A SELECTION OF

ARTICLES AND LETTERS

ON VARIOUS

INDIAN QUESTIONS,

INCLUDING

REMARKS ON EUROPEAN LABOUR IN BENGAL, SOCIAL POLICY AND MISSIONS IN INDIA AND THE USE OF THE BIBLE IN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

CONTRIBUTED TO THE ENGLISHMAN

By HODGSON PRATT,

BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE,

LATE INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF EDUCATION IN BARODA

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NOTE.

The writer of these articles and letters has not been induced to reprint them by an idea that they possess any peculiar merit beyond what they may derive from the fact that he has resided in Bengal for more than ten years. In common with all who know India from personal experience and feel deep interest in her progress, the writer is pained to find that Indian questions are often so greatly misapprehended in England,—even by the leaders of public opinion, and that serious errors are constantly circulated in regard to the character of the administration. This does not arise from any want of ability or patriotism, but from want of knowledge at first hand, imperfect access to information, and from ignorance of the influence of party spirit in India. Under these circumstances, the opinions and statements of those who have any personal knowledge of India possess value, even where this may be unaccompanied by any thing more than average ability and common honesty

It is only fair to add, that these articles were written during the hurry of a residence in England cut short by the late events in Bengal, and that the writer had no opportunity of referring to official sources for the exact verification of all the statements he has made, which, however, he believes will be found to be substantially correct; nor was he able to supply this defect in revising them for separate publication, as his unexpected recall to India necessarily prevented him from devoting to them any minute attention.

H. P.

November 1857.

CONTENTS

A SELECTION OF

ARTICLES AND LETTERS,

FROM

RECENT CRITICISM ON THE CONDUCT AND CHARACTER OF THE INDIAN EXECUTIVE.

[*From the Economist of September* 12, 1857.]

FROM the peculiar constitution of European society in India,—consisting of distinct and sharply-defined classes, not shading off into one another, or "fused," as at home,—party-spirit and class-prejudices prevail very keenly. Men of more than average strength of character are of course generally above the evil influences of such a state of things, but not so with the majority. One result of this is, that every thing written by men in India, however valuable for facts, details, and personal experience, is tainted by an unusual degree of one sidedness.* The evil is enhanced by the non-existence of a literary class, like that in England, consisting of men of high talent and education, too much alive to the honour of their profession to engage in personal squabbles; and so entirely unconnected with the measures or the men judged by them, that their opinions on both are generally marked by candour, temper, and impartiality. A large proportion of the Indian journals are edited by men not originally of the literary profession, but who, having failed in other pursuits, have taken to journalism as a *pis-aller*,—invalided officers, insolvent merchants, &c. Of course there are many exceptions, and among others we would prominently mention the editors of those able papers the *Friend of India*, *Madras Athenæum*, and *Bombay Times*. All this must be borne in mind when we read pamphlets or books by Indian writers; and more especially when anonymous; for in many cases the name is withheld simply because its appearance would weaken confidence in the statements made, from the fact that the writer would be recognised as a notorious parti-

* The *Calcutta Review*, a quarterly journal, is a remarkable exception, being conducted on the principle of admitting articles by men of all parties, so long as they are written with ability and moderation.

san, and perhaps be known to be excited by strong personal feelings It should, moreover, be recollected that, whereas a partisan writer on English questions is restrained within certain limits of misstatement by the knowledge of his readers, a writer on Indian questions in England is without any such check, and may state what he chooses with impunity

We will take as an illustration of these remarks a graphic and clever *brochure*, entitled *The Mutiny of the Bengal Army, by one who has served under Sir Charles Napier;* not so much because it is, in point of impartiality, quite a fair specimen of the recent criticism on our Indian politics, as because it will give us the opportunity of rapidly reviewing the character and conduct of the men who have the foremost place in our Indian Executive. The pamphlet is, indeed, a striking illustration of the extent to which an able writer may be led into puerile invective and downright misstatement by party-spirit or possibly by personal feelings. It would really seem that all the admirers of Sir Charles Napier must, by some necessity, fall into that great general's habit of virulent invective against every individual however distinguished, and against every body of men however respectable, not entertaining his views on public questions. Thus, in the pamphlet before us, Colonel Birch, the Secretary to Government in the Military Department, is described as a "sycophant" and an "ignoramus," the magistrates as "unfledged boys;" the Members of the Supreme Council as "vain, ignorant, and incompetent,"—"Lord Dalhousie's tools," Lord Canning as "weak and vacillating," &c. &c. Like all the followers of Sir Charles, the author's leading doctrine is, that Lord Dalhousie was a mischievous and incompetent man, and the Civil Service the ruin of India. Accordingly, the object of his pamphlet is, to show that the former caused the mutiny, and the latter prevented its immediate suppression. We cannot say his success in making out his case is as great as might have been expected from one who is so ready to say any thing that seems necessary for his purpose.

The writer's account of the mutiny is remarkable, because he states a number of circumstances not before known, and if true, of great importance. He asserts that even before the ex King of Oude left that province,—that is to say, more than eighteen months ago, he and his prime minister had determined upon a plot for overthrowing the British rule, that the visit of the queen mother to England was merely "to remove attention from this design;" that an alliance was made with the King of Delhi; and that advantage was taken of the (asserted) dissatisfaction of all the Mussulman Sepoys in the Bengal army at the annexation of a Mussulman state, to corrupt them by offers of higher pay, &c. The obvious question arises, How

does the writer know all these circumstances, no such discovery having been made by any one else either in the employ of Government or out of it, no intimation of any such facts having appeared in any of the official reports or public newspapers? Either the whole statement is a fiction, elaborated for the purpose of connecting the revolt with the annexation of Oude, and so of throwing the blame on Lord Dalhousie, supposing that act could make him in any way responsible for such results,—or the writer knows more than he ought to know, and was admitted to the secret councils of the ex-king, as some of his English agents may have been

He proceeds to say that, notwithstanding the dissatisfaction of the Mussulman Sepoys and the overtures of the king, the *attempt to excite a mutiny* would have failed but for the "combined ignorance and folly" of Colonel Birch, the Military Secretary, in introducing the new cartridges. Of official men, Colonel Birch appears to be the writer's especial *bête noir*, and he reserves for him all his strongest words of abuse. Upon him is thrown the whole blame of introducing the cartridges, and of the delay which he asserts occurred in withdrawing them; while Lord Dalhousie is accused of having appointed so incompetent a person to so important a trust merely "to show his spite towards Sir C. Napier." When a man writes in this fashion, one cannot help suspecting that personal feelings are at work. The recent official correspondence published on this subject, and laid before Parliament, is directly at variance with the writer's statements. He asserts that cartridges besmeared with hogs' and cows' lard had actually been used, whereas it appears that the grease on the *ball* (to which the objection was first made) was that of mutton and wax, and that at the time the suspicious report arose, the practice at the depôt had not reached the stage of loading, so that the Sepoys had not been called on to bite or even handle the new cartridges. It is stated by the Government that not a single new cartridge has been issued to any native soldier from first to last. Again, so far is it from being true that nothing was done by the Military Department on the Sepoys' objections being reported, as the writer asserts, that orders were promptly given to allow them to obtain wax and oil for themselves to grease the balls.

The share of blame, which belongs respectively to Lord Dalhousie and Colonel Birch, having been thus explained, it remains to be seen how the writer proves his case against the Civil Service. He asserts, in direct opposition to all other reports received from India, that the Indian Government have exhibited the greatest want of "courage and capacity," alternately ignoring the danger and falling into panics; and this is explained by the influence which the civil servants, who are members of the Supreme Council, are said to exercise over

Lord Canning Their sole object is represented to have been to blind the Governor General as to the real danger, and to dissuade him from active measures, lest mutiny should prove how great had been their incapacity for the government of the empire they had mismanaged for upwards of a century. In other words, the way to hide the fact of the mutiny was to let it go on Such reasoning carries its own refutation with it. It appears to us, that whether acting or not under the advice of the members of Council, Lord Canning adopted every possible measure that the emergency called for, and that from first to last he exhibited great energy and promptitude. There was no loss of time in meeting the various objections successively raised, first as to the grease on the ball, and then on the cartridge paper, explanations and assurances were followed immediately by orders that the new cartridges should not be issued (By some accident these orders appear, however, not to have reached Meerut) When the mutiny arose, a succession of enactments and general orders, with a view to its suppression,—the summary punishment of the guilty, the reward of the faithful, the disbandment of suspected regiments, the summons of reinforcements from the Cape, Mauritius, and Ceylon, the despatch of steamers to intercept the Chinese forces, the conferring of the amplest powers upon the Commissioners of the Punjab and Oude to do whatever the emergency called for, all these and many other measures betoken vigour and judgment in the Executive, while the writer of the pamphlet before us would persuade the English public that the *only* remedy thought of by the Council was the suppression of the freedom of the press And, in truth, the supervision of the press, which at such a time of peril was in numerous instances doing every thing in its power to weaken the confidence of the native population in the good faith and power of the Government, was a measure of the strictest urgency, as any of our readers will know who have studied with any attention the character of their comments on the first outbreak of the mutiny

In nothing more is the violent party-spirit of the writer apparent than in the sketch which he gives of the *personnel* of the Council and Secretaries It is full of sarcasm and bitterness, but is as incorrect as it is bitter. Mr Dorin, who is described as an "indolent sybarite," and "deficient in mental culture and ability," was during a great number of years Secretary to Government in the Financial Department, and was considered to have shown such great judgment and prudence in his difficult task during the two Punjab wars, that when a vacancy occurred in Council about five years ago, the Court of Directors, considering that his experience would be as valuable as his long services were meritorious, appointed him to the vacant seat It is added that, during the short time he acted

as President of the Council, the Sonthal outbreak occurred; but it is well known that this arose from causes long before at work,—that the Sonthal district was, previous to the outbreak, under the immediate supervision of the Government of Bengal, not of the Council of India, and that if there was any mismanagement in its suppression, as the writer states, the blame does not rest with Mr. Dorin more than with the Council generally *

With regard to the remarks on the limited sphere of Mr. J P. Grant's Indian experience, we happen to know that this gentleman was employed several years ago on a very important and difficult mission to one of the principal native courts in the south of India, and that for his remarkable abilities, he *has been on other occasions specially selected to conduct commissions* of inquiry in various provinces of the empire, so that the writer is altogether incorrect in stating that the Bengalees are the only race with which he is acquainted It is a mere absurdity to state that Mr. Grant labours under an impression that the people of Bengal are a type of the Hindostanees generally, for we suppose such a mistake could not be *made by the youngest ensign in the country, much* less by one who has been successively Secretary to the Government of Bengal, and Secretary to the Government of India in the Home and Foreign Departments In the article in the *Calcutta Review* on Lord Dalhousie's administration we find these words: "Mr. Grant's official career is acknowledged by competent judges to have exhibited inflexible impartiality, high sense of honour, *undaunted love of justice, and unwearied search for truth.*" Since he has been in the Council, he is known to have distinguished himself by bringing forward, among many other useful measures, the important Bill for the Registration of Under-Tenures and the Redemption of the Land-Tax. As to his being "an adept at intrigue," this is the most unlucky blunder of all, for Mr. Grant's honesty and plain speaking are a proverb.

General Low, being a military man, is let off easily,—the only fact against him being that "age and climate had already begun to tell upon his nerves"

Of Mr Cecil Beadon, the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, who we are told is "narrow-minded and unscrupulous," and "hated independent Englishmen," &c, the *Calcutta Review* says in the article just now quoted, that when Lord Dalhousie determined upon the

* This Sonthal rising greatly resembled the Sepoy mutiny in some respects: it was sudden, entirely unforeseen, and except in respect to the leaders who were ruined by debt, entirely without intelligible cause. The whole population rose suddenly, and murdered every man, woman, and child whom they met of other than their own race Not when the prisoners were questioned afterwards as to their motive, they could give none. They merely said they were ordered to do so by the priests, and the priests had received orders from the gods

great measure of cheap and uniform postage, he selected Mr. Beadon as one of the members of the commission appointed to report upon the best mode of carrying it out, because "he possessed thorough business like habits, great energy, and quickness;" as well as, the reviewer might have added, 'singular acuteness, and the power of seizing, out of a multitude of crude suggestions, exactly those which were practicable, and of putting them into a working shape' Mr Beadon was for years a distinguished member of the Council of Education, and has always shown the greatest zeal in promoting the success of the great English College for native students, in the establishment of a University, and in inciting the youth of Bengal to exertion by throwing open to distinguished students the highest posts in the uncovenanted service of the judicial, revenue, police, and education departments As Secretary to the Government of Bengal under Lord Dalhousie, he distinguished himself in working out many most important reforms, and in initiating measures for the extension of road-communication, the improvement of the police and judiciary, the cultivation of the lands in the Delta of the Ganges, the conservancy of towns, the suppression of affrays, and many others

Fortunately we have been thus able to give a specific reply to the remarks made on the character of the leading members of the Executive Government at Calcutta, and we think we have shown that they are men in whom Lord Dalhousie and Lord Canning have not unreasonably placed confidence. But even if we had not possessed this specific knowledge, we should have known that those statesmen were not likely to endanger their own reputation and the welfare of the empire committed to their charge by the selection of incompetent advisers In India, statesmen are not fettered in their selection of advisers by the claims of aristocratic connections and the possessors of votes Mere private interest has less weight there than in any country in the world, for the simple reason that it would be too great a risk. Where a hundred and-fifty millions of aliens in race and religion have to be governed by a handful of Englishmen, and where the very system of government is almost experimental, it is felt that the best men must be taken for the chief posts, no matter whether they have family interest or not.

THE CALCUTTA PETITION AND EUROPEAN PARTIES IN BENGAL

[*From the Economist of September* 26, 1857]

We had occasion in a recent article on the character and conduct of the Executive at Calcutta, to advert to the very great bitterness of party spirit and class prejudices which distinguish the European community in India It is important that this state of things should be clearly understood in England, and that we should endeavour to get a right view of the relations in which Anglo Indian parties and classes stand to each other. For, whatever may be the changes, if any, hereafter made in the mode of controlling and supervising Indian administration, one thing at least is quite certain, that the English public will have to exercise more and more the functions of a court of appeal and reference in Indian questions. With increasing facilities of communication by rail and telegraph, with the increasing importance of India commercially and politically, with the more vivid sense of the fact that our possession of India involves a very serious moral responsibility,—there will grow up in England a greater interest in India than has existed heretofore, and a greater readiness to legislate for India in England, instead of leaving the administration of that empire to the Indian Executive and the Court of Directors. Whether India will be the better for parliamentary interference, whether changes of system made with every new change of party,—experiments by men possessing no personal acquaintance with India, and the application of home notions to the government of a people so different from our own, and possessing ancient civilisation and laws peculiar to themselves,—will all tend to make our tenure of India more secure, our rule more respected and welcome, may be doubtful, but there can be little doubt of the fact that a change of this sort will come. Already, the various parties and classes in India show a growing disposition to seek the aid of the English public in the settlement of their differences. Each party wishes to secure public opinion in England on its own side; and the weaker it is in India, the more eager it will be to call in the aid of Parliament here This in itself will tend to mislead us; for the party which has its own way in India will not care to come into court at all, so that we shall hear only one side. We have but to take up any Indian journal to discover how much mutual recrimination there is, and how complex are the questions at issue. We find the planters complaining that the Indian Government (as represented by the Civil Service) sacrifice their interests to the natives. The native grievance is, that they do not possess that share of place and power to which their ability and hereditary

rights entitle them The missionaries condemn the Government for not making more strenuous efforts to protect the peasantry from the oppression of the native landlords and European planters, while the civil servants defend themselves by pointing out that these charges contradict each other, and by pleading generally that they are attacked by all parties because each asks for more than is equitable or expedient Under these circumstances, it becomes a serious duty to endeavour to get a clear view of the position of classes and questions, without catching the contagion of Indian animosities, or being misled by the exaggerations and one sided statements which the several parties bring before us. Our duty is to judge impartially. We know less than they do on the spot; but we have the advantage of not being heated or biassed as they are.

European society in India divides itself into two great divisions, consisting of the official and the non official classes respectively The former comprises the civil, military, and "uncovenanted" services; and the latter, the indigo and silk planters of the interior, with the merchants and brokers of the Presidency towns The officers of the Civil Service, taken from the "upper middle" or professional classes in England, the sons of civil and military officers, or country gentlemen, have always been required by the East India Company to give sufficient guarantees of intellectual and educational fitness, by passing a preliminary examination nearly corresponding to the "little-go" at Oxford,—by a two years' special training at the Hertfordshire College, where the nominee, failing to pass the successive examinations, forfeited his appointment,*—by passing an examination in two native languages at the Presidency previous to entering on active duty as "assistant magistrate;"—and by further and more difficult examinations† in those languages as well as in law previous to receiving the full powers of a magistrate. After these admirable securities for due qualification have been taken, the Bengal civil servant is, at the end of six or eight years, appointed to the grade of magistrate, his age being then about twenty six or twenty eight We believe that recently, owing to special and temporary circumstances, promotion has been more rapid, while the age and term of service we have given are based on an average of several years. We have been thus particular in stating the age and qualifications of the civil servants, because one of the strongest charges brought by the Planting Interest against the Government is, that the

* These arrangements are now replaced, as is well known, by competitive examinations resulting in a direct appointment to India

† At these examinations the officer is required to conduct a trial, read native documents in Ms, and write his decision in the vernacular in the presence of native and English officials

preservation of order and justice in the interior is intrusted to men who neither in point of age nor training are fit for such a position. While admitting that a better training in the principles of law and greater experience would be a gain, we think those charges are marked by very great exaggeration, especially when we compare these conditions with the conditions of receiving similar offices of trust in England. When the civilian arrives at a standing of about twelve years, he becomes "collector," first in a small, and subsequently in a larger district, in which position he not only realises the Government land revenue, but decides judicially all questions of rent between landlord and tenant, assesses revenue on lapsed lands, manages estates held directly by Government, registers mutations of landed property, &c The civil servant of seventeen years' standing, or thereabouts, generally obtains the position of civil and sessions judge, if his previous career affords reason for supposing him qualified for that high position He then decides cases appealed from and committed by the magistrate, as well as civil suits and such as are brought up by appeal from the lower civil and small cause courts (administered generally by native judges) Such is the official career of the bulk of the civil service during the twenty-five or thirty years which form the average term of service The more important posts such as those of Judge in the Sudder or High Court at the Presidency, of Member of the Revenue Board of Commissioner (or Prefect) of a Division, of Inspector of Prisons, of Director of Public Instruction, of Secretary to Government in various departments,—are reserved for those whose ability and industry have been tried in inferior posts, and who are found pre-eminently fitted for such responsibility In the "regular line" of the service, seniority receives some consideration; but in these latter posts, hardly any at all,—they are reserved as prizes for those who can win them. There is one other feature in the constitution of this body which we have not mentioned,—the fact of its being a "covenanted" service; that is to say, there is a "covenant" between the East India Company and the civil servant, to the effect that the latter enters the service on the understanding that the offices we have specified shall be reserved exclusively for this body,—that the members shall not trade or engage in any business on their own account, and shall obey all regulations and orders of the Company in reference to leave of absence, salaries, pensions, deductions for annuity fund, &c. In making such a covenant, the object of the Company was to secure for a specific term the services of a class of persons who would not have been willing to take service except on a guarantee as to the position they were to occupy Now, considering that there is no class of persons in India sufficiently large to provide competent incumbents for

even one tenth of the posts held by the civil servants, some such covenant appears indispensably necessary. But because occasionally an able merchant or barrister in Calcutta, or an intelligent planter in the interior, is to be found who would prefer the duties of a magistrate or member of the Legislative Council, this covenant is made a grievance.

Now, the ordinary European population of a district consists of five or six officers of the Civil Service,—and, if there is a regiment, of a score of military officers,—all residing at the central station of the district, where the civil and criminal courts, the jail, treasury, high school, and hospital are placed; while scattered over the district, at distances varying from ten to fifty miles from the "station," are perhaps twenty indigo and silk factories, with about the same number of European planters in charge of them. The planters are not colonists in the usual sense of the word any more than the civil and military officers, for the climate of India does not and never can permit Europeans to bring up their families in India; so that, like the civilian or military man, the planter's object is to make a fortune and retire to England, where his family have been sent for health and education The only difference between him and the official is, that if fortunate he may make his fortune in two or three years, while the latter has to wait a quarter of a century for his by saving a portion of his salary Even if the planter were not, from the nature of the climate, prevented from regarding India as a home, and from settling down there, as he would in Canada or Australia, the difficulties of obtaining land in a country already pre-occupied by a dense indigenous population would necessarily prevent the settlement of any large European population in India The native landholders regard the European planters with extreme jealousy, and throw great difficulties in the way of letting land to them, and, when they do, frequently resort to fraudulent measures for ousting them, to open violence, to affrays, the forcible destruction of their crops, &c On the other hand, in addition to the imperfect tenure of land in Bengal, there are not many opportunities of buying good land, for the sale of such land for arrears of revenue is not common, while land is every year rising in value Another difficulty which the indigo-planter meets with, is the extreme unwillingness on the part of the native tenantry to grow indigo. Whether truly or not, they declare that it exhausts the land, and that they find it more profitable to grow their own crops of pulse, rice, wheat, and sugar cane, &c.

These circumstances appear to us quite sufficient to account for the small extent to which Englishmen attempt to settle in Bengal; but the planters and the Calcutta merchants allege other reasons, and ascribe the fact to the jealousy entertained towards all "independent" Englishmen by the Civil Service If

we ask how any such unnatural feelings are allowed to affect their interests, we must turn to the representations that are contained in the petition just received from Calcutta Here and elsewhere the great remedy for all their wrongs is stated to be their admission to the Legislative Council, and the substitution of the English law and language for the acts of the Indian Legislature and the languages of India in the courts What is this but asking that the convenience and advantage of a few wealthy settlers may be considered before that of the natives of India, who for some reason or other mistrust and dislike the planters, and consider their interests to be directly at variance with their own? Most important is it for the gradual civilisation of India, its growth in wealth, security, and knowledge, as well as for the benefit of England, that English capital and enterprise shall by every possible means find an opening in India, but surely this is not to be accomplished by violating the most fundamental principles of equity at the very outset Yet, because the Government of India and its Civil Service set themselves in opposition to demands of this kind, they are accused of throwing obstacles in the way of European enterprise lest their authority in India may be weakened! We sincerely respect commercial enterprise. We believe that it will do much for India, indirectly no doubt quite as much as just government itself. But we are sure that *nothing could be worse* for our rule in India than that the natives should have reason to suspect that the welfare of the people of India is subordinated in the minds of the Government to that of temporary English settlers A cry of "India for the Indians" would then indeed be certain and not only certain, but justified. Our space, however, is exhausted, and we must return to this subject in our next article.*

* With reference to that part of this and the succeeding article which touches upon the relative advantages of the practical training for his future duties received by the junior civil servant, and of the training received by an English barrister, people in England should bear in mind the very peculiar circumstances attending the administration of justice in Bengal They should recollect the enormous difficulty in getting at the truth The English magistrate decides by the direct evidence of the witnesses, and more especially by that of the police. Perjury on the part of the plaintiff defendant, witnesses or policeman, is of rare occurrence Forgery of documents equally so. In Bengal, truth is the exception, perjury the rule Instead of the police affording any help, they are more corrupt, if possible, than the people. Moreover, the respectable classes of society, those whose statements might be most depended on, think it disgraceful to be seen in a court of justice even as witnesses; and if they can possibly avoid attending when summoned to give evidence,—by removal to another place, or some other stratagem they do so. The consequence is, that, in the simplest cases, the magistrate has to hunt up all sorts of indirect evidence as to the real motives which led to the action being brought, as distinguished from those which have been advanced; to find what former disputes, if any, have existed between the parties; to find what relations existed between them; whether they are really acting in their own name, or merely represent other parties, in the background, of more influence and position. The writer of these articles has, week after week risen long before daylight, and ridden across country to the village which was the dwelling-place of the parties

THE ENGLISH SETTLERS AND THE CIVIL SERVICE IN BENGAL

[*From the Economist of October* 3, 1857.]

We resume our consideration of the relation in which the official and non-official classes of the European population stand to each other in Bengal. The principal grievance alleged by the latter against the former is the threatened imposition of what the local press terms the "Black" Act; that is to say, the adoption of that part of Mr. Macaulay's code which abolishes the anomalous system under which there is one law for the black and another for the white man Originally, the British born settler in India could claim exemption from the jurisdiction of the Company's law courts even in the case of civil suits and of misdemeanours. In spite of much declamation, and the absurd assertion that Englishmen had a right to be tried by English law in whatever country they might be, instead of by the law of that country, this special privilege was abrogated some years ago, except in the case of criminal offences of a

in a case before him in order that unexpectedly he might make local inquiries from disinterested parties, and find the truth before the "story' was too well prepared After a long ride or palanquin journey of some hours, perhaps through rice-fields, thick jungle or half swamp the young civil servant arrives in the village The rumour that the 'magistrate" has suddenly made his appearance flies like wildfire, old and young, women and children, labourers and land agents, farmers and landlords, hurry out to have a look at the *sahib*. The plaintiff and the defendant guess shrewdly what he is come for, and are in despair that their attorneys are not at hand to advise them as to the line to be taken by them and their respective witnesses As a last resource, they vie with one another eagerly in pressing courteous attentions upon the "incarnation of justice One runs for a stool for him to sit on, another for an umbrella, while their friends fetch smoked milk and indigestible plantains Our youthful magistrate declines these favours, and proceeds to collect all the most respectable men of the village together under a shady banian. He then takes with him the plaintiff and defendant up to each of the little crowd of respectables successively and asks of each in turn whether both parties acknowledge him to be an impartial man, unconnected with either, and uninterested in the dispute. He thus collects a sufficient body of respectable and trustworthy witnesses He places them apart by themselves under a tree, and makes them sit down alone, while he goes out of earshot, but not out of sight, under another tree, and calls them up to him one by one for careful cross' examination in the presence of the plaintiff and defendant This done, he visits the land in dispute, if any; makes a sketch of it, calls for the documents in the case, if any are required; and thus anticipates cleverly concocted perjury, forgery, and the machinations of the detestable fraternity of low native attorneys, who live upon fraud and litigation. He rides off; and after a hasty bathe and breakfast, is in court by eleven o clock to decide his cases, with a clear conscience, though somewhat wearied by such a prelude to the six or seven hours' work in court.

This is the sort of training requisite for a Bengal magistrate and judge In this way, besides getting at the truth in the only way possible, he obtains a knowledge of the people, their habits, modes of life, prejudices notions, land-tenures, and languages which is worth infinitely more than the training which a barrister would bring from Westminster or the Old Bailey. And what barrister of any standing, or any character, would go through this sort of undignified wear and tear, which to a young civilian of five-and-twenty is practicable, though not pleasant?

serious kind. As regards the latter, it is still necessary that the native complainant shall proceed against the English planter in the Queen's Court at Calcutta, even though the offence may have been committed many hundred miles up the country, and shall himself, with his witnesses, proceed at an enormous expense to the metropolis. To say nothing of the hardship that this involves to native villagers, who regard a journey beyond their own district as we should regard a journey to Central Africa, the expense involved in engaging English counsel and paying attorneys' bills, the delay and mystery of the whole proceedings, are sufficient to deter any one but a rich man; so that the aggrieved ryot prefers infinitely to submit to his wrong, and the "independent Anglo-Saxon" has immunity from justice as well as from trial in a "Company's" court To say nothing of the impolicy of continuing a system which must leave a very unfavourable impression as to our good faith and impartiality in the minds of the native population, its injustice is so obvious, that one can but wonder that it has been allowed to exist so long.

The argument urged by the planters in favour of their exemption—that justice is badly administered in the Company's courts appears to us to tell just the other way. If bad for them, surely those courts are much worse for the natives, who do not possess the advantages of wealth, social position, and natural energy, which enable the former to retain English counsel, and in other ways to do battle with any incapacity on the part of the judge, or corruption on the part of the witness If the courts are bad, let them be reformed, not for the sake of any one class of the community, but for all classes, and we are quite sure that nothing is so likely to insure this reform as the continued liability to their jurisdiction of such a class as the sturdy English planters, determined to have justice, and to expose any defects in the administration of justice by which they suffer. The evidence taken before Parliament in 1853, and the debates and enactments of the Legislative Council, show that the improvement of the courts has not been forgotten; but doubtless there is much to be done The objections urged against the Company's courts by the planters are mainly the following:—(1) that the judicial officers of the Civil Service presiding in these courts have no legal training; (2) that some of the junior magistrates and nearly all the assistant-judges in the civil law-courts are natives, and consequently not above the reach of corrupt influences; (3) that the law administered is not English law, and (4) that security of person and property is placed at the mercy of perjured witnesses, forged documents, and fictitious charges. The Indian officials reply to the first of these assertions by stating that, as regards the magistrates' courts, the simple nature of the law ac

privilege of appeal to the judge's court, and the state of society, render unnecessary the careful legal training so requisite in England in consequence of the complex state of the law and the very different state of things They point out that the proposal to substitute English barristers would not answer; for but few persons who had been called to the bar would be found willing to come to India on the condition of having to wait for the post of magistrate until they had qualified themselves for passing the examinations in Indian law, language, and customs, described in our last article Until so qualified, their mere legal training, it is urged, would be of no use whatever; while the training of the young civil servant, which he gains during his career as an assistant, in trying petty cases under the eye of the magistrate, in conducting police investigations in the villages, and in taking down evidence in a boundary dispute, is just what is wanted. They add that, as regards the higher or judges' courts, men who show incompetency for presiding in them are not promoted, and that seventeen years' experience in the magisterial or revenue courts will give any "average" man sufficient legal training for judicial duties in India (2) In respect to the native magistrates and assistant-judges, it is asserted that, as a general rule, the charge against them is not well founded, that the superior education in the English colleges which most natives have received who hold these posts has given them a better moral instinct, and that the great danger of detection and of losing a position they so greatly prize is a sufficient check. (3) It is urged that the body of law known as the Company's Acts and Regulations, based originally upon the old law of the country, and specially framed with reference to the institutions, tenures, and customs of the people, and more especially the new code now under consideration, is much better adapted to accomplish the ends of justice than the English law. (4) As to the prevalence of perjury in the courts, and the insecurity of property and person resulting therefrom, no change in the law or the administrators could afford any sufficient remedy. This is one of the penalties which the planter must pay for coming to India; and he should be satisfied when he sees that the Government, by promoting the spread of education, are doing their best to raise the character of the people.

Strong as is the position here taken by the Indian Government, we are aware that there is yet much room for improvement in the courts, and more still for the greater security of tenure and the suppression of fraud and violence on the part of the native landlords, as well as of perjury in the witnesses; but we believe that the governors of the different provinces and presidencies, as well as the Legislative Council, have honestly and constantly kept this object in view, and that the new code

will tend greatly to promote its accomplishment Apart, however, from what mere enactments can accomplish, care must be taken that the varied and highly responsible duties falling to the lot of the Indian magistrates, and the high judicial functions which are performed by the judges, are not allowed to fall into the hands of men whose youth, inexperience, or natural incapacity unfits them for such a position. In our last article we showed that most careful precautions had been adopted for many years past to secure the necessary qualifications, but we are quite aware that, during the last two or three years, the large increase of territory, unaccompanied by any corresponding increase in the numerical strength of the Civil Service, has obliged the Indian Government to break through the usual rules of age and standing. This should be looked to, and the strength of the Civil Service increased, though how this is to be done in the present state of the Indian finances we know not. It was anxiety to save the expense consequent on increasing the numerical force of the Civil Service which led to the fatal practice of employing the best men of the army in civil duties; and the same financial difficulties meet an Indian reformer at every turn

There is another improvement, however, which does not involve this embarrassing question of finance more care should be exercised in the selection of the judges It is not sufficient that persons very decidedly and obviously unqualified for the judicial office should be excluded; none should be appointed who do not show actual and undoubted fitness. Under the present system, by which there is only *one* line of promotion to the successive grades of magistrate, collector, and judge, every man looks forward to the judicial office too much as a matter of course, in order that he may enjoy the salary of a judge's appointment as the reward to which he is entitled after a certain number of years' service. Now it is quite right that a certain length of service should entitle a man to a certain increase in his allowances, but it is not necessary to accomplish this object that a good revenue or police officer should be made a judge. Let every civil servant be enabled to gain some general knowledge of all departments during the first years of his service, and after that be appointed to one particular line,—either revenue or police or judicial, according as his special idiosyncrasy may more particularly fit him for the one or the other,—and let him get his increased allowances in that line, when time and good service have entitled him to the same This suggestion is not ours, but one which has been frequently made by distinguished members of the service to which it refers; and we are sure that its adoption would greatly increase its efficiency. Before concluding this part of our subject, we would call attention to the following impartial testimony from

the recent work* of a French gentleman for some years resident in India:

"We merely affirm that, on the average, as a body, by its integrity, its talent, and experience, it [the Civil Service] is equal to its task; that never have magistrates of greater integrity, collectors more disinterested, judges more independent, ruled the destinies of native populations;—in a word, that the great bulk of the Civil Service is a worthy representative in India of one of the nations that lead the van of European civilisation"

Keeping in view the fact that India is not a British colony, but an Asiatic empire administered by the British Crown, we do not see how one single class of the Indian community—the English planters can claim a right to participate in the administration, when from the nature of the case all other classes are excluded from such participation. No such thing as representative government can be possible in India for many generations, and so long as that is the case, the planters must stand on the same footing with the other classes of the population, if we are not to violate the first principles of equity This would be the case even if the planters were regarded with confidence and attachment by the native population, but it is frequently stated by the Bengal missionaries—who would generally be regarded as impartial and well-informed witnesses—that the planters as a class, with of course many exceptions, are considered by the natives as oppressive, because they compel the native peasantry to grow indigo for them against the wish or prejudice of the native labourer, so that disturbances and affrays are not uncommon. What, then, would the natives think of our giving the planters the power of legislation?

We have spoken throughout of the planters, as if they were the only parties to the recent petition and others of a similar kind received from time to time from Calcutta, because although they are signed by many of the merchants, brokers, and tradesmen of Calcutta, these latter classes sign them more on account of their sympathy with the planters, whose agents and partners they are, than on their own account For their own part, they only suffer indirectly from any supposed maladministration of justice in the interior, as their residence in Calcutta gives them the privilege of resorting exclusively to the Queen's Court and to English law. As regards the mercantile community of the three great Presidency towns of India, we should be heartily gladly to see their interests represented by the appointment of one of their number to the Legislative Council The experience and advice of such a man as John Cowie would be valuable in the settlement of commercial questions, and the measure could be carried out without the least semblance of injus-

* *Les Anglais et l'Inde*, par E. de Valbezen; Paris, 1857

tice .—indeed, the appointment might be made for five years, a native of India and of Great Britain being alternately selected. But it should be understood that such a concession was not made as a matter of constitutional right, but simply as a measure of good policy, and resumable at the will of the Governor General Such a measure, however, is not likely to be promoted by the production of such petitions as that received by the last mail from Calcutta.

As illustrating the feeling entertained towards the planters by the natives of India, the following extract from a speech delivered recently at the Town hall in Calcutta is worth quoting The speech was delivered by Baboo Rajendra Lall Mittra, a native gentleman, who, in point of scientific acquirements and general ability, holds the very highest place among his countrymen. We do not quote his remarks with approval, for we think they contain mischievous exaggeration, and are wholly mistimed at such a crisis as the present; but we do so to show the light in which the planters are regarded by the people of Bengal.

"Devoid of the merits which characterise a true Englishman, and possessing all the defects of the Anglo Saxon race, these adventurers from England have carried ruin and devastation to wherever they have gone Ask the red Indian in the prairies of North America, and he will say that the antagonism of the Anglo Saxon adventurers has within a hundred years reduced their number from half a million to forty thousand What is it, but the antagonism of the sweepings of England and Holland that has driven the Bosjeman and the Caffre to the inhospitable sands of Central Africa? In Australia and New Zealand, the battle is still being fought, and ere long the natives of those places will be numbered with their dinotherra,—things that were. and yet it is these adventurers who pretend to dread the antagonism of the Hindoo, these are the men who having made England too hot for their residence, come *ad misericordiam* to complain of our rivalry. They talk of their energy, education, and high civilisation They boast of the capital that they bring to India, and the vast number of men who find employment from their wealth. Surely never was a more consummate case of making a mountain of a molehill. Taking the cost of the whole of the indigo produced in this part of the country at a million and a half, we shall have scarcely a crore of European agricultural capital in all India, and for its sake the country could not have a greater curse than the Anglo-Saxon planters, who have been by their own missionaries denounced as the greatest tyrants who have ever been permitted to fatten on the ruination of inoffensive and helpless peasants—men whose like can be had only in the slave owners of Virginia'

SOCIAL POLICY IN INDIA.

[*From the Economist of August* 15, 1857.]

In proportion as it becomes more evident that the recent events are owing to a religious panic, there is an increasing disposition to trace its origin to some more remote cause than that which immediately presents itself. Phlegmatic and reasoning Englishmen will not understand that men who are still but half-savages can act from blind and sudden impulses instead of long entertained and deep-seated impressions. This is the reason why Messrs. Whiteside and Disraeli find willing hearers when they seek to ascribe the mutiny to any such definite cause as the dissatisfaction of the Sepoys with recent legislation in India, in connection with the laws of inheritance and of widow-marriage. While no evidence of a clear or satisfactory kind is adduced in support of such a hypothesis, we think there are many facts which point to an opposite conclusion. In the first place, it must not be forgotten that at least three fourths of the Bengal army came from Oude and Rajpootana, where the action of the Government, in respect to social or educational reforms has necessarily had no opportunity, as yet, of making itself felt. Then there is the fact that no such cause of dissatisfaction has been in any instance brought forward by the Sepoys themselves. When the men of the 19th Regiment had been disbanded and expressed their deep contrition, they were questioned privately as to the motives which had actuated them, but they professed to be utterly unable to account for their apprehensions, merely alleging that men of other regiments had told them that the Government intended to take away their caste. Notwithstanding the absence of personal sympathy and free intercourse between the Sepoys and the English officers of the present generation, which has no doubt rendered the former so accessible to the influence of designing persons, and so credulous of any absurd stories concerning Government proselytism, it must not be forgotten that there are many officers of General Hearsay's standing, who, like him, have always sought and obtained the confidence of the native officers. Yet not one has ever heard any thing which would lead him to suppose that the efforts of Government to promote the education of the people, and the emancipation of widows, or to secure the right of private judgment in religion, were regarded with any suspicion or irritation by the Sepoys. Military men of the "old school" in India are notoriously opposed to the reforming tendencies of the last twenty years, and would have been only too ready to detect and report any such disaffection. All that General Hearsay, who was adduced by Mr. Whiteside in the House of Commons

as a witness on this point, is able to say is, that "*perhaps*" the Dhurmma Sobha (or Hindoo Conservative Society) of Calcutta has instilled disaffection into the minds of the Sepoys No grounds whatever are adduced for the supposition, utterly improbable as it would seem to any one acquainted with the Hindoos of Calcutta, and with that entire absence of intercourse between them and the Sepoys, which a difference of language and of habits must necessarily create It is nothing but a surmise, which the nature of General Hearsay's political and professional prejudices would readily incline him to adopt As a military man, he would rather believe that a military disaster had arisen from causes beyond the scope of military administration; and as an officer of many years' standing, he probably retains the morbid fear of any thing like the progress of "European ideas," which was at one time universal in India

With reference to the particular Act of the Indian Legislature, which, as being the most recent step in the course of social reform, has been more especially selected for comment, the circumstances which attended its passing into law have been strangely overlooked. There was no precipitancy or disregard of public opinion on this question. The movement in its favour originated wholly with the native community, and the question was discussed for years before it came before the Legislature After that, every opportunity was afforded for a free expression of opinion on the subject of the Draft Act published for the public consideration For years, many eminent Hindoos had written and spoken on the great social misery and moral degradation to which every Hindoo widow was exposed by the state of the law, which rendered it impossible for her to marry again —even if she lost her husband in childhood; and the petitions presented to the Legislature for the legalisation of re-marriage were not by any means confined to the members of what is called the "Young Bengal" party, but represented the wishes of numbers who retain all their old attachment to Hindooism, and who are not acquainted with the English language and literature. What is still more remarkable is, that the promoter of the movement was a Brahmin and Pundit, who possesses in the highest degree the veneration and regard of the Hindoos, in consequence of his pre eminent acquaintance with the sacred language and scripture of their race. And he commanded the sympathies of a considerable number of the most distinguished men of his class by a series of publications which showed conclusively, by quotations from the sacred writings, that the remarriage of Hindoo widows was not forbidden. Several petitions were of course presented by persons objecting to the proposed Act, but notwithstanding the great length of time during which the subject was discussed, and the notoriety which the question attained, we understand that the Sepoys

expressed no opinion and showed no interest whatever in the matter. If, as has been said, they regarded this Act of the Legislature as an objectionable interference with their religious customs, they would have signed the petitions which were circulated every where for the purpose, or at all events have made their opinions on the matter known to their officers

It is, moreover, an error to suppose that now for the first time in the history of Indian administration measures have been introduced which are subversive of Hindoo customs, and that for this reason either no such attempt should have been made at all, as Mr Disraeli asserts, or only made, according to Mr Whiteside, after an immense increase in our military force, with a view to crush all opposition. It seems to be forgotten that the custom of Suttee, or widow burning, stood precisely on the same footing as that of widow celibacy. There was as strong religious sanction for the one as for the other, the arguments urged against interference with the former rite were the same as those urged against the later measure; while the opposition in the former case was ten times stronger than that offered in the latter. The greatest alarm was expressed by officials of that day, who thought that the suppression of Suttee would cause the loss of India Lord Amherst resisted the counsels of the Court of Directors, and it required all the moral courage of Lord William Bentinck to carry out that great reform. This was done in the year 1829, and from that time to this not only has there been no manifestation of ill-feeling, but the propriety of suppressing this custom has been so generally acquiesced in by the whole people of India, that even the Native States have one by one followed our example It is a curious fact, and one which has an important bearing upon the present question, that considerable anxiety was felt as to the manner in which the suppression of the rite of Suttee would be received by the native army, and that a distinguished official of that day recorded an opinion that the enactment "would be regarded by the native army with nearly total indifference, *as the civil enactments of the Government generally are*"*.

We believe, therefore, that there is no ground whatever for attributing the mutiny to the social reforms initiated or promoted by the Indian Government. No doubt it *might* have been otherwise; and it is not impossible that a vague perception of the fact that Hindooism has been losing much of its vitality, may have increased the irritation of the Brahmin Sepoys, which was aroused in the first instance by a fear of losing the privileges alluded to on a previous occasion And if this had been so, to inquire how it should affect the course pursued of late years by the Government in India—is an important question, which it is very desirable should be fairly and fully met in the

* Kaye on the Administration of the East India Company.

House of Commons If there are really any public men who conceive that the moral and intellectual progress of the people of India should not be promoted, as having a tendency to excite opposition and to "offend native prejudices," let that opinion be frankly and clearly avowed, that we may see how far it meets with the assent of the House and the nation generally. It should at the same time be clearly understood what has been the exact nature of the policy pursued in India, and what are the particular measures which are open to question as having a tendency to excite disaffection So far as we are informed, that policy has always been that of strict non interference with the religious tenets of the people, and entire abstinence from all proselytism, combined at the same time with the steady promotion of mental and moral improvement, by facilitating the progress of education and the diffusion of knowledge on the one hand, and on the other by the gradual extinction of customs of a degrading tendency, which, though directly the result of the native systems of religion, do not form an *essential* part of those systems. 'It seems to us that while both true policy and public faith should restrain us from interfering with the free exercise of their religion or the performance of the duties it enjoins (including, of course, the preservation of caste), we are equally bound to promote the knowledge and appreciation of the great laws of morality, and to remove all legal impediments to the adoption of such social usages or altered religious views as an improved moral sense may dictate This is the policy which the Indian Government have of late years adopted; and we think it highly desirable that when insinuations are repeatedly made, as they have been made lately, that such a policy is open to question, the House of Commons should give out no uncertain sound, but state in clear and unmistakeable terms whether that policy has its support or not. The people of India, as well as the Government of India, have a right to demand a clear expression of opinion on this point

We feel confident that there are but few public men who would not be willing to acknowledge that, cost what it may, our first duty in India is the moral and intellectual elevation of the people consistently with a due regard to their religious rights; and that we should not abstain from seeking the cooperation of the people in abrogating evil and injurious customs, merely because those customs are in some measure the result of their religious tenets. 'To follow the opposite principle—of doing nothing that may possibly militate against the prejudices of the most ignorant part of the native population, to retard education because it would weaken the belief in oceans of treacle, to punish educated Hindoos for adopting the Christian religion by civil penalties, to condemn thousands of women to moral degradation of the worst kind, merely because these

things are the results of Hindooism—would be to abrogate all the duties which devolve upon us as a civilised and Christian people, to legislate in the spirit of Hindoos and not of English men. If the commonest principles of civilisation and morality come into collision with, and are opposed to, Hindooism, Hindooism must bear the responsibility of such a collision.

However much it may be the tendency of a commercial people to look at great questions of policy from a narrow and materialist point of view, we believe that these views really command the sympathy of most public men of whatever "school" And even were it not so,—were we to take even the very lowest ground,—it would be easy to show that the adoption of the course we have indicated would be profitable as well as right, that it is far easier and less expensive to rule an educated than an uneducated people; that with the diffusion of knowledge and civilisation, and a higher morality, there comes more intercourse, new wants, and that good faith which is the necessary foundation of extensive trade

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MISSIONS IN INDIA.

[*Extracts from a Letter to the Editor of the Inquirer.*]

* * * * This subject is indeed important, as you justly remark, and can hardly be too much kept in view at a time when, on the one hand, selfishness calls for the suppression of all missionary work—nay, of all social and moral reform—lest "markets" and "empire" be endangered, and when, on the other, misguided zeal would inculcate a denial of all religious liberty, and compel the Hindoos into a nominal avowal of Christianity. So far from recent events proving that we have "interfered" too much with religious prejudices, your article implies, I think, that we ought to have done far more than we have done for the inculcation of a purer religious faith; that as a Christian and a civilised nation, we have but ill performed the great and sacred duties which we owe to the millions of Eastern subjects whom God has committed to our charge.

To some such general expression of opinion as this no candid man could withhold his assent. But in respect to the specific instances of neglect brought forward in your article, and more especially in respect to the work done by the missionaries of India, I think that your remarks are calculated to leave a very unjust impression on the minds of your readers, while your suggestions, if I understand them rightly, as to the mode in which we should seek to regenerate India, appear to me to be open to the gravest religious objections I will now proceed to notice these two points in due order

A great change has taken place during the last twenty years in the mode of working Missions in India Before that time the missionaries, proceeding on the principle that conversion was a matter in which the *heart* was alone concerned, adopted no measures to awaken or cultivate the *minds* of the poor and ignorant classes whom they chiefly addressed Access to the wealthy and prosperous was not easy, while the learned Brahmins only bewildered their would be teachers with that wonderful tissue of sophistry, mysticism, and straw splitting, on which a Hindoo Pundit so especially prides himself. It is true the missionaries of that time established at their respective stations free schools for the children of the labourers and artisans, but the secular teaching was wholly left to the indigenous schoolmasters, and gave little more than the most elementary knowledge of writing, reading, and the arithmetic tables the missionaries' part being confined to the Bible-lessons These Bible lessons were in lieu of school-fees, but as the child was always carefully warned by the parent and priest against remembering these lessons, and as he seldom stayed in the school beyond the age of five or six, much good could not have been done. So the missionary looked chiefly to the possible though unseen results of his preaching in the streets, bazaars, and fairs, and weary work it was If his discourse was not altogether stopped by showers of mud and stones, it was interrupted at every sentence by coarse abuse, irrelevant questions, or loud ridicule of his inelegant grammar or bad pronunciation. However, occasionally a ray of hope would encourage him, a hearer would follow him to his house for further information, or ask for copies of the Bible and Christian tracts. But too often this turned out to be a mere *ruse*, with the motive of inducing the simple-minded man to recommend the disciple to the magistrate or judge for a berth in his office, and that done, there was no more interest shown in religious things I once met with a missionary who had toiled on in this way through sickness and privation for nearly fifteen years, distributing thousands of tracts and hundreds of Bibles, travelling and preaching, teaching in hedge schools,—a truly faithful, laborious servant of God, and he told me that he could not point to a single conversion as the result of all he had endured and suffered. There was, however, one very important work accomplished in those days, viz the translation of the Scriptures into the various languages of Hindostan, as well as the preparation of school-books and elementary scientific works in those languages. We must never forget what we owe to the Baptist missionaries of Serampore,—Carey, Ward, and Marshman,—who devoted their lives to this great work, denying themselves all but the bare necessaries of life that out of their small incomes they might build and maintain schools and chapels They lived and died in exile,

with none of the comforts and conveniences which in modern days make a tropical life endurable, contemned by the European "adventurers," and regarded as so mischievous by British governors that they were not allowed to put a foot beyond the little Danish colony of Serampore.

As to any actual tangible and immediate results, then, of the system pursued in those days, there were hardly any—save when some great famine or pestilence brought the starving peasantry to the doors of the missionaries, offering to be baptised, they and their children, for the sake of relief; this leading, as once in Lower Bengal, to the establishment of entire "Christian" villages, which are still extant. But in these cases there was so little cultivation of the mind and character, and gross animal *habits* were so strong, that it is doubtful whether there was any great gain. Still it was something to have the children, although the missionaries in charge of these villages speak very despondingly even of the present generation The vices and degradation of countries cannot be rooted out in one generation, and these "converts" belonged to a race of men unusually poor both in mind and physique.

The experience of many years proved the necessity of adopting a different course of action, and about twenty years ago the attention of the missionaries was called to the increasing desire among the young men at all the large towns for instruction in the English language and the sciences of the West,—followed as this was by the rapid decay of superstition This result had been accomplished by the Government having on the one hand established a large number of very efficient schools, and having on the other hand promised employment and advancement in the public service to all distinguished students of good character. Dr. Duff, a missionary of the Church of Scotland in Calcutta, saw that the true field for successful work lay among this class. He accordingly went among the young Hindoo students, invited them to attend lectures on Christianity, to propose questions or objections, and to maintain free and public discussion under his guidance. He was eminently fitted for such a task by unusual readiness, extensive knowledge, and real eloquence, and his influence was greatly felt "Young Bengal" entered upon a new era. discussion societies were formed, newspapers and periodicals set on foot; polytheism, Coolie marriages, widow-celibacy, and caste, were condemned as abominations; and a taste for English literature became the fashion. Last of all, Dr. Duff established a great high school and college for a thousand students, in which a complete course of instruction, from the rudiments of English and Bengali to conic sections, Milton, and Sanscrit, was offered free of all charge, but on the express condition that every student should, for a certain number of hours every day,

attend a course of instruction in Bible history, Christian evidences, and theology The institution was filled at once, for schooling fees were required in the Government colleges, and those who could not afford to pay them took the risk of conversion without much fear of falling into any such danger Other missionary societies followed that of the Scotch Church; and there are now upwards of five thousand students at missionary institutions in Calcutta and the immediate neighbourhood The *visible* result is *not* large, for the number of students annually baptised is probably not more than ten on the average, but this is not the only result A knowledge of Christ's glorious life and teachings, the wonderful dealings of God with man during the Jewish period, are conveyed to thousands in a greater or less degree; and the impressions left by that teaching must contribute to the gradual diffusion of higher principles of conduct, better feelings, and ultimately to the public avowal of the Christian name, though not perhaps in the present generation. Hundreds must be better and happier men for such knowledge, although they have not the moral courage to undergo the sacrifices involved in a declaration of Christian belief At present the social stigma attaching to the name of Christian is so great, that the weak and pliant Hindoo cannot generally find the requisite strength for the excommunication which baptism involves He may call himself anything else a Vedantist, a Deist, or an Atheist; and so long as he conforms to some of the principal ceremonial observances, he is not persecuted. The neighbours still have their processions and music, the women their sweetmeats, and the priest his offerings, so no one suffers and, therefore, it is a matter of no consequence what he believes. But directly Christianity is embraced, and caste is lost, there is an end of these things. Besides, Christianity is hated for other reasons than these. hated by hypocritical Vedantists and shallow sceptics quite as bitterly as by the old Hindoo worshipers of Vishnu and Siva, —because it rebukes their immorality, selfishness, falsehood, and cowardice,—hated because it does not flatter their intense arrogance and conceit,—because it tells them that a consciousness of their sinfulness and moral degradation is the first step in the true path.

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From the moment that a Hindoo is publicly baptised, he becomes an outcast from his father's home, is scoffed at by friends and relatives, or abused with foul words, debarred from ever crossing the threshold of his home, of seeing his mother and sisters again. That in spite of such persecution, the missionaries are able, year after year, to induce a small number of young Hindoos, with all their timidity and their strong attachment to home and family, to make this sacrifice, is a striking proof of the strength of their convictions, and of their having

an intelligent living faith This is a result of which the missionary bodies in England and America may well be proud; and they feel it,– for year after year are greater exertions made, immense funds are subscribed, and men of first rate ability and scholarship are sent out by the Established Church of Scotland, the Free Church, the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. There are no abler or more faithful men any where than Dr Duff, Dr. Mackay, Dr Kay, the Rev. Thomas Smith, the Rev. J. Mullens, the Rev James Long, and the Rev. C. Bomwetch

I ought not, however, to omit stating that in the Upper Provinces, where the progress in English education has not been so great as in Lower Bengal, the missionaries have been establishing schools of a very superior description, where the instruction is given entirely through the medium of the vernacular, and normal schools for native Christian teachers, who go through a complete course of instruction in the sciences, Sanscrit, and theology. The magnitude of such a task may be conceived when I say, that in these schools not a word of English is used, and that text books have had to be composed for the purpose, in which the ideas of Butler, Paley, Arnott, Somerville, and De Morgan, are rendered by terms derived from the Sanscrit

* * * In Bengal the Roman Church does little or nothing towards the conversion of the natives. I have never seen or heard of a Catholic missionary in that part of India. The priests (Portuguese, Italian, and Irish) perform the mass for their small congregations, and do but little, if any thing, else. The bulk of their congregations consists of Portuguese half-castes; and I have never seen so ignorant and debased a population calling itself Christian Their language is a jumble of Portuguese and Bengali, while their habits, food, and manners differ very little from those of the low Mohammedan population. The following anecdote will illustrate their mental and moral condition A Portuguese half-caste, residing at a station where a priest had been for some years in charge of a Catholic congregation, came during the temporary absence of the latter to the Protestant chaplain and expressed his wish to have his children baptised. The chaplain, knowing that the man was leading a life of open immorality, questioned him as to his motives in making this request; when he replied, "O, of course they must be baptised, or they will *lose their caste.*" I was residing at the station where this conversation took place. * *

THE ALLEGED EXCLUSION OF THE BIBLE FROM GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS IN INDIA.

[The following letter was addressed to the Rev. J. Scott Porter, of Belfast, in reply to an inquiry as to the truth of the assertion that, while the reading of the Koran and the Shasters was permitted in the Government schools in India, the Bible was rigorously excluded. The reply was published in the *Northern Whig*.]

It should be remembered that the position of the Government schools in India is very similar, in respect to this question, to that of the National schools in Ireland. When the Indian Administration first entered on the work of education, some thirty years ago, there was no desire for instruction of any sort among our Indian subjects,—much less for instruction in the English language and the sciences of the West. It was only by degrees that the people became aware of the great advantages which would accrue from proficiency in these things, —such as honourable and lucrative employment, and the acquisition of wealth and social position. Moreover, the general belief in Hindooism had not then given way, as it has since Idolatry prevailed in full force among all classes; and any attempt to teach Christianity in the public schools would have been regarded with anger and disgust The Indian Government, therefore, had to choose, as the British Government have had to choose in Ireland, whether they would afford a purely secular education to the people, or none at all

It may be objected to this view of the matter, that the success of the missionary schools in India proves that the apprehension was misplaced. I reply, in the first place, that at that time (thirty years ago) missionary schools would not have succeeded as they do now, because the Government teachers of Goldsmith, Cowper, Addison, Newton, Somerville, and Black, had not then cleared the way for direct religious instruction, by sapping the foundations of Hindooism, in a practical demonstration of the falsehood of its chronology and geography, and of the superior morality and nobleness of Christian essayists and poets.

In the second place, I would point out that even now, with all the progress that has been made in destroying superstition and polytheism, the only natives who send their children to missionary schools are those who cannot afford to pay school-fees. No man who is tolerably well off will send his child to a missionary school, and I have scores of times been applied to by the sons of poor men for a small allowance to save them from the hardship of attending the missionary school, and to

enable them to go to the Government institutions instead: I need hardly say that I always refused As to the assertion made, in the *Inquirer* and elsewhere, that "the Hindoos read the Bible in their own schools," I can only say that, during the two years I occupied the post of Inspector-General of Schools for South Bengal (containing a population of about ten millions), no such case ever came under my notice, and I believe the statement to be utterly untrue in regard to the general practice of the Hindoos It is possible that the Bible may have been read in one or two Hindoo schools, but certainly not in more

Let it be remembered too, that even to this day, and without any direct religious teaching, our Government schools have been too Christian for the Mahometans of India, who, with rare exceptions, have stood aloof from them Rather than learn science and philosophy from Christian writers, they have allowed the Hindoos to monopolise all the places of power and trust which they once held under Government, and which are now given as rewards to distinguished scholars in the Government colleges.

Even supposing these special difficulties had not existed, there would have been that great difficulty which has attended the question at home, and which has embarrassed the wisest men of all parties, viz. if religion be taught, *who* is to teach it, and *how?* No possible solution could have been arrived at by the Government there, any more than at home, which would not have called forth violent opposition from all religious bodies among our countrymen except, perhaps, from the one body whose views were more or less favoured.

Such being the facts of the case, will any temperate and candid man say that there was any other course open to the Indian Government than that of providing the best moral and intellectual instruction in its power, placing before the pupils of their schools the best works of the best ethical and scientific writers of our Christian country, and so preparing the way for the direct religious teaching of the missionaries, and affording them this great boon without such conditions as would have insured its rejection?

In the above remarks, I have taken it for granted that, by the alleged "exclusion of the Bible from Government schools," it is meant that the Bible is not made a class-book, and that direct Christian teaching is not imparted The words taken literally would not convey the truth; for, by a distinct resolution of Government, passed some years ago, it was ordered, that a copy of the Bible should be placed in every school and college library, and I I may remark, an explanation, that every Government institution has a lending-library attached to it, for the use of the teachers and pupils. The works of many of

our principal religious writers may be found in most of these *libraries.*

The assertion would be still more untrue if it were meant to convey the impression that the Bible was excluded from all *Educational Institutions having any connection with Government* In the preceding remarks I have spoken of schools and colleges supported wholly by Government, and conducted by *Government servants.* But it must not be forgotten that, three years ago, the grant-in-aid system was introduced throughout India, and that, consequently, the Government now supports with liberal aid all missionary schools which are willing to accept it, though direct religious instruction and Bible reading is the most prominent feature in the course.

It is also a mistake to assert that, while the Bible is excluded from the Government schools, the Koran and Shasters are read there, for *no* direct religious instruction whatever is given in those institutions, any more than at University College, London, or the Queen's colleges in Ireland But, as some small portion of the time of the students is occupied in giving them a thorough knowledge of their own language, it is necessary that they should read, translate, and parse native works, and this occasionally necessitates the use, as a mere lesson in *language,* of books more or less connected with their religious belief.

Having thus replied to the special question contained in your note, let me take the opportunity of saying a few words on the general question of the interference of Government in the work of christianising India I cannot understand how it is that men, who in England are such warm advocates of the Voluntary principle, who see so much to deprecate in State-religion, should advocate a line of policy in India which is directly opposed to that which they desire to see followed in England. Why can they not trust the cause of Christian teaching to the efforts of the missionaries, and the gradual progress of religious truth to the voluntary efforts of religious men of all classes in India and at home? How is it that those who see no disrespect to religion in the creation of institutions like that of University College, London, should be so angry when the same principle is adopted with far greater cause in Calcutta and Madras? How is it that Nonconformists in England, who see so clearly the evils of a State-Church in the worldly, selfish, and mercenary motives which it brings into spheres of thought and action where all should be pure and spiritual—in its destruction of free thought, moral courage, and conscientiousness—in its obstruction to the progress of theology and religious faith—should call upon the Government in India to tempt the Hindoos to lying professions of belief, in the desire of obtaining the favour of their rulers and employers—in the passion fo

place and power, which is so marked a characteristic of the Hindoo people? At present, we can trust in the public avowal of Christian belief by a Hindoo, because that act involves severe sacrifice His first step is the most difficult, the most glorious,—the most essential test of his sincerity. He has really "to take up his cross," in proof of his desire to follow Christ At present a convert suffers much and gains nothing. As a general rule, he is in a worse position in respect to worldly comforts and emoluments than any other young Bengalees of good education; for they are sure of advancement if clever and well conducted. The convert, instead of becoming a merchant's clerk, or an assistant in a Government office or law-court, takes the humbler and less remunerative position of a catechist or preacher; for the missionaries are seldom willing to trust these young men to the dangers and temptations of the world, away from mission influence, while, on the other hand, they must keep in view the great object of strengthening the body of *native* missionaries, to whom alone we must look for any great extension of Christian teaching among the millions of Hindostan.

Now, what would be the effect if Indian Governments and officials were to hold out temptations to a lip-profession of Christianity? Why, the present test of sincerity, so good for the convert, and so great a source of confidence to the missionary, would be lost for ever, and the sacred cause would be perverted to all manner of base and mercenary purposes. Yet, because we will not do this, we are held up, at public meetings, in pulpits, and on platforms, in secular and religious newspapers, as traitors to our own religion, who patronise Vishnu and Brahma, but deny Christ! There may have been truth in such an accusation a quarter of a century ago, but the assertion now is a cruel and ungenerous falsehood. The officers of the army and the Civil Service show their attachment to their religion by large subscriptions to mission schools and churches—by their very regular attendance at public worship even occasionally by attending missionary meetings—and by their exemplary lives and generally high moral conduct.

The Government shows its attachment to Christianity by the stoppage of all public works on the Sabbath, by making the evidences of Christianity one of the subjects which may be taken up for a degree in the University, the obligation of passing in Jewish history for the same degree, the discontinuance of any tribute to the Temple of Juggernath, the Act for the protection of converts from the loss of ancestral property required by the Hindoo law, the Act prohibiting the sale of immoral books and pictures; the abrogation of Suttee, infanticide, self-immolation, and other such practices, arising out of the native superstitions. Yet, with these facts, the English press and pulpit concur with the *Inquirer* in asserting that

the Indian Government "has not done justice to its own faith" —has "connected itself with demoralising practices"—has done nothing to civilise the people of India!

Such is the reward which public men in India, toiling on from year to year, for ten or twelve hours a day, without remission from labour of any kind—in exile from the comforts, security, and blessings of home—but labouring faithfully for the regeneration of India, in the earnest desire to fulfil the great trust delivered to them; such is the reward which they receive at the hands of their countrymen at home.

London, October 19, 1857.

THE ANNEXATION OF OUDE, AND ITS RELATION TO THE MUTINY,

being a Review of "The Rebellion in India: How to prevent another. By John Bruce Norton. Richardson Brothers

[*Published in the Economist of November 7, 1857*]

MR. NORTON is a barrister at Madras, as well known for his ability as for his active antagonism to the Indian Administration. His ostensible reason for publishing the above work is, that the "Gagging Act," as he calls it, prevents any comment in India on the events now occurring there. This is a rather unfortunate remark for a writer to begin with, who proceeds to assure his readers, "that no single statement which I have ever yet put forward has been shown to be untrue, or even incorrect;" for we defy any man to show us any newspaper in England which comments more freely upon the proceedings of the Government than the Indian press has continued to do since the passing of the Act alluded to. All that the Indian Government did was to prevent the press from being made a means of spreading sedition or discontent, and of weakening the confidence of the native community in the strength of the Government. That it had no further intention, and that the press was left free to make comments upon the Government, however unjust or however severe, so long as it did not actually endanger the public safety,—will be sufficiently evident to any body who will take the trouble to read the Indian newspapers. But when native newspapers published proclamations from the King of Delhi, and when English newspapers informed their native readers that the Government had no strength, no resources, no claim to respect or confidence, and when all this time the preservation of the empire hung upon a thread—which thread was the confidence of the native community in English vigour,—it was surely time to give the Executive Government the power of restraining such a dangerous abuse of liberty. The

swearing in for general service all recruits All this has been burning into their souls, and the annexation of Oude has brought things to a climax' 'What has Oude to do with it?' I exclaimed: 'when I was with my own regiments, the men appeared to like the idea.' 'True, sahib,' was the reply, 'they liked it at first, for they thought you paid them to conquer, keep, and tax other countries, but that you would not exact tax to any amount from the country where they came from, from their families but they found the difference; that instead of being better, they are worse off than before, that they, the lordly Brahmins and Rajpoots, cannot lord it as they expected, that their Bhaees [brethren] in the Nawabee song couldn't dumka [lord it over] the Nawab, and live free as they did before; in short, that they like not the fraternity and equality of our law in Oude.' '

Such evidence as this is surely not worth much; and we have on the other side facts like that reported by a recent mail, to the effect that Mr. Commissioner Greathed having been specially directed to examine all mutineers arrested in his division as to the motives which had actuated them, one and all persisted in attributing their conduct solely to the apprehension of losing caste It is not true that the Sepoys have since been using the very cartridges which gave rise to this frightful epidemic, while the utter absence of any "method in their madness,"—the irregular, fitful way in which the disease has manifested itself, the sudden changes of feeling which have passed over men who had withstood temptation for months,—the whole history of the mutiny in fact,—show that, as regards the *mass* of the army, there could have been no organised pre arranged plan no conspiracy whatever. Partisans who have a "case" to prove, and pedants who have a pet theory to substantiate, object to this view of the matter, but it is the only one warranted by the facts as they appear to unprejudiced men. The admirable letters of "Indophilus," in the *Times* of the 22d and 23d October, on this subject, are well worth perusal. There is far too great a disposition among all parties to ignore every fact connected with the mutiny that does not favour their own theories and prejudices; Mr. Disraeli's party ignores all evidence that points to any conclusion other than that of the mutiny being caused by the "unrighteous lust of territory." The friend of missions will have it that the mutiny has been caused by too great a regard for "idolatrous customs." The Indian of the old school is sure that the colleges, missionaries, and the legalisation of widow marriages, have caused all the mischief. It would be a wiser and more candid course to wait until further events, and the complete investigation which will follow when the present conflict is over, shall show more clearly what are the various causes which have in various degrees influenced the several classes who have originated or taken part in this mutiny. This may be very tiresome to hot and impa-

tient politicians, but it will save many from the humiliation of being "Hansarded" with unpleasant reminiscences of articles and speeches which time will in the end perhaps prove to be as absurd as they were smart

No wonder that so clear headed a man as Mr. Norton should every now and then be smitten with a sense of facts being against him, for, in spite of his condemnation of the Indian police, civilian judges, and revenue meddling, he is obliged to admit that "the great bulk of the people—the ryots and cultivators of the soil—are better off under our Government than under any of its predecessors Our policy is all in their favour. We have released them, at least in the Presidency of Madras, from the thraldom of their lords, who governed them ruthlessly; we have done much to level the distinctions of caste, and to raise the pariah to a higher social platform. We have striven to educate the lowest, rather than to keep knowledge locked up exclusively in the breasts of the fortunate few." And again: "It is not possible to conceive a greater calamity to the people of India than the present dissolution of the bonds between them and us Pen cannot describe, heart cannot conceive, the misery in store for the natives of India, if every European were massacred to morrow, and they handed over to their own devices Internecine war, anarchy such as the world has not witnessed, would follow our destruction"

Exactly so; and this is the reason that, although, as Lord Metcalfe says, "the domination of strangers—in every respect strangers,—in country, in colour, in dress, in manners, in habits, in religion must be odious," they still feel that, on the whole, *there is substantial justice, such as never was known* under native rulers—one law for rich and poor—infinitely greater security of person and property, and the *desire* to govern rightly, notwithstanding occasional blunders arising from the fact of our being foreigners and aliens. Although, as we have said, there is no evidence to show that "the policy of aggression, spoliation, and confiscation which characterised his (Lord Dalhousie's) administration" has "loosened our hold upon the respect of the natives," and "shaken their belief in our good faith and honesty of intention," it may be worth while to take this opportunity of considering how far Mr. Norton has succeeded in showing that there has been any such policy, and that we have done any thing to justify such loss of confidence in our good faith. We have not space to enter into the circumstances connected with the history of all the Native States "confiscated" by Lord Dalhousie, but will select the one which Mr. Disraeli would consider to be the most flagrant instance of this injurious policy, viz Oude.

The position taken by Mr. Norton is, that we claimed a right which had no existence, of "interfering in the adminis-

tiation of an *ally's* country," and of "making its Government square with what we considered it should be;"—that by a treaty of 1837 we were bound, in the event of misgovernment, to take only temporary charge of the kingdom;—that the evidence contained in the Blue-book as to its misgovernment is "suspicious" and "cooked,"—and that a catalogue of crime similar to that contained in General Outram's report "might easily be prepared in many of our own districts." Now what are the real facts so strangely and perversely ignored by this and other writers,—presuming, as they do, upon the want of information possessed by their countrymen in all matters relating to India?

"The present dynasty of Oude," as Mr J P Grant says in his admirable Minute, "are not, and never have been, independent sovereigns, but were made sovereigns for the first time even in name by ourselves." They were mere "soobahdars," or viceroys, of the Great Mogul at Delhi, and never disputed his right to remove them at pleasure The British Government succeeded to the position and rights of the Mogul, both generally and specially, in relation to the Soobahdars of Oude. So far back as 1779, Warren Hastings complained to the vizier (for the title of King had not then been assumed) of the "disorders of the state," and his "detestable choice of ministers" Lord Cornwallis, after residing at Lucknow, observed severely upon the "continued depravity of the administration and desolated appearance of the country," stating that the "revenue was collected by force of arms, the amils were left to plunder uncontrolled, and the ryots deprived of all security from oppression In Lord Mornington's time, the vizier, finding he could not carry on the Government, proposed to abdicate,—which Lord Mornington strongly advised him to do, and to vest the administration in the East India Company, "observing the *inveterate* abuses which perverted the administration of justice, and destroyed the foundations of public prosperity." The vizier altered his mind, but he was compelled to enter into the treaty of 1801, by which he engaged "to establish such a system of administration as should be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and to act in conformity to the counsels of the officers of the East India Company." On our part we undertook to protect the vizier, and support him by our arms against all foreign and domestic enemies. This we have done faithfully, preserving the ruler by our troops from the treachery of kindred, mutiny, and rebellion, but how has the vizier observed his part of the treaty? Why, every successive resident at the court of Lucknow, and every successive Governor-General, has had to deplore, in the strongest terms that language could convey, the terrible misrule and oppression exercised over the unfortunate

people of Oude,—the basest prostitution of justice, universal anarchy, and misery. Lord Wellesley, Lord Mornington, and Lord William Bentinck, all recommended that the British Government should assume exclusive authority in Oude, as the only remedy for the grievous sufferings of the people. Let us make a few selections at random from the correspondence of the last *fifty years* In 1801, Lord Wellesley *speaks of Oude* as "one of the most fertile regions of the globe, now reduced to a condition of the most afflicting misery and desolation" A few years after, the resident states that the landholders were exposed to the systematic extortions of the contractors to whom the Nawab farmed the assessments, and whom he authorised to levy their demands by the most violent and oppressive means. From 1815 to 1822 "the British troops were constantly employed against refractory Zemindars, and more than seventy of their forts were dismantled;" while "gangs of armed robbers, on one occasion 400 in number, made frequent and desperate inroads into British territory."

At last, in 1847, Lord Hardinge gave the King of Oude (for the vizier had assumed the title of King) two years to establish law and order, telling him that, if at the end of that time the stipulations of the treaty were not observed, the administration of the country would be taken from him At the end of that time, the resident, General Sleeman, well known as a great friend to Native States, reported that "things were no better;" "the only persons, save the females, who now see and speak to the king are the minister, the singers, and the eunuchs," "there are 246 forts having 476 cannons held by the landholders," "the towns, villages, and hamlets are commonly deserted and in ruins," "of judicial courts there are none, save at the capital," the police "sell their reports as *monks sold their indulgences.*" "*I have before me a case in* which the wives and children of the landholders and cultivators of whole towns and villages were driven lately off in hundreds, like flocks of sheep, and sold into slavery." In 1854, General Outram was appointed resident and ordered to send in a special report upon the state of Oude. He, too, is known to have ever advocated the maintenance of the remaining Native States, but was obliged to report even a worse state of things than we have depicted, and declared that there was no remedy but that of assuming the administration.

The following is an extract from a private letter from *Lucknow, written before the annexation of Oude, and published* in the *Calcutta Review*:

"Oude has been subjected to the most fearful evil which we believe can visit a community,—the evil of a Government which unites profligacy to idiotcy. Slowly, and almost without observation, its property has passed away. Its revenue has declined from four mil-

lions sterling to seventy lacs of rupees. Its population has not only been decimated, but reduced one-half. Every kind of order has disappeared. The police has ceased to exist. The revenue is farmed to eighteen Chucklidars, who obtain their appointments solely from bribery of the low favourites of the court. The money which they pay-in is anticipated years before it is due, and is reduced one half *by the numerous hands through which it passes*. The usual course of procedure is something after this fashion. The Chucklidar, with a strong body of troops, selects a few villages, or a rich Zemindary, for his first demand. It is for the regular revenue plus a *Solatium*. Both are paid with considerable readiness if the village has not been recently harried, or stormed, or visited by the king, or by any other pestilence. The taxation of Oude is not by itself very oppressive, and as for the *Solatium*, that is regarded as a matter of course, a mere expression of respect for a superior. This once secured, the Chucklidar makes a new demand. He still, however, usually covers it with some pretext. His troops are in revolt, and he must pay them at once; or his commissariat is out of order, or there is a manufactured balance of arrears; or, in short, the lamb's father abused the wolf. The villagers, or Zemindars, anticipating something of the kind, are not quite unprepared: with tears and menaces and imprecations, and sometimes with a show of fighting, they still pay, then the Chucklidar comes out without disguise. He seizes all the women he can lay hands on, and demands a ransom under the threat of insults to them, which to an oriental are worse than death. Sometimes the terrible threat extorts the remainder of the victims' hoard. Sometimes, particularly among the Hindoos, the threat fills them with despair, the unfortunates turn to bay, and, sword in hand, cut their way through to the Company's territory. Sometimes, too, they defeat the Chucklidar, and take to the mountains. More frequently the village is assaulted, all the property harried, and the women surrendered to the lust of the soldiery. The scene is repeated again and again; and the Chucklidar frequently emerges from a district which he has turned into a desert with sacked cities. * * * Occasionally, as in the instance of Naupurah, a whole country is laid waste; but it matters nothing at Lucknow. The king's favourites have money, and the king has, to use Carlyle's expression, 'unspeakable peace within doors.' Woe to the Chucklidar, however, if he presumes to retain too much of his wealth. The courtiers are then awake to humanity; complaints are listened to; he is ordered to disgorge; tied by the heels to a high roof, covered with oil, and placed in the sun; thrown among hornets; burnt with hot irons on the armpits and the thighs. The sponge is quickly squeezed, and king and courtiers quickly get drunk out of the proceeds. * * *

As we rode homewards, I noticed two scenes I shall not readily forget. The one was the blackened shell of a house, where a Hindoo, his wife, and two children were, twelve months ago, burnt alive, because the man was unable to comply with the demand of a favourite eunuch for fifty rupees. The king at first resolutely refused to punish the author of this deed; and when severely pressed, placed him for three days in open arrest. The second sight was a young woman, evidently beautiful in form, walking along,—a man with a pistol on

half cock behind her. 'Who is this,' quoth I, 'and what is the pistol for?' 'Probably she is going to some noble, and does not like it; the pistol *will kill her if she flies*'

'Do these scenes never end in bloodshed?' said I. 'It is the last day of the Mohurrum,' said he. 'The Mohurrum costs about six hundred lives a year in Lucknow.'

'Why is not indigo grown?' said I. 'Well, it has been tried; two Englishmen tried it; one was murdered, the other had to fly: there is no *security for life and property here.*' There are upwards of one hundred houses in Lucknow, all taxed and registered, inhabited not by women but by men. Was Gomorrha worse? Such is life in Lucknow."

Still Lord Dalhousie was anxious to escape from the storm of misrepresentation which he knew would follow the adoption of this annexation measure, but offered to carry it out before he left India, if the British Government desired it. As to *right*, then, there was no doubt. The rulers of Oude have, in spite of warning after warning, for more than fifty years, successively and systematically violated their engagements; they were not independent sovereigns either by precedent or treaty, and were removable at our pleasure: the treaty of 1801 having been violated, we had a right either to form new engagements with the king, or to assume the administration of his territories. Was it not our *duty*, as the paramount power, responsible for the well being of the people of this dependent territory, to save them from such unparalleled oppression? Were we to think only of one man, and sacrifice millions?

The only technical difficulty in the way was the fact that Lord Auckland had drafted a treaty in 1837, which had been signed by the king of Oude, and by which it was provided that, in the event of the state of things not improving, the British Government should assume the administration *for a time*. The treaty was at once disallowed in England, but the fact was not communicated to the king. Subsequently to this, however, Lord Hardinge gave the king due warning of the consequences of his taking no step to improve the country, and it cannot therefore be said, that the omission in question affected his interests in any way.

Instead of repeating these charges of "rapacity" made by writers like Mr. Norton, we think it would be wiser to recognise the fact that there is some overruling principle or law at work, which is beyond our control in reference to these Eastern nations. No candid man can read the history of India without failing to observe that the great and striking feature of that history is, that while for more than half a century every successive Governor-General has proceeded to India with the most sincere and publicly-declared resolution of preventing any extension of our territory,—while the East India Company and the Parliament have vied in urging upon their lieutenants the

observance of this resolution,—yet in spite of themselves—in spite of the Court of Directors and of Parliament the territory has gone on increasing, whether the Government were in the hands of an Auckland, an Ellenborough, or a Dalhousie.

We must acquiesce in the fact, and, recognising therein the operations of more than human power, perform the work which is so manifestly assigned to us, without looking back to the past with useless regrets and unfounded complaints.

INDIAN PROSPECTS.

[*From the Economist of August 8, 1857.*]

If any thing is clear in the history of the late mutiny, it is that the present state of things was not foreseen by any living being, and least of all by the actors themselves The events of each day have produced those of the next, and appear to have been more or less as follows. It having been found some years ago that the Brahmin Sepoys objected to serve beyond the confines of Hindostan from fear of being obliged to eat forbidden kinds of food, a "general service" order was passed, under which all new recruits were enlisted on the understanding that they would serve wherever required The innovation, however, was looked upon with extreme suspicion by the older men, who feared that with increased demands for foreign service, the rule might be made retrospective, and applied to them This fear has steadily increased and become more lively than ever, as fresh demands for "general service" troops were occasioned by the extension of our territory in Burmah, and then again last year by the Persian and Chinese wars Precisely at this moment arose the rumours of an intention on the part of the British Government to convert the people of India to Christianity by force. A thousand stories flew like wildfire through every cantonment and bazaar, and the new suspicious looking cartridges were appealed to as positive proof of their truth. It matters little by whom this idea was fostered, by seditious Prætorians jealous of their privileges, or by the emissaries of a dethroned king,—the panic grew from day to day, until every man in the army firmly believed that his faith and salvation were in peril,—that the honour of the gods was at stake. The memory of honours gained under the British flag, the attachments to individual officers with whom they had served in Cabul and Ferozepore, the habits of a lifetime,—were forgotten in an instant in the presence of so great a danger, and the Bengal army was gone for ever

These events could not but lead to another and equally serious development. When the Hindoo Sepoys first manifested

uneasiness about the cartridges, they were only laughed at by their Mussulman comrades. But the events at Meerut and Delhi at once evoked the old fanatic spirit of Islam, which never sleeps, but ever waits for a fresh "baptism of the sword." Hindooism is toleration itself compared to the bigotry of Mohammedanism. Our rule has little weakened the hatred of the infidel felt by every true believer; and every insurrectionary movement that has taken place in India for the last quarter of a century has had its origin in this feeling. The Patna conspiracy, the religious war in Oude, the Ferazee riots in East Bengal, the Moplah massacres in Bombay,—are all instances in point Fortunately, however, the Mohammedan portion of the population bears a very small proportion to the Hindoo One danger, nevertheless, that we have in some degree to apprehend at the present moment is a religious war, a war in which every true Mohammedan and some Hindoos may think it their sacred duty to take part at any sacrifice, and irrespectively of all political motives. There are, however, other dangers Many motives besides those of a religious kind must have been called into play by the present crisis. Other objects must have suggested themselves as easy of attainment, besides the triumph of the true faith. We have said that Mr. Disraeli was utterly wrong in treating this as a national rebellion instead of a military revolt We have said, and we cannot too strongly repeat our conviction, that the *mass* of the population are with us. Yet, however much the cultivator and the merchant may value the security and peace which our rule has given them, there are, no doubt, some dangerous classes by whom security and peace are regarded as a nuisance rather than a blessing. Our monotonous and rigid system of government is detested by illiterate and active chiefs, thirsting like savages for physical excitement, and by such men as the debauched King of Oude, anxious for pleasures which even the wealth we leave them cannot buy—for the enjoyment of power, and the right of abusing it. It is one of the best signs of our influence in India, that the native chiefs remain so long in awe of our power, and faithful to their pledges of alliance But the interest they take in the present crisis is not likely to be diminished when, like the chief of Gwalior, they find their armed contingents demanding to be led to Delhi. And it must, no doubt, be contemplated as not impossible, that any considerable delay in crushing the mutineers may encourage not only Scindia and Holkar, the Mahrattas, but even the ruler of Nepaul with his army just returned from an unsuccessful campaign, and the Nizam, to join the Bengal army in an attempt to crush the British power. But though such a contingency should stir us to prompt action, we have no reason to fear that it will ever be realised. The *political* powers of India might hope something

from a revolution; the people at large would have nothing to hope, and much to fear.

Now the probability of the dangers we have here indicated depends mainly on the view taken of our position alike by the priests and the chiefs. Every day's delay in the accomplishment of the one great event must have increased their hope of success, and our danger of their rising If Delhi has not fallen before the stimulus of such a hope takes the form of actual revolt, we shall have, no doubt, a great war before us, and, in that case, further reinforcements must immediately be sent out,—though, even then, in the attachment of the people at large we shall find the greatest facilities for rapid success If, on the other hand, men competent to form an opinion on this important point come to the conclusion, with the facts before them as to the number and position of the additional forces moving to the aid of General Barnard, and other details, that Delhi would be taken *within* a week of the last accounts,* there is probably no fear of the conflagration extending in the manner we have indicated. In that case, the reinforcements already despatched from England will have been sufficient.

The conclusion to which we are led by these considerations is, that with every reason to believe that the timely fall of Delhi would put a real end to our dangers, we should yet be prepared for the worst; and that we should be ready within twenty four hours of the arrival of the next mail to send off large additional reinforcements, including both cavalry and artillery. If it is still thought that we cannot use our steam-navy for this purpose, steamers of the mercantile marine must be engaged, on the understanding that the Government shall be at liberty either to despatch or to discharge them on the arrival of the next mail In the mean time, an attempt might be made to gain the Pasha's permission for the transit of some portion of the reinforcements through Egypt. And if that is found practicable, the consul at Alexandria should at once send on orders to Suez or Aden (without further reference to England) for the engagement of transports for the troops either to Kurrachee or Bombay.

In the event of such further demand being made on the strength of our home-forces, the necessity for some such measure as that indicated in our issue of the 25th ultimo becomes still more urgent We refer to the suggestion that an Act should at once be passed empowering the East India Company to increase their European force, with a view to the relief of some of the Queen's regiments now in India We then pointed out that a much larger European army must be permanently maintained in place of the native regiments which have been lost; but it must also be borne in mind, that over

* Written on the 8th August

bove the usual military wants of the Bengal Presidency, mmense military police will be necessary for the next two hree years, for the suppression of the serious raids and ys, the plunder of treasuries and factories, Dacoities and lesale murders, which may be expected to take place from one end of Bengal to the other, on the part of some fifty thousand disbanded soldiers and five thousand released prisoners. The extent of this danger will be appreciated when we mention that, in addition to those civil stations where troops are ordinarily maintained, there are in Upper and Lower Bengal upwards of fifty stations, having each a treasury, a jail, and the ordinary complement of civil officers, without any protection whatever, except such as is afforded by a few police guards armed with nothing better than a sword. But in addition to the maintenance of a military police, the measure which was so effective in giving peace and security to the Punjab must now be adopted and rigidly enforced in Bengal: it must be made a crime, punishable with imprisonment, for any private person to be found with arms.

We think we have sufficiently shown, at the beginning of this article, how completely the nature of the case should exclude all pretensions to estimate the course of these events beforehand; how utterly they are beyond the limits of human prescience, as they are out of the range of previous experience. It is therefore, we think, most unreasonable that, with each change of view, each adoption of new measures, caused by the gradual change of events, a cry of dissatisfaction should be raised, as if those events could have been foreseen. This was the spirit in which the announcement made by Lord Palmerston in reference to the militia the other evening was met. We have never for a moment doubted as to the *ultimate* result. The destiny of England in India,—the great purposes for which we have been placed there,—are too obvious to admit of such a doubt; but the facts placed before us by the last mail, while they completely refute Mr. Disraeli's hypothesis of the popular character of the Indian disaffection, indicate the wisdom of providing against the natural restlessness of ambitious native chiefs, and the necessity of being fully and immediately prepared to meet them.

THE END.

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