and entirely independent of any action of the Congress party. Judging from your Resolutions and from what I read in your last report, it seems to me probable that you would propose to go further than I, were I at present a member of the Government of India, should be asked to follow you. But I find it difficult precisely to

of some of the scheme which the Congress party would

wish to see adopted. In the Tamil Catechism, for instance, I read, "our countrymen should do their best to establish in India a representative Council similar to the Parliament of Great Britain to consider the questions that relate to our well-being. We should get the permission of the British Parliament to elect the members of that Council. Her Majesty the Queen-Empress should make the resolutions of that Council binding upon the Governors General and Governors." A Representative Council the resolutions of which are binding on the Governor-General and Governors is, in effect, a ruling body. Elsewhere, however, when addressing, not the villager but a more informed audience, I find the proposals less ambitious. "The absurd nonsense that has been written and talked about this matter is almost incredible. We have been gravely assured that the Congress people want to get the Government into their hands." I quote from your Allahabad speech, and must be permitted to add that, if absurd nonsense has been talked, it has at least Catechism and text to appeal to. A really representative Council, in the present state of India, would include, you will have foreseen, very few of the class who crowd the Congress benches. In so far as men of that kind might succeed by energy or by manipulation of the necessary methods, in entering the Council as representative of the majority, they would occupy a false position. All that they could claim usefully to represent (and the Government in settling this question must look as, *pace* the pamphlets, it always does look, to what will contribute most to the good government of India) is the small section of men educated under our system; the pleaders, the lawyers, the newspaper editors, the classes who, in their own shewing, furnished more than two-fifths of the Madras meeting, and who form the fragment of the Indian people which owes its existence to British workmanship. They can, at the most, claim to represent their own views; and if representation be adjusted to numbers, numerically they will be nowhere. Their business at present seems to me to be to seek to communicate to their countrymen the enlightenment which they themselves have received, more than to attempt to represent in the Councils of the State either themselves or those to whom enlightenment has not hitherto been vouchsafed. I think, in a word, they would, if I might dare to advise them, be more usefully employed in educating the people than in educating the authorities. I would cordially extend to them

that measure of recognition which, (when deprived of the magnifying medium in which, as I think, they have unwisely enveloped themselves) their education, their loyalty, and whatever is valuable in their views may require; but certainly I would not upset the whole economy of Indian administration with its hitherto peaceful progress, and its many mansions, in order to accommodate them under its roof. It seems to me unreasonable to ask that a large system of representation should be introduced at the demand of an extremely small and peculiar section of the people; or that the existence of a class which has been created by the Government, should be cited as sufficient reason for modifying, to a very serious degree, methods of administration familiar, and on the whole agreeable, to those vast masses of the people who live in the traditions of the Government of their forefathers, whose ideas of polity find their roots far back in centuries long gone by, and who are as much out of harmony with the political atmosphere breathed by us of English birth, or desired by their own countrymen of English education, as an elephant would be out of his element in Scotch mists, or a banyan tree in Parliament Street. The Government of the English in India is the Government of a people far more advanced than those among whom it exists, and it approaches public matters from points of view which in great measure Indians are at present, and for long years must be, incapable of adopting. It is for the Congress to show how such a Government can, without sacrificing nearly all that makes its presence useful, consent to subordinate its policy to the popular verdict. These people are *in statu pupillari*; can they profitably be invited to govern their guardian?

20. Judging from the Resolutions of the last and previous Congresses, the grievances and wrongs of the people are far other than those which the language of the pamphlets, and indeed of your speech of April last, would have led me to suppose. The aims of the Congress are frequently spoken of in Congress literature as "THE CAUSE." Putting aside the extension of Legislative Councils, which is by no means peculiarly the child of the Congress, I find in the record of the Madras meeting the Resolutions which embody the latest exposition of the "THE CAUSE." It is to these Resolutions naturally, that one turns to find some setting forth of the grievances and wrongs which are the jewels in the Congress Crown. If a representative Council is to be established to

abolish the Arms Act, replacing, by Legislation, in the hands of the people weapons of which the unrestricted use under former dynasties has grievously mutilated the roll of Indian annals, and in our own time traced the bitterest and most bloody chapter in our Anglo-Indian History, I cannot but think that it would be far less usefully employed, so far as the people are concerned, than those unreformed Legislatures which have passed the Revenue and Rent Acts, for example, for all the provinces of Upper India, which have worked out the Indian Penal and Procedure Codes, which have passed a variety of measures for the convenience of the mercantile community, which, have created Municipalities, crushed Infanticide, and which in a thousand measures, have turned the attention of the people to arts of peace, with a view to lead them to abandon their old predatory habits. The separation of the Executive and Judicial is a question of administration, which is by no means easy of initiation, or sure to succeed; foreign as it is to the notions and contrary to the customs of all Eastern countries, who aim at centralizing, not at dispersing authority. It is, moreover, largely a question of ways and means. The claim to be enrolled as volunteers, put forward as a "national" claim, is just a little strained, is it not? If the Resolutions on these four points are the head and substance of "THE CAUSE" in its latest phases, I must honestly be permitted to say that I see nothing in "THE CAUSE" whatever, for which a Rajput or a Brahman of Upper India would sacrifice a hair of his whiskers.

21. To sum up this matter of Measures: you will gather from what I have said, that the claim of the Congress party to have introduced a new order of ideas into India, seems to me not to rest upon facts. They have seized upon an idea already familiar to the Government, as witness Lord Dufferin's Jubilee speech; and they have pushed it, as it seems to me, to extremes which cannot be defended, more especially in view of the circumstance that the party purports to speak on behalf of millions whom it had no opportunity of consulting, and who have given it no warrant whatsoever. The catalogue of claims which constitute its "CAUSE" appear to me to be very far from embodying any considerable popular feeling. They represent the wishes of a class, and that a minute and exceptional class. Shorn of fictitious and exaggerated pretensions, I think the movement offers little to unfavourable criticism. I seems to me, however, probable that the attacks which it has invited by overspreading its natural borders, will discredit much which otherwise might

have been useful ; and that the aggressive tone which its organs adopt may rather hinder than assist the Government, when the hour for action may seem to it to have come.

22. I have expressed myself in this letter as I think you would wish me to do, with the perfect freedom which your letter invited, and also, I trust, with the perfect fairness which the tone of your letter requires of me. I look to your indulgence not to class me with those who have fallen victims to the "inscrutable wisdom of Providence." My opinions, such as they are, have been formed after patient examination and experience of the subjects with which I have dealt in this letter, and it is with a sense of deep disappointment only that I have come to the conclusion that the answer to the question put by you, as to whether there is anything objectionable in the methods or the measures of the movement, is that, in my judgment, there is much. I have endeavoured to shew what seems to me to be objectionable, whether in the one or the other regard. I think it objectionable in the highest degree that, in order to introduce changes in the administration of the Government in India, the Indian Government and its officials should be held up to the hatred of the people as standing between them and the benevolence of the Government of Her Majesty ; as endeavouring, in their own interests, to obstruct measures having for their object the welfare of the people ; and as embodying traditions and practices of oppression, and of disregard to popular claims, which, but for their existence and influence in India would have long since been put an end to. I object to this partly because, if without offence I may say so, it is not true. I object to it mainly because, while being untrue, it is eminently calculated to further the designs and promote the aims of those natives who are no less opposed to the Congress than disaffected to English rule in India ; but who will gladly avail themselves of so useful a mechanism for stirring up discontent, and so safe a propaganda for the spread of the doctrine that British rule in India is a calamity. We may, as it seems to me, introduce changes, proved necessary by time, in the administration of India without, on that account, labouring to make the masses deeply discontented with the Government hitherto accepted by them. Still more may we do so without misrepresenting the character of our countrymen in India, or the motives by which they are actuated. I object, finally, because I think that the measures themselves, so far as I have been enabled to judge of them, travel beyond anything for which the country is at present prepared ; or involve, if carried

out in the direction which their promoters desire, a negation of true representation. If we are to have true representation we must be prepared to recur to an archaic order of ideas from which it is the great aim of the Government gradually to wean the people. If, on the other hand, we invite, as representatives of the vast majority, a class who are little less separated from that majority than we ourselves are, we add a fifth wheel to the coach. If, finally, we admit representation of "New India" we must give it no more weight than its numbers justify. Nobody is more willing than I am, to recognise, and encourage, and find room under the Government of India umbrella, for the younger men who, within the last 25 years, have, as you somewhere say, sprung into existence as a new factor in the country. But I cannot, on that account, affect to recognise in these forward spirits of the present generation, the political maturity of all India; or regard even this, the most advanced element, otherwise than as still in the stage of political babyhood. For I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that no nation, least of all a nation of the East, can be trusted, within less than the lifetime of a living man, to adopt and to put into practice, conceptions of political life confined at present mainly to the Anglo Saxon race; and only by them elaborated after long and painful centuries.

23. You are at liberty to publish this letter, if you publish it in its entirety. I should wish to exercise a similar discretion with regard to it. I am afraid that it does not present my views to you exactly in the guise which, when you wrote to me, you anticipated. But you will not, on that account, to recur to your own letter for a moment, think me capable of persecuting any man who differs from me in opinion. On the other hand, you will doubtless understand that I should not allow myself to be moved from conclusions which I have deliberately adopted, by the fact that they excite the opposition or even the ill-will of some of those who are subject to the Government of these Provinces. I should be only too glad to see those who direct the counsels of the Congress, return to the attitude which in its earlier days characterised it, and abandon the aggressive and hostile tone of their later publications. I believe that these inevitably must provoke opposition, alienate from them many who, like myself, had hoped from them better things. Meanwhile, I shall personally watch their proceedings with the interest they deserve; and follow the effects of their workings in these Provinces with the vigilance with which, as their head, I endeavour to inform myself of all public movements which show themselves within our limits.

Yours very sincerely,

A. COLVIN.

ROTHNEY CASTLE,

Simla, October 13th, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR AUCKLAND,

Yesterday I received your very kind and impressive letter and at once gratefully acknowledged its receipt. Today I sit down to reply to it, and to facilitate this, I have taken the liberty of numbering your paragraphs and by their numbers I shall refer to them.

2. Before, however, discussing any details, I desire at the outset to express my conviction that this letter of yours is one of the most valuable contributions to a right comprehension of this really important subject that have as yet appeared. Thus far, everything, worthy of consideration, that has been written, has been wholly in favour of the Congress. Anti-Congress utterances have, it is true, abounded, but they have been, without exception, more or less childish or violent in tone, illogical in method, and vitiated by either grave ignorance or serious misrepresentation of the real facts. Your calm and courteous exposition of your views, albeit these are based upon an imperfect knowledge of the facts, inaugurates a new era in the discussion, and though I may be, as you have anticipated, a little disappointed at your conclusions, I have no hesitation in saying that your letter deserves the most careful consideration of all interested in the Congress movement and embodies lessons that all may profit by.

3. I will not now waste your time by discussing the part taken by Sir Syed Ahmed in this Congress question. By me, as by you, he was long esteemed and respected as a friend; it is now close upon 30 years since I first learnt to value and believe in him. But I regret to say that facts, in connection with his recent action, have come to my notice which preclude my retaining any faith in his veracity except on the hypothesis, which I gladly accept, that age has dimmed his once clear faculties and that he is no longer altogether responsible for much that he says and does where the Congress is concerned.

4. Turning now to your 8th paragraph, I am glad to find (as, indeed, I knew was the fact from the tenor of your letter to me at Madras, in which you promised that the Congress

should receive the same kindly welcome at your hands in Allahabad, that it had received at Calcutta and Madras, from those of Lords Dufferin and Connemara), I am glad, I say, to find that until very recently you saw little to object to, whether in the methods or the measures of the Congress. I am glad of this, because it affords grounds for hoping that, partly by the submission of fuller explanations on points in regard to which the whole of the facts scarcely seem to have been before you, and partly by a stricter adherence to those principles on which you insist, and in which we all agree (though mortal like, we may not *always* fully act up to them), our movement may yet regain your entire sympathy.

5. I concede the absolute truth of your remarks that, when the work was commenced, it was questionable "whether, in the present embryo state of political life in India, agitation, such as was encouraged by the operations of the Congress, was not likely to cause some mis-carriage of the ends desired," and that "the experiment was quite new in India and the circumstances which surrounded it not wholly favourable to its development;" and had it been possible, I, for one, should have been glad to see the inauguration of the movement postponed for some years. But, as has been repeatedly explained, no choice was left to those who gave the primary impetus to this movement. The ferment, the product of western ideas, education, inventions and appliances, was at work with a rapidly increasing intensity, and it became of paramount importance to find for its products an overt and constitutional channel for discharge, instead of leaving them to fester, as they had already commenced to do, beneath the surface. I have always admitted that in certain provinces and from certain points of view the movement was premature, but from the most vital point of view, the future maintenance of the integrity of the British Empire, the real question when the Congress started was, *not*, is it premature, but is it too late—will the country *now* accept it? That question, by God's blessing the country has since answered in the affirmative, and a distinct danger, that a few years ago loomed, to all who could see below the surface, tremendous in the immediate future, has now passed away, almost, if not entirely, out of sight. For the Congress itself and its basal principles, no justification is needed to any one; and indeed it is only to some of its methods and measures, that you yourself take objection, but if, as you imply, some justification is required for its inauguration in the *then* existing "embryo state of political life in India," it is to be found in the

fact that, even then, a safety-valve for the escape of great and growing forces, generated by our own action, was urgently needed, and that no more efficacious safety-valve than our Congress movement could possibly be devised. I will add that, whatever was the case then, Political Life in India at the present moment, taking the Empire as a whole, though still in its infancy, is far removed from the embryonic stage.

6. But when you go on to say that those persons who anticipated that we should shortly see the country divided into two or more strongly hostile camps were correct in their surmise, I must join issue with you and submit that you have been misinformed on this point. There are no two hostile camps at this moment. The whole culture and intelligence of the country, excluding an inappreciable fraction, are favourable to the Congress; as a native gentleman of high position and education said to me the other day—"How can any Indian avoid being in heart favourable to the Congress? Is there one who does not know that it is for the good of the country?" But no doubt there is a tiny knot of Anglo-Indians, mostly officials, whose organs, the *Englishman*, the *Pioneer* and *Civil and Military Gazette*, are; a few Indian fossils, honest, but wanting in understanding; a few men who in their hearts hate British rule or are secretly in the employ of England enemies, and a considerable number (tho' utterly insignificant when compared with the total population) of time-servers, men not really in their hearts opposed to the Congress, but who have taken up the work of opposition to it because it has seemed to them that this will "pay." They are very noisy and very active, and they send wonderful telegrams of their exploits, to their patron the *Pioneer*, but they are really insignificant in number and devoid of influence with their countrymen. You will say this is uncharitable, that it is an unwarrantable assumption on my part, but it is the *truth*, and how can I help saying it? A truth that before long we will prove by statistics. Again we know all these men, their antecedents, the repute in which they were held before any one ever heard of the Congress; we do not say that they are time-servers *because* they go against the Congress, but only that they always have belonged to that type and that being time-servers and believing that they can thus win the favour of the officials (a great libel by the way on some, at any rate, of these) they now, naturally, act in opposition alike to the Congress and their own convictions.

7. Just look a little around you. Take the poor old Maharajah of Benares, who has been lately put forward to oppose the Congress. You know the dear old man as well as I do;

neither you nor any honest English gentleman who does know him, will pretend that he has the mental capacity to think out the simplest question for himself—intellectually he is an absolute cypher—kind and courteous, but absolutely unable to form any opinion for himself on any earthly subject. Of course the speech attributed to him was put into his mouth by his factotum and general Manager, Rajah Siva Prasad. And who is *this* gentleman? A member of the old amla class, formerly a subordinate in Government employ, for many years, having got the measure of the poor old Maharajah's foot, the real "malik" of the vast Benares domains—as such, gifted with most agreeable manners and a keen eye to his own advancement, and as the virtual dispenser of the Maharajah's princely hospitality to European officials and globe trotters, he has become a titular Rajah and has acquired a certain status amongst Europeans. But what native gentleman, from Calcutta to Peshawar, has one iota of respect for him? I do not deny a bit that personally and privately he is a most agreeable companion. I myself, despite all I know of him, cannot help liking him in a way; nay more, when he was the execration of the whole country and they burnt him in effigy, I thought he was being unjustly treated, and I actually went out of my way to go to Benares and spend a couple of days there in the hopes of being able to set him right with his countrymen. It seemed to me that it was hard that he was to be denied a right to his own opinion on the Ilbert Bill, and I thought that it was merely the attitude that he took up in regard to this Bill that had brought him into such disrepute. But I found that his speech on this subject merely furnished an opportunity for the expression of sentiments, engendered, long previously, by a more thorough knowledge of his character than I possessed.

8. Take the so-called Raja of Bhinga; does not the whole country know him? A gentleman who has succeeded in getting the personal title of Rajah; who is no more Rajah of Bhinga than I am*; a gentleman vastly anxious to become a person of note, who got some one to write an ostentatious "history of his family and house," gorgeously got up, which he presented to all high officials, and who, unable to write a single page of really good English, gets some one to write for him letters to the *Times* which he signs (but which, unless well coached up in beforehand, I would challenge him to translate accurately into his own vernacular), and who has been pestering editors of papers, it is understood,

* Of course he is only a recently created titular Rajah Udeh Pertab Sing, who chances to have become possessed of a portion of the estates of the real old Rajahs of Bhinga.

to write him up for a seat in a Council. Now is there a single independent Indian who attaches the smallest weight to anything this gentleman says, or gets other people to say for him?

9. Take Munshi Naval Kishore; I would not be hard on him, for there are, as he explained to me, excuses for him, and his position is peculiar. But what was his character in native society before the Congress? Did any natives believe in him, trust him, respect him? How did even the *Pioneer* then characterize him?

10. I might go on and deal one by one with the so-called leaders of the opposition, and I know that, with the exception, possibly, of Sir Syed Ahmed (of whom I will say nothing because I believe he is a little insane on the subject of the Congress) there is not one single one of them who *in any way* possessed either the respect or the confidence of his fellow countrymen even before the Congress question arose. But as a matter of fact, you must know this as well as I do, and besides this, I feel that you will be only too likely to set me down as uncharitable, or to remind me that this plain-speaking is not calculated to promote that concord and brotherly feeling that I aim at. Yet, after all, have I set down ought in malice? Have I said one word about these gentlemen, that you could deny on oath in a Court of Justice? And I am not *playing* at this matter. I am in deadly earnest; for it I have abandoned all the scientific pursuits that made the pleasure of my life—to it I am devoting my whole time and fortune—to it I am almost giving my life, because I believe that on the successful evolution of the movement depends, alike the happiness of millions on millions, and, in no small measure, the future progress and prosperity, not only of India, but also of the British Empire; and am I, to escape the pain of some little plain-speaking, to allow a mere handful (for they are no more really) of men, who neither possess, nor deserve, the confidence or the respect of the bulk of their fellow countrymen, to impose upon you and other good men like you, with the pretence of their being an opposition party, a strong opposing camp? Were I to do this I should be shirking my duty; and this, moreover, is to me a vital point; for if, really, the Congress had divided or could divide the country into two strong opposing factions, I would have nothing more to do with it. But the fact is that despite the frantic and unprincipled efforts (here again because you do not know the facts, you will say I am uncharitable, but it is the truth) of some, specially the Wahabi followers of Sir Syed Ahmed, to get up rows and fights over the matter, and so, if possible, give our movement the bad name due

to their own misdeeds. I say despite all this, the Congress, instead of dividing, is uniting, is binding up old wounds, and bringing together in harmonious co-operation men who previously scarcely met except to quarrel and even at times fight. It is only the other day that an enlightened Mahomedan gentleman, enlightened though he has had no English education, wrote to me from Salem, till, recently a very hotbed of Hindu and Mahomedan religious antagonism, blessing the Congress, and saying that if it had done nothing else, it had now brought together into kindly relations *all the* people of Salem, Mahomedans and Hindus, and that if it had not already rendered quite impossible any recurrence of those terrible scenes that Salem witnessed a few years ago, it soon would, as the people were beginning to understand something of their rights and duties as citizens, something of their real interests, and to realize that they must not fight amongst themselves, but rather join hands in a common effort to persuade Government to redress their common grievances. The whole so-called opposition is hollow, making a great show but based upon misrepresentations and possessing no appreciable substance. It is only the Europeans, for the most part, who are deceived by these empty shows. Take the absurd story put forward by the Anglo-Indian papers that Sir Syed Ahmed is the Mahomedan leader of the Mahomedans. Why no orthodox Mahomedan will allow that he is a Mahomedan at all. They may and will join in secular matters, with Christians, Hindus, Parsees, and any other set of infidels who are not disrespectful to their religion, but they neither can nor will follow nor join him in any matter, because he is in their eyes, a pervert. The fact is that his religious views as set forth in his commentary on the Bible, &c., in their eyes involve Atheism, and hence the Fatwahs denouncing him and his opinions. Pray do not think that I am imputing any blame to him for this, on the contrary I have always admired him for having the courage of his convictions, and I, myself, occupy a precisely similar position. For while I call and consider myself a Christian, believing Christ's cardinal doctrine that on the love of God and love of man "hang all the Law and the Prophets," and recognizing his as the most perfect type of the divine-human life, humbly endeavour, however unsuccessfully, to imitate afar off that life, the great bulk of orthodox Christians will not allow that I am a Christian at all, because I am unable to accept many of the fundamental dogmas of the majority of the churches, *as they are now understood and preached in these*. Thus I am the last person to blame Sir Syed Ahmed in this respect; but then I do not go amongst the Hindus and

claim to be a Christian leader of orthodox Christians. The idea that Sir Syed Ahmed can be, in any matter, the leader of any appreciable fraction of the orthodox Mahomedans is a pure delusion, and a delusion confined almost exclusively to Europeans, though of course the Anti-Congress knot of natives, seeing how it goes down with the officials, put it forward as strongly as they can.

11. I have dwelt at some length on this point (although I have not said half that might be said on the subject), because it is really of vital importance that you should, if possible, realize how extremely unsubstantial and unreal is the so-called Anti-Congress Party. It owes its existence almost wholly to the promptings and support of a small but influential section of the Anglo-Indian Party. It has not the sincere heartfelt support of five men per million of the population of the empire, and despite its show and swagger, and the persistent falsehoods promulgated by the *Pioneer* and its *clientèle, et id genus omne*, and the magnificent donations of Native Princes who, because Sir Syed Ahmed dates from and remains at Nynceetal, believe him to be your mouthpiece and you to be acting in concurrence with the Viceroy (a pure slander on both of you, but none the less widely believed), will, within the next three years, become universally known as what it really is and virtually collapse.

12. In most of the rest of your remarks in para. 8 I quite concur. It is undeniable that when the first Congress was held the people of the United Provinces, knew and cared nothing about representative institutions, the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State, volunteering, and the like. But along with this, if we are to understand the matter rightly, we must consider three other facts. First, that these United Provinces were, with Sindh, the most backward Provinces, politically speaking, in the empire, and that when there was an urgent pressure for moving elsewhere, the whole country could not be kept back on account of the backwardness of one or two portions. Second, that though there was absolutely no knowledge of the particular measures you refer to, or indeed of any general or abstract proposition, there was a wide spread feeling that things were not going right, that times were becoming hard, a feeling that would have grown into disaffection, had it not been made clear to the people that legitimate and constitutional methods existed by which they could get such changes brought about in the administration as would enable them to get their grievances and discomforts and disappointed expectations, ventilated and thoroughly considered. Third, that though four years ago the case was as

you state, now you can hardly find a village of even 500 inhabitants in this whole territory in which there are not some few, at any rate, (in some you will find scores) who understand a great deal about the Congress and realize that the introduction of some representative element into the administration would be a boon to them and to the country.

13. Again, nothing can be more true than that the idea (in which, as you say, you fully sympathize, as with your liberal views you necessarily must) of placing the Legislative Councils on a more popular and broader basis had been before the minds of high authorities here before the Congress party had ever been heard of and quite independently of their initiative. But for this fact and the knowledge that many of the broadest minded Anglo-Indian statesmen favoured this view, the Congress would never have been able to bring it forward with the confidence which they did. But here too it must be borne in mind, that if there are broad-minded, there are also narrow-minded statesmen, that if a few of the best men favoured this view, a great number of the second best disapproved it; that noble views may, under such circumstances, remain a very, very long period, still in a viewy stage, without attaining any practical embodiment, and that the great service rendered by the Congress party has been to strengthen the hands of these pioneers of thought, by teaching large sections of the community the value of these views and then bringing home to large numbers of influential men here and in England, that an appreciable portion of the community here, really desired and would receive with gratitude, those reforms which these high authorities, to whom you refer, had long since conceived to be right or expedient. From the very nature of the case, no political measure that has actually come like this one, within the sphere of practical politics, can ever possibly retain in it any flavour of originality; but, does it not seem to you, on reconsideration, a little illogical to taunt us, as you do, however gently and kindly, with a lack of originality, when any such originality in our proposals would be our gravest condemnation? No, the Congress Party claim no originality and the measures that they put forward are only such as have been for years and years not only in the minds of, but frankly discussed between, the best and wisest men; only such, in a word, as after a long embryotic stage have emerged fully organized for practical existence.

14. To return, after explaining that until quite recently you viewed the Congress movement with no disfavour and even sympathized with one of its main proposals, you tell me that since the issue of the Report of the Madras Session of the

Congress the sympathy, with which you had hitherto regarded the movement, has received a severe check. You quote my speech at Allahabad and say that in the pamphlets reprinted as appendices to the 3rd Congress report, you find no trace of what I state, *viz.*, that "the people are taught to recognize the many benefits that they owe to British rule, as also the fact that in the peaceful continuance of that rule depend all hopes for the peace and prosperity of the country. They are taught that the many hardships and disabilities of which they complain are, after all, though real enough, small in comparison with the blessings they enjoy." Of all this you say, you find nothing in the pamphlets.

Now, surely, this is the most unfair argument, if you only reconsider it, that could possibly be advanced. I speak of the verbal lectures, of which I had heard several, and which are all modelled on Mr. Dadabhai's Calcutta speech; you quote what I say of these, you elide a long passage necessary to the right appreciation of what follows, and then you apply to the pamphlets what I said of the lectures, and reprove me, (yes, reprove me, however delicately) because you do not find in the pamphlets what I said formed one main staple of the lectures, and this though even in my speech I had carefully drawn a distinction between the two and had said that the pamphlets only referred to the rights and duties of subjects. Here are my very words.

"Second, amongst our methods, is the distribution of elementary tracts setting forth similar doctrines and embodying teachings conceived in a like spirit in regard to the rights and duties of subjects."

And what, pray, are the similar doctrines and teachings conceived in a like spirit in *regard to the rights and duties of subjects*? To show this I must quote the passage which you have elided. "They are taught," I there say, "that all these grievances may be and will be redressed if they all join to press their views and wishes unanimously, but temperately, on the Government here and on the Government and people of England. The sin of illegal or anarchical proceedings is brought home to them, and the conviction is engendered that by united, patient, constitutional agitation, they are certain ultimately to obtain all they can reasonably or justly ask for, while by any recourse to hasty or violent action they must inevitably ruin their cause and entail endless misery on themselves."

And a
Let me quote, are not these points, y^y pressed in the Pamphlets?

"And in a few passages with these Congresses, and get more and more if we people everywhere to understand them, and take interest in them, and support them, we shall, and that before many years are over, have so strong a voice that even the people of England will hear us, and once they do this as a body (not merely two or three thousands here and there, whom alone, as yet, we have reached), all our reasonable demands will soon be granted." (*Congress Catechism.*)

* * * * *

"But if we could once make the English Nation at home (who have none of the prejudices on these matters that Europeans who have lived long out here so often insensibly contract), understand that we are no longer all of us children; that, thanks to their education, numbers of us now are quite fitted by our superior local knowledge, not only to fill a great majority of the posts now held by Europeans, and discharge the duties thereof far more satisfactorily than these, by reason of being foreigners, possibly can, but even to instruct and advise in most matters of domestic administration, they would at once, through their "REPRESENTATIVES," insist upon our association in the work of governing the country on a much larger scale than at present, and on the concession to us of some form of "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS." To many of the best and highest of them the fact that the Government of India is still, what they so greatly dislike, *viz.*, "DESPOTIC," is a source of real regret, and they would gladly accept any reasonable evidence that the continuance of such a system was no longer necessary. Besides this, even those who are less liberal and less high minded are sensible. Practical common sense is the leading characteristic of the British nation; they know perfectly well that it is better to rule a contented, than a discontented people, and one of their own holy texts says that a dinner of herbs where peace is, is better than the grandest banquet where there is strife; and if once they saw us all, high and low, banded together and determined to obtain these "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS," then they have too much common sense not to allow us to have them." (*Conversation.*)

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"RAMBAKSH.—But surely you don't want us to join together and fight with the Sirkar? If we killed all the Europeans how should we get along? All would be anarchy (*ghader*), as I remember when I was young. You cannot mean this.

"MOLVI FARIDUDDIN.—bid! This ^{it}would be a sin. Why should we kill the poor Europeans? Many of them are really good men, most of them ^{mean} ^{any} ^{ra} ^{phie} ^{to} ^{do} ^{right}. They are ignorant no doubt of the rights of ^{the} ^{most} ^{matters} ^{concerning} ^{us}; they blunder, they cause us misery, but they do it from ignorance—from an ignorance unavoidable under the system which they work on, and which, even did they wish it, they could not change without our help. Besides, though we of the new generation are growing up able to assist them and do much for the country, the whole of us put together have not yet sufficient experience and self-reliance to manage the administration entirely without their help. Kill the Europeans? No Rambaksh, let us say, rather, God bless all of them (and there are many such) who feel kindly towards us in their hearts, and according to their lights mean well towards us, and God forgive those amongst them (and let us hope they are *not* many) who dislike and despise us, and care nothing what becomes of us."—(*Conversation*).

And yet you want to make out that the pamphlets do not contain what I have stated of them. Now I know you too well not to know that you had no intention of being thus unjust to me, but none the less see what a grievous injustice you have mentally done me, by applying to one thing what I said of another and dropping out the passage which made the whole clear.

15. And, of course, the audiences addressed by lecturers, and by the pamphlets are wholly different. The former may comprise largely, ignorant and illiterate persons on whom it is necessary to impress the advantages of British Rule; whereas the latter can only reach persons who know all about Education, Railroads, Post Offices, Telegraphs, Canals, and the Pax Britannica, and to whom it would be a waste of time to re-explain all these things which they already thoroughly realize.

16. A great deal, therefore, of what you say in regard to the pamphlets, is written under a mistake, but in para. 10, you state the general conclusion that they are *not* "kindly and loyal alike in spirit and word." Here I am compelled to differ from you, but our difference of opinion in this case will be found to be based, not on the pamphlets themselves, but on the different views we take of the merits and demerits of the existing form of administration. You, I can clearly see from the eloquent exordium that follows your remarks just referred to, still look upon our government of the country through those

rose tinted official spectacles that so long obscured my sight. But leave the service, become a nobody, mix freely with the people, hear what they have to ^{say} ~~say~~, when not afraid to speak their minds, study the reverse of the shield, and knowing you as I do, I know well that you would wholly change your views. As a fact, putting aside the most excellent *intentions*, what we have chiefly to be proud of are, the Education, the liberty of the Press, the Railways, Telegraphs, Post Offices and Canals, and the general peace that we have given to the country. Are these small things? No! very great and grand things, but notwithstanding all these, India, in some respects, is still, an extremely badly governed country. In practice, despite those grand codes, revenue, civil and criminal, on which you dwell later with pride, there is very little real justice to be obtained and that little has to be paid for dearly. Despite all courts and codes, the poor can hardly ever get redress against the rich, the non-official against the official. We have courts of law by the hundred and the grandest system ever devised for extracting money from all, foolish or unfortunate enough to enter them, but courts of justice outside the five or six High Courts are few and far between.

Our Police system is a disgrace to us, and I truly believe that the steady, daily, all-pervading oppression that the Police exercise everywhere, is even harder for the people to bear than were the raids in olden times, once or twice perhaps in the life time of any villager, of the Pindarees or Mabrattas. For the rich money lender no doubt the change has been a glorious one, but as to the masses, they are, I believe, worse off in this matter than their great grandfathers.

A large number, an appreciable proportion, of our European officials are utterly unfit for the responsible positions they hold, are not only wholly unsympathetic with the people, altogether careless of their comfort and happiness, entirely engrossed in their own selfish schemes, but in virtue of the existing unconstitutional and illogical union of the executive and judicial functions, are not unfrequently guilty of acts of oppression and injustice, which ought to ensure, though they do not, their expulsion from the service of Government.

The way in which, in many provinces, the Arms Act, and Forest Act have been worked, have been productive of the most wide-spread and undeserved suffering.

The Revenue laws, despite the efforts to do justice to the peasants that have characterized the passing of some of the more recent of them, have by their hard and fast character

entailed misery on millions, and in not a few provinces, their unsuitability to the characters alike of the soil, the climate and the people, have reduced the great mass of the agriculturalists from comparative prosperity to almost absolute poverty.

The Militant policy of the Government, and its extravagant employment of a non-indigenous agency have entailed upon the country a weight of debt and taxation almost exceeding its capacity to sustain, and as a result of these and the heavy and constant drain of Home charges and a general want of adaptation of the administration to the actual needs of the country, this latter is growing poorer and poorer year by year, and year by year are the millions of our half fed proletariat increasing.

To me it seems a disgrace to England, that in her grandest dependency, the despotism she so persistently execrates where other nations are concerned, should still survive, and that tens of thousands of educated and experienced men, Europeans, Eurasians and natives of the country, should still remain debarred from political rights which are the birthright of every free born British subject, and should still, like dumb driven cattle, be taxed and subjected to all kinds of laws, without being permitted the smallest voice in either matter.

17. We have done great things for India, no doubt, but almost equally great things, *and these beyond our unaided power*, still remain to be done. The fact is, our administration looks better on paper than it is in practice; it always reminds me of Porthos' belt, grandly gold embroidered in front but very plain, somewhat ragged, leather behind. It is in some respects more ornamental exteriorly than the poverty of the interior material warrants. No one has a greater admiration than myself for the kindly and sympathetic impulse that prompted Lady Dufferin to inaugurate the Association for providing medical aid to the women of India, but this loveable effort always sadly recalls to me, when I think of our half starving proletariat of forty or fifty millions, that sweet and innocent victim of previous bureaucratic misgovernment (not wholly unlike our own) who desired to give cake to a population howling for bread. These are but the tithes of mint and cummin, it is to the weightier matters of the law that we have first to look. We want justice, cheap, sure, speedy and close to each man's door; we want a police that the people may look up to and rely on as friends and protectors, as much as they now hate and fear our present police as foes and robbers; we want a reform in the quality of our European agency, a careful weeding out of the unsuitables and

the separation of the judicial and executive functions; we want a far more liberal and intelligent administration of the Arms and Forest Acts, so that, without compromising the public peace or the welfare of posterity, the men of the present day may be exempted from harsh restrictions on the exercise of necessary rights long antedating our rule, and from the destruction of their crops, their families and themselves by wild beasts. We require an altogether more elastic and sympathetic land-revenue system, based far more on systematic arbitration amongst the people themselves than on Coues and Courts and their rigid mechanical procedure; we want a non-aggressive foreign policy and an absolute abstention from Burmese annexations, Tibetan, and such like wars, frontier tribe expeditions and the like; we want relief from many inequitable home charges some of which ought to cease, and for the rest of which the British nation, as all the really honestest men amongst them admit, ought itself to pay; we want a vast reduction in the foreign agency employed, and the substitution of a national force, partly militia, partly volunteers, for at least half of the 70,000 European troops we are now condemned to pay for; and, not to weary you with a full list of our grievances, we desire that every non-official, without distinction of race, creed or caste, intelligent enough to understand such matters, should, through his representatives, have a voice in regard to all matters affecting his own, his country's or his fellow countrymen's welfare.

18. And here I feel that you will ask, almost indignantly whether in many of these matters we have not persistently done *our* best to secure for the country what I have set forth as its wants. I reply unhesitatingly in the affirmative. We have, many of us, I believe, done our very best, and if we have failed lamentably, as we *have* failed, in these matters, it has been due to no lack of good intention on the part of the best and noblest of our officials, but solely to the fact that aliens and foreigners, differing in manners, habits, methods of thought, traditions and all that makes up nationality, from the people over whom we rule, we are absolutely incompetent, without their full co-operation and guidance, to mould our administration and frame our institutions here in accordance with the real requirements of the country. This is one of the *raisons d'être* of the Congress movement.

19. Now if two men sit down to a dinner one of whom is the cook, it may be natural that the latter should look upon it as first rate, whereas the other, who has had no finger in the pie, may think it in some respects execrable, and then, equally

naturally, the criticisms of this latter, tho' really kindly and indulgent and by no means making the worst of the matter, must appear to the artist, who is thoroughly satisfied with his own performance, not only unkind and unjust but altogether abominable. That a considerable portion of the European officials should deny the loyalty and kindness of these two pamphlets is only natural, but that *you* should be amongst the number, is a matter of equal regret and surprise to me, for it shows, as does your enthusiastic description of what the British Government has done for India, that you do not by any means yet realize how very defective, despite all this, our administration still is. This you will say is a matter of opinion, but the only opinion worth a straw in such a case is the opinion of the people, and the entire intelligence of the country will endorse every word that I have said in regard to each of the crying defects in our rule that I have pointed out. The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and it is the people who have to eat our pudding, and they know ten times better than you or I, or Lord Dufferin, or any other European, how great and serious the defects in our administration really are.

20. Having thus indicated the Indian view (and as I believe, the absolutely correct and true one) of the state of affairs, which the pamphlets have to deal with, I desire to reply more directly to your criticisms. Virtually you say they are not loyal because every thing that is said in favour of the Government is obscured by the thickness and depth of the darker shades of the picture, because they grievously misrepresent the British administration in India, and because they ascribe to this, wrongs or rather sufferings, without precautions taken to prevent ignorant and illiterate men from being tempted to impute to that administration all that is hard and disagreeable in their lives. I marvel that you can make such a statement in face of passages like the following.

“ But don't you run away with the idea that when we get
 “ ‘ REPRESENTATION ’ all injustice and oppression, all poverty
 “ and distress, are to cease. This it can never do, unless and
 “ until all men are good and kind and wise, and that won't be
 “ in our time, Mukkalamji. All we can promise is that the
 “ amount of the afflictions will be greatly diminished, and a
 “ very great check imposed on the evil omissions or deeds of
 “ men like Rajah Sahib and the Sheikh.

Or again, “ And may I say this more—‘ REPRESENTATIVE
 “ INSTITUTIONS ’ we shall get, but if we are to get all the good
 “ that is possible out of these, we must not only induce others

“to do justice to us, but we must do justice to *ourselves*. It is not merely by political enfranchisement that a people rises; they must grow in goodness as they grow in power, or evil will come of it; and while we band together to struggle against ‘DESPOTIC INSTITUTIONS,’ we must each and all, in our inmost hearts, resolve, and keep that resolve, to live henceforth better lives, to love our fellow-men more, and gradually sink the all-absorbing interest in our own selfish cares, in a wider and nobler interest in the welfare and the progress of our country and our fellow-countrymen.”

In the face of distinct and emphatic warnings like these, I do not see how, even illiterate and ignorant men, could possibly attribute *all* their ills to the blunders of the British administration. But, as I have already explained, these pamphlets are not addressed and cannot reach the illiterate and ignorant, but only that massive lower middle class most of whom can read and write and who are highly intelligent, altho’ they lack wholly western culture. You, it seems, in common with so many officials, undervalue the mental capacity of our better class common people, because they dare not open their mouths and become utterly stupified before you; but there are at this moment at least ten millions of these, any one of whom (might he meet you face to face as an equal, without any fear of consequences) could, tho’ he knows no language but his mother tongue, and is, possibly, by no means clear as to the Viceroy’s name, silence you, great and able as you are, in half an hour, from his own experiences, as to the practical difficulty of getting justice, as to the cruel oppression of the Police, as to the hardness and iniquity in practice of our Revenue codes, as to the pressure of taxation, the hardships entailed by our Arms and Forest laws, &c. If you think that the people do not know and feel bitterly about all these things, if you think that they do not speak in far harsher and less measured terms about all these matters, amongst themselves, than we speak of them in the pamphlets, then you are still living, I fear, in a dreamland outside the realities of this work-a-day world of ours, accepting what we should *all wish* to be, for what really is, and scarcely sufficiently realize what is going on, every where, below the delusive surface of our official venerate.

21. You make it in the same passage, though I have not, I see, quoted the words, a charge against us, that we no where define the sufferings to which we refer,—now is this reasonable, considering that we are addressing the people who are suffering? If you meet a man whose face shows suffering, who

tells you that his shoe is hurting him, and who asks you how he can obtain relief, do you sit down first to define the exact points where that shoe pinches. He knows that already too well! On the contrary, you, seeing that the fault lies in the hardness of the leather and its failure to adapt itself to the natural contour of the foot, tell him at once that all he has to do is to soften it by thoroughly impregnating it with some emollient, when the undue and galling pressure at many points will cease, and the softened leather will automatically adapt itself to the foot. Moreover, unless you are very unwise, you do not begin by telling him that the shoe is *not* hurting him—on the contrary you say “poor fellow, you are suffering sadly, I see, but you have only got to do this, and you will be ever so much easier, but mind this won't cure that whitlow on your finger.” And such is our course in the pamphlets; we do not weary him by defining his grievances which he already knows too well; we do not pretend he is not suffering when he and we both know he *is* suffering, but we tell him the truth that a great deal of his pain is due to the rigid, inelastic, uncomformable character of our administration, and that this can be remedied by impregnating it with an emollient Indian and national element, and we tell him how to set to work to bring this about. Thus we not only put him in the way of securing relief but we leave him with hope in his heart, the only true antidote to that bitterness (which the most trivial circumstance may convert into a still more dangerous feeling) which springs from suffering for which no remedy but self destruction seems possible.

22. This, I submit, is true wisdom; we do not blink or pretend to ignore the grave evils that exist; to do this, to our ideas, would be, not Loyalty, but something of a very different character, tho' both words begin with an “L.” We don't paint our picture *couleur-de-rose*, because it would not be true and because he knows the case so well that he would merely laugh at us, but we put the case in far milder language than he uses amongst his fellows, and the thickness and depth of the darker shades of our picture are the very smallest that he, or any one who understands what the people really suffer, can be persuaded to accept as true to nature. Is it possible that you fail to realize that, despite our beneficent intentions, despite our glorious achievements and all the material blessings of one class that these have paved the way for, the internal administration of the country, where justice, police, taxation and poverty are concerned (and these are the main things to

the middle and lower classes) is an almost hopeless muddle, a "mere *eidolon* and sham?"

23. We are face to face with misery and misgovernment, in every direction, a misery and misgovernment that is the talk amongst themselves of the leading men in every hamlet. They acknowledge and are grateful for the many unquestionably fine things we have done for them, but they are not altogether the ignorant and illiterate mass you fancy them, and in every hamlet there are men, the natural leaders of the rest, who equally recognize and grumble over the many bad things they have to put up with by reason of our well-intentioned ignorance of how to fit our burthen properly to their backs. In our pamphlets we approach these intelligent men with sympathy, we admit their grievances, but we put them in a milder shape than they themselves do; we tell them that "The English Government is superior to all other Governments in the world, for its fundamental principle is to shape its policy according to the wishes of the people." We tell them emphatically (in a passage which you yourself quote at the close of your 12th para.) that it is not the individual governors or officials who are to blame for the shortcomings of the administration, but the system, the form of that administration; and we further show them how, by loyal and constitutional efforts, they can secure the amelioration of that system, and a remedy for many of the evils they have to contend against. Now I submit, and I believe that in England, at any rate, the vast majority of thinking men will agree with me, that this is the *only* wise and loyal course. But if you are really still able to persuade yourself that the internal administration of the country is, on the whole, very satisfactory, while I *know* that in many respects it is little better than a chaos, and that, in just those matters which touch the bulk of the population most closely, justice, police and taxation, its defects and their consequences are grievous to a degree, how can we ever agree as to what is the loyal manner of dealing with the case?

24. And the tone of the pamphlets is not kindly? I think the tone of the last quotation in my 14th para., eminently kindly. I think the following, which illustrates what good district Officers and their wives are and may be (mind such people are merely a blessed minority), equally kindly in tone.

"RAMBAKSH.—That is very true no doubt, *Molvi Sahib*, "and our Collector *Sahib* is good a man, and in the bad fever

„here, a year ago, he came out himself and with his own hands gave quinine to many, and his lady herself helped to nurse my little girl (the one I married this year to Ramrutton's son, you know), and he stopped a whole week here, though it was the rains, and he spoke kindly to all. Yes! he is a good man.”

But, unfortunately, at this moment, there are not in your whole great Government of the United Provinces more than six European officials of whom the people, amongst themselves, speak as highly as Rambaksh does of his Collector. There are a few others that are liked, but there are widely known blemishes in their lives that militate against that liking, and there are a greater number that the people dislike or despise even more than they fear them, while as to the major portion of the officials, they are nothing to the people and the people are nothing to them. And in this we find a clue, not only to much of the maladministration from which the people suffer, but to the entire failure to realise this suffering which pervades the official mind, and which, I cannot but surmise from your tone, must be, to some extent, shared by you. The silver chord of sympathy which once, to some extent, bound together rulers and ruled has snapped; our district officers as a body no longer love or lean upon their people, and the people no longer love or rely upon them, and the consequence is that despite their energy, industry and ability, their paid *Mokbirs*, (informers) and the inevitable clique of visiting toadies, who have ever the rupee ready for the Huzoor's orderly's itching palm, our district officers (and necessarily our more exalted officials who can only learn anything through these), are as ignorant of what the people really think, feel and suffer, as if they had chambers in the Albany and lived and worked there. I am not sure that the administration would suffer if one half of our district officers really did this. They would be living in a healthier moral atmosphere and would no longer be, as they so often now are, the unconscious tools of small and evil cliques.

25. I read with pleasure the passages that in this same para. 10 you quote from the catechism in reference both to the attitude of many of the Anglo-Indian officials and the general character of the existing Legislative Councils. I re-read these passages with the greatest care, and cannot discover in them one word, that should be even modified. They appear to me (and, let me note, I had nothing to do with them, as they were written by Mr. Viraragava Chariar in Madras and approved by the Committee, when I was in Simla, and published and circulated

without my ever seeing them) they appear to me, I say, to embody the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, as completely as it is possible for any human writing to do so.

26. But when in your 11th para. you come to state your objections to these passages, you must forgive me if I say, to use an expressive colloquialism, that you seemed to me to get a little mixed. When pray did we ever say that the big useless men so often put in former times into Council (since the Hon'ble S. Subramania's speech at the first Congress, much greater care has been exercised in this matter everywhere) would not show fight if you tried to meddle with their own personal rights and privileges? Even the worm when trodden on will turn, and even Rajah Rampal Singh's good uncle of pious memory, would not have held up his hand along with the Viceroy, had it been made clear to him that what the Viceroy was advocating involved serious loss to him, the Rajah, personally. According to your own showing the Bengal Zemindars and Oudh Taluqdars were not trying to do any good to the country (which is what we said such men rarely fight for), but only struggling strenuously for their own personal interests; and did we ever accuse them of any want of readiness to do this? And when again did we say that the measures of Government are opposed to the rights of the people, as a general assertion. That they have been so in many cases, I would not deny, but the general tenor of the pamphlets goes to show that this arises, as a rule, from failure to realize the whole of the facts of the case.

27. You refer to these two acts as a triumphant vindication of these Councils as a reality—why, they are a standing proof of our assertion that these are a sham. Over the details of these measures there was doubtless a good deal of wrangling, and here and there illogical additions were made in the Bengal Tenancy bill which made it about as clumsy and contradictory an enactment, as we have on the statute book. As passed, it contained sections absolutely irreconcilable and if they have not yet passed an amending act (I do not follow the proceedings in such minor matters of the Council) they will soon have to do so. If you do not believe me, ask Mr. Macdonnell, or any other of the Bengal men, who really know the subject in practice. But, I say, despite the so-called strenuous efforts and strong opposition (which did not affect the main result in the least), the principles of the bills, the real points at issue, had all been determined in the Executive Council. So far as essentials were concerned, the submission of the bills to the Legislative Council, and all the Committees and the debates, were a sham.

All the strenuous exertions, all the strong opposition of the Zemindars and Taluqdars, did not result in modifying, in any essential point, the views of the Executive.

28. You are very jubilant about these two bills, but I am by no means sure that the people share your good opinion of them. So far as the Bengal Tenancy Act is concerned, I am informed, that a large majority of the agriculturalists of all classes, more or less, disapprove and dislike it. As to the Oudh bill, I know as yet nothing about what the zemindars and ryots think of it; probably it has hardly yet come home to these latter. But one of the greatest Taluqdars, told me here the other day that it was pure confiscation and that it created, what broadly speaking never had existed in Oudh, occupancy rights. I know that an infinite amount of honest labour was bestowed on both bills, but I know that so long as an English executive, not largely tempered by a native element, determines the principles of bills of this class, and an English majority practically determines their form, such labours will never either elicit or deserve the gratitude of the people.

29. The concluding passages of your eleventh para., so far from refuting, entirely confirm all that is alleged about many of the nominated Native Members of the Council. No one, for one moment, questioned their readiness to oppose Government in cases where their own pockets are to be roughly touched; these are very exceptional cases that occur once in a life time; what is contended, and that you admit, is that in all matters which do not touch their own personal interests, they are apathetic, as you call it, subservient to Government and utterly careless of the welfare of their countrymen, as we consider it, and what we say is, that in the case of elected members, these would have to drop alike that strenuous energy where their own pockets were concerned and that apathy where the welfare of every one else is at stake, or we, their constituents, would know the reason why.

30. Turning now to your 12th para., I feel greater difficulty in discussing the Conversation, because of this I am the author—and cannot feel sure, therefore, that I am impartial in thinking it very good, and in being prepared to defend and maintain every word it contains.

But let me set you right on one point. Rajah Harbans Rai is not the Government of India, but the Government of England, a personification, if you like, of the House of Commons. Having quoted a passage, pregnant as it seems to me with truth, you remark that under the "rule" (of the officials here,

who hold their office in virtue of authority delegated to them directly or indirectly by the Government of England,) "ignorant people" (not so very ignorant, please, but intelligent men, who in their practical experience in the matters in question would put most of us to shame) "are invited by this pamphlet, to believe that they are growing poorer and poorer." And are they not? And is not this all due to our ignorance as foreigners of how best to adjust the details of internal administration? That we more earnestly and sincerely desire the good of the people (though the good we desire is *our* idea of good, not theirs) than perhaps any previous rulers, may be conceded; that by our education we are raising them and that by our practical applications of the science of the west, we have been able to afford them facilities of communication, and the like, undreamt of in the past, can be denied by no one. Why then are the people, as a whole, less well off? Why is real justice more difficult to obtain? Why is the Police more persistently oppressive and extortive? Why does the land yield a smaller produce, than in the time of Akhbar? Simply because the whole scheme of our administration has become, especially during the last thirty years, too centralized, too Europeanized, too foreign to the genius of the people; because in all our efforts, even in the noblest of these, even in education, we have blundered and worked too persistently on our own lines, too little on theirs and through them. And now it is too late to retrace our steps, we have practically obliterated the old system, we have hastily set forces in action whose growth will be irresistible, and all we can do both towards guiding these to the good of India and the glory of England, and towards remedying that internal maladministration which has resulted from our well intentioned but unsuitable systems, is to associate with ourselves, as rapidly and as largely as possible, the best and ablest of the natives themselves, alike in our legislation and administration.

31. *Au reste*, no reasonable man ever claims to push an illustration to its utmost verbal limits—Kambakhtpur, Shamashpur, Satyanas Kheyra, and the leading characters are drawn from life and introduced as concrete illustrations of abstract propositions. Nay, the conversation itself is not wholly imaginary; indeed tho' rearranged, and shorn of remarks by Rambaksh to which objection might reasonably be taken, it rather closely follows a conversation that actually occurred some 3 years ago in one of the villages of your own Province. But because in their main features these villages aptly illustrated the difference between the despotic and constitutional systems, and were thus prominently brought forward, and because Rambaksh said in the

quaint, half joking, half sad and serious way that our villagers have, that if he and the rest of his co-villagers were cattle they might make a rupee or two out of their skins, which was about all they had left, it is really too much of a good thing to pretend that the pamphlet teaches that *all* the people of India have little left but their skins, though, unfortunately, this is the case with some forty odd millions of them.

32. You proceed to quote further from the pamphlet and then say (para. 13) "the Government of India is here described as a despotic Government, which, except by a misuse of the term, as usually applied, it is not." Well, if I err in this matter, at least I err in good company. I can remember at least three Viceroys, on different occasions, reminding me that "ours is a despotic Government," and by a really extraordinary coincidence, as I was writing the foregoing paragraph, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, came in, quite unexpectedly (he is going down on Monday) to have a little talk with me about the Congress movement, in regard to the *ultimate* results of which, he also has some doubts, although on wholly different grounds, to those taken by you. In the course of conversation he said "of course our Government is a despotism"—I said, "certainly"—"but" said he "like all others, tempered by fear." I said, "I don't think *that* is quite true of our Government, I should say, tempered by good intentions." He said "as to the good intentions, there can be no doubt, but I still think that if you carefully review the past, you will agree that "my definition is the more correct." Now, whether he or I, are nearer the truth as regards this latter point, at any rate he no more doubted that our Government was a despotism, than I did, nor than any other thinking man, with whom I have ever discussed the matter, has done. In finding fault with me for describing the Government of India as a despotism, you will, I believe, find yourself almost alone, amongst closely reasoning and accurately thinking men (amongst whom I fully admit that you must be numbered) and I can only conclude that in this particular instance you have allowed your mind to import into your conception of a despotism, the cruelty, and wilful oppression that in some countries have accompanied this form of rule. Ours is neither a wicked nor a cruel despotism, it is a well-intentioned and benign despotism, *but*, a despotism none the less.

33. Then you go on to say that our final conclusions are based upon four propositions, which you (is it possible?) apparently consider doubtful, and you go on to explain that

the onus of proof of all these rests with us, and that until some serious effort is made to establish these we must expect a considerable section of the community here and elsewhere to hesitate to accept these conclusions. Let me first say that I do expect that the unenlightened conservative section of mankind, the good folks whose cry is *super antiquas vias stare*, will hesitate, nay will refuse, to accept our conclusions. What reform has ever yet been mooted that they did not oppose? Alike in art and literature, in science and in politics, from the days when Galileo (to go no further back) was persecuted for setting forth the diurnal motion of the earth, what new or quasi-novel departure has ever been attempted, that these progress-fearers have not dissented from and denounced?

34. But I confess that I should no more have expected you, a true friend of progress, and a thorough liberal, to require any demonstration of the first proposition (*viz*, that after a certain period of their existence all Despotic Governments become injurious) than to require this in regard to the rising and setting of the sun. In both cases we have the whole life-long experience of all thinking men, and the entire history of the globe to attest the fact, and putting aside an infinitesimal fraction of perversely minded men like Froude, you will not find, I think, any man of any intellectual capacity in Europe or America who will contest this very harmless proposition. As to when that certain period did or will arrive in each concrete instance, wide differences of opinion will exist, but that sooner or later it must occur, will, I believe, be almost as universally admitted, as that sooner or later death must overtake every living being.

35. The second proposition, *viz*, that the time has now arrived when the despotic form of our administration has become in many respects injurious to this country, is of course quite open to argument, though I can hardly understand any true Liberal like yourself questioning the fact.

Starting from first principles we may lay down as broad general rules, (subject to certain exceptions, which, however, do not affect our present case, and requiring many minor riders to make them universally true.)

1st. That the educated natives of any country, whose whole lives are passed in that country, whose whole interests are centered and whose entire property is situated there, will know more of the wants of that country and its people, will understand better how to provide for those wants, and will be

more interested, earnest and persevering in making that provision, than educated foreigners who only come to that country as visitors for a term of years, whose most vital interests are centered in a distant realm, where also the bulk of their property is situated, and *a fortiori*, than such foreigners if their knowledge of the language, customs, habits of thought and generally of the genius of the people of that country happens to be extremely imperfect, and most of them devoid of any real or close sympathy with that people.

2nd. That there is wisdom in a multitude of Councillors and that, in the long run, for the general purposes of every day administration, the decisions arrived at as the results of full and free discussion, by large bodies of men fully conversant with all the circumstances, will be sounder than those arrived at, after mere consultations *in camera*, by a few men, imperfectly acquainted with those circumstances.

3rd. That the broader the basis of any Government, *i.e.*, the larger the proportion of the educated or intelligent men amongst the governed that directly or indirectly take part in it, the more stable it will be.

36. Now our despotism in India has arrived at a period when despite there being tens of thousands of thoroughly informed natives of the country available to assist in this work, it practically confines the discrimination of and provision for the wants of the country and people, to (as regards the matters in question) imperfectly informed foreigners; when despite there being huge numbers of non-officials of all races, thoroughly conversant with the practical working amongst the people of the internal administration, it practically leaves all decisions in regard to this entirely in the hands of tiny groups of officials, who are most imperfectly acquainted with these practical results, and when, despite the existence of the great bodies of thinking and educated men referred to, it imperils the stability of the Government by practically excluding them, almost absolutely, therefrom. I could write fifty pages showing in detail, branch by branch, and department by department, how the present despotic bureaucratic system is retarding progress, and entailing hardships on the people, but I submit that even in the brief abstract form in which I have put it, I have sufficiently shown that our despotism has now arrived at a time when it has become injurious to the best interests of India. I distinctly refuse to consider whether the continuance of this injury to India, and her people, may or may not, bring any counterbalancing advantages

to Great Britain and *her* people ; I hold it impossible that, in the long run, it should do so ; but I simply decline even to consider the question, because I hold it and I know you do also, as an axiom, (in regard to which I will no more listen to an argument, than I would as to the preferability of *vice* to *virtue*) that the sole justification of our presence in India, is the good of India and her people.

37. The 3rd proposition is that, in consequence of the already too prolonged continuance of a despotic form of Government, misrule, to a serious extent, and much suffering prevail, and, after what I have already said in the immediately preceding and previous paragraphs, this calls for no further exposition. It is open to you, or to any one, to deny what I have stated in regard to the lamentably frequent miscarriage of justice, especially in criminal matters, the oppression of the police, the irksomeness to the people of our revenue systems, the extreme poverty of enormous numbers of them, &c., but it is the simple truth, and all who know the ways of the people of this land, will admit that, altho' you are a far greater man, and much cleverer and wiser than I am, I am in a far better position to learn the truth and far more likely to be right, in this matter, than yourself. And I claim not only not to exaggerate, but to say a great deal less than I might. If I chose to write an Indian Uncle Tom's cabin, I could awaken a storm of indignation in England, not far inferior to that which Mrs. Stowe's work elicited in America. Mr. Zaber dust was a man whom your father would have gladly turned out of the service, and his doings in this case were exactly as stated. I could produce a score of cases involving equal injustice and oppression, though of a different nature, with High Court comments on them, and that, despite the incredible difficulty that exists of bringing home misdeeds to district officials. A single case like this (or like that of the officer who recently cruelly flogged 40 men and boys before breakfast for what the High Court declared was absolutely no offence) successfully worked up to the High Court and thus secured the reprobation it merits, indicates at least twenty similar ones, of which neither the general public nor the Government ever hear anything. But I have never dwelt on such cases, because I know that even though many of our modern officers are out of touch with their people, are unsympathetic and only intelligently mechanical, in their dealings with these, it is only a comparatively very small minority who are wilfully oppressive and wicked, and to give any great prominence to *their* doings

would be to convey as unfair a general picture of our officers as Uncle Tom's Cabin did of the slaveholders as a body.

38. The last proposition is that the maladministration and suffering that results from the want of adjustment to their environment, of our judicial, police and fiscal systems, can only be remedied and relieved by the gradual and progressive introduction, *not*, as *you* phrase it, of representative Government, *but* of a Representative element into the Government. Truly after what I have said, this last proposition seems to me not only to require no separate demonstration but to follow as a necessary corollary. We have for fifty years been doing our best. You and I are both agreed on this point—but none the less, in many matters of internal administration, facts all over the country stare us in the face, defying us to deny that we have made a terrible mess of the business. We are the cleverest people on the face of the earth—at least we think so—and even our bitterest detractors will not deny us a large modicum of brains and capacity for and willingness to work—and yet we have failed and failed lamentably, and, to me at least, it appears simply and *palpably*, because, with all other qualifications, we yet lack that supreme one of being ourselves one in mind and heart with the people whose affairs we have sought to regulate; because we are ignorant to a great extent of those affairs and wholly so of the manners in which it would best suit and please them to have these transacted; because, in a word, we are foreigners and despite our most ardent aspirations to do right, are unable to achieve this in these, as it were, domestic matters, without the guidance and the fullest co-operation of the people of the country themselves, and this we can only secure by the method indicated in this last proposition.

39. The greater portion of your 14th para. has already been replied to, but when you say that I must have seen in the newspapers that these pamphlets have incurred the severest censures from a variety of native pens, I must remind you that if in three or four newspapers, (whose character is so well known that no one out of a certain small ring fence, heeds in the smallest degree what they say) I *have* seen possibly a score of such attacks, *professedly* by native pens; I have, in ten times as many newspapers, seen endorsements, of all the pamphlets contain, by many hundred times as many *unquestionably* native pens. I do not, myself, attach much importance to either set of facts, but if any argument is to be deduced from them, that argument would unquestionably be favourable and not adverse to

the Pamphlets. Again when you say that "feeling as strongly as I do the extreme unwisdom of writing and circulating among ignorant and exciteable people, foreign to us in blood and differing in religion, such accusations as these against the present Government in India, I am unable to agree that native gentlemen who profess to share the same view are necessarily actuated by feelings other than my own," I must remind you—that the classes to whom these pamphlets are addressed, the classes which they can alone reach, *viz.*, first the English educated classes, secondly, the various classes of tradesmen and shopkeepers, thirdly, the well to do ryots, and in, possibly, *five* places in India, artizans, are not ignorant in any true sense of the word and so far from being exciteable are probably the most unexciteable and law-abiding people on the face of the earth—that differences in blood and religion have really nothing to do with the question since it is the system and not the individual, as is distinctly declared, to which objection is taken, and systems, like corporations, have neither physicality nor spirituality—that our accusations, as *you* call them—guarded admissions of such facts as it was impossible to blink, as *I* call them—are at any rate not one half so bitter as those which, for many years now, *all* these people have been, amongst themselves, every where and at all times, bringing against our Government, *and that coupled with these admissions, is information as to how by loyal and constitutional means the evils complained of may be mitigated.* It is all the difference of your stand point. You *think*, that all these people who have not had an English education, are a dull, ignorant lot, quite satisfied with the Government, and, thinking this, of course you say, it is a shameful thing to go and awaken discontent and preach to people about grievances which they have not recognized, and these pamphlets are abominable. But the *facts* are that these people are very sharp and intelligent, in their own oriental way, and that, while quite admitting how good are many of our arrangements, they are intensely *dissatisfied* with Government in regard to all those matters on which we touch, and so far from adding fuel to fire, we so put things as to make them look on the whole, hopeful, and give the people a legitimate aim and a channel for the discharge of their dissatisfaction. It all comes to this. You still *believe* that the shoe is a very decent fit—but the whole county *knows* that it is *not*—and when you say that you cannot see why native gentlemen may not share your views, our reply is, because every really intelligent native gentleman knows too well how the case stands, and because it is impossible

for any really enlightened and honest, native gentleman, who mixes personally with the lower-middle and upper-lower classes, and knows what they have to put up with, especially in the way of criminal (in?) justice and police and what they have been saying amongst themselves for the last ten years, to deny that the Congress is doing a good work both for the country and for British rule. I reiterate, though you bring this up against me sarcastically, all I have ever said about our desire to promote harmony and good-will amongst all classes, but I must ask you to consider whether if we have spikes in our shoes which grievously prick those beneath us, that good will is more likely to be promoted by blinking these unpleasant facts, or by truthfully drawing attention to them and indicating an orderly method of securing their removal? Nay I would ask you to consider whether any real good can ever come out of any thing short of the simple truth dispassionately told. This I claim for the pamphlets; and certainly they set down naught in malice, though I *cannot* assert that they in naught extenuate. But by this time, with your roseate views, you will have set me down as a hopeless pessimist. I regret this and it is a mistake, for, if I see the evil, I see much that is good and have large hopes of better things to come; but bear in mind at least—and it is a truth of which time will convince you—that in those matters in which my views now seem to you pessimistic, these latter are shared by ninety-nine out of every hundred Indians capable of reasoning correctly on what they see and hear, tho' fully half of them may lack the moral courage to confess their convictions and a small percentage may be found unconscientious enough to deny them point blank.

40. In para. 15 you tell me that another seriously objectionable method of the Congress is that of identifying itself with the majority of the people of India and assuming that it has a right to speak in the name of that majority. But my dear friend how can we do otherwise consistently with truth? It was quite true that at the time of the last elections not above ten per cent. of the adult males of the population knew anything about the Congress, but the perfect touch in which we were, through this fraction, with the rest of the population, enabled us to be certain that the general views expressed by the Congress, were those of nine tenths at least of the intelligent members of the entire community. We have never denied that there are some 12 millions of adult males, representing a population of about fifty millions, who are utterly incapable of thinking about or comprehending such things, who mentally

and morally, are very little above the level of our cattle ; but no reasonable man would dream of including such in the people of India that has to be represented. The members for Yorkshire, though they represent the county, are not supposed to represent its horses, and neither do we, who represent this country, profess to represent its cattle, be they human or bovine.

41. Your reference to the appeal to the British Nation signed by the Presidents of the three congresses, Messrs. W. C. Bonnerjee, Dadabhai Naraoji and Budrudin Tyabjee (tho' published in London by our accredited Representative there) is incorrect. It no where purports to *come from* 200,000,000 of people ; it merely states that such and such *are* the grievances of that vast population, and that all classes of the people of this country have met in Representative Congresses, year by year, for the last three years, and have formulated their needs ; every word of which is strictly true. The appeal lies before me now and you have only to re-peruse it to see that you were mistaken. And in entire accordance with this was Mr. Bradlaugh's explanation to the people of Northampton, that when he called Messrs. Dadabhai, Norton, Bonnerjee, &c., representatives of India, he did not mean that all the people had elected them. Even in England where a regular electoral system existed and had existed for centuries out of a population of some 60 thousand, only some 4 thousand had actually voted for him, and yet no one would question that he represented Northampton. So far as I have seen, no word has been said or written in England or elsewhere, by either Mr. Dadabhai or any other of our representatives, at variance with the fact that, so far as could be ascertained at the time of the last elections, not above ten per cent. of the population, then, knew any thing about the *Congress*, though this does not mean that these others knew nothing of the grievances which the Congress is seeking to redress. Of course it cannot be said *now*, that not more than ten per cent. of the population know any thing about the Congress. At the *lowest* estimate, at this present moment, fully one fifth of the 38 or 40 million intelligent adult males, comprised in the population of India, know a good deal about the Congress and, save an inappreciable fraction, are favourable to it.

42. You say you do not understand what is meant by indirect and passive support. If the elders of a village talking over the matter on the *chopal*, decide that one of their number shall go in and attend a meeting at which delegates are to be elected, then we say that those elders and the people who follow their guidance in the village, indirectly support the movement.

If at any meeting of a *beraderi*, or guild or caste, one or two of those present, say—"Brothers we are going in next week to the Sudder and we shall attend the Congress meeting there to elect delegates," and the others say "well, the Congress is a good thing, we have no objection," then we reckon such *beraderi* or guild, &c., as passive supporters.

43. You object to the expression "the pretended defection of the Musselman community from this national movement." I should use this expression at this present moment with even greater confidence. Wait and see! large measures take time, in this country, to mature, but I have every reason to believe that in a not remote future we shall be able to furnish unimpeachable statistics proving, what we know now to be the fact, *viz*, that out of about 8 millions of intelligent adult male Mahomedaus, fully one eighth are already in favour of the Congress and not even one per cent. are in any way, really, opposed to it.

44. In your 16th para. you say—"Of the unmeasured and often scurrilous language of some of the Congress Newspapers, I will say nothing, for I see that you yourself, in your speech at Allahabad, deprecate it." Of course I *do* deprecate and condemn it in the strongest terms, and so does every man of any sort of mark or influence connected with the movement. But what may I ask do you mean by "the Congress newspapers." Omitting Government Gazettes, and the Madras district papers, which are edited by the Collectors, out of 371 newspapers, and periodicals of sorts, of which we have a knowledge, 309, including papers like the Madras Mail and the Bombay Gazette, are distinctly Pro-Congress. If out of this vast number there are some that degrade our noble cause by foolish or improper utterances, is it any matter for astonishment? I see a good deal of unmeasured and scurrilous language in some of the London papers, even in those Society papers that constitute the literary pabulum of the very cream of English Society, and if you really expect our Press here to be exempt from blemishes conspicuous in a considerable and important section of the London Press, you must surely think that our people are altogether superior to the London people, which is hardly reconcilable with your contention as to their ignorance and illiterateness. But, moreover, if some members of that large majority of the Press that supports the Congress, are scurrilous and ill-conditioned, we must remember that the example was first set them by the Anti-Congress Papers. In all India *The Englishman*,

The Pioneer and *The Civil and Military Gazette* are the most scurrilous and ill-conditioned, though the *Lucknow Express* (nominally the organ of the Talooqdars, really that of certain Anti-Congress-officials), and one or two others run them pretty close. And while I join with you heart and soul in condemning the scurrilous writings of certain native Pro-Congress papers, and these are few in number and mostly conducted by semi-educated men of no social position, I should have liked to see you even more ready to condemn the scurrilous writings of those English Newspapers conducted by men who by position and education are, and in the conduct of their papers ought to be, gentlemen, and who by their evil example have led astray some of the weaker members of our flock. Could not you now preach a little abstinence from scurrility to the *Pioneer*, for instance, with which you have great influence, and which a short time ago dubbed Munshi Newal Kishore, a glib oleagenous Baboo, because he happened to be a native, though it now sings his praises because he poses as an Anti-Congressist. Could not you advise the *Lucknow Express*, nominally the organ of those native gentlemen whom you believe to share your views as to the state of the country, not to circulate infamous slanders as they do, e.g., when the other day they said that Mr. Bhimjee was paid Rs. 10 a day by the Hindus to go about the country and lecture on the Congress, when every mortal man knows that the Hindus do not pay Bhimjee a farthing and that he gave up a good appointment, and took up the cause solely for the love of the thing and because, as he said, having worked all his life only for himself and his family, he wished before he died to do something for his country also. It is all right extracting the notes from our eyes—it will do us good; but do not you think you might sometimes take a turn at operating for the beams in those of our opponents?

45. I entirely agree with you that the passage which you quote from the preface, might just as well have been omitted. But in almost all you say about it you are under a mistake. In the first place, it is quite incorrect to say—"your own preface." I am the General Secretary, it is my duty to draft all important papers, but my relation to the Committee is precisely that of a Secretary to the Government of India, to the Viceroy and Council. If I write a pamphlet, like the *Conversation*, I am personally responsible for every word, and as I write, so the text issues; but if I draft any letter, preface or manifesto for the Committee, my responsibility there ceases and the draft by no means always issues in the shape in which it was drawn.

I dwell upon this because Europeans, who do not know how many much abler men than myself help to guide the Congress movement, fancy that I am its Alpha and Omega, instead of being merely, as I am, an humble though zealous member of a large party.

46. Having set you right on this general point, and having, notwithstanding, in the case of this particular sentence, accepted the primary responsibility, let me repeat that I entirely agree with you that it sins against our first principles; indeed some English friends have taken the same objection to it. At the same time, we being mortals, do not pretend that we can in every small particular always act strictly up to our principles. Can you? And we must plead that if not very charitable it was at least true. For to borrow your rather kakopluistic language, the man who *after* Messrs. Dadabhai and Tyabjee's explanations could persist in saying that our Political Congress ought to be also a Social Congress, *must* of necessity *be* either a fool or a knave. It is an abuse of terms to talk of difference of opinion in this case, just as much as it would be in the case of a man who declared black was white. It is not a question of opinion, it is a naked fact. For you will observe that the people we are speaking of are not those alluded to at the end of your 16th para., of whom more anon, who put forward, according to you, views which *may* be treated as matters of opinion, but only of those persons, who after the utterly irreconcilable nature of the two works had been clearly demonstrated to them, could yet persist in finding fault because both were not combined in one undertaking. Of course you are quite right, and we will all try and profit by your just rebuke; the charitable way of dealing with knaves and fools, is not to force them, poor things, to blush, by calling them by their right names, but rather to smile pityingly and pass on. But then, you know, persistent knaves, at times, and persistent fools, very often, become so irritating that the wisest of us at last get cross and fall away somewhat from our philosophic ideal. *Humanum est errare, nemo mortalium semper, &c.*—but I entirely agree with you—the passage you refer to was not up to our standard of charity—and it had better have been omitted.

47. But you are in error in quoting the three fundamental objects of the national party, as indicating what the *Congress* ought to aim at. For the Congress is only one of many national movements, set on foot by that party and, as the page you quote from explicitly sets forth, the Congress was designed only

to carry out one branch of the second of their objects, *viz.*, regeneration along the political line. The text is quite clear on this point, and I cannot understand how you fell into this mistake. Nor are the other branches neglected; besides those that have arisen independently, more than two hundred schools and associations, of one kind and another, for promoting mental, moral and social progress, owe their origin to the same impulse that gave birth to the Congress movement, and in all of these you will find the prime movers, if not taking *also* an active part in the Congress movement, at any rate strongly in its favour. And this brings me to what you say at the close of your 16th para., that certain social reformers urge as objections to the Congress movement. But who *are* these critics? Europeans who are only reformers of *other people*, and on paper. There is not a single real native reformer of any light or learning, whether a labourer on the mental, moral or social line, who has ever put forward any such preposterous argument; because, in the first place, all know that since the Congress started, the activity along all these lines has been infinitely multiplied, and because, although the Congress does not directly deal with social and moral questions, it indirectly assists the solution of all the most difficult problems involved, with an ever increasing force, by breaking down the barriers of local and provincial prejudices, by widening the scope of men's vision, and by gathering together and facilitating the freest *consultation* amongst a large majority of those most interested in these questions. For, the educated men of India are not blind, and they know well that to conquer for their country the position at which they aim, they must advance (taking the intelligent portion of their countrymen with them,) pretty well *pari passu* along the whole line, and the men who are the most interested in the political regeneration of India are, with few exceptions, those who are most earnestly labouring for its regeneration along the other lines also. Here, as elsewhere, it is simply that the real facts have been withheld from you or you would be with us entirely.

48 In your 17th para. you again make a mistake; you say that I compared the Congress to the Infant Hercules. Pardon me, I compared it to the handful of leaven hid in many bushels of meal; all I said about the infant Hercules was that you could no more expect from our Congress at the present day the great work at which it ultimately aims, than you could have looked for, from Hercules in his infancy, those mighty deeds which glorified his manhood. But your intuition has not failed

you—our Congress, though in its infancy, is destined to be a Hercules, and true to its prototype, it now, in its infancy, aims only at reforming the internal administration, the nation's domestic affairs, though doubtless, as the years roll on and the reformed and expanded Legislatures it contends for, broaden into Parliaments, it will, in its maturity, cleanse and thoroughly purge the Augean stable of our Foreign Policy. But why need you or I trouble ourselves about things that can no more possibly concern us, than the next transit of Venus?

49. I need not follow you in your 18th para.; nothing can be more moderate or kindly than your discussion of our methods. Considering how little of the real state of the country and its people, in these particular matters, seems to be known to you, I wonder that you do not speak far more strongly than you do, and I fully appreciate your reticence. I have no possible doubt, however, that as you grow to know more of the truth you will find yourself more and more in agreement, not only with our methods but our measures, and that some day, if you live, you will say, "after all they were very nearly right. I did not understand how far things had gone."

50. In your 19th para. you say that you are in doubts as to what the Congress scheme, for the reform and expansion of the Councils, really is, because the resolutions say one thing and a passage in Mr. Viraraghava's catechism seems to say something else! Surely, you are joking? The Cobden Club prints and circulates a vast number of books and pamphlets bearing on free trade; do you suppose that either the Club, or the free trade party is responsible for or in any way endorses every passage in each of these publications? Of course not; the publishing committee merely goes through the work and satisfies itself that in its main lines the book is in accordance with free trade principles and publishes it. Each author is responsible for his own work. So it is with our Committees; they satisfy themselves that pamphlets and leaflets submitted to them, accord generally with the principles of the Congress movement, and that is all. For all details the individual author is responsible. When the last report was compiled this Catechism and the Conversation were the only pamphlets in circulation, and that is why they were reproduced, as *specimens*, not because the Congress party endorsed every word in them. Now, they may be reckoned by the score; almost every circle, has its own pamphlets, leaflets and speeches, many of them never submitted to committees but published on their own account by

volunteers, but for all opinions expressed and facts stated in each and all of these, the individual authors and orators are responsible; and if you ever find any thing in any of them at variance with the resolutions of the Congress, you may rest perfectly satisfied that it is these latter, and not the opinions put forth by individual authors, that express the mature views of the Congress party, in other words—if you will not be *too* indignant—of the nation. To me, until I found that you too had doubts on the subject, it *did* seem “absurd nonsense” for any one to suppose that any opinion expressed by any individual writer could possibly have any weight or value in determining the aims and objects of a party, in face of the formal and explicit declarations of what these are by that entire party’s accredited representatives in Congress assembled. You might as well, it seemed to me, get hold of Hansard and selecting the speech of some individual member, declare that you were uncertain what the House of Commons really meant, because, though the House had passed a formal resolution on a certain subject, you found a passage in a speech of a member, reported in the House’s own proceedings, that certainly said something quite different. However, if *you* could share this supposition, the expression “absurd nonsense” was inappropriate and I withdraw it, and will only say that this supposition involves the most remarkable misapprehension that I have ever met with.

51. Nor is this the only misapprehension that comes upon me in this portion of your letter as a surprise. In this same 19th para. you go on to say—“A really representative Council, in the present state of India, would include, you will have foreseen, very few of the class who crowd the Congress benches.” My, possibly, limited foresight, I am bound to say, does not permit me to arrive at any such conclusion. We have had artisans, cultivators, intermediate tenure holders, small and great landholders, noblemen, shopkeepers, traders, money lenders, bankers, merchants, manufacturers, lawyers (in every branch of the profession), engineers, doctors, missionaries, educationalists of all grades, literary men, newspaper editors, men earning their daily bread by the sweat of their brows, millionaires, men belonging to every province and every important district, to every creed and every nationality (except the Jewish) in India, at our Congresses, and these men, the most intelligent and enlightened of the classes and creeds which they represented; and truly your contention that very few of these men would find places in a

really representative Council appears incomprehensible. But let us understand each other—do you consider the English House of Commons a really representative council? I do not say, mind, a theoretically perfect representative assembly, but, in your own words, a really representative council? If you do not, *cadet quæstio*, for we do not pretend to go beyond our teachers, and perfect or imperfect, real or unreal, we shall be perfectly satisfied if we ever get as near an approximation to “a really representative council” as Great Britain now possesses. But if you admit that the House of Commons is a really representative council, then I must point out that all your arguments against the Madras Congress having been also a really representative council are untenable. Analysing Debrett’s House of Commons for 1888, by the help of the brief biography of each member therein given, I find that not 2-5th, as at Madras, but fully 2-3rds of the members belong to that “small section of men,” that “fragment of the English people,” that “owes its existence” to high education and culture, and though these gentlemen have succeeded “by energy and by manipulation of the necessary methods in entering” the House, I doubt whether there are 50 intelligent Englishmen who would agree with you in thinking that they thus “occupy a false position.” To say of these gentlemen, or of our Madras men, that “they can, at the most, claim to represent their own views,” is, to say the least, to occupy a position, never yet, to the best of my belief, occupied by any other intelligent Englishman. “Represent their own views”? Very likely, but unless these views are those of the majority of their constituents they will very soon cease to represent any thing. Of course, as in England, the people here, *as a rule*, elect and will elect, to represent them, the men that they think, on the whole, most likely to do them credit, or the men that they most like or look up to, and here, as in England, a large proportion of those elected will always be highly educated men. True our electoral system is only in its infancy, and yet it is not even now so very despicable. This year fully two and a half millions of adult males will have taken an actual part in the elections. From some divisions and provinces from which the reports have come in, the figures would indicate a far greater number, but other Provinces, like your own, in particular, are so backward, that though the number may exceed two and a half millions, I will only take it as this. Let us turn to the English list and see how the case stands, and it will be sufficient to take the first two boroughs and counties on the list, for

Aberdeen, with its ancient University, is politically and educationally quite on a par with the best boroughs and counties in Great Britain.

Name of Borough or County.	Population.	Estimated adult males.	Registered electors.	Voted at the last election.
Aberdeen North ...	55,893	13,973	8,383	5,865
„ South ...	49,110	12,277	7,885	6,003
Aberdeenshire E. ...	83,295	20,824	12,522	7,496
„ W. ...	66,834	16,708	10,500	5,511
	2,55,132	63,782	39,290	24,875

So in this most favoured locality only 63 per cent. of the Registered Electors and less than ten per cent. of the population took a direct part in the elections. But if you turn to the published analysis for the whole of Great Britain, which, however, I cannot verify, less than half* of the Registered Electors and less than 8 per cent. of the total population voted at the last General Elections. Now looking to the relative condition of the two countries, it is quite certain that even if the English system obtained here, *mutatis mutandis*, the franchise being lowered with reference to the generally lower standard of means, we should not, at the outside, have above 20 millions of registered voters, and of these, I believe, that nearly if not quite one eighth, will this year directly join in the election of Representatives—that is, about one fourth the proportion in Great

* It seems difficult to believe this, but these are the figures that I cut out of an English paper just after the close of the last general elections.

Britain. It is true that our voters will be only about $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the population against, at any rate, less than 10 per cent. in the British Islands, but the far smaller proportion of highly educated men, in India, most of whom become everywhere centres of political activity, fully explains this. But while in these respects Great Britain will advance little, our figures will improve rapidly year by year, and, as it is, I confess I am unable to see on what possible grounds you can allege that the Madras Congress was not just as *really* (though not as *perfectly*) representative of the people of India, as the House of Commons is of the people of Great Britain.

52. Again, when you say that if representation be adjusted to numbers, "numerically they (the highly educated classes) will be nowhere," I think you fall into a double error. In the first place, the Congress has always advocated the English system, which adjusts representation quite as much by intelligence and property as by numbers, and has always repudiated the idea of mere manhood suffrage. In the second place, even if manhood suffrage obtained, the Ryots every where, (broadly speaking, of course there would be exceptions) and they constitute an immense majority of the population, would elect their favourite pleaders; and so would a considerable proportion of the zemindars and traders. The fact is that the greatest number of well educated, ready, self-possessed, and independent men, are to be found amongst our lawyers, and in any Indian House of Commons, this class would be found to hold a considerable proportion of the seats, just as they did last year at Madras and just as they do now in the House of Commons. But it occurs to me that you may possibly mean, that *if the Government had the selection of the Representatives*, members belonging to the highly educated classes, our best men in fact, would be numerically nowhere; and if so, I am in no position to contest the fact; you yourself, a Governor, ought to know best about *this*. But, I submit, that it is only by an abuse of language that a people can be said to be represented by a set of men arbitrarily selected by a close bureaucracy, and that whenever any *real* system of representation is introduced into India, the bulk of the Representatives here, as in England, will always be drawn from the more highly educated classes, be these classes themselves, numerically, (in proportion to the total population,) weak or strong. The empire of mind is indestructible and though clouds may at times, here or there, obscure their rays, sooner shall the sun cease to give light by day and the moon by night, than the more highly educated cease to be

chosen as leaders and representatives by their less enlightened brethren.

53. You go on to say that the business of the more highly educated classes "at present seems to" you "to be to seek to communicate to their countrymen, the enlightenment which they themselves have received, more than to attempt to represent in the councils either themselves or those to whom enlightenment has not hitherto been vouchsafed." You, "think, in a word, they would if" you "might dare to advise them, be more usefully employed in educating the people than in educating the authorities." This is kindly put, but yet I must reply, that your alternatives are not, as you seem to fancy, mutually exclusive, and that on the contrary it is their duty BOTH to seek to communicate their enlightenment to their less advanced countrymen *and* to represent these in councils, where at present, practically, nothing is understood of their real position, BOTH to educate the people *and* to *try* (the hardest task of all it would seem) to educate the authorities. And at all this, with their whole minds and hearts, they are working.

54. There is enlightenment of many kinds; mental, moral, political (in the broadest sense of the word). Every where throughout the country, schools and colleges are springing up or being resuscitated, founded or revived, by our Indian friends: I can truly say that not a week passes without some one writing to me about some new educational institution, of one kind or another, that he or he and his friends, have just started or are about to start. Day by day the party labouring specially for the moral and religious regeneration of the country grows in size and in earnestness, though here, as in England, this party will always be in a minority, since to be a real member of this party involves, not merely the sacrifice of time and money, but the reduction of preachings to practice, a purity of personal life, a conquest over human passions, prejudices and frivolities to which comparatively few—few in any country, in any age—are, or have been equal. All this is the work of those more enlightened classes to which you refer. But what then? All men cannot be schoolmasters, still less moral or religious instructors. There remains, what to every citizen of a free state (and you won't contend that we are *quite* slaves, will you?) there remains, I say, what to every free citizen is as important a branch of enlightenment as any (not a few would contend that it is *the* most important branch), viz., enlightenment, as

to his duties and rights as a citizen. At this branch too our educated classes are labouring earnestly. At this moment, there are not less than 500 men, belonging to these classes, who are doing their utmost to communicate directly by word of mouth their enlightenment on these points to their less advanced brethren. Hundreds of thousands (I believe I ought to say millions*) of pamphlets, speeches, tracts, leaflets are in circulation, to say nothing of what fully 100 Newspapers (all edited by this same highly educated class, I omit the others) are weekly, tri-weekly, or daily setting forth, and not one day passes but what in one part or other of the country, meetings, often several on the same day, with audiences of from 100 to 5,000 men are held, at which these matters are explained and discussed.

I doubt if it be possible, in practice, for any set of men to do more along all these three lines, than our educated classes are doing at this moment, and independent of this incredible multitude of isolated efforts, they have organized as a Synthesis of the entire national energy, THE CONGRESS MOVEMENT, which, while only designed directly for the diffusion of enlightenment on the one line, by the interest it evokes, by the discussions it gives rise to, by the teachings it conveys, by the lessons it inculcates of self control and self sacrifice, of subordination of self to others, of personal interests to those of the nation, and in a hundred other ways, really operates with almost equal effect along the lines of mental and moral developement, and constitutes, as a whole, I believe, an instrument for the national regeneration along *all* lines, unparalled in the history of the world.

55. But when we come to the education of the authorities it must, I fear, be confessed that our people have not done as much as seems to be required. The fact is that, while we recognized that a certain section of the European Officials were, (owing to class and race bias, limitation of grasp, and general want of adjustment to their Indian environment,) incapable of realizing the real position of affairs, the great bulk of our foremost men assumed, almost as an axiom, that all the Europeans of light and leading (tho' they might not think it politic or becoming their official position to speak plainly about it) in their hearts understood and regretted the shortcomings of our administration and the feelings these were engendering, as thoroughly as they did themselves, and hence,

* Of my own Allahabad speech alone in several languages, the printing of over 1,50,000 copies has been reported to me.

unhesitatingly, looked to all such as our necessary and certain, tho', in consequence of their position, passive allies and sympathizers. Yet here are you, one, "foremost in the ranks of time," one, whose decision on any serious political question, if only you had all the facts fully before you, nine out of ten men, would prefer to their own; a judicial minded man, full too, I believe, of liberal instincts, writing me a letter absolutely irreconcilable with these characteristics, except on the assumptions—that you really do not *know* that our internal administration is grievously defective, that justice, especially in criminal cases, is hardly procurable, that the police are a curse to the country, that taxation is impinging on the necessaries of life, that one fifth at least of the whole population, are never more than half fed and are often quite half starving, and that in many other ways our people are suffering—that you do not *know* the feelings that, despite all we have done for them in other matters, these shortcomings have engendered in every intelligent mind throughout the population, nor the manner in which, for the last ten years, this latter has been giving expression to these feelings in every hamlet even—that finally you do not know how marvellously wide the grasp is that the Congress movement, has already obtained on the minds of the People of India. If you do not know these things and if you did know them, *you* could not have written this letter, as it would then be disingenuous—if you do not know these things, as your letter, it being yours, seems to prove that you do *not*—then there is not a village in the empire—many of whose ryots could not teach you a great deal upon these subjects. I can understand second rate officials, such as I myself was, remaining blinded to the real state of the case, by that fatal official glamour, that, in the East, so envelopes all in authority, but that a man like yourself, with your vast experience here and in Egypt, should still be lapped in such utopian and roseate delusions, is past my comprehension.

56. One only explanation presents itself. You may say "I *do* know these things tho' I consider that you somewhat overstate them, but I think it inexpedient to speak about them, and I deny entirely that our administration is responsible for them.

"How few the ills that men endure,
That kings or laws can cause or cure!

"They exist, not as a consequence, but in spite of our administration—they are of the nature of dispensations of Providence and no changes in the form of the administration,

such as you contend for, will diminish these evils. Are there no poor in London? No miscarriages of justice in England?"

If this be your position and this is reconcilable, to a certain extent, with your letter, I wish you had said so plainly, as it would greatly have simplified my task, but my reply would be, I think, none the less conclusive. There are miscarriages of justice in England, but even allowing for the difference in the size of the two populations, not one to one hundred that occur here. There is an enormous body of paupers in London, but taking the British isles as a whole, and even ignoring the fact of the increased difficulties entailed by a cold climate, our paupers are proportionally four times as numerous, and even in England a great deal of this lesser proportion of poverty is due to errors in administration, and bad laws, which the people are beginning to find out and will gradually amend. It is true that our worst sufferings, the result of sin and sorrow, sickness and death, and our own moral shortcomings are to a great extent beyond the power of kings or laws to cure; but those sufferings which result from unsuitable and *insufficiently controlled* Judicial tribunals, from an under-paid, unprincipled, oppressive and practically almost irresponsible police, from excessive taxation and unsound fiscal systems, are just those ills which kings and laws can and do to a great extent cause and cure. I wholly deny that all that the people now suffer, is "not in consequence, but in spite of our administration," and I and the whole Congress party affirm that as soon as a really strong and truly representative native element is associated in every branch and grade of the administration, from the executive council of the Governor-General downwards, half at least of these sufferings will gradually disappear. But even admitting that we are wrong, none the less do the people universally attribute these classes of their sufferings to our maladministration and *not* to the decrees of Providence, and none the less does the future peaceful continuance of British rule depend upon our, at least, shifting the apparent responsibility for these evils from our own shoulders on to those of the people themselves. Whether therefore the results will or will not be as beneficial as we maintain, the only wise and safe thing for the British Government to do, is to accept what the ablest, most educated and most enlightened amongst the natives themselves, believe to be the right thing to do in these matters—in other words to accept the more liberal and less bureaucratic policy indicated by our Congresses.

57. The rest of your 19th para. seems, after what I have already said, to demand no lengthened or further discussion by me. It is founded, it appears to me, on a series of misapprehensions. We deny that the demand for representation, whatever it did originally, before the practical bearings of this reform were understood, *now* comes from any small or peculiar section of the people, and as to that class "created by Government," to which you refer, for every one of this special class that urges this demand, many hundreds belonging to other classes *now* equally press it. So far from representative institutions being alien to the genius of the nation, they had, as far as we can see, their origin in India, they underlie the whole social structure of indigenous society and are universally understood. The Foreign Policy of the Government of India *may* be beyond the comprehension of our most advanced men—I am sure that it is altogether beyond mine—but there is no single question of internal administration that our best men are not as well qualified to deal with, as any English officials; nay, in my opinion, in consequence of their necessary want of what we may, stretching the term, sum up as local knowledge, the latter for such work are inferior to the former. Lastly, tho' it may flatter our national self conceit to swagger about being a far more advanced people, this is only partially true. Our superiority lies chiefly in the advances we have made in physical science—but this is not quite every thing. In this respect the Indians are by no means as backward as the ancient Greeks, and these latter, despite their crass ignorance of our modern deity, Physical Science, still stand out, after the lapse of 2000 years, as a wiser and nobler people, in many respects, than ourselves. A larger proportion of our English population has no doubt received a high education, and gorging ourselves on flesh as we do, we have more of the bull dog in us, and that is about all we can say to justify our grand assumptions of superiority. As for the average ryot all over the country he is certainly as good and intelligent a man as the average farm labourer in England or Ireland and knows quite as much, tho' in different lines; and the same may be said of the average Indian petty shopkeepers and traders, who represent our English hawkers and stall-keepers. Despite our old wicked Abkari system (in *your* Government, now, doubtless purged of many of its former iniquities, but such is not the case every where) the Indian people are far more sober, chaste, industrious and forbearing than are the people of England, and the Indian proportion of law breakers is much smaller; and this

convenient British plea for all our high-handed and despotic procedure that "this people are *in statu pupillari*" to me seems, as ludicrous as it is impertinent. It is true that we having, partly by force and partly by fraud, shattered their administrations, disorganized their institutions, trampled out some of their best customs (e. g., the friendly settlement by arbitration in every village and caste of all differences *inter se*,) and generally shunted them, without their consent, on to a wholly new and to them strange line, they still need and will need for long our aid, advice and support in completing the grand transformation scene that we have inaugurated, but this is no earthly justification for persisting, as our bureaucracy does, in continuing to treat tens of thousands of men, not unfrequently far better men, on the whole, than themselves, as if they were still children "*in statu pupillari*." Indeed, there are very few of us who, in many matters, might not profitably go to school under our Indian brethren.

58. Your 20th para. again, is also based to a certain extent on a misapprehension. You say that you turn to the Resolutions in order to get a clearer view of the wrongs and grievances of the people, and this is the right thing to do, but you fail to realize what these Resolutions really involve. You talk of the extension of the legislative councils, perhaps overlooking that the mere extension is a small matter and that the essential point in this Resolution is the infusion into the administration of a strong representative element which shall possess a potential voice in the direction of internal affairs. It is a grievous wrong no doubt to those people of this country who are thoroughly qualified to participate in the management of their own affairs, that they are still "like dumb driven cattle," taxed without representation, and the hard gained earnings extorted from them, expended without their having any voice in the matter. But this is not the only wrong or grievance at which this Resolution aims; the improvement of the judicial system, especially where criminal cases are concerned, the reform of the Police, the modification of our revenue systems, the larger employment of statutory natives of India in every branch of the executive; all these and much more are necessarily involved in this resolution. It is hopeless recording resolutions on these matters of internal maladministration, (though now and then, in plain concrete cases, such as the separation of judicial and executive functions, it is done) because it is felt that, as a rule, the British Government has done its best, that unaided by native counsels and co-operation it cannot do much

better and that the only chance is to get the people themselves to work at the reform of the internal administration; and for all this, this first Resolution provides.

59. Moreover your comments on some points touched on in this same para. are, I regret to say, as foreign to the general tone of your letter as was the passage you justly took objection to in our preface to that general rule of charity towards opponents which we endeavour to observe. You say—“If a Representative council is to be established to abolish the arms act, replacing, by legislation, in the hands of the people weapons of which the unrestricted use under former dynasties has grievously mutilated the roll of Indian annals and in our own times traced the bitterest and most bloody chapter in our Anglo Indian history, &c.”

This is only worthy of the *Pioneer*; it is unworthy of *you*, because, though you may not fully realize the state of the country, you *can* read the Resolutions and the debates that led up to these, and *have* done so, you say, carefully, and therefore ought to have known when you wrote this eloquent, but utterly fallacious passage, that the Resolution only proposed the modification and *not* the abolition of the arms act, that speaker after speaker explained that the unrestricted use of arms was not desired, was greatly to be deprecated, and that the Resolution itself proposed that the Government should retain the power of debarring all persons, classes, or communities that it considered unfit to be trusted with arms, from their use. Moreover, and this seems to me even less defensible, you talk of the general use of arms, as having traced the bitterest and most bloody chapter in our Anglo-Indian history; in other words as having caused the Mutiny, when you know well, not only that it had nothing to do with the mutiny, not only that this was purely a mercenary military outbreak, not only that the great mass of the people who then bore arms, were with us, aided us, befriended and saved our isolated fugitives, but that it was solely the then universal habit of wearing arms, (keeping alive as it did the martial spirit of the people) that (in those dark hours of danger and distress, when despite British genius and British pluck all seemed lost) saved our empire and enabled us to reconquer Upper India. It was not our 50,000, later 70,000, British troops that, despite their heroism, wrought this miracle, as, at the time, it seemed; it was the aid and support that the country (outside our military mutineers and their immediate friends and

a section of the Mahomedans) gave us ; it was the 250,000 Indians still full of martial instincts, because still permitted to bear arms, who flocked to our standards, that enabled us to regain our position and restore our rule. Had the people not been with us and had the Punjab, Oudh and the North-Western Provinces then been, as now, debarred for thirty years from the use of arms, Upper India, at any rate, would have been lost to us for good. And yet, in face of the facts that the mutiny was a military outbreak, that the bulk of the population was with us, and that our triumph was due mainly to the fact that that population was still armed and hence martial, you have not hesitated in true Anglo Indian and "*Pioneer*" style to attribute "the bitterest and most bloody chapter in our history" to the very circumstance that proved our salvation.

60. I need not follow you in your congratulations of the Government on its legal exploits; I have already explained that *all* these codes are by no means so highly estimated by the country as by those who created them, and while admitting that some of them, like the Penal Code, are in many respects worthy of high commendation, I must remind you that paper work is not every thing, and that the people might well be far more happy and contented, under far inferior codes, better administered in practice. Nor need I answer further your remarks about the separation of the executive and judicial functions, or native volunteering, for if you do not realize the frequent miscarriage of justice that now results from the union of these two functions, or the intense dissatisfaction that these miscarriages are generating, or again the grievous danger alike to the country and our empire that this crushing out of the martial spirit of the people (which by a system of volunteering we seek to avert) is creating—if History teaches you no lessons, and in what for instance befel the disarmed Britons when the Romans withdrew from their country, as we shall some day withdraw from this, you can discern no warning against our present policy in these matters—it seems useless to continue a discussion when our standpoints are so absolutely different.

61. But in reference to the opening passage of your 21st para. allow me to remind you, first, that the Congress party puts forward no claim of the nature you refer to, and, secondly, that if it did make *any* claim it would simply be to have popularized and methodically formulated, more or less vague pre-existing ideas, and to have brought these within the sphere

of practical politics. Let me point out to you further, that that party does not speak "on behalf of millions it has had no opportunity of consulting and who have given it no warrant whatsoever," but on behalf of those millions that it has consulted and whose foremost men every where have elected its members. You seem to ignore the fact that the people elect the Sub-Committees, the Sub-Committees and the people of the head quarters, the Committees, all these Committees and the local representatives and the people of the head quarters, the Delegates, and that all these Delegates belong ex-officio to the Provincial Standing Congress Committees. In your own Provinces, thanks to the strenuous, and unconstitutional opposition of certain of the officials, who have been the prime movers and main supporters of the so called Anti-Congress Party, *without whose efforts this would never have been heard of*, the organization is defective to a degree, but you must please not judge India by these backward and unhappily circumstanced Provinces. So it follows that the resolutions of the Congress do not, as you suppose, represent the views "of a class and that a minute and exceptional" one, but embody those of, broadly speaking, the entire intelligence and culture of India. How far the Congress party has "overspread its natural borders" time will show, but though I know that, recently, you expressed doubts as to the propriety of reforming the councils at the present time on the ground that this would be to invest the Congress movement with an importance it did not deserve, I am hopeful that the British Government, as a whole, will not share the autocratic sentiment which leads men to refuse to do justice rather than appear to have yielded this to the prayers of the oppressed, and will not find in the claims of the people to what have become, as free British Citizens, their rights, any bar to the concession of these.

62. And now, to close this lengthy epistle, let me say with you that "I have expressed myself in this letter, as I think you would wish me to do, with the perfect freedom which your letter invited, and also, I trust, with the perfect fairness, which the tone of your letter" (barring that one passage about the arms question) "requires of me," and "I look to your indulgence not to class me with those" whose "aggressive tone may rather hinder than assist the Government when the hour for action may seem to it to have come." If I have been compelled to differ from you, and even traverse your statements, it has been solely because the true facts of the case have not hitherto been

laid before you, though I am rejoiced to see that you *do* recognize that there is a class, "who are no less opposed to the Congress than disaffected to English rule," for it is this class that constitute the sole reality in that great sham, the Anti-Congress Party, and it is this class into whose hands, believing them to be their own instruments, our official antagonists (really the tools of these traitors) are so unwisely playing. Believe me that so far from promoting the aims of those rebels, the Wahabi supporters of the Hindustani fanatics, the favourers of Duleep Singh and of Russia, (whom we are watching even more closely than the Punjab authorities, though they are ever on the alert), it is just because these all recognize that the Congress movement means their checkmate, that they are exerting themselves so frantically to obstruct that movement at any cost.

63. *Au reste*, though I have been compelled to set forth what I believe to be the truth as to the present position of affairs in India, and have thus necessarily traversed some of your leading statements, I should be indeed ungrateful if I did not realize and acknowledge the courtesy and the fairness (your knowledge of the facts being what it is) which characterize your letter; if I did not prominently avow that I believe you, and always have believed you, from the bottom of my heart, utterly "incapable of persecuting any man who differs from you in opinion"; nay from first to last I have pressed upon all friends, and specially in Lucknow, that the officials who under colour of giving effect to your wishes, have been practically persecuting the Congress party, were mistaken in your character—and if I did not acknowledge that all you say about the necessity of moderation and non-aggressiveness (so far as truth admits) in our statements, is wise, kindly and deserving all our attention, with these sole provisos, that battles cannot be all rose-water and kisses, and that if your adversaries, however inferior they may be in numbers and character, not only persist in hitting hard, but also in hitting below the belt, you must, just sometimes, in self defence, let them too have it straight from the shoulder.

Yours very sincerely,

A. O. HUME.