

received them, thereby meaning to elicit, whether or not, for the sake of employment, they would become Christians. Indeed so great a reproach was attached to the receipt of these letters by Native officials, that whoever received them, was obliged, for fear of their reputation, to conceal the fact, and even to deny having got them. People used to retort saying that they would very shortly come, as surely as they were the servants of Government. The truth is, nothing could have been better calculated to strengthen and confirm the erroneous belief under which the people labored. It fully succeeded, and nothing whatever was done to counteract the evil effects thus produced.

It ought not therefore to have excited surprise if some disturbances had broken out at that period. Fortunately the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal lost no time in taking notice of these circumstances, and he issued a proclamation which had the effect of pacifying the minds of men, and *considerably* allaying the agitation produced. The remedy, however, was not as complete as it might have been; and people thought that the thing was postponed only to be renewed at some more favorable opportunity. [Mr. Edmond's letter and the Lieutenant Governor's proclamation are to be found at the end of this book.]

From all these circumstances the Mohammadans felt more
 Interference in religious mat- offended than the Hindus. The reason
 ters more repugnant to the feel- of this is, that the latter perform the
 ings of the Mohammadans, and ceremonies of their religion more as a
 the cause. mere matter of custom, than as a divine injunction. Generally speak-
 ing they are totally ignorant of the fundamental articles of their
 faith, and those sacred injunctions, upon the due observance of
 which, according to their religion, depends ~~salvation~~ salvation in a future
 state. Consequently they are very negligent in religious matters, and
 not at all well grounded in the doctrines of their religious belief,
 beyond the observance of certain rules, and abstinances from forbid-
 den food. They do not, like the Mohammadans, feel at all offended,
 if, in their presence, any thing be said in direct opposition to those
 religious tenets in which belief is necessary. The latter, on the
 contrary, fully understand what, according to their religion, is

necessary to salvation, and what entails punishment in the life to come. They look upon the injunctions of their religion, therefore, as orders emanating from God himself, and are consequently firm in their religious belief and more bigotted. They were therefore more dissatisfied, and as was to be expected, actually took a more prominent part in the disturbances than the Hindus. Certainly the interference of Government with any religion is as much opposed to sound policy, as to prevent the imparting of religious instruction (specially when the religion is one to which its votaries are firmly attached) is objectionable and improper. I do not, however, mean that our Government was really such as it was believed to be, but that certainly acts were done, which did not in any way tend to remove the erroneous impressions of the people.

Cause 2nd.—The promulgation of such laws and regulations and rules of procedure as were not adapted to a Government like that of India, and which were opposed to the customs of the Natives, or injurious to their interests.

Secondly.—The promulgation of objectionable laws and procedures.

Even the Legislative Council had extended its interference to religious matters. Act XXI. of 1850 was directly opposed to customs sanctioned by religion; besides, it gave rise to another erroneous notion, to the effect that it had been passed specially with the view of encouraging conversion to Christianity. It was known that as none professing a different religion could be admitted within the pale of Hinduism, Hindus could of course derive no benefit by it, while with regard to Mohammadans, those converted to Islamism, were prohibited by its provisions from inheriting property left by ancestors who had professed a different faith. As, therefore, no convert to Mohammadanism also could be benefitted by the Act, those only who would embrace Christianity were in a position to enjoy the advantages it held forth. For these reasons people believed that besides interfering with their religion, the Act plainly encouraged conversion to Christianity.

Act XV. of 1856 regarding Hindu widows was likewise directed against religious customs. It is true that the subject was ably discussed, and *Figavasthas* (legal opinions) were taken; but the Hindus, attached more to their customs and usages than their religion, were not only greatly dissatisfied with the Act, but regarded it as a measure intended to bring dishonor and ruin on their families. Moreover it was further erroneously supposed that the law had been passed with a view of placing Hindu widows in a position of independence, such as would enable them to act as they pleased.

The regulation that was in force in the Criminal Courts, regarding the recognition of the free rights of women, seriously affected the honor and reputation of the Natives of India, and was opposed to their customs. Even married women were permitted by the Magistrates' Courts to act quite independently. The legitimate authority which the guardians of women possessed over them, was therefore virtually put an end to. Now all this evidently acted very prejudicially to the interests of religion. The authority that was vested in the Civil Courts to enquire into these matters, was neither sufficient nor productive of any beneficial results; and consequently the investigation of an affair which the religion, customs, and usages of the people required to be immediately enquired into, was involved in so much confusion and delay as to give rise to more serious evils. Very few decrees of the Civil Courts for restoring wives to their husbands were ever put into execution: while in many cases could be found in which a woman had given birth to two or three children at her seducer's home while the complainant was endeavouring to identify the party concerned!

There are in force certain Acts and Regulations according to which cases, in which the parties concerned happen to be of one and the same religion, are decided in a manner quite contrary to the doctrines of the faith they profess. I do not mean that our Government should encourage or prove partial to

The promulgation of certain Acts in cases where the parties are of one religion.

any one religion. It is undoubtedly necessary that suits, the parties to which are of different religions, should be decided with a view to justice only, provided that in dealing out justice nothing be done contrary to the religious belief or caste of either party. But cases in which the parties are of the same religion, and which involve the adjudication of Civil rights, ought to be decided in accordance with their religion, customs, and usages.

The laws and regulations regarding the resumption of *La-khiráj* lands, the last of which is Regulation II. of 1819, were seriously pernicious in their consequences to British supremacy in India. Nothing perhaps has ever given rise to so much dissatisfaction among the people, and made them more disaffected to the Government than the resumption of these lands. How truly has Sir Thomas Munro and the Duke of Wellington said, that the resuming of *La-khiráj* lands was but to engender enmity on the part of the Natives of India, and to reduce them to poverty and destitution. I cannot describe the evils which the resumption proceedings produced in the country, the dissatisfaction they caused, the offence they gave to the people, and the troubles and difficulties they involved them in. Numerous *Mooáfts* that had come down from centuries past, were resumed on slight and insufficient grounds. The people therefore began to think, that, as the Government, instead of protecting and supporting them, confiscated even the *Jághírs* conferred on their ancestors by former rulers, they had very little to hope for from it. It may be urged in favor of the Government that if these resumptions of *La-khiráj* lands had not taken place, it would have been necessary to take measures for the imposition of additional taxes on the people, with the view of meeting the public expenditure, reasoning which it must be admitted is based on sound principles ; but a consideration such as this could bring no consolation to the people, nor remove the difficulties and hardships into which they had been involved. It is worthy of notice that all the proclamations

The resumption of *Mooáfts*.

The result of extinguishing the Native states according to Sir Thomas Munro, "in place of raising to debase the whole people," and according to the Duke of Wellington, "to degrade and beggar the Natives making them all enemies."

issued by the rebels, with the view of misleading the people, referred to nothing but two circumstances, *viz.* interference with religion, and the resumption of *Mooáfi*. From this it is clearly evident that these two circumstances were the original and principal causes of the dissatisfaction of the people of India, and especially of the Mohammadans, who had suffered more than the Hindus.

During former *régimes*, the practice of disposing of Zamindari rights either by private sale, or mortgage, or gift, was no doubt prevalent, but such things were very rare. Whenever, however, they did take place, it was with the consent of the parties concerned. The practice of putting up Zamindari rights for peremptory sale in satisfaction of debts or arrears of revenue, did not exist. The Natives of India are firmly and dearly attached to the lands inherited from their ancestors, and consequently their loss pains them exceedingly.

Every Zamindari in Hindoostan, properly considered, may be described as a kind of small kingdom, in which from ages past, one person has been recognized as the Sirdar, [Chief] with the consent of all. In any matter which he decided upon, every proprietor had a voice allowed to him in proportion to his interest in the Zamindari. Even the village *Chawdharis* were permitted to be present, and allowed to give their opinions. Whenever any case assumed a serious aspect, it was decided by the Zamindar, in concert with some great man or Sirdar of a large village. In all the villages throughout India, there existed an excellent form of government, and parliaments on a small scale. Certainly Zamindars experienced the same degree of distress and mortification on the loss of their estates, as kings when deprived of their kingdoms; but the British Government paid no attention to these circumstances. There is now scarcely a single village in which some changes of proprietary rights, more or less, have not taken place since the commencement of English rule up to the present moment. At first these public sales were so numerous and so irregularly conducted.

that the whole country was thrown into disorder and confusion. With a view, however, to putting a stop to the evils which resulted from these proceedings, Regulation I. of 1821 was passed, and a Commission was also appointed. But this Commission gave birth to a hundred other evils of a different character; and as it failed to realize the objects for which it had been issued, it was at last abolished.

I do not wish here to enter into any discussion as to whether, if the Government had not introduced the system of public sales, it could have done any thing else for collecting its revenue, and as to why lands which are held liable for the revenue assessed on them, should not be put up to public auction; for my present object is merely to state that these public sales, whether they were resorted to from ignorance or necessity, formed the causes of the rebellion. Should however any person desire to argue the point, I beg to refer him to my work on the system of administration best suited to the Government of India; but I cannot forbear stating that to consider land liable for the revenue assessed on it, is an opinion open to much question, for the demand of the State is not so much upon the land as upon its produce.

The practice of disposing of Zemindari rights by public sales for the realization of debts, was productive of the most pernicious consequences. Mahájans and monied men imposed upon the Zamindars, lent them money, and played off numerous tricks purposely with the view of seizing their estates. They brought numerous suits of various descriptions, whether false or true, into the Civil Courts, and old and ancient families were dispossessed of their property by them, they themselves becoming the owners thereof. These proceedings therefore seriously affected the condition of the Zamindars all over the country.

The assessments of revenue fixed by our Government were really deserving of great praise; but they were very heavy in comparison with those which obtained during former *régimes* when revenue was taken in kind. The demand of the State had been limited by

Shér Shah to a third of the produce. There is no doubt whatever that this system engendered various difficulties, as well as entailed loss to the Government; but under it the cultivators enjoyed ease and prosperity, inasmuch as they had not to pay for losses sustained. Akbar the 1st approved and adopted this very system of taking one-third of the produce of the land; but he declared and fixed the assessments. Lord Elphinstone (*sic.*) in his admirable history refers to this subject, and the author of the *Ayín Akbarí*, fully describes it. Akbar divided land into several classes, from the first of which, called *polach*, or land that was cultivated every year the Government demand or share was yearly realized. The second class of land was called *parawtí* which was not brought under tillage every year, but was suffered to lie fallow for sometime, that the soil might be invigorated. No claims of revenue were made upon this kind of land, except in those years when it was cultivated. The third class of land was known by the name of *chachar*, which lay uncultivated for the three or four years previous, and which required to be manured and improved at some expense. In the first year of its cultivation, only two-fifths of the assessed revenue was taken, but it was yearly increased, till in the fifth year the maximum was reached. The fourth class comprised all lands denominated *banjar*, which had remained waste for more than five years. The temporary settlement of these lands for realizing the revenue in kind, instead of in money, was thus made. An average of the produce of each *bíghá* of the several sorts of land above described was taken. For example, suppose nine *mans* of grain was fixed as the average produce of each *bíghá*, three *mans* were due to Government as rent thereon. The price of grain was also determined according to the average rates, and thus the amount of rent payable in money was fixed. In this there was great advantage to the cultivator. If he considered the rate according to which rent was payable in money as too exorbitant, he had the option of paying in lieu thereof one-third of the produce in kind. In the settlements made by the British, these and many other similar things were not taken into consideration. Uncultivated lands were burdened with a permanent assessment, and such lands as required to be improved by being allowed to lie

fallow for some time, were not exempted from taxation at all. These lands being brought under cultivation every year, gradually lost their vigour, and produced less and less in proportion. Accordingly the assumptions upon which the assessments had been based lost much of their force. In many districts the assessments were fixed at heavy rates, and both landholders and ryots suffered much in consequence. Gradually they sunk under their losses, and cultivation as a matter of course was greatly neglected. From the operation of these causes, lands could not be cultivated as well as they should have been, and accordingly produced less than they ought to have yielded. Debts were therefore incurred by the owners, to meet the demands of the revenue officers, and these debts having increased by the accumulation of interest on money borrowed, numbers of once opulent landholders were reduced to poverty and destitution. Villages in which there was a great quantity of waste land, suffered most of all. The late Hon'ble Mr. Thomason writes in the 64th Section of his "Guide to Revenue Officers" that, in the settlements made in conformity with the provisions of Regulation IX. of 1833, profitable lands were assessed at a rate lower than the unprofitable lands. Again much of the illegal gains of the Zamindars was put a stop to, which was certainly good and proper, but no such relaxation in the terms of the settlement was made as the condition of the different kinds of land required. In short from these causes the landholders and ryots gradually grew poorer and poorer, and in spite of the ease and tranquillity enjoyed by the Zamindars, they could not forget former Governments.

The abolition of *Talookahdari* rights was another ostensible

The abolition of *Talookahdari* rights, particularly in the Oude Provinces.

cause of the disturbances, though I do not mean to assert that any injustice was done by it. In the Oude province particularly, these *Talookahdars* were like independent Rajas, exercising almost regal powers within their respective *Talookahs*, as well as enjoying large profits. With the abolition of their rights in the land, ceased also their power and gains. I do not wish to discuss here how the Government could have protected the real

proprietors of the land from the oppressions of these petty tyrants without depriving them of the power they had so flagrantly abused. My opinions regarding this matter have been set forth in another pamphlet. I content myself, therefore by merely stating that the degradation of the *Talookahdars* from their former position was one of the causes of the insurrection.

The use of stamp paper is a custom exclusively prevailing in European countries, where there is, as it were, no land tax at all. Its introduction into India and the gradual increase in its price up to 1849, when it was finally settled by Act X. of that year, were quite opposed to the customs of the Natives. It was moreover impolitic and inexpedient, considering the straitened circumstances the people had been reduced to. People of a former period have written and argued much on the subject of the introduction of stamp paper, and even cited numerous examples in proof of the advantages expected to result therefrom; others again have adduced stronger arguments disproving the assumptions of their opponents, and showing that their assertions were opposed to the reality of the case. I have no desire to notice these arguments; it is sufficient for my purpose to state that those arguments are applicable to countries, the people of which are educated, wealthy, truthful, and capable of judging of the merits of lawsuits. The Natives of India who are daily getting more and more impoverished, are but ill able to bear this burden. All wise men have condemned this stamp tax. They are of opinion that it is much more objectionable and impolitic to tax the paper used for drawing up a complaint upon, than that used for deeds and documents. Mr. Mills' work on Political Economy, and Lord Brougham's Political Philosophy, abound with objections against the use of stamp paper. The Natives of India condemned it more than those of England.

The system of Civil administration in force in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces of the Presidency of Fort William, is highly commendable. It had nothing to do with the rebellion; I am aware that

The system of Civil administration in the Bengal Provinces superior to that in the Punjab, but requires revision in certain points.

the opinions of most Government officials are opposed to mine, and that they prefer the Punjab system of administration. I therefore consider the subject important enough to be noticed at some length. The Punjab Code is but a compendium of the laws and regulations in force in these provinces. No regulations or laws have been enacted extending its provisions, or making alterations in it. Each officer is vested with discretionary powers in this matter. The judgment of every officer may not be sound. It can therefore be imagined how many evils are possible. The Civil Courts are the most important of all Courts, and the business thereof ought to be managed with as much care and regularity as possible. It is upon the proper and systematic working of these Courts that depends the prosperity of the country, the improvement of commerce and trade, and the preservation of the rights of the people. The importance of these Courts, however, is very much depreciated in the Punjab. The authorities do not pay the slightest attention to the business connected with them, and I may even state that, were they willing, they have not sufficient time to attend to them. As yet the files of the Punjab Civil Courts do not furnish so many cases for adjudication as those of the Courts in the older provinces of the British Government, where litigation prevails to a greater extent, not only on account of the large number of changes that have occurred, but on account of the length of time that has elapsed since their conquest. When, however, the Punjab Civil files are similarly encumbered, it is almost certain that the Punjab Code will be found wanting in dealing with cases of a complicated nature. The connection of the Civil Courts with the rebellion appears to have resulted simply from two causes: *firstly*, the forcible seizure and deprivation of proprietary rights, and *secondly*, debt in general, or in consequence of the Court's decrees. These two however were prolific causes of quarrel and disputes among the people themselves, but they did not form any grounds of resistance to the Government. It is generally the case that whenever the authority of the Government is somewhat weakened, all the latent jealousies and enmities of the people break forth with unusual violence, and lead to disturbances and breaches of the peace. A principal cause of these during the rebellion, was the unjust

deprivation of proprietary rights, and the execution of judgments decrecing false claims against parties not really indebted. For this reason the Civil Courts have come in for a large share of obloquy. It scarcely admits of any doubt that the way in which the business of the Punjab Civil Courts is conducted (the cases being generally disposed of summarily, without much enquiry into their merits, and at the discretion of the presiding officer), will hereafter occasion much disgust and vexation. The effects of the action of the Civil Courts do not generally become apparent within ten years or so. After fifty years more it will be necessary to introduce into the Punjab Provinces the system of administration and procedure that prevails in these. I freely admit that the laws and regulations in force in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces are susceptible of improvement. Great delay takes place in the final adjudication of cases, and the ruinous price of stamp paper, as well as the facilities afforded for carrying every suit through several Courts of appeal, involve the parties thereof in unnecessary and heavy expenses. Owing to the Civil Officers too not having been invested with certain necessary powers, great inconvenience is felt in deciding cases. This has been remedied to some extent by the passing of Act XIX. of 1853; but the law is susceptible of further improvement. But I beg to refer the reader for my opinions on this head to my treatise on the good Government of India.

Cause 3rd.—The ignorance of Government of the condition, manners, customs, and prejudices of their subjects, the injuries they were suffering, and on which account they were becoming disaffected.

There is no doubt that the Government was ignorant of the condition, habits, and grievances of its subjects; nor was there any means of getting information on these points; for a knowledge of the circumstances, wishes, and habits, of the people can be acquired only by freely mixing and having constant social intercourse with them, which again is possible only when one race of men unreservedly mix with another, living together

Thirdly.—The ignorance of Government of the state of the country and its subjects.

in peace and friendship as natives of one and the same country, precisely as the Mohammadans did in Hindoostan, enjoying the love and friendship of a people foreign to them in religion, manners, and customs. That therefore which could alone have enabled the Government to get an insight into the real circumstances of its subjects, could not possibly have been accomplished by it. It may be stated that the people themselves might have made known to the Government their wishes, and grievances. Now it so happens that they had neither the means nor the opportunity to do so, for they were not allowed to have any share in the government of the country. If any one forwarded a petition representing his wrongs, even if it were submitted to the Governor General, it was generally considered more as a mere appeal, than a claim to interfere in the affairs of Government. For this reason no good effects were produced. It was therefore necessary that

Local authorities generally
unacquainted with the condition
of the people.

some third party should lay before the Government an account of the condition of its subjects, and the Government had to depend on the reports of the Covenanted* District and Divisional Officers for such information. But it so happened that these officials themselves were in utter ignorance of the circumstances of the people for whom they administered the laws, and executed the orders of the Government; nor was any source open to them to obtain the necessary information from. Besides which their absolute inattention to such matters, as well as their irritability of temper, were subjects of general remark. They were dreaded by all, and no one had the courage to speak out the truth, (especially in such matters as were known to be distasteful to them); while both subordinates and gentlemen not in Government employ, influenced by fear, indulged them with flattery and adulation.

* The terms used are *Nöl-yah* and *Shakhstiyah*.

We have no terms that express their exact meaning, as they seem to be used by the writer. The Government of the Arabs under the first four *Khalifas* was *Nöl-yah*. Under their successors *Shakhstiyah*.

TRANSLATOR,

Our Government which, in reality was an elective or representative monarchy seemed as it were despotic.* It appears however that the agency of the local authorities for ascertaining and communicating to Government information regarding the condition

of the people, was not only insufficient, but wholly wanting. For these reasons the Government always remained in ignorance on the subject. Whenever any new Act or Law interfered with the well-being of the people, or caused them injury, no one was present to raise his voice in their behalf, or even to report on the evil to the Government. Unprotected and unsympathized with by any, their blood boiled within them, and they wept long and bitterly in silence, unseen, and unnoticed by all.

Under the British Government there were many causes at work to impoverish the Indian races. Overwhelming poverty of the Indians, particularly of the Mohammadans. Of all the different means of earning bread, employment is considered the best, and is the most acceptable to the Natives of India. Service is generally considered here as a profession ; and though the scarcity of employment was generally complained of, the Mohammadans in particular felt it most severely. It may be remarked that the Hindus the original inhabitants of the country, were not accustomed in former ages to take service. On the contrary, every one carried on trade. The Brahmins had nothing to do with employment. Those known as *Bais Baran* were either tradesmen or Mahajans. Ancient history informs us that even the *Chattris*, who once ruled and exercised power in the country, did not consider service as a profession to be followed. They owned and ruled over small tracts of land. They had no troops in their pay ; but on occasions of emergency, the several clans assembled together and formed an army, just as we see to a certain extent in Russia. The *Kayasthas* were the only Hindus who, from the most ancient times, accepted service as a profession. The Mohammadans are not the Natives of India. They accompanied the *Moslim* conquerors with the view of getting employment, and settled themselves here with their families. Accordingly, they lived by service, and followed it as a profession. The difficulty of obtaining it, therefore, gave them more cause of complaint than the original inhabitants. Commissions in the army, which were beyond the reach or expectation of ignorant men, were too few in number. Natives of respectability and birth considered it degrading to enlist in the army, the ranks of which were but too generally

recruited from the *Tilanga* class of men. Employment however was open to them in the Cavalry ; but the number of troopers was very small, compared with what was kept up by former Governments. Again, under the former rulers of this country, besides appointments in the service of Government, employment in great numbers were procurable in the service of the Subahdars, Sirdars, and Noblemen, who entertained men in their own pay. Now all this was wanting under the British Government. For this reason there was a great scarcity of employment, and the effect of this was that when the rebels offered to take men into ~~their~~ service, thousands of expectant candidates flocked to their standards, with as much eagerness as persons dying of starvation would to food and plenty.

Shut up a hungry *Káfir* with good fare,
And, think you, for the fast-day, he'll much care ?—*S'ad*

Many persons served the rebels on one *anna*, one and half *anna*, or for one seer of flour *per diem*. From this it is plain that the Natives of India were anxious for employment in proportion as they were impoverished through, and on account of, the scarcity of it.

Under former governments there was another cause of contentment to the people, *viz.* charitable pensions and stipends. When Shah Jahan ascended the throne, he gave four *lakhs* of *bighas* of land, and one hundred and twenty villages as *Jaghírs*, and *lakhs* of Rupees as rewards on the day of his coronation. This practice was wholly discontinued under the British Government. On the contrary the Government resumed former *Jaghírs*, and thus reduced thousands to great poverty and destitution. I have already described the impoverished condition of the Zamindars and cultivators. Those again who carried on trades and followed different professions lost their business, and ceased to get work in consequence of the increased demand for, and consumption of, British manufactures. Native trades had been depreciated to so great an extent that even needle and match makers found it difficult to eke out a living. The

The stoppage of charitable pensions and stipends tended in a great measure to the poverty of the Indians.

weavers who, be it remarked, took a prominent part in the late disturbances, had been absolutely ruined. Now as the Providence of God had made India a dependency of the British empire, the Government was bound to take notice of the condition of its Indian subjects, and to exert itself in removing the evils under which they suffered so much.

The Company's Promissory Notes furnished quite a novel method of adding to the oppressions under which the country was groaning, a precedent for which was furnished by no previous Government. The money that was borrowed, as well as the interest thereon, had to be repaid out of the revenues of the country, and accordingly measures were adopted for finding the requisite funds. In short the country was impoverished in various ways. Old families distinguished for their affluence and wealth, were reduced to penury and destitution, and this was one of the primary causes of the dissatisfaction of the people with the Government.

I speak only the truth when I state that it was chiefly for this reason that the people wished for a change in the Government, and rejoiced so heartily at the idea of the British rule being superseded by another. I speak again the truth, and I emphatically repeat that I say not one word more than the truth, when I state that the news of the conquest of Afghanistan by the British overwhelmed the people with grief. The reason of this was an apprehension that the Government would now openly interfere with their religion. When Gwalior was conquered, the Punjab taken, and Oude annexed, the people were much grieved, because the incorporation of these Native states into the British Indian Empire deprived them of those advantages which their existence had enabled them to derive. Not only employment could be procured in abundance, but a considerable trade in Native goods and manufactures was carried on in these states. By their annexation therefore, the country became more and more impoverished and though under the British Government, the country

enjoyed innumerable benefits, it suffered as well under very many evils. Yet I do not certainly mean to pronounce an *unqualified* condemnation of the system of administration introduced by it, for the poet says—

The ills of wine you've sung—its virtues too,
Pray kindly sing, if, you can find a few;
It is not over wise, though in the mind,
To deny all science, to please the blind.—*Hafiz*

The maintenance of peace and order, freedom of the roads from highway-men and robbers, capture and annihilation of *Thugs* and *rogues*, construction and repair of roads, both for travelling and traffic, constant transmission of letters, even those of the poorest classes to the most remote parts of the country, suppression of civil wars and bloody affrays, the protection afforded to the oppressed, &c., these and similar other and many more benefits has the country enjoyed under British rule, never before enjoyed to the same degree under any former Government. But, if attentively considered, it will be apparent that these benefits, however inestimable in themselves, could not neutralize the evils I have referred to. Moreover, the benefits in question were chiefly enjoyed by women. They undoubtedly lived in perfect peace and security. They no longer saw their children falling around them in family affrays, nor their property plundered by thieves or *Thugs*. Their husbands and children were protected from the oppressions of the Collectors, and they were, in short, well off in a thousand other ways; and grateful for these benefits received and enjoyed, the women were perfectly loyal to, and stood firmly by, the British Government in its day of trial. Mahajans and tradesmen too, who had enjoyed prosperity under the British Government, were not in any instance found unfavorable to it. The truth is, no class of men was opposed to the British or unfaithful to it, but those who, in some way, suffered under its Government.

Fourthly—Neglect in matters which should have received consideration of Government.

Cause 4th.—Neglect in matters which, in the administration of the affairs of Hindoostan, should have been attended to by our Government.

In discussing the subject which in this place will engage my attention, though my remarks may meet with the disapproval of some of the authorities, I shall nevertheless speak freely and

without reserve. ^{Want of cordiality towards the Indians.} It is incumbent upon me to speak the truth in such a matter,

for what I allude to is a thing so all pervading and powerful in its nature that, not to speak of men, the very birds of the air and wild beasts of the forest are attracted and tamed by it. It is unnecessary to expatiate on the advantages of friendship, love, and union. Lord Bacon's *Essays* on the subject have left nothing unsaid. I need only state that the attachment which *should* exist between a Government and its subjects, is of more importance than what private individuals may bear towards each other. As one person contracts friendship with another, so ought Government with its subjects. Two individuals are considered as one and the same person, on account of the reciprocity of feelings and ideas which subsists between them. A Government, in the same manner, ought to identify itself with its subjects to so great a degree that both may appear one and the same body politic.

"The people are as the roots, and Government the tree,

"The tree, my son, acquires strength and firmness from the roots."—*S'adi*

Could not this have been accomplished by our Government? Certainly it could. For in the daily experience of life, we do not unfrequently find the existence of friendship and unity between two races peopling different countries, and differing from each other in religion, habits, and characteristics; while on the contrary, we as often find two persons of the same caste, country, and faith, bearing towards each other feelings of inveterate hatred and deadly enmity. From this it is clear that persons uniting themselves in the bonds of friendship and union, need not be of the same race, country, or religion. How truthful and just is this prayer of Paul the Apostle—"And the Lord make you to increase, and abound in love one towards another, and toward all men, even as we do toward you". In other words, it impresses us with an idea of the importance of loving, not merely our neighbours and friends, but all mankind, even our enemies; and inculcates the necessity of daily

increasing our love and goodness towards our fellow creatures. And is not the precept inculcated by the Messiah, "Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you," equally instructive? Indeed the books of Moses and the Prophets have this object, and the end of the Messiah's lesson is simply the promotion of friendship and unity among all mankind. In short, no wise man will deny the importance and uses of love and union. These two are productive of many good results, and frequently succeed in checking the progress of evil. But it is to be deeply regretted that, up to the present time, our Government has failed to create this love between itself and its subjects.

Again it is a general rule, as regards love and affection, that it flows from the superior to the inferior, which is apparent from its influence not only on men but on the brutes. The love of the father for his son shews itself prior to that of the latter for the former. Similarly the husband begins to love his wife before she loves him and precisely on the same principle, when an inferior makes advances towards his superior, it is considered adulation or flattery, not affection. The object of these remarks is to prove that our Government should have first exerted itself to win the love and attachment of its subjects; for in that case, as all experience shows, mutual love would have attracted its objects to each other, and the latter warmly reciprocated the feelings entertained for them by the former, and become its staunch partisans and adherents.

"Love is that peace-destroyer which forced me to your dwelling."

But it is to be deplored that our Government has not succeeded in effecting this.

If the Government however asserts that all this is untrue, and that on the contrary it had done good, but received evil in return, I would leave the matter for its own decision. Had the Government shewn attachment for its subjects, they would certainly have returned it in a far greater degree. Love is that feeling of the heart which neither words nor skill can produce, and though sometime its existence may be ascertained from external signs, yet it can neither be described nor identified. But

the heart knows it well, and ever possesses a nice balance by means of which it can perceive its slightest increase or diminution.

"In this world hearts with hearts—one course approve,
"With hatred, hatred's mated; with Love—Love."

Our Government has hitherto kept itself as far aloof and separated from its subjects, as fire [ought to be] from dried grass. They can be aptly compared to two broken pieces of stone. Notwithstanding that the Government and its subjects should have been so much attached to each other as to challenge comparison with a stone of variegated colours, which, in spite of its different hues, is in reality one and the same substance, the distinction between white and black is ever kept up, and the difference perceivable, is daily on the increase. A black spot on a white ground is charming to behold, white one on a black surface is not less beautiful.

I am not speaking here of injustice. Most assuredly it was the duty of the Government to show special attachment for its Christian subjects; but what I contend for is, that the Government should bear towards all its subjects that brotherly kindness, and should add to brotherly kindness that charity which has been so

* "And to godliness, brotherly kindness, and to brotherly kindness, charity." II. Peter, 1-7. forcibly inculcated by the Apostle Peter.* Now the European authorities in this country and the Natives were not of the same blood, and differed from each other in religion, habits, and ideas. Besides which there was nothing to bind them together, as there existed no real and sincere attachment for each other. Upon what grounds then did the former expect loyalty and fidelity on the part of the latter?

Let us now consider the condition of Hindoostan under its former rulers. The country was at

In ancient times as long as cordiality was not observed by the reigning powers, tranquillity was not established. first conquered by the Mohammadans, but during the Torkoman and Afghan dynasties, no order and tranquillity were

established in it so long as no community of feeling existed between the rulers and the ruled. In the reign of the first Akbar, a very

strong feeling of attachment towards each other sprung up, and continued to exist throughout the reign of Shah Jahan, though during this latter period the country suffered much from mis-government. The evil effects, however, resulting therefrom were neutralized by the prevalence of that feeling of brotherly love which I have alluded to. In the year 1779, during the reign of Alamgir, this cordiality between the governors and the governed ceased to exist, and when the Hindus led by Sevaji, the Maharatta Chief, and other leaders resisted the authority of the Emperor, and rebelled against him, he became greatly exasperated at the conduct of his subjects, and issued orders to his Subahdars, directing them to oppress and persecute them, and to levy the *Jaziah* or capitation tax. The discontent that was produced in the country in consequence is too well known to require description. But during a one hundred years' rule, *our* Government has neglected to gain the attachment and good will of its subjects.

No one can deny that one of the chief causes of the stability and permanence of a Government lies in honoring the people over whom it rules, and in conciliating their affections. A man is more pleased when he is honored though he receive not much, than when he receives much, but is not honored at all. To dishonor one is to give him much heart burning and mortal offence. It is a thing that without producing any perceptible injury, breeds malice and enmity in the heart, and wounds it so deeply that nothing heals the sore.

" Wounds of the spear (*Sinán*) are quickly healed,
 " Wounds of the tongue (*Lisán*) are never healed"

Affection is the very opposite. It is that which transforms an enemy into a friend, makes friends more and more dear, and turns a stranger into a familiar acquaintance. It is that which tames the wild beasts of the forest and birds of the air, and makes them obedient. Its influences, on the subjects of a Government, therefore, are inconceivable. During the early period of the British rule in this country, there existed great affection on the part of the Government for its subjects, who were therefore much attached

to it, and were its staunch adherents. Undoubtedly our Government appears to have lost sight of this. The Natives of India, without perhaps a single exception, blame the Government for having deprived them of their position and dignity and for keeping them *down*. A Native of the highest rank does not receive that consideration and courtesy at the hands of a European of inferior position, which the latter receives at the hands of a Duke. Indeed it appears to be taken for granted that there is not a single *gentleman (sic)* in all India.

It is through the medium of the Covenanted Servants of the Government, who administer its laws, and who, in carrying out its orders, are brought into immediate contact with the people in the execution of their daily duties,—that the expression of the good intentions and the paternal feelings of the former are conveyed to the latter. How good and pure soever may be the intentions of the Government, the same can never find adequate expression, so long as its recognized public officers will not exert themselves in making them fully and unreservedly known. In customs, manners, and habits, the Covenanted Officials of former days were quite different from their brethren of the present day. The former used to show esteem and respect for the Natives of India in all possible ways, and thus secured their attachment. Like sympathizing friends they participated in their joys and griefs, notwithstanding that they occupied posts of great honor and respectability; and while on the one hand they managed to preserve intact the dignity inseparable from their high rank and office, they were on the other so cordial and affable to the people that all were lost in admiration of their conduct, and wondered how those so high in rank, and holding such dignified offices, could be so condescending and polite to all around them. Such was the conduct of the Officials of a former day towards Natives of rank and wealth, who undoubtedly followed in the footsteps of the holy Apostle Peter, and

And to godliness, brotherly kindness, and to brotherly kindness, charity. II. Peter V. 7.

not content with showing brotherly kindness to all, added to it love and charity. The majority of the Covenanted Officers of the present day, however, are quite different style

of being from what their predecessors were. What! have not their pride and arrogance led them to consider the Natives of India as undeserving the name of human beings, and has not their ill temper and neglect produced in the hearts of the people feelings of senseless alarm? What! was not the Government aware that Natives of the very highest rank trembled before its officers, and were in daily fear of suffering the greatest insults and indignities at their hands? Is the fact unknown that a respectable Native ministerial officer, while reading the proceedings of a case before the *Hazoor*, and respectfully speaking to him with folded hands, has frequent cause to feel deeply pained and aggrieved by the ill temper, and harsh, nay abusive language of the *Sahib*, and to curse a fate which destined him to earn bread by services more degrading than cutting grass. I do not, however, mean to include the whole body of Covenanted Officers in this censure. There are certainly honorable exceptions, whose good nature and affable temper are well known. The Natives all know them as they do the Sun and the Moon, and consider them as worthy types of their predecessors of former days. In truth they follow the precept taught by the holy Messiah to Simon Peter and Andrew his brother, when he found them throwing nets in the sea to catch fish: "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men."*

* Mathew IV. 19.

They have moreover preserved the dignity of their office, and yet not been unjust or arrogant to the people. They have entitled themselves to that blessedness which was promised by the Messiah—"Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs

† Mathew V. 3.

is the kingdom of heaven."† These officers have made the people feel and value their goodness, justice, and other estimable qualities, and ruled on the land, as the Messiah hath enjoined—"Blessed," said he, "are the meek; for they shall inherit the earth."‡ They have shown

‡ Mathew V. 5.

the light of their goodness to the people according to the command of Christ, for hath he not said?—"Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify your Father which is in

Heaven.”* Such officers, it is true, are few; but wherever they are, they are universally beloved and respected.

* Mathew V. 16.

There is not the least doubt that this ill treatment of the people by the responsible officers of the Government, was distasteful to all classes of the people, but more particularly so to the feelings of the Mohammadans. The reasons are obvious. For centuries past the Mohammadans have received special honor, and enjoyed special immunities in Hindoostan. Naturally, therefore, they have a nice sense of honor, and do not so much covet money. They are not consequently inclined to sacrifice their honor for any pecuniary advantage, and, experience will have proved that, while other classes of the people suffered many things without the least hesitation, or any feeling of compunction whatever, it was very difficult to induce them to bear what others bore, even though much less distasteful to their feelings. I confess that such traits in the Mohammadan character, are objectionable, but it cannot be helped, for the characteristics implanted by God may not be changed. It was their misfortune; but they could not be blamed. They suffered deeply for the want of consideration shewn to them; they longed for a change of Government, and rejoiced heartily whenever any news unfavorable to the British cause was received. Yet Government was *not* regardless of the welfare of the Mohammadans. Their aptitude, education, and good breeding, were well known and appreciated; but of this they were unfortunately ignorant, as well as of the kindly intentions of Government towards them.

A principal cause of the dissatisfaction of the Natives of India, and especially of the Mohammadans, their exclusion from promotion to high offices in the service of Government. Only a very short time ago these people were held in great esteem all over India, and occupied posts of honor and dignity. As subjects

Exclusion of Natives from high appointments. Lord Bentinck's system of employing Natives in high grades of service an inadequate one.

of the British Government their wishes and aspirations were unaltered, and they longed to enjoy the same position and the same dignity as before. In the commencement of the British rule in this country, men of birth, family, and good position were often selected for high posts; but this practice gradually died out. There is no doubt that these persons were not possessed of the requisite talents and ability. For this reason the practice of selecting candidates for employments by examination is not in my opinion objectionable. Nor can any body have any well grounded cause of complaint against the system. It cannot be questioned that the examination system enabled the Government to obtain the services of the most talented men in the country; but it must also be admitted that by its operation, such persons were frequently promoted to high offices as were looked upon by their countrymen with the utmost contempt. No regard was paid in granting certificates of qualification to family connections, high birth, or respectability of position. No measures were taken to improve the prospects of the Natives held out by Lord William Bentinck, though it cannot admit of a question that the measure initiated and introduced by His Lordship, was an inadequate one, owing to the want of a sufficient number of high appointments open to the Natives. Even officers of the highest rank are of opinion that the prospects of the Natives in the service of the Government have not been improved to the extent that is desirable.

The Natives of India had been long accustomed to appear at the durbars of their Sovereign. They

The not holding of durbars by the Governor General of India, and not conferring on Indians the rank and honors due to merit, according to the usage of former Emperors.

admired and were pleased with his dignity, pomp, and splendour. Man is naturally pleased to see and meet with his king, and lord, and master.

Such interviews are productive of the best results. They teach the subject to know his Sovereign, and at the same time impress him with a sense of his own position as his subject and dependant. The Natives of India in particular had long been accustomed to such meetings, which, unfortunately, of late have been very scarce. The Governor General indeed used to hold durbars in the course of

his tours, but these did not fully meet the wishes and wants of the people. It must be admitted, however, that Lords Auckland and

The observation of these rules by Lord Auckland and Lord Ellenborough a very proper one.

Ellenborough held durbars on a magnificent and princely scale, which, though they might not have met with the approbation of the people of England, were nevertheless well suited to the circumstances of this country. It may rather be said that the durbars referred to were not sufficiently grand and imposing. May God Almighty preserve Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria and Her Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and that there may remain no wish of the people unfulfilled, is our humble hope and trust.

The real sovereignty of the Earth belongs of right to the Most High God, who has created every thing on it. He has created kings to represent him, that His people might through them recognize Him, and offer up their prayers and praises to Him in humble acknowledgment of His grace. For this reason learned philosophers and wise men are of opinion that these earthly kings should endeavour to imitate, as far as possible, the attributes of their Heavenly Father and Lord, *viz.* generosity and benevolence. A consideration, therefore, of the real position of kings has induced wise and learned men to style them "Vicegerents of God" (*lit.* Shadows of God). It is thus imperative on kings and princes to be generous and liberal towards their subjects, precisely as the Creator is infinitely kind and benevolent to all His creatures. It might at first sight be thought that to give rewards, for every trifling service, must uselessly exhaust the treasury. Such however is not the case. On the contrary these rewards bring forth the most important results, and greatly tend to increase the attachment of the subjects to their Sovereign. It is a proverb of universal application that "man is the slave of generosity (*i. e.* of the generous). Accordingly generosity and liberality on the part of the Sovereign tend to produce love and loyalty in the hearts of his subjects, and are a sufficient inducement for them to perform highly eminent and useful services to the State. History informs us that these things were very common under former Governments. Sirdars

and officers of high rank, as well as the people in general, used to receive rewards in lands, money, dresses of honor, &c., on every suitable occasion. Titles were conferred on persons of rank and birth, who thereby rose in public estimation, and accordingly grew ambitious of performing great deeds. The Natives of India were very much attached to this order of things, as it had existed in their country for centuries past. But the British Government at once put a stop to this custom, and accordingly no subject, however deserving, could aspire with any hope of success to these public rewards. For this reason the people were desirous of a change of Government; and this desire was so strong in them that they were greatly delighted whenever a report was circulated that the period of the Hon'ble East India Company's Charter would cease and determine, and the Government of the country be assumed by the illustrious Queen of Great Britain herself. During the reigns of former kings of Hindoostan, rewards that were distributed to the people were generally of two sorts. The first included all those rewards which were conferred by the Sovereign on his own courtiers, or expended for the gratification of his libertine pleasures or desires. This of course displeased all, as it was simply lavishing rewards and prizes on mean and unworthy persons, and consequently could not but be productive of discontent and dissatisfaction. The second class comprehended all rewards conferred by the Sovereign on his loyal and faithful servants and officers, victorious generals, learned men and poets, councillors, mendicants, and other distressed persons. Every body expects and aspires to such rewards, and becomes discontented if they are not conferred. I admit that the practice of distributing rewards with too lavish a hand, deprives men of energy, and inclines them to luxury, and renders them incapable of carrying on trade. It may therefore be contended that the King, instead of withdrawing all inducement to labor by unnecessary and useless rewards, ought rather to give his subjects free scope for earning independence by their own exertions. But such a policy, however admirable, can be introduced only when the people have become somewhat better circumstanced, and better educated. They ought not to be driven, like wild beasts unchained, to seek food and water in the jungles.

The inevitable consequence of such a proceeding must be either their death, or the commission of such savage outrages, as distinguished the actors in the late rebellion.

Anger is a passion that blinds the mind to the real causes of any occurrence, and leads us to court revenge and oppress those who happen to fall under it. I admit that the outrages perpetrated in this country during 1857, fully justified the authorities in all that they did in exacting retribution from the people; but it is necessary to consider calmly and dispassionately what were the real dimensions of the rebellion at its commencement; why it attained its subsequent magnitude, and finally assumed such a threatening and dangerous aspect; and why in certain districts the ill-fated Mohammadans were more highly distinguished for disloyalty than the Hindus? It is a matter worthy of consideration that for centuries past, India has been in a state of commotion. Whenever any Chief or Prince proved victorious and obtained power, thousands of people flocked to his standard in the expectation of securing his favor. They did not consider it a crime to enter his service, whether as collectors of revenue or otherwise. There is a proverb current in India, to the effect that in taking service there can be no crime, for whoso employeth another, pays him for the service done [*i. e.* if there be fault, it lies with the employer alone]. There was certainly crime in the opinion of the Natives in refusing to obey or serve the Chief who supplanted his predecessor and occupied his place. It was a practice observed by the Chiefs and Princes who ruled over India previous to the establishment of British supremacy, never to injure or persecute those who gained their living by taking service, whether in a Civil or Military capacity. The same practice was in vogue among the people at large. Accordingly when the rebels gained power, and desired to give employment to the people, thousands who had been suffering greatly from want, and who wished to take service, readily embraced the offer. They saw nothing objectionable in their conduct, as they were employed for the service they professed to follow, and procured their living by. Following therefore the

The rebellion in India appeared more serious than in reality it was.

ancient custom of their country, of obeying and bearing allegiance to the ruler of the moment, large numbers of otherwise well disposed men went over to the side of the rebels and espoused their cause. Again, numbers of Government servants who, for the sake of saving their lives, had outwardly favored the rebel cause, but who intended to return to their posts on the restoration of British authority, were held guilty, though there could be no doubt whatever that these men were at heart true to their allegiance. Many people, and Government Native officials too, who had either at once under compulsion, through ignorance or the frailty of human nature, implicated themselves in the rebellion, and who were under the impression that their guilt, whether the result of accident, compulsion, or ignorance, would not be pardoned, but that they should receive condign punishment, were at last obliged to go over and swell the ranks of the insurgents. There were many persons, who though not actually guilty of acts of rebellion, gradually joined the rebel ranks, either through fear or from other considerations. In the course of the rebellion various acts were committed, which their perpetrators did not look upon in the light of crimes against the State. When the whole of the facts connected with the Indian revolt will undergo careful investigation, the two great races that people the country, will be found to have been equally guilty, and the state of the country during that eventful crisis bears sufficient testimony to the truth of this statement. The cause of the Mohammadans having been more guilty of sedition and disloyalty in certain districts was not merely that a Mohammadan King aspired to the throne of Delhi. They were not in reality as guilty as they appeared to be, and the authorities without consideration became greatly exasperated with them for acts which they were simply *supposed* to have committed. The opportunity was too good not to be taken advantage of by their enemies, who influenced by interested motives, mis-represented and exaggerated the particulars of every occurrence in which they were known to be concerned. The authorities, already prejudiced, became still more exasperated, and the Mohammadans more terrified and hopeless in proportion, and consequently they appeared more guilty than in reality they had been. There can be no doubt, however, that there were numerous examples

of Mohammadans being guilty of the fifth kind of rebellion already explained, and that they were very glad indeed at the prospect of a change of Government, for reasons which I have touched upon on more than one occasion. Notwithstanding all this, Government is aware that none risked their all, and exposed their lives in its cause with greater devotion. Before Almighty God, the real Sovereign of this Earth, as well as before earthly kings, to whom he has consigned it in trust, all are equally sinful and guilty. How just are the words of the Psalmist David :—“ And enter not into judgment with thy

* Psalm CXLIII. 2.

servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified.”* And again “Have

mercy upon me, O God ! according to thy loving kindness ; according unto the multitude of thy tender mercies, blot out my transgressions.

† Psalm LI., 1 and 2.

(2.) Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sins.”†

May God preserve Her Majesty the Queen for ever. I feel

The promulgation of Her Majesty's Proclamation highly commendable ; indeed, may be said to have originated under Divine inspiration.

myself quite unable to admire in adequate terms the Royal Proclamation which she has been graciously pleased to issue. Certainly God's hands are

upon Her Majesty's head, and this Proclamation, so full of benevolence and mercy, may be said to have originated under Divine inspiration. From the most remote ages of antiquity the Chiefs and Princes of India have been accustomed to offer their allegiance to the Sovereign, who, whether by right or usurpation, has taken possession of the throne and assumed the crown. Accordingly during the late rebellion this took place. When the ex-King of Delhi ascended the throne, and the fact was made generally known in the provinces, the people, looking upon him as their Sovereign, supported him. When, however, his ex-Majesty was captured, and the town and fort re-taken by our Government, people believed that, perhaps, with the exception of the mutinous soldiery, all would return to their allegiance. Contrary however to the general expectation such was not the case ; but I do not consider it necessary here to enter upon an inquiry into the causes which prevented the consummation of so desirable a result.

Fifth Cause.—The arrangements of the Government, in its

Fifthly.—The bad discipline and defective organization of the army of India. Military Department, were always objectionable. It was a grievous mistake

to keep a small force of European troops in the country. When Nádir Shah conquered Khorasán, and brought under his sway two such different countries as Persia and Afghanistan, he raised and equipped two armies equally strong, the one composed of Persian Kazalbashes, and the other of Afghans. Whenever the former showed symptoms of mutiny, the latter were ready to bring them to order; and similarly, when the latter wavered in their allegiance, the former were equally prepared to chastise them. Such however was not done by the British in India, when they assumed the Government of the country. I acknowledge that the Native troops had been very obedient, loyal, and devoted to the Government; but I am wholly at a loss to account for the prevailing belief that these troops would never disobey orders, or that no measure could sow discontent or dissatisfaction in their ranks; and, under such circumstances, what means had our Government at hand for quelling, immediately, a mutiny of these troops?

It is true that the Government had drawn its soldiers, and

The employment of Hindus and Mohammadans in the same Regiment. recruited its Military service, from antagonistic races, viz. Hindus and

Mosalmans. But the natural antagonism of these races was to a great extent neutralized by their being enrolled in one and the same Regiment. It is plain that soldiers belonging to the same Regiment, are apt to become much attached to each other, in consequence of their living together, as it were members of the same family. Accordingly Sepoys of the same Regiment looked upon each other as brethren, and the result was that the distinction between Hindu and Mosalman ceased to be perceptible. Whatever one man of a Corps thought proper to do, all unanimously approved and took part in its performance, each assisting the other. Had Regiments been composed, some wholly and exclusively of Mosalmans, and others similarly of Hindus, it is most probable that this feeling of brotherly

attachment would not have existed, while that antagonism of race between the two nations would have been maintained. I am disposed, moreover, to think that under such circumstances the Mohamadans would not have objected to bite the new cartridges.

Owing to the paucity of European troops, the people were in great dread of the Sepoys. Besides, the pride of the Indian forces and its causes, the latter had grown inordinately proud. They seemed to have become regardless of all but themselves, and thought lightly of the European soldiers. They were of opinion that all the British conquests in Hindoostan had been acquired by their power, and they used to boast that *they* had won for the Government the whole country from Burmah to Cabul. After the conquest of the Punjab, their insolence became so unbounded, that upon the slightest provocation they were ready to come to blows; and I should not be surprised to hear, considering the height their pride and arrogance had reached, that they were in the habit of disputing the orders of their officers, when directed to march from one station to another.

At a time when the disposition of the Sepoys was as above described, and when they were firmly impressed with the belief that the Government would succumb to any demands they chose to make, they were ordered to use the new cartridges, which they *really* believed to be composed of lard,—a thing they could not touch without losing their religion. Accordingly they refused to bite them. When the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry was disbanded at Barrakpoor for this crime, and the order read, the Native Regiments throughout the country, became greatly mortified; because, being convinced that the use of the cartridges involved the loss of their religion, they felt that their Barrakpoor comrades had committed no fault, but had been unjustly dismissed by the Government. Accordingly the Native army became intensely dissatisfied and said—“To Government we have ever remained faithful; for Government we have sacrificed our lives; for Government we have won Province after Province; and Government now seeks to deprive us of our religion, and has dismissed our comrades for offering

reasonable objections to forfeit it." Up to this time, however, no disturbance had taken place. No severer measures than dismissal had been adopted; but from the operation of several causes, *viz.*, a belief that the new cartridges were mixed with lard, dissatisfaction at the dismissal of the Barrakpore Sepoys, and particularly that excessive pride and self sufficiency before alluded to, the Sepoys unanimously and firmly resolved not to use the cartridges, let the consequences be what they might. Certainly after the Barrakpore affair, the Sepoys sent communications to each other,

The league of the Indian Army against the use of the new cartridges, formed after January 1857.

exhorting their Native brethren not to use the cartridges; but at this period, though discontented and sulky, I am not of opinion that any seditious or rebellious intentions had been formed.

At last the ill-fated month of May 1857, arrived. At Meerut

The impropriety of punishing the Non Comissioned Officers at Meerut which touched the vanity of the Indian forces.

certain Sepoys were then very severely punished. The measures adopted on that occasion were justly disapproved of by every prudent and wise man. It is impossible to convey an adequate notion of the dissatisfaction felt by the men at the infliction of this punishment. They called to mind the medals which decorated their breasts, and wept as they beheld the manacles which disgraced their legs. They remembered their previous faithful services, and contrasted with them the reward they had received; besides, while their pride and insolence, which had taught them to think so highly of themselves, made them feel their degradation the more deeply. The whole of the Native troops cantoned at Meerut became impressed with the conviction that they too would have to use the cartridges, or to suffer the same fate. Accordingly, in this state of mind, they on the 10th May broke out into open mutiny, and committed outrages perhaps unparalleled in the history of the world. After this no other course was open to them but to invite others to join them, and to make the insurrection as general as possible.

The news of these disturbances caused great excitement among the troops in the different stations. The atrocities committed by the 3rd Cavalry at Meerut left no doubt on the minds of the Sepoys that the Government would no longer have any confidence in their faithfulness, and that punishment would be dealt out to them whenever the opportunity occurred. For this reason they placed no faith in the words or promises of their officers. They used to say to each other—"These fine words and promises are all made for the occasion, just wait until the crisis is passed, and you shall see how they will treat us." I speak correctly when I state that among the rebels who had assembled at Delhi, there were thousands who repented of having committed so many atrocious acts, and of having taken part in the mutiny. They bitterly lamented their misfortune, and cursed their unhappy fate. At the same time, however, they were of opinion that they could not help acting as they had done; for even had they not mutinied, the Government which no longer had any faith in the fidelity of the Native Army, would have annihilated them at the first favorable opportunity. At the beginning of the mutiny when troops had not yet marched to the Hindan, it was the opinion of various parties, that the moment Delhi should be attacked it would be the signal for a general mutiny of the whole Native Army. Nor was the result at variance with these anticipations. The reasons are obvious; for when once the mutineers had been attacked, it was impossible that the rest of the army could have any confidence in the Government, which, it implicitly believed, would turn its arms against them, after their brethren had been put to death. Accordingly they all turned unfaithful, and Corps after Corps mutinied. Those who were not evil disposed, could not help joining their comrades, as they all belonged to the same Army. The Native subjects of the Government were under an impression that the British had no other troops but the Sepoys, and accordingly when the report of the disaffection and mutiny of the whole Native Army was circulated, the people ceased to have any regard for the authority of the Government, and the whole country was filled with rebellion.

I beg now to offer a few remarks on the state of the Punjab.

Why the mutiny did not break out in the Punjab.

The Mosalmans in that province had been severely persecuted by the Sikhs.

Under the British Government they had had little or no injury to complain of. British rule, it is true, had been inaugurated in the province with certain strong measures, but it was gradually becoming milder and milder, contrary to the state of affairs in Hindoostan Proper, where a precisely different policy was pursued. After its annexation, the whole province was completely disarmed, and, accordingly, none, however evil disposed, had the means of creating disturbances. Though the Sikhs had lost their power and wealth, the money they had acquired had not yet been wholly expended, and that poverty, therefore, which had overtaken the Natives of Hindoostan, had not yet befallen those of the Punjab. Besides all this, there were three distinct causes why the Punjab did not join in the rebellion. *Firstly*, the presence of British troops in the province. *Secondly*, the timely disarmament of all the Native corps, carried out so prudently and with so much tact by the authorities, before the Sepoys could have any notion of their intentions. In consequence moreover of the swollen state of the rivers, and the closing of the *Ghāts*, the Sepoys were quite shut in and helpless. *Thirdly*, all the turbulent characters among the Sikhs Panjabis and Pathans (from whom disturbances had been anticipated), enlisted in the service of the Government. Incited by an inordinate thirst for plunder, they could gratify it with ease and honor in the service of Government, while the followers of the rebels could only attain the same end by incurring disgrace and great danger. It appears, therefore, that the circumstances of Hindoostan Proper and the Punjab were wholly dissimilar.

THE END.

MEMORANDUM.

An Essay on the causes of the Indian Revolt by Syud Ahmed Khan, Principal Sudder Ameen of Moradabad.

I HAVE read this paper, and proceed to note briefly such remarks as occur to me.

The opening remarks, regarding the Queen's Gracious Proclamation, do correctly represent Native opinion. Natives generally say that its merciful and considerate spirit had the best effect.

After defining rebellion, the author goes on to say—"There is but one thing which causes rebellious intentions to arise in the mind, viz. the introduction of measures unsuited to the disposition, or to the wishes, institutions, or customs of those who rebel."

It is evident that, though such a cause may be of great importance, yet there may be *other* causes. I notice this here because the author starting with this idea, tries afterwards to show that the British Government brought on the rebellion by certain measures it adopted, from which conclusion I, for one, dissent.

Then the author clears the ground by mentioning various things which did *not* cause the rebellion. This part of the Essay is very true. He shows that there could have been no conspiracy; that Russia and Persia could have had nothing to do with it; that the King of Delhi could not have raised such a storm; that the domination of foreigners is not necessarily distasteful to the people; that no regular Mahomedan "Jihad" or Crusade had been preached.

In this part of the Essay too there is a passage worthy of particular perusal.

The author says that in the early days of our rule "the people and chiefs were inclined towards our Government. The report of its justice, mercy, generosity, faith, and treaties, and admirable arrangements for ensuring happiness to the people and peace in the country, had made the neighbouring Hindoo and Mahomedan states wish to be taken under its protection."

This, I believe, is a correct representation of Native opinion. The British are not so popular now in these days as they are said to have been in the days of Lake, Ochterlony, or Wellesley. Doubtless there are causes for this, some of them inevitable. Still it is very desirable to retain as much of the old popular policy as may be consistent with the progress of the age.

After showing what was *not* the cause, he proceeds to show what primarily *was* the cause, namely, the non-admission of Natives to the Legislative Council of India !

Now without entering into the question whether natives ought or ought not to be admitted into the Council, and with the admission that the Legislature ought to have all due regard to the feelings of the people, still it were impossible to suppose that Natives rebelled because they were not allowed to send Members to the Legislative Council.

Moreover, some of the author's expressions are so strong as to lead (if accepted) to the doctrine, that not only ought the laws to be framed with due regard to the customs of the people, but also that *whatever* is the custom ought to be legalized, whether the Government thought it right or not. It is impossible that the British Government should go so far as that.

Then the author says that the non-admission of Natives to the Legislative Council "kept the people in the dark as to the "real intentions and designs of Government."

It is difficult to understand this. The attendance of certain Native Members at the Legislative Council would not in any special manner have enlightened the Native public as to the views of Government. Already the discussions of the Council are published in *extenso*.

Again, many of the misunderstandings on the part of the people to which the author alludes, are of many years' date, whereas the Legislative Council has only existed for five years.

It is probably vain to suppose, as the author supposes, that "all these erroneous notions might have been dissipated," if Natives had been admitted to sit in the Legislative Council.

The author then proceeds to state that this non-admission gave birth to certain circumstances which directly brought on the rebellion. These he divides into five heads.

The first he describes as "misunderstanding on the part of the people of the measures of the Government, or understanding them contrary to their real intent."

In support of this he says that the people at large believed that Government had serious designs on their religion and customs. But he says it *was* understood that these designs would be worked out *not* suddenly, *nor* forcibly, *but gradually and by means of instruction and moral suasion*. This is rather a remarkable statement as coming from a Native.

Further on the author writes—"during the famine of 1837, numerous orphans were converted to Christianity. This was considered proof of the intention of Government to reduce the country to poverty, and to make the people Christians."

Now this passage hardly redounds to the author's credit. The allusion apparently refers to the Secundra Orphan Establishment. During the famine these children, perfectly friendless, were rescued from starvation, and made over to the Missionaries for education. Surely this was a noble charity, and the sentiment of the author, though it might be entertained by some evil disposed persons, could hardly (we may hope for the credit of human nature) have been general.

Then the author says that the people believed the Missionaries to be really paid and approved by the State. Some may have thought this, but at least many knew that such was not the case.

In the same place it is said that Civil Servants and Military Officers discussed religion with their Native subordinates, and directed attendance at the preaching of Missionaries.

Now in the North-Western Provinces, such things were at least extremely rare. Hardly an instance of this kind is known in those provinces.

Next the author remarks that Christian books were published, containing offensive observations, regarding the holy men and sacred places of the Native religions. Now, without doubt, whatever expressions were used must have been such as the writers deemed to be absolutely true. Still it is politic and expedient to avoid severity of expression in this respect, as much as possible, consistently with advocacy of the truth.

The statement that a Government Policeman was occasionally deputed to attend on Missionaries, is an extraordinary one, and would not generally be credited.

It is said that the Missionaries frequented mosques, and temples, and fairs, to preach. Now here I must observe that if the Missionaries ever entered a mosque or temple, it must have been with the consent of the people. As to *fairs*, that is *another* matter; the Missionaries had a *right* to attend these as much as any other people.

Next the author says the people objected to the establishment of Mission Schools. But feeling that it might be justly replied that the people must apparently have liked these schools, because they voluntarily sent their children to them: the author says "this circumstance ought not to be considered a proof of the absence of any kind of dissatisfaction, but rather a convincing one of the wretched state of the country;" and that the parents, though they hated the schools, still sent their children to them, in order that the children might learn enough to enable them to gain a livelihood!

This is a somewhat extraordinary passage. Many European readers would think that it breathed the very spirit of fanaticism, which is radically hostile to the spread of knowledge and of European civilization.

It is indeed difficult to understand how the people could have disliked these schools. In most places they showed a marked preference for them over the Government Schools. In many places the people are known to have the highest respect for Missionaries as instructors of youth, and in their anxiety to obtain secular instruction for their children seem to overlook the religious character of the instructors.

Again, if the people did not like the Mission Schools, they might have resorted to the Government Schools always at hand, which were well known to be quite secular.

The author asserts that the Government Village Schools were believed by the people to be the precursors of religious instruction. There may have been such an impression partially prevalent, but not universally. Sometimes too the teachers may have been called clergymen in disguise. But *some* (in some districts many) of the teachers were drawn from the Mowlvee class of Mahomedans, who could not possibly have been supposed to be the emissaries of Christianity.

Then the author comments on the Government Colleges; he says that the system of instruction had become changed. The learned languages of Asia, the Asiatic sciences and laws, ceased to be studied, European knowledge instead was conveyed in Asiatic language. This of course is true enough. But here many European readers would say that such a course gave no just cause of dissatisfaction to the people, if indeed such dissatisfaction existed; and that the whole passage is pervaded by an illiberal and bigoted tone.

Then the author states that a preference was given to those candidates for public employ who had been educated. This is no doubt true. But surely it must be exaggeration to say that this caused "a deep gloom to fall on the minds of the people."

The author is correct in stating that the system in Jails, whereby prisoners of various castes were obliged to mess together,

was regarded by Natives a proof of hostility on the part of Government towards the Native religions. But I must observe that this system was not universally adopted.

He is also quite correct in saying that a pamphlet, published and circulated in 1855, by a Mr. Edmond of Calcutta, did cause a mischievous excitement in many parts of the country. And moreover the fact that such excitement could be thus created, shows that there must have been a kind of general fermentation going on in men's minds.

The remark of the author that the Mahomedans are comparatively well grounded in the *doctrines* of their religion, while the Hindoos look but little to religion, and much to *caste*, is perfectly true.

Then the author brings forward the second cause, *viz.* the promulgation of laws unsuited to the country, or opposed to the *customs and interests of the Natives*.

In support of this he cites the Acts that declared a man should not forfeit his right of inheritance because he changed his religion, and which legalized the re-marriage of Hindoo widows; also the recognition by the Courts of the rights and freedom of women. Doubtless these laws were unpopular with Natives, still they are generally considered to be right. Also the author notes as a cause of dissatisfaction, the slow and ineffective action of the Courts in cases of adultery, seduction, and the like. There is some truth in this.

Then the resumption of rent-free tenures is named as a source of bitter dissatisfaction. This is quite true.

Further the sale and transfer of landed property for realization of the public revenue, or in satisfaction of private debt, is correctly mentioned as causing unpopularity, and as opposed to the ancient custom of the country. Hereditary property in land has a kind of sanctity in the eyes of Natives, and the forcible transfer of it is regarded as a terrible thing.

The author then states that the settlement of the land tax, was praiseworthy, but that the assessments were too heavy, and had a depressing effect. Without doubt the utmost pains were taken at the time of settlement to make the assessments moderate. Certainly agriculture in Hindoostan has flourished. The increase and diffusion of wealth has been great; that part of Hindoostan which was ceded from the Nawab Wuzer of Oude, 50 years ago, now yields double the revenues of various kinds which it then yielded. So vigorous has been the husbandry that the land has been apparently *over-cultivated*; so that the productive power of the soil has been partially exhausted from over-work. The author himself remarks this, yet immediately afterwards he says with some inconsistency that "cultivation has been neglected" !

Again, the author quotes the liberal terms of the land settlement made by the Mogul Emperor Akbar the Great. But he does not add that the terms allowed by the British Government are still more liberal.

It may seem strange that a Native of intelligence and education should believe that his country was becoming impoverished, while it could be shewn in a hundred ways to be increasing in wealth. But it is unfortunately a fact that as yet the Native gentry have no idea of political economy. Enquiry would probably shew that they *usually* entertain the belief of this impoverishment of India. The decadence of certain families gives to some natives, the impression of national decay. The gradual elevation of the mass, on the other hand, fails to strike them. When property changes hands, they think this to be a sign of nothing but distress, forgetting that the class which *buys* the property from another must be thriving. The transfer of property from one class to another, owing to social changes, to revolutions in trade, industry, and the like, strike them as indications of *misfortune* alone.

Certainly the Natives of some parts of India would smile if they were told that Hindoostan was driven by *poverty* into rebellion ! Many suppose the very contrary to be the fact.

The author is correct in stating that the Taluqdaree settlement in Hindoostan gave dissatisfaction to the upper classes especially.

The alleged unpopularity of the stamp revenue is not borne out by any known facts. By many such an idea would be considered absurd. This item of revenue has always been elastic and flourishing.

Next the author states that the system of Civil justice in Hindoostan is "highly commendable." Many persons will smile at reading this. The author having been himself employed in that department, is prejudiced in its favor. The system has just been materially altered by the Legislature with the happiest results. In this passage too, the author has a digression on the Punjab Code, which is not relevant to the subject. He considers the system in Hindoostan to be superior to that of the Punjab. It is not necessary to discuss this, as the Legislature has just introduced into Hindoostan a procedure based on principles the same as those which have prevailed in the Punjab. It will suffice to say that the author's remarks shew that he is not acquainted with, and is much misinformed regarding the method of the Punjab administration.

It is worthy of remark that the author mentions the undue facility of appeal as a cause of unpopularity.

The third cause given by the author is the ignorance of Government of the manners and conditions of the people.

He commences by stating that Government officers were ignorant of the real state of things, and that the people feared to speak out their mind. Now the *extraordinary reticence* of Natives is no doubt a great difficulty in Indian Government. As a rule it is very difficult to induce a well disposed man to tell a disagreeable truth. It is only the most experienced officers that can learn the inner sentiments of Natives; and as European Officers know this, they are apt to suspect (and with truth) that in these times a Native who criticizes the conduct of Government, does so with some bad motive. This circumstance again heightens the mutual

distrust, and it becomes extremely difficult, if not impossible, to know exactly what Natives do say of us. There is every reason however to believe that in Hindostan many classes, used to speak, and still speak of the British in very unjust and malevolent terms—terms indeed of which we generally had no idea at the time, and of which even now we can have no accurate conception.

The author is mistaken in supposing that when unpopular laws were enacted, there was none to raise his voice. In such cases members of the Legislature *did* explain the extent to which any particular enactment was opposed to local custom; but for reasons (still considered good and sufficient), the Legislature decided to pass the laws. Such was the actual fact, though a Native writer could hardly be expected to appreciate it.

Then a thoroughly Native idea is re-produced. It is said that under Native Governments abundance of employment existed, most of which disappeared under the British. Now, "employment" (Noukeree) does not mean here, as in England, industrial occupation for the production of wealth, but *service*; in service is included service as soldiers, as retainers, as menials, as "employees" of every grade and kind. Now, however contrary the notion may be to true political economy, it is the fixed opinion of Natives that a Government which provides plenty of opportunities for service of all kinds, is a good one. Judged by *this* standard, the British Government, however good it might be generally, and however much it might advance the interests of the people, would never be deemed a beneficial and popular one. It must always be a source of difficulty to the British Government that there is a restless class, half political, and half Military, for whom it is difficult to find employ, and who do not follow any profitable industry. A Native Government does certainly find more employment for such a class than the British Government can.

In the same strain the author goes on to say that the Native Government bestowed liberally pensions and stipends which the British Government did not. Here again is a thoroughly Native idea. However contrary the notion may be to true political

economy, it is the fixed belief of Natives that one of the first duties of Government is to support by direct grants in land or cash the aristocracy of the country. Wherever such a system has prevailed, any thing like a sudden discontinuance of it by the British would lead to bitter discontent, and to insurrection also, if opportunity should arise.

It is always to be remembered that a *self supporting* aristocracy rarely exists in Native states. An aristocracy always exists, but it is supported by the Government direct, by landed grants and cash stipends. One of the very few instances to the contrary, namely the land holding aristocracy of Bengal, which really and truly lives on what is now its own property, is a British creation, and would not have been created by a Native Government.

The author then is quite correct in saying that "old families distinguished for their affluence were reduced to penury." The circumstance may indeed be regretted. It did not however arise from the direct action of Government, but simply because these families had no real root or substance of their own. The fact however is cited as a sure proof of the impoverishment of the country, and is strangely connected with the raising of Government loans, and the issue of Company's Paper.

In development of the same idea, it is said that each new conquest of the British Government grieved the people, because it was felt that thereby "employment" would be lessened (that is service as already explained), and Native manufactures be superseded. Such opinions doubtless were held by certain classes, though probably not by the people generally.

This part of the brochure concludes with a warm commendation of the British Government, in respect to its vigorous administration and the preservation of external order, and in the protection afforded to the oppressed.

The fourth cause is said by the author to be the neglect by Government of certain matters affecting the people, which ought to have been attended to.

In support of this he declares that of late years the Government has failed to win any popular affection, and that there has been an utter want of sympathy between its officers and the people, which has been more especially felt by the upper classes, and this opinion he enforces at great length, and strange to say with numerous quotations from our Scriptures.

He states that of late years, there has been a great change in the manners and habits of British Officers, which has estranged them from the people, and that while some continue to evince sympathy with the people, many treat them with contempt or harshness.

The manner in which he speaks of some of the Civil Officers is indeed rancorous, and would look as if he had some kind of spite or enmity. He asks whether the Government do not know that the highest Natives in the land tremble in the presence of its officers? Certainly, this is *not* known generally, and is indeed scarcely to be believed. Again, he says that the Native ministerial officials are often harshly spoken to, and curse their fate in having to earn bread by such a service. Doubtless such a thing may occasionally happen, but more frequently the very reverse is the truth. The Native ministerial officials are so clever at business, and at adapting themselves to their masters, that they generally succeed in ingratiating themselves too much; and they boast, but too often, and sometimes too truly, of the favor in which they are held by the European Officers.

But making due allowance for language of rancour and exaggeration on the author's part, it is doubtless true that much of our old personal popularity has departed; that the estrangement between our officers and the people is more and more increasing; that this defect was brought out into strong relief by the late rebellion; and that it would be good policy on the part of Government to correct this unfortunate tendency, and to retrieve (so far as may be done consistently with our other principles) our popularity with the Natives. With care and consideration we may hope to regain our lost popularity, as surely as we once possessed it.

It is true that the gradual estrangement has been brought about by the improved manners of the times. Doubtless the officers of Government have behaved just as English gentlemen would always behave, neither better nor worse. In the present age Englishmen as a rule are not popular with any alien nation, and it is the same with the English in India. In India however this circumstance is politically unfortunate. The present pamphlet adds one proof to many others that the Natives feel it deeply. Moreover, this pamphlet shews that the Natives know, as well as we do, that we are bound by the dictates of our Christian charity to pursue a more conciliatory course, and exhibit a more sympathetic and kindly demeanour towards the Natives of India.

It is difficult to over-estimate the political importance of such a course being universally pursued by English Officers in India. The influence of the upper class with the people is great in all countries, in India it is enormous. This upper class is often proud and always sensitive, keenly alive to slight, and immeasurably gratified by kindness and consideration. Civility is always said to be cheaply given; but in India, probably more than in any other country, it is cheaply bestowed, and is fruitful of positive result. Besides this, however, there is certainly needed on the part of our officers, a sympathetic interest in the Natives, a certain degree of social intercourse with them, and a certain knowledge and appreciation of their hopes and fears, their aspirations and griefs. The result of such a policy consistently and steadily pursued, would be manifest in any time of trouble. Moreover, such policy does entirely consist with the advance of the age, and with the progress of our own civilization.

In illustration of his general position, the author adverts to various points.

He says that fewer Natives of birth, family, and connexions are employed, and a strict system of examination has given an almost exclusive preference to talent alone. In this there is much truth. It may be quite practicable to give a better scope than heretofore

to the upper classes, while a certain standard of qualification is insisted on.

Again, the author says that " the prospects of Natives in the service of Government have not been improved to the extent that is desirable."

It is no doubt true that the throwing open to Natives of various offices of higher emolument, would increase their loyalty, while probably it might not detract from any other important interest of the State.

Then he dwells on the political expediency of admitting Natives to durbars and other State ceremonies. All this is quite true. Orientals are very imaginative. And any Government, which produces an imposing effect on their imagination, is sure to have a real influence with them. Native rulers are all well aware of this.

The sentence which states that " God has created kings to represent Him, in order that the people might through them recognise Him, and that earthly kings should endeavour to imitate the attributes of their Heavenly Father," does correctly describe the Native theory of Government.

Among some arguments for mercy towards rebels, the author states that thousands not really guilty joined the rebels, fearing that they might be hereafter punished as rebels, though they remained with the British; and that thousands served the rebels, believing that British rule had been swept away, and that all men had better obey the ruler of the moment; is true enough.

Lastly the author adverts *briefly* to the Indian Army. His remarks (on a subject which has been so much discussed) do not contain much that is worthy of notice. He adds his testimony to the fact that the belief in the impurity of the cartridges, acting on the disposition of a proud and powerful body of men, *did cause the mutiny in the first instance*. He observes that Native rulers always balanced one race of men in their armies against another. But in the same Regiment the difference between

Hindoos and Mahomedans of the same part of India is not such as to prevent their being swayed by the same interests.

The pamphlet concludes by some observations on the Punjab, which do not however call for much notice. He says that the Mahomedans of the West are better disposed towards us than those of Hindoostan. This is quite true. He supposes that the Government of the Punjab was milder than that of Hindostan. I would observe that indeed from special causes, the Punjab Government had a far greater hold on the upper classes, but for the mass of the people it could not have been better than that of Hindostan. He adds his testimony to the good effect of the disarming of the people.

R. TEMPLE.

March 1860.

T H E E N D .

APPENDIX NO. I.

TO THE EDUCATED NATIVES OF INDIA.

THE time appears to have come when earnest consideration should be given to the subject, whether or not all men should embrace the same system of religion. Railways, Steam Vessels, and the Electric Telegraph are rapidly uniting all the nations of the earth: the more they are brought together, the more certain does the conclusion become, that all have the same wants, the same anxieties, the same hopes, the same fears, and therefore, the same nature and the same origin. It is also very certain that death universally closes the scene.

Is there, then, no means by which the sorrows and anxieties of life can be alleviated, and by which comfort can be given to *all* men in the hour of death? Is it rational to suppose that each nation is to find out a way for itself, by mere guess? or has the one God, who made all, appointed different methods of obtaining present and future happiness to different portions of His family?—Surely, this cannot be.

NOW CHRISTIANITY is a system which professes to have come by direct revelation from God Himself, as the only system by which happiness can be secured in this world, or in that other world which it reveals. It has this peculiarity to distinguish it from every other system of religion in the world, that it appeals to the *reason* as well as to the *heart* of man, and it is the *only* system in the world, which has spread by the mere force of argument. The nations which believe in it are the most thoughtful and the most civilized in the earth, so that it has, at all events, a claim to be heard on its own behalf.

Having received the greatest blessings from it ourselves, we are anxious that others also should be induced to receive them, and therefore, this solemn and earnest appeal is made to you to examine this important subject for yourself. The arguments in its favor are very numerous; this paper will dwell only upon one of them, but that one will be quite sufficient to establish the point.

A man called Jesus was born in a place called Bethlehem, in the land of Judea, about 1159 years ago. He was a man of low birth, and in poor circumstances, but he professed to be a teacher sent by God to point out the only way which would lead unto God. After going about the country for three

years preaching, he was put to death by the Roman Government at the solicitation of the Jewish Priests. So far all is admitted universally: the death of Jesus is *a fact*, as the death Julius Cæsar is a fact, and no person thinks of doubting the one fact more than the other. The Jews, the greatest enemies of Jesus and his doctrine, glory in it, and they are the best witnesses we could desire. *

His followers say that he rose again from the dead. This is the *one great fact* upon which the *whole* system of Christianity depends; if it is true, the Gospel is true—for no person could rise from the dead except by the power of God, and God would not raise from the dead any person whose life and doctrines were not pleasing unto Him: if it is false the Gospel is false.

We would respectfully and earnestly urge you to direct your whole attention to this *one point*. Did Jesus rise from the dead, or did he not? We must bring witnesses of the fact, here they are: Peter, James, John, Matthew, Matthias, Thomas, Jude, Mary Magdalene, Cleophas, and 500 others, whose names are not now known. Many of these persons were the chosen friends, who had been constantly with Jesus for three years before his death; they could not therefore have been mistaken as to his person: they came forward within 50 days of his death, and declared that he had risen again, in the very place where, and among the very people by whom, he had been crucified; they had nothing to gain by this declaration, but every thing to lose, not improbably their own lives, and yet they persuaded some thousands of persons that what they said was true—so much so that the name of this despised and hated man was now, by those who had rejected Him, worshiped and revered; they continued telling the same fact as long as they lived, not only in Judea, but over all the Roman Empire: many of them showed their sincerity by allowing themselves to be put to torture and death for saying so, when they might have escaped, had they only said it was false; though ignorant and unlettered men, they persuaded thousands, all over the Empire, to believe them, to forsake their own religion, and to embrace the one they taught, notwithstanding scorn and death: they held out no promises of earthly comfort and honor to induce men to believe them, but rather the contrary: they were not satisfied with a formal adhesion to their views, but they required self-denial and holiness of life, which all men naturally dislike; they said that even the new religion would not save any man; and yet though they thus gained nothing themselves, and told others that they must not expect to gain anything either, they satisfied men that Jesus *did* rise again! and this so effectually, that from the most obscure corner of the Roman Empire, the doctrine preached by uneducated fishermen about a poor carpenter's son, spread over the whole Empire even after their death, and overthrew every other system of religion, though sanctioned by the consent of ages!