





1857

THE
CRISIS IN INDIA:

ITS CAUSES
AND
PROPOSED REMEDIES.

BY A MILITARY OFFICER
OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS' EXPERIENCE IN INDIA.



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PREFACE.

THE following letters on the present state of affairs in India were first published in the columns of one of the most influential of the London daily Newspapers.

They are now collected and published, with a view to a more extensive circulation of the facts they contain, and because many of the suggestions have been deemed worthy of adoption, by competent judges of the origin of our present disasters in the East, and their most obvious remedies.

LONDON,

August 12, 1857.

PREFACE

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THE
CRISIS IN INDIA.

LETTER I.

CENTRALIZATION—SONTAL WAR—QUARRELS OF OFFICIALS—
DAWDLING—WHY NOT CONSULT SIR G. CLERK? &C.

SIR,—Concurring, as I do, in your remarks as to the still imminent danger of our position in India, and the necessity for the immediate adoption of wise, vigorous, and prompt measures for the re-establishment of our supremacy in the East (I say re-establishment advisedly), I would fain draw the attention of the powers that be, and in whose hands the honour and interests of the nation are placed, to one or two facts concerning which, if we may judge from the debates in Parliament and the lethargic action of the executive, they are not particularly well informed. For it is difficult to suppose that, overlooking the life and death exigencies of the case, Her Majesty's Ministers, including Mr. Vernon Smith and the Court of Directors of the East India Company, are exhausting their energies in an effort to maintain a calm, unimpassioned, statesman-

like demeanour. Lord Granville is no doubt a first-rate man in his way, and perhaps Lord Ellenborough would be the better for disembarassing himself of certain prejudices which, in his Indian career and at other times, have occasionally clogged his movements. But to every man who adds to personal experience in Indian matters the power of drawing logical conclusions, the apathy of Lord Granville, some evenings since, contrasts very unfavourably with the force and soundness of the views exhibited by Lord Ellenborough on the all-momentous question, "How are we to re-establish and maintain our prestige and supremacy in India?"

In *The Times* of Monday the 6th instant, a writer, who signs himself "Miles," attacks the system of centralization in India as regards both the civil and military services. He declares, that that system, so gratifying to the pride of one or two individuals, and to a certain class of theorizing statesmen, has been pushed in India to an extent totally unwarranted by man's experience of man in general, and by our knowledge of the peculiar nature of the hold which we have so long miraculously possessed on the affections and loyalty of India's millions. I agree with "Miles;" but other causes, pregnant with human folly, have concurred in bringing to maturity the present harvest of woe. These I purpose to develop hereafter, and I shall only glance at one for the present.

What effect do you suppose, sir, was produced on the native mind by the imbecility and wrong-headed blundering which lately characterized the puny efforts of a mighty Government to put down an insurrection — I may say an invasion — of a few bands of naked and half-armed savages who occupy some dense jungles and a mountain chain situated in the very centre of that portion of our territory of the East which we have held the longest?

I allude to the most disgraceful and protracted Sontal War: disgraceful in its origin, viz., the denial to these really honest savages, by the Government, of protection from the tyranny and grinding rapacity of their own native officials; and disgraceful in the manner of its conduct, as proclaiming with a loud voice to friend and foe that wholesale murder and plunder, anarchy and rebellion, are not, according to the maxims of our bureaucracy, to be put down by the instant exertion of physical force, but by milk-and-water proclamations, by fawning upon the rebels and murderers, and by ostentatiously menacing military officers (who thought, with Lord Ellenborough, that it was better to "crush rebellion" at once,) with the pains and penalties of civil law, if they fired upon armed insurgents without being previously attacked by them. Of course the Sepoys drew their own conclusions as to the solidity of the power which they served.

And whence arose a great deal of the sinful dawdling

and imbecile action which ate such a hole in our reputation at that period? From the indecent quarrels of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and the President of the Council in Calcutta, and the singular and unprecedented supineness of Lord Dalhousie, who for the first time in his life exhibited a mischievous mildness towards great public offenders.

Ignorant as the British public and our legislators are, and have long chosen to be, of the real nature of those transactions which form the history of British India, and looking to the shortsighted dislike exhibited in most official quarters to "ripping-up old sores," even though they fester and threaten gangrene, I fear it is in vain to point out that there are men of great experience in Indian public life, and of unquestioned integrity and ability, now in this country, who could and would, if called upon, show good reason why certain principles of government which have—God help us!—wrought so much evil, ought to be buried at midnight where four roads meet, under a verdict of *felo de se*.

Why are men like Mr. Mansell, late resident at the Court of Nagpoor, William Henry Elliott, B.C.S., and above all, Sir George Clerk, Secretary to the Board of Control, not brought to the front at this crisis, to explain, to counsel, and suggest? I could name military men also of the same calibre. Are we to remain for ever satisfied with smooth official returns, and with the manifestly hollow and absurd enunciations of official hacks in Parliament?

I conclude for the present by expressing my great satisfaction at the departure of Sir Colin Campbell to assume the post of Commander-in-Chief in India, and at the "rare common sense" of Lord Canning in having appointed Sir Patrick Grant meanwhile as his *locum tenens*.—I am, &c.,

CAUBULEE.

LETTER II.

MR. VERNON SMITH AND MR. MANGLES—COLONEL SYKES—PENSIONS
 —SUPREME GOVERNMENT SNUB SUGGESTERS—SEPOY SPIES—
 EUROPEAN OFFICERS POWERLESS—COURT-MARTIAL QUIBBLING
 —LORD HARDINGE—SEND 30,000 MEN AND SHIPS.

SIR,—Although not “smitten with an anecdotic itch,” I must preface this letter by asking you two questions. Did Mr. Vernon Smith and Mr. Ross Donnelly Mangles two nights ago, in the House of Commons, after knocking their heads together in a small private consultation, comfort and deceive each other with the mutual assurance that the present Indian crisis is not fraught with the extreme danger apprehended by men who have less personal knowledge of India than Mr. Smith, and less decision of character than Mr. Mangles? Again, did Colonel Sykes, late Chairman of the East India Company, and now (according to faculty) representing the intelligence and piety of Aberdeen, announce his conviction last week to the Law Reform Association, in opposition to the somewhat inopportune proclamation of Brother Mangles in his capacity of M.P., “that India had been given

us to Christianize;" that he, the said Sykes, believed that the mutineers and brutal assassins in India had been filled with the same spirit which led Cranmer and other martyrs to the stake? Curiosity dictates these inquiries. If the rumours be true, comment is needless.

To return to the subject of my last letter. When John Bull knows that he is cheated, he gets angry. The Bengal Sepoys have been angry for some time, for their convictions have been those of the old Scotchwoman, "I ken ye're cheating me, but I dinna ken exactly hoo." Now, among other symptoms of the healthy working of the Supreme Government of India (especially during the reign of that "impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer" Pict—Lord Dalhousie) is the fact, that the intimation of the existence of discontent among the Sepoys, or of an abuse likely to cause such a feeling, by any officer to a superior authority, would have left the conscientious but unwary informant in a painful predicament.

It is not the first time in the history of the world that we have seen those most favoured by rulers "who prophesy smooth things." Well, the Sepoys have long supposed that the Government have broken faith regarding their pensions, especially in several late regulations. The amended (?) manner of paying the old and disabled men in many parts of the country has put them to much needless inconvenience, and whole batches of unfortunate fellows,

strongly recommended for pensions by regimental committees, have been rejected by the General Invaliding Committee, and sent back to wear out their dregs of life in hopeless despondency. It is not long since that twelve men of this description, whose cases had been thoroughly sifted by their own officers, who of course were afraid to bring any but the strongest claims to the notice of Government, received, figuratively, the usual backhander in the face, all but one, and he died before his papers could be made out. You may imagine the effect of this sort of thing carried out, as it has been, universally. True, the pension list is something enormous, and the desire of the Board of Control and the Supreme Government to economise is decidedly laudable. Query—Is not honesty the best policy? Why did the Supreme Government snub the military Auditor-General in Calcutta some years back, because he presumptuously submitted an excellent plan for honestly lightening the pension list by fully one-half, as he proved by undeniable figures? His plan was to allow Sepoys to retire after different periods of service, receiving gratuities of six, twelve, and eighteen months' pay; pensions to be given only after the longest period of service. The discomfited Auditor-General and the real originator of the scheme, Colonel Henderson, were given to understand that they did not belong to the thinking department.

One subtle contrivance for bringing officers into contempt with Sepoys, and thereby strengthening the hands of Government (a doctrine actually held and expressed now by some of the rulers of India), was that of having spies on the conduct of their European officers among the Sepoys and native officers of each regiment. How long this system was carried on I cannot exactly say. I am persuaded, however, that the present General Vivian never encouraged so derogatory and hurtful a system. What respect can a Sepoy entertain for an officer, whether the commandant of his company or of the regiment, who, in order to enforce the performance of the smallest duty, or to punish the most flagrant delinquency, is obliged to appeal to the authority of a court-martial of native officers? Powerless to reward, powerless to punish, the European officer has gradually been made a thing of nought, and has consequently been murdered by those who have been taught to despise him as a man suspected, and held untrustworthy by the Government which he serves. I should not like to have devised and written regulations to this effect. I should feel as if my hands smoked with the blood of my comrades, and that of their wives and children.

As to courts-martial, called in mockery courts of honour, Old Bailey pleading and the quirks and quibbles of English law, in itself unintelligible to the Sepoy and unsuited to his nature, have long rendered

these modes of judicial investigation a mockery of justice, and a curse to the army. An absurd clerical error in the charge is constantly the means of acquitting the prisoner, however palpable his guilt; and the native members of the court, stupified and stultified by the ingenious address of the learned and acute Judge-Advocate-General, are amazed to find themselves ordered honourably to acquit a man whom they know to be worthy of hanging or transportation.

At first this was supposed to be an artful dodge of the Feringhees, having deep and wise ends in view; but the Sepoys have for some time found out that it is the result of sheer English blockheadism. So well aware was the late Lord Hardinge of this, and of the inexpediency of vitiating all military authority by the constant reference of the cases of military men to civil courts (which courts themselves stink in the nostrils of all but native rogues and vagabonds), that when he determined to raise a number of Sikh regiments, he conferred magisterial powers on each commanding officer—*i. e.*, in his own corps and bazaar. The experiment succeeded admirably. There were few or no courts-martial, and the gallant services and efficiency of the experimental regiments—far beyond those of any of the regular corps—proved the goodness of the system.

I must stay my pen for the present; but before doing so, let me entreat all patriotic men of influence in the Government to urge on Lord Palmerston

the absolute necessity of sending to India, with all possible despatch, a much larger force of cavalry, infantry, and artillery than at present seems to be contemplated. European artillerymen are very much wanted throughout India, and I speak confidently in recommending that no less than 30,000 men should constitute the reinforcements. I would to God I could speak authoritatively.

In our former struggles in India the presence of ships of war was found very beneficial. If Lord Canning, who has proved himself cool, sagacious, and courageous, had, when he demanded reinforcements, been able to bring to bear the experience and knowledge of India, its armies and its peoples, possessed by—I will not, for modesty's sake, say myself—but by some whose opportunities of forming a sound judgment as to our position and perils have not exceeded mine, he would, I think, have asked for an army as numerically strong as I have stated to be requisite, and he would have pressed upon the Home Government the expediency, or rather urgent necessity, of despatching a strong fleet to be at his disposal. The presence of a three-decker in the Hooghly, and of one or two frigates capable of anchoring off Calcutta, would give a wholesome confidence to the European community of the capital of India, and to all well-affected natives. We all know what good service the blue-jackets and marines can do ashore; and with detachments from the men-

of-war, strengthened by bodies of armed merchant-seamen from the numerous trading-vessels in the river, and commanded by naval officers, soldiers might be relieved from the duty of guarding the seat of Government, and sent up the country to aid their already overtasked brethren in arms; the same results would be obtained at Bombay, Madras, and Ceylon (and I hear bad accounts of the natives of this last settlement); and last, not least, the advent of such an armament would send a rumour throughout the length and breadth of India exceedingly conducive to the discomfiture of our enemies and the re-establishment of order.

I am, &c.,

CAUBULEE.

LETTER III.

THE "TIMES"—NO SCREW STEAMERS—NATIVE NEWSPAPERS COMPLAIN OF CARTRIDGES, NOT OF MISSIONARIES—GOVERNMENT AND MISSIONARY SCHOOLS—DISLOYAL PRESS SHOULD BE REFUTED.

SIR,—Let me ask you if you have ever read the Koran. If not, pray do so at your leisure, and if you feel inclined to wonder that a book, almost every chapter of which flatly contradicts the preceding one, should be received by many millions of the human race as the Word of God, turn and look at the masses in England who consent to be led by the nose in what too many of them value above religion, by their equally variable and shifting political Koran—*The Times*. That paper takes credit to itself for having persuaded Ministers, that the Indian crisis is not yet past, that vigorous measures must be adopted, and that the reinforcements ought to be sent out in vessels able both to sail and to steam. I will not ask you to run your eye over the leading articles in *The Times* during the last fifteen or twenty days; but I dare say you can recal the tenor of the well-penned but inconsistent opinions to which I allude.

It is quite lamentable that such an enormous mass of talent and intelligence as is at the command of *The Times* should be devoted not even to party purposes.

Sir Charles Wood enunciated a miserable fact in the House, when he said, that the Government had not "a single screw-ship of the line in commission fit to carry troops to India." It is notorious, that the Government at the close of the Russian war did wish to maintain a more efficient naval armament; but they were forced to yield to the known parsimonious feelings of the House of Commons, and they did not choose to hazard their power and risk their tenure of office on that particular question. Be that as it may, the want of these magnificent vessels is now a great public calamity, and may aid in rendering our position in India more desperate than we know it to be already. This must be a comfortable reflection for the economists.

There is a bi-monthly journal called *Allen's Indian Mail*, which has a certain circulation and home influence amongst men connected with Indian affairs, who think it an authority. The last number contained a leading article on the causes and proposed cure of the deadly sickness which at present affects our Eastern empire, in which certain strange doctrines are propounded. Time and space are insufficient to mention all these, and to combat them would be labour lost. While, however, I regret that the writer should seem to look back with complacency

on the time when the ties between our European officers and the Sepoys were drawn closer by the absence of all religion on the part of the former, by the almost universal practice of keeping native mistresses, &c., I must protest against his insinuations, that the legitimate instruction of the natives in Christianity has occasioned the present revolt. The unrestrained, and indeed licentious, native press of India surely contains the expression of the feelings of the population in general and of the army in particular. Examine the mass of native newspapers issued from the beginning of this year up to the present period, and you will find, that although they not unfrequently mention the slow but certain progress of Christianity amongst Hindoos and Muhummedans, they only dwell, and that bitterly, upon the cartridge question. The efforts of the missionaries are comparatively ignored, while the apparent endeavours of the Government to introduce beef and pork fat into the circulation of devout cow-worshippers and swine-abhorring true believers are insisted on over and over again.

It is beyond question, that great numbers of the old Hindoo families have been horrified, disgusted, and alarmed at the conduct of "Young India," who, having received a liberal education in the Government schools, from which the Bible is excluded, return to their homes atheists, and insult their parents and the elders of their various castes by laughing at their time-honoured prejudices, eating

and drinking forbidden things, &c. Mark, true science has deprived these youths of their own religion, for Hindooism and false science are so inextricably interwoven that you cannot refute the one without destroying the other. Every laudable effort, therefore, on the part of Government to educate and enlighten the dark masses of their subjects, is as much open warfare against their religion as the labours of love of the missionaries; but with this mighty difference, viz., that the Government leave their pupils without religion, while the missionary, in giving an equally good secular education, provides against the inevitable result, by inculcating the faith and practice of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, in which "Honour thy father and thy mother" stand conspicuous. This, whatever ungodly educational theorists may say (and I deny the genuineness of their philanthropy), is quite true, and acknowledged to be so by hundreds of Hindoo parents, who on that very account, despite their dread of the conversion of their children, continue to send them to the missionary schools in as great numbers as those who are being trained by the Government, not intentionally, into undutiful children and worse subjects. Mark, again, there is no compulsion in either case.

Referring to the unrestrained and licentious character of the Indian native press, the falsehoods and malicious rumours propagated by it with regard to the British Government for some years back, and

the great and pernicious influence which it possesses, and has so long exercised over our native subjects, through the medium of the more intelligent classes, and considering that the highest of all those classes, the Brahmans (acknowledged to be the most subtle, talented, and persevering race in the East), are fully awakened to the fact that their supremacy over the minds and purses of their countrymen, which has endured for ages, is by our means tottering to its foundation, and are equally alive to the facilities afforded by their own newspapers for regaining possession of their profitable dupes—I say, reflecting on these grounds for apprehension, does it not strike you, sir, as strange, that the Indian Government should have wilfully abstained from combating the evil with the only efficient and proper weapon?

Of course, I do not mean the abolition of the liberty of the press; but a proper censorship, to restrain treason, might be advisable. I would point to the obvious, reasonable, and effectual means of refuting error—the employment of the truth. If every false and irritating statement in the native newspapers had been met and refuted by either loyal, educated natives in the confidence of Government, or by an openly Government paper in the vernacular (such as the *Moniteur* in France), much might have been done to avert the present catastrophe.

I am, &c.,

CAUBULEE.

LETTER IV.

POPULATION FRIENDLY? NOT THE MUHUMMEDANS—RESUMPTION OF LANDS IN OUDE, &C.—INJUSTICE OF GOVERNMENT—NATIVE PRINCES TAMPERED WITH—SIR G. CLERK—SIKH LEVIES SHOULD BE MIXED—MR. VERNON SMITH TO BE GOT RID OF—MORE TROOPS, AND NO CHEATING OF THE MILITIA.

SIR,—The leading article in *The Times* of the 20th inst., on Indian affairs, congratulates the public on an assumed fact—namely, that the population, agricultural and commercial, of what may have been our Eastern Empire, are contented, and friendly to their rulers. It is possible that such is the case in the Punjab; although my knowledge of that country inclines me to apprehend that the Muhummedan tribes are not unlikely to recompense us for having emancipated them from the iron rule of the Sikhs, by joining in the confederacy which promises to realize the constant dream of every son of Islam, the re-establishment of the Muhummedan “Raj” (or sovereignty) throughout India. The Punjabee Muhummedans are more treacherous than the Affghans, though not so brave. These are the men, who, without the pretence of patriotism, (which may to a cer-

tain extent have palliated the conduct of the natives of the country,) having taken service with us as artillerymen, most signally entrapped us in Affghanistan. The religion of the Muhummedans instructs them to break faith with a Kafir (infidel), and as a general rule they are not to be trusted in times of great temptation.

To return to the subject. I think you will find, if you consult those gentlemen who, having filled important offices in India, still maintain a correspondence with native friends, that the general feeling is decidedly against us. The landholders distrust us, and many a Hindoo of this class, terrified by Lord Dalhousie's stern and unrelenting system of resumption of lands, (in default, you may say, of title-deeds drawn up by a London conveyancer,) have forgotten the traditions of their fathers, as to the forcible conversion of whole tribes, even of Rajpoots, under the Muhummedan dynasties, and would willingly support the Mogul pretender, merely to get rid of the fear of being reduced to beggary. You cannot conceive the ill effects produced upon the native mind by this sharp practice in the Punjab, in Oude (where the mass of the Hindoo mutineers have been enlisted), in Nagpore, and in the lately ceded districts in the territory of the Nizam of Hyderabad.

Remember, I speak from knowledge. Families, to whose ancestors the British Government owes too much to allow them to think of gratitude, have thus

been reduced from comparative affluence literally to a state of mendicancy; and the heads of houses who, among other pressing calls upon their generosity, have been accustomed, as a matter of duty and honour, to support from two to three hundred female relatives (many of them widows and unmarried girls), have in vain besought the new proprietors of the soil to allow them a tithe, or the twentieth part of the revenue which they had always considered inalienable from themselves and their descendants. Let this be denied, and damning instances can be given of very recent occurrence.

A German friend of mine, proud of his acquirements as a linguist, used to fatigue me by endless recitations out of English authors, always announcing his fatal intention with, "Sir, I will declare unto you a poem from Cowper," &c. So I, at the risk of being tedious, will declare unto you my knowledge of a fact which has not yet publicly transpired. To have announced that fact to any of the Home Authorities connected with India would probably have subjected me to some Jack-in-office impertinence. At any rate, I should have received no thanks. For a long time past the native princes, now in a sort of honourable custody, and under surveillance (?) in India, have been tampered with. Perhaps the next mail will bring intelligence that some of the male members of their families, and at any rate their most trusty adherents and representatives, are swelling the

ranks of the insurgents. Be it known unto you that a certain Rajah, near Delhi, although he saved the lives of several Europeans, kept back some of them as prisoners or hostages, while he forwarded the remainder to Meerut, and that the said type of the loyalty and affection of Hindoo landowners towards us, secretly attended the installation of the Delhi usurper. He was, however, so anxious to evade detection, in case of our ultimate triumph, that in hurrying back to his own little territory he rode his best horse to death.

Again, I ask, why is Sir George Clerk, Secretary to the Board of Control, not brought to the front? I will answer my own question. It is because that experienced, sagacious, and highly talented man is thoroughly up to the whole question, civil, political, and military, and because he obstinately refuses to prophesy smooth things, and to declare that the lurid thunder-cloud which at present hangs over our heads is only a fleecy vapour.

By the way, at this distance from the Punjab, and having only the public news to trust to, it would be impertinent dogmatically to criticise any of the proceedings of the excellent Chief Commissioner, Sir John Lawrence; but I have good reason for saying, that if in the new levies attention be not paid to a judicious admixture of castes and classes, mischief must be the result. The commandant of one of the Sikh regiments in which these

various elements have been carefully amalgamated, and which has highly distinguished itself on many occasions, writes privately that some of the Hindostanees had evinced an unbecoming temper, which, however, had been checked and kept down by the presence and loyal spirit of the Sikhs and Affghans.

Would you believe it, sir, I am continually questioned by men whose sanity, in the usual acceptation of the word, is not to be doubted, as to whether the Indian mutiny is a subject for serious alarm or not? I believe that the majority of the House of Commons so little appreciate the importance of the question, that if we lost India to-morrow they would only regret it as the loss of an outlet for getting rid of their superfluous sons and nephews, while their wives would weep over the necessity of abandoning Cashmere shawls or paying double price.

Why are we afflicted with Mr. Vernon Smith at the head of the Board of Control? The first man in England next to the Prime Minister ought to hold that post during the present crisis. Let Mr. Vernon Smith and Sir George Clerk instantly change places. Meanwhile, where are the long successive columns of reinforcements which ought to have been halfway to the Cape by this time? Ere they arrive—if they are ever sent—we may reckon on the destruction, by climate and the sword, of one-half of the Europeans, who are perhaps at this moment struggling—not for the main-

tenance of our Indian Empire—but for the preservation of their own lives. I say perhaps, for the thing is quite within the bounds of possibility. At once let all the available regular troops be despatched to India, and at once let our militia be called out and increased, with a solemn assurance on the part of the British nation that they shall receive the full bounty promised; that the expected six guineas is not to be presented to them in the form of 15*s.* 3¼*d.*; and that, if they are discharged, the Irish recruits are not to be violently denuded of their regimental breeches, to the infinite scandal of the public and their own personal inconvenience; for I much doubt if a second suit of mufti could be found in any Irish regiment in the service six months after it has been raised.

I am, &c.,

CAUBULEE.

P.S.—I have just heard from the Deccan, up to the 2nd June, that the troops in that part of India, including the Hyderabad Contingent, are faithful; but that there is much excitement and an open display of evil feeling among all the Muhummedans in Madras, and throughout that Presidency. These fanatics are urging on all true believers to a holy war, and have announced the near approach of a mixed Russian and Persian army on the frontiers of India. This report is believed, and has the worst possible influence.—I am, &c.,

CAUBULEE.

LETTER V.

REINFORCEMENTS NOT SUFFICIENT—CHOLERA—SHIPS AND GUN-
BOATS—MR. V. SMITH AND BOARD OF CONTROL—SYSTEM OF
CARRYING ON BUSINESS.

SIR,—In my last, of the 20th inst., I allude to the possibility that the reinforcements for India, which the Government are thinking of despatching, will on their arrival, if they ever reach their destination, prove numerically insufficient for the occasion, and barely serve to stop the gaps already created in our harassed European regiments by climate and the sword. Do the people of England and their representatives lay the flattering unction to their souls that the angel of death, cholera, has only relieved us from the incubus of an incapable Commander-in-Chief? If this be their dream, prolonged by bodily repletion and moral apathy, tell them that it is not so. It is certain that when the last mail left India the scanty band arrayed before Delhi, and upon whom the hopes of all our patriots rest, were dying of cholera at the rate of ten men per diem. Now, we know by experience that this disease

goes on crescendo, and I leave you to make your own computation of the amount of our losses even up to to-day.

In my letter of the 15th inst. I advocated the immediate despatch of a strong naval force to India, and said, what I emphatically repeat, that the presence of a three-decker at Diamond Harbour, and of a couple of frigates off Calcutta, would be of incalculable advantage in this emergency. The same may be predicated of Bombay, Madras, Ceylon, Rangoon, and Singapore. I perceive that suggestions have been thrown out of the expediency of sending heavily armed gunboats up the Ganges, to be moored off Allahabad, Benares, Patna, Moorshedabad, and other important places, rife with sedition and danger to good order. The unquestionable wisdom of this suggestion, and the certainty of its costing several guineas, will I fear be a bar to its adoption. God's heaviest strokes are needed to awaken this lethargic nation.

In your leading article of to-day you say, that it is evident the Board of Control intend to make a scapegoat of the Court of Directors. Misled by crass and wilful ignorance of India and its concerns, it is too probable that Parliament will abet this dishonest scheme for screening her Majesty's Government from the heavy blame which too surely rests upon them. For charity's sake we must suppose, that when Lord Lansdowne helped Mr. Vernon Smith into his pre-

sent position, he did so under the idea that he was putting the right man into the right place. Clever, well educated, and gentlemanly, Mr. Smith is nevertheless, to use the language of perhaps the best authority in England in such matters, "the most incapable man who ever sat at the head of the Board of Control." He is generally influenced by the last man who has obtained his ear, not by the most solid argument; and he deprecates an attack in the House to such a ludicrous extent, that he prefers abandoning any measure, however excellent, to carrying it by a fair stand-up fight.

To this moral timidity he adds an insatiable love of what he calls reform—*i. e.*, of injudicious innovation; and he fully shares the contempt for the deliberate opinions of the East India Company which has been avowed and reiterated, *ab initio*, by every President of the Board of Control, with the exception of, I believe, Lord Ripon; who, however, submitted his own will and judgment too much to the dogmata of Lord Ellenborough. In the recall of this last nobleman the East India Company exhibited an unusual degree of independence and energy; but the fact is, the Directors were stirred up to sudden mutiny, not so much by the Governor-General's political, civil, or military errors, as by his personal and galling disrespect to themselves. If the Court of Directors are eventually to be arraigned at the public bar, and obliged to fight for dear life, truly, sir, the old adage,

"tread on a worm and it will turn," will be verified. They will be able to prove, that many measures, intimately connected with the misgovernment of India, ay, and with the successive blunders which have caused the present mutiny, have been crammed down their throats against the stomach of their sense by the Board of Control, and that they have signed the orders sanctioning such measures with many qualms and misgivings. Now, if the principal fitness of the majority of the Presidents of the Board of Control for governing India consists in their possession of office, a seat in Parliament, a thorough contempt for the Court of Directors, and the usual subaltern's devotion to the Prime Minister; and if they depend, in shaping their course, principally on the judgment of, say, the most able subordinate (not secretary) who ever influenced a decision, the result is of course mischief.

The Court of Directors is, *de facto*, the House of Commons of the Government of India; and they are very wisely divided into judicial, financial, political, and military committees, &c. The conclusions of each Committee are made known to the Chairs, and these are supposed gravely to consider the opinions of the other sixteen members, and therefrom to indoctrinate the President of the Board of Control. But if each Chair had a forty Julius Cæsar or Napoleon power for transacting business, he could not get through a tithe of the papers and minutes,

painfully penned by the said sixteen members, which require to be not merely glanced at, but read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested. The collective experience, sagacity, and common sense of sixteen out of eighteen members are never brought to bear upon the consideration of any momentous question in the manner due to its importance and to their capacity for legislation. In fact their opinions are known only to themselves and to the clerks who copy the reams of foolscap daily blotted with the said minutes. At the weekly and extraordinary courts each member gives his vote, generally without speaking, knowing that he possesses little or no influence for good or for evil.

Imagine the British House of Commons carrying on business by each member writing a minute, instead of discussing the question *vivâ voce*! Without pausing to reflect with suppressed laughter on the wonderful specimens of English composition which would be thereby educed, it is not probable that much public business would be, I believe the phrase is, "got rid of" beyond a few private bills, and such like, during the whole Session. Why should not the President of the Board of Control be present at *vivâ voce* debates of the Directors, and gain a little real knowledge by listening to their opinions? And why should not the majority of votes carry the day? Why do the other "Commissioners for the affairs of India" never meddle or make in the said affairs?

It is too much to expect a man to dance a hornpipe

jauntily in fetters, and it is unfair that the Directors of the East India Company should be blamed for failures and shortcomings, the onus of which lies on other shoulders. *Entre nous*, when the Lords, by silence, gave consent the other night to Lord Ellenborough's proposition, "that Mr. Vernon Smith had never been equal to his task," was that gentleman afterwards snubbed by Lord Palmerston for tendering his resignation, and thus leaving his colleagues and master to disentangle the web of difficulties woven by his incautious and feeble hands? I wish to know.

I am, &c.,

CAUBULEE.

LETTER VI.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN INDIAN AND WESTERN MUHUMMEDANS—
 INCENDIARY TONE OF NATIVE PRESS—MISSIONARIES WOULD
 HAVE OPPOSED THE GREASED CARTRIDGES — MISSIONARIES
 PROTECTED BY PUPILS AND BY MUHUMMEDAN PRINCES—
 GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN AFRAID TO PROTECT CHRISTIANITY.

SIR,—A perusal of the speeches in both Houses of Parliament, combined with what I have observed in my conversations with men both in and out of office, makes it but too apparent, that not only does great ignorance prevail as to the causes of the Indian catastrophe, but that certain parties are determined to repel conviction on that score, and by their garbled and unveracious statements, (which unhappily possess a sort of authority from the position of the speakers,) to cast dust in the eyes of the public and of the uninformed members of the legislature. Without denouncing these speakers by name, and suppressing a just indignation that the fate of our Eastern Empire should in any degree be influenced by empirics and pretenders, I wish to put a few hard facts before the public.

If legislators for India imagine that the Muhummedan of that country is identical with his brother in the faith in Arabia or Turkey, they are under a delusion pregnant with mischievous consequences. It is said—ay, and in high places—that the insult and contamination of the greased cartridges do not affect the Muhummedan Sepoys. Now, I tell these would-be-wise gentlemen that the Muhummedans of India affect caste as exclusively and as rigidly as to what they eat, drink, ay, and touch, as the most bigoted Hindoos. They make the precepts of the Koran of none effect through their traditions. The Turk or the Arab will eat and drink with a Christian and a Jew, being permitted to do so by his law. The Indian, professedly under the same law, will do neither; but he will do what his western brethren—still in accordance with the precepts of the Koran—regard with abhorrence, viz., eat food and drink water from the hand of an idolater, even though the said idolater, instead of reciprocating the concession, openly regards him as next to a Christian in impurity of caste.

Remember that the sons of Islam, although they dominated in India for ages, are numerically as one to fifteen or sixteen. To follow literally the stern injunctions of their prophet, all redolent of a haughty superiority, was found to be practically impossible; and as the Parsees, a protected and fugitive race, have, to conciliate Hindoos and Muhum-

medans, renounced their ancient spiritual privileges of eating beef and pork, &c., so the Indian Muhummedans have succumbed to the overwhelming pressure of Hindoo prejudices, and have for ages held the doctrine of caste with bigoted fervour. A very few among the intelligent Hindoos maintain the true doctrine of their religion — viz., that only that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man, which, the House of Commons may possibly be aware, militates against the Christian dogma, and which is equally repugnant to the doctrines of the Koran, certain exceptional cases being allowed for, which are derived from the Mosaic code. But the Indian Muhummedan having departed from his faith in many respects, in accordance with the doctrine of expediency, actually reverences various Hindoo shrines, seeks for the blessing of religious Hindoo mendicants, and, as I have said above, is so scrupulous as to what he introduces into his mouth, that he would cast away a piece of cake presented to him by the fair hands of the Princess Royal as a horrible abomination. What must have been the feelings, therefore, of the Muhummedan Sepoys when required to bite cartridges prepared by the hands of impure infidels with animal fat—pig or cow, it matters not? Of course pig fat would trench more sharply on his religious sensibilities, but suet would answer the purpose of turning him into a mutineer.

In one of my former letters, I referred you to the

tone of the native press in India, during the last six months, and to its having, amidst much incendiary matter, dwelt chiefly on what they denounce as a gross insult to Muhummedans and Hindoos alike—viz., the greased cartridges. Whether the denunciations of the native newspapers have prompted or been the expression of the public feeling (which has burst out with volcano violence and destructiveness), or both, none but interested officials, illogical reasoners, and persons supremely ignorant of the subject in all its bearings, can deny the glaring fact, that the act of the Government of India, sanctioned by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, in having ordered the Bengal Sepoys to do that which they believe to be signing their own damnation in this world and in the world to come, is the great and moving cause of the present political and social earthquake. To political and social, I may add religious earthquake, for, in the minds of many of them, half slumbering but still vigorous is that hatred of Christianity, which formerly dictated the summary expulsion of all Christian teachers from India, and which lately has been kept in check by the better spirit of the times. I say that that undying animosity towards those who obey the command, "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations," &c., has been re-awakened.

Great is the outcry of some of the real authors of the mischief against proselytising officers and zealous missionaries. A full, calm, and deliberate inquiry

would prove, that if the insane proposition of the greased cartridges had been laid before a board of officers most notorious for their belief in the Bible, and of missionaries to the full as mischievous as Paul in Ephesus, they would unanimously have besought the Government to abstain from a measure so palpably fraught with ruin. As to the affection borne to missionaries by the natives, I will only glance at two instances. When the Rev. Mr. Hislop, the zealous missionary of the Free Church in Nagpore, was attacked in the city and nearly murdered by men who took him for a Deputy Commissioner employed by Lord Dalhousie in seizing the property of the family of the late Rajah, he was ultimately rescued by his own pupils and others, who recognised him as a Christian missionary. When the Sikhs attacked Loodiana in 1846, Prince Timour, a most bigoted Muhummedan, sheltered the Christian catechists, placing their families with his own wives, and invited the missionaries to take refuge under his roof.

Hear now the truth. The Government of India, including the Home Authorities, have long sought to consolidate their dominion by extra and undue cringing to both Muhummedans and Hindoos in the matter of religion, and have turned their backs on their own professed faith. To conciliate the natives of India, they have allowed fanatics, under the pretence of religion, to break the law. Witness the forcible harnessing of Christian natives to idol cars in

the south of India, &c. Afraid to face the reality, their attempts to check Moplah murderers and other outrageous fanatics, from one end of the country to the other, have been so feeble as to excite derision. And now behold the result. One false step taken in an hour of blind infatuation—not in an endeavour to propagate the truth, from which their so-called liberality revolted—but a pure legislative idiocy, has brought to pass all the unutterable horrors and anarchy, which they now falsely ascribe to the indiscretions of the preachers of peace, and of which not one-tenth part has yet been made known to the public.

I am, &c.,

CAUBULEE.

LETTER VII.

GENERAL BARNARD'S SLACKNESS—DELHI—TREATMENT OF OUR
LADIES—IMPORT OF THIS.

SIR,—The majority of our fellow-citizens, and it may be the magnates themselves, solemnly opine, that the telegraph has not announced any actual misfortune to the public weal in India. That the Madras and Bombay armies have not imitated the madness of the Bengal troops is decidedly a subject for hearty thanksgiving; but the delay in taking Delhi is, humanly speaking, likely to produce calamitous effects. With a thousand Europeans and a few Sepoys Clive, at Plassy, attacked and thrashed upwards of 40,000 "blacks," as he calls them, helped and directed as they were by a body of Frenchmen. Barnard, with nearly 4000 Europeans and several regiments of Ghorkas, &c., all eager for the fray, hesitates to scale what I know to be little better than a huge garden wall. He prefers allowing his men to die of cholera in the midst of a burning plain, to having a number of them knocked over in the per-

formance of their duty, thereby securing not only victory, but shelter for all the rest. He suffers precious time to glide away, thereby quenching the generous first ardour for battle of his men; giving the desired opportunity to his enemy to intrigue with the native soldiers in his camp. It is certain, that if he had, in the first instance, distracted the attention of the enemy by combined feints on different parts of the city walls, and then made a dash with a strong column on the palace, he would have succeeded in forcing his way into it, and this would have greatly disheartened the other quarters of the city and the garrisons. All the streets of Delhi are wide, and the houses low; and there are many spots for forming up troops in masses, if necessary. Once in the city, it would have been easy to gain possession of the Jamma Musjid, or principal mosque, and then—no quarter to the men, armed or unarmed; for it is easy for a ruffian to throw down his sword stained with the blood of English ladies and children, and to personate a peaceable citizen.

It is well to spare the feelings of surviving friends in England, but I for one think that it would be wholesome for the nation to know, so far as unutterable horrors may be expressed, the manner in which our dear countrywomen and their children were publicly tortured to death in the streets of Delhi, partly by the mutineers and partly by the Muhummedan citizens. Nothing but these

stern and appalling realities will stir up the English people to insist on the adoption of those energetic measures by which alone, under the blessing of the Most High, our most important national interests can be secured and our national honour be redeemed.

Already the continental nations view our apathy as to the one, and our feeble efforts to secure the other, with mingled emotions of astonishment and contempt; and you may be sure that among Oriental tribes and peoples, from Constantinople to Canton, the remains of the prestige of the "Ungreez" (English) are fast disappearing, under the impression that God has judged us, and that our time has come. You may point to our so-called Persian successes and exclaim, Have not these re-established our influence and reputation? My answer is, No, no, no! The abrupt termination of the Persian War, in the midst of signal success, has not made that impression on the Oriental mind, which was fondly hoped by several Quakers, philanthropic old gentlemen, and really Christian mothers of families. An Englishman or woman may be highly intellectual and well-educated, their hearts may be in the right place, and their religious principles genuine, and still they may be quite unable to apprehend or comprehend the perverse modes of reasoning and the un-Christian conclusions of our tawny Eastern brethren.

For many years the sayings and doings and the comparative importance, as regards Asia, of European

Powers have formed a fertile and interesting topic for the nations of that quarter of the globe. Intelligence of our proceedings and status in India circulates far and wide with inconceivable rapidity, and it is perhaps needless for me to call your attention to the extreme sensitiveness of Asiatics on the point of honour as connected with their females. The monstrous outrages on and murder of our ladies are regarded by all Asiatics—Indians, Turcomans, Persians, &c.—as a damning national insult; and so they are. The magnitude of the conspiracy against us in India, and the gigantic hopes of the conspirators, may be measured in a great degree by their having dared to offer this particular insult, not accidentally, but systematically, wherever the outbreaks have taken place.

This is an indication of determined and devilish animosity, on a scale unprecedented in the annals of Indian insurrections and mutinies. For although three years ago an English officer and his wife and daughter were robbed, stripped, and wounded in the Hyderabad territory (an ominous outrage, which was unresented and unatoned for!), still in general a European woman, lady or otherwise, was held sacred from one end of India to the other, from the impression of the natives, that the conquering and governing race would avenge any insult to their wives and daughters with unflinching and exemplary severity. My knowledge of the moral, social, and

political tenets and notions of Orientals in this respect, has made me dwell on this painful subject more emphatically than I should otherwise have done, for truly as I write my blood courses like boiling lava through my veins. Why, a tribe of Rajpoots would perish to a man, rather than not avenge an insult offered to the meanest woman of their race; and we are solemnly called upon to lay down our lives for our brethren, *à fortiori* for our sisters.

I am, &c.,

CAUBULEE.

LETTER VIII.

ANNEXATION—NAGPOOR—LORD DALHOUSIE'S HARSHNESS—OUDE
 —DISREGARD OF LANDHOLDERS' RIGHTS — RECEPTION OF
 QUEEN OF OUDE—CAUSE OF DEFECTION OF SIKHS AT BE-
 NARES—MUTINY IN NIZAM'S CAVALRY.

SIR,—My only object in addressing the public has been to bring the truth prominently forward, leaving it to your readers to choose the good and reject the evil. Pope takes a doubtful credit to himself when he says—

“In moderation placing all my glory,
 And Tories call me Whig, and Whigs a Tory ;”

and we know that we cannot expect honour from a dish of skimmed milk. Nevertheless, moderation is needful in attacking an individual or a Government upon somewhat uncertain grounds.

It has been pretty clearly shown in these letters that I am no truckler to men in high place; but “honour to whom honour is due.” The Indian Government has lately been fiercely attacked and unjustly blamed by various high-principled and generous-hearted Englishmen, whose conclusions are wrong only

because they have been drawn from imperfect data and faulty information. Tyranny over the weak by the strong, and an ambitious grasping spirit, are impulses from below, which I, in common with all who deserve the name of Britons, abhor; but I deny that these have been the motives which induced the annexation of Oude, concerning which there is present a public clamor. Much cannot be said in favour of the annexation of Nagpoor, for although the strict letter of treaties gave Lord Dalhousie a right to take possession of the kingdom in default of a legal heir, his favourite doctrine of expediency, understood aright, might have led him to permit one of the near male relations of the deceased Rajah to assume the regal dignity. For many years past, Nagpoor has been, after the fashion of the Hindoos, "godly and quietly governed." Under judicious British influence its government had promoted the commercial and agricultural interests of the people; and it has long been a corrective and counterpoise to the tyranny, crimes, and anarchy of the neighbouring State of Hyderabad.

As in the year 1817 the treachery of Appa Sahib had rendered Nagpoor justly liable to confiscation by the lords paramount of India, so the forbearance which permitted its retention by another and innocent branch of that ancient Hindoo royal family, insured us respect and affection from the masses, alleviated the fears of other Rajahs, and furnished an answer to the reproach against the Company's government, "Humesha

leta, nuheen deta :”—“ It always takes, it never gives.” Without, however, dwelling upon this and one or two other doubtful cases, and without showing at length that Lord Dalhousie’s harsh and vicious manner of asserting a right, real or supposed, and of dealing with subsequent details, invariably gave an offensive and irritating air of tyranny to his proceedings, let us revert to Oude. I do not mean to encumber you with tiresome quotations from official documents, and from Indian history, with which those who set themselves up, or are set up as judges of the public acts of Indian statesmen, ought in common decency to be well acquainted. But I beg to suggest, that no candid man can rise from the perusal of the clear, able, and truthful statements contained in Lord Dalhousie’s minutes on the annexation of Oude, without being convinced that in every respect, and on every wise consideration, he on that occasion acted the part of a judicious and resolute man; as he had in his former dealings with the wretched sensualist now in arrest at Fort William, exhibited much long-suffering.

Ever since the ancestor of the ex-King (or rather Vuzeer) agreed to be the pro-consul of the East-India Company, and to serve them instead of his betrayed master, on condition of enjoying rather large allowances (to wit, all the revenues of his usurped territory), and on his part, of administering even-handed justice to the people committed to his

charge, the magnificent country of Oude, with its fine population and teeming resources, has been an ulcer in our side, and a plague-spot upon God's earth. If our mission in India be to ameliorate the condition, social and political, of all within our reach or under our influence, think you that the cry of blood, shed in rivers throughout that land with our connivance, by successive false guardians of their people's good, has not entered into the ear of Him who sent us? It defiles the imagination, and harrows up every good and holy feeling, even to allude to the moral and social condition of the capital, Lucknow, and more especially to the atmosphere of the King's palace. But when we find, that this true representative of the modern race of Indian Muhummedan kings and princes has been accustomed openly to encourage wars of extermination between his Hindoo and Muhummedan subjects, aiding and abetting the latter; that for a money bribe he allowed every landholder literally to flay the poor alive, and to exercise cruelties on them equalled only by those to which our countrywomen have been subjected by his tribe in Delhi; and lastly, that the stench and smoke of these abominations, rolling in poisonous volumes beyond the confines of his own pandemonium, were stifling everything that is good, and infecting the better ordered population of our neighbouring territories, and especially exciting religious fanaticism, the time had surely arrived for us to pluck this

“Commodus” from his throne of iniquity, and deprive him of the power of doing hurt any more.

The ex-King of Oude was well aware of the punishment to which his pertinacious rejection of advice, inflated contempt for threats, and systematic infraction of the conditions of his appointment to the throne of Oude, exposed him, and he cannot justly blame any one but his own stupid, sensual, and wicked self.

I cannot, however, defend the despotic and unfeeling temper displayed in Lord Dalhousie's steady disregard of the rights of many occupiers of land in Oude and elsewhere, the *jura non scripta*, as it were, of many poor fellows to whom the nature of parchment and the locality of Chancery-lane were unknown. Moreover, the disgusted ejected perceived, that their fields were appropriated by the Government, not given to others of their class; and remember, that within the circle of that class are included a large number of the families of our now revolted sepoys. In former days these very men enjoyed peculiar privileges in Oude, as rendering military service to the British Government, and the Resident at the Court of Lucknow afforded just sufficient protection to secure them from the violence and grinding tyranny of the stronger Zemindars. But for some years past our old modes of dealing with the protected States, as well as with our own subjects, which were best adapted to control and

promote the welfare of a conquered Asiatic race several centuries behind us in civilization, have given way to notions drawn from existing maxims of legislation peculiar to the English, and not even applicable to the more backward of the continental nations. Among these, non-interference in so-called small matters obtained; and while within our own immediate circle "black acts" were passed, and the natives of India were proclaimed with a herald's voice to be equal, if not superior, to their European masters in intellect, truthfulness, honesty, and every other qualification for high and responsible office, foreign residents, cowering under the censure of the Supreme Government, shrank from protecting the civil and social rights of those native soldiers who, with their fathers, originally took service with us, partly for the sake of that very protection against their own rulers, certainly not *pour l'amour de nos beaux yeux*.

I much regret the admission of the Dowager ex-Queen of Oude into the presence of our beloved Queen. Her Majesty has been ill-advised in this matter; for that which was in the first instance denied to courtesy, *may be* now—I say not, *will be*—attributed to fear. Exaggerated accounts of the suppliant posture of our Queen and her Government towards the mother of the dethroned King have been already despatched for his encouragement, and that of the insurgents in and out of Delhi.

Before ending for the present, I must remark, with reference to the latest news, the defection of many Sepoys of the Sikh regiment at Benares, that this can only be attributed to their having been debauched by the Brahmins, who hesitate at no means to obtain an ascendancy over the minds of such sturdy adherents; while, by an unhappy fatality, (incongruous as it may appear to those who know that the Brahmins look on the Sikhs as an impure race,) Benares, the focus of Hindoo priestcraft and superstition, is held by these half Hindoos to be more holy than Umritsir.

It would appear, that a mutiny of the Nizam's cavalry has taken place at Aurungabad, close to the Bombay frontier. I am told that the 3rd, not the 1st, Regiment was there at the departure of the last mail. If the 3rd have mutinied, it is not surprising; as you may remember that in 1855 they mutinied at Bolarum, and cut down their brigadier, having on two former occasions risen and assassinated their European and native commandants. On the last occasion Lord Dalhousie merely dismissed half-a-dozen of them, and gravely lectured the rest on the impropriety of a feat of arms which demanded the execution of every tenth man concerned, and the disbandment of the remainder.

I am, &c.,

CAUBULEE.

LETTER IX.

MUHUMMEDAN PLOT—MUHUMMEDAN PRINCIPLES—DEFECTION OF
 GWALIOR CONTINGENT—BEHAVIOUR OF NIZAM—LORD DAL-
 HOUSIE'S MANIFESTO—HIS GAMBLING WITH INDIA—MR.
 VERNON SMITH—DANGER OF ADEN.

SIR,—By the Mail just arrived, intelligence has reached us confirmatory of the opinion which I have expressed from the first, viz., that the principal moving cause of the mutiny, *en masse*, of the Bengal Army has been the restless desire of the Muhummedans to re-establish their ancient supremacy in that country. This view of the case is taken by a writer in the *Hurkaru*, a Calcutta newspaper, who signs himself "Indophilus," and who is, to my certain knowledge, better acquainted with the secret sayings and doings of the natives than all the Secretaries of Government for the last two generations. Private evidence to the same effect comes pouring in from all quarters of India; and I am glad to see that the obstinacy of certain parties in power on this point is giving way—and for this reason, that measures calculated to remedy a great evil cannot be adopted until its exact

nature and source be unmistakeably developed. The debasing and vitiating effects of Muhammedanism on the heart and mind are but little understood in this country. Philanthropic and intelligent Englishmen meet with a gentleman of that persuasion in London society; they find him courteous, polished in his manners, and extremely plausible in his professions. To this small experience they add their knowledge (personal or derived from others) of the subdued and comparatively humanized bearing towards Christians of the Turkish Government and that of Egypt in the present day. Arguing upon these insufficient data—forgetting that no people, from the creation of the world, have ever lived above or acted up to the morality of the religion they profess, but rather the contrary—and omitting to notice that the code of the false Prophet itself sanctions the maxim, “*Nulla fides cum hæreticis*,” and sternly enjoins the extermination of all who refuse to receive the foolish abominations of the Koran as the Word of God—generous-hearted Englishmen shrink from believing that Satan is Satan, and ever will remain Satan. If in conversation you instance undoubted historical facts in proof of the treacherous and exterminating principles and spirit of Islamism (in addition to the direct testimony of credible and clear-headed men who have passed half their lives in the midst of its votaries), you receive an answer much like that of a muddle-headed old lady, who, alluding to the flood, exclaimed, “Really, it happened

so long ago, that I charitably believe it never took place."

In one of my former letters I pointed out the assimilation of the Indian Muhummedan to the Hindoo in the preposterous doctrine of *caste*; and I assigned as one great cause of this additional degradation of a race who professedly worship one God, the irresistible pressure from without of the religious prejudices of the idolatrous Hindoos, which are interwoven with and affect every conceivable action of social and domestic life. In self-defence, the minority here has to a great degree succumbed before the majority; and truly two-thirds of the Muhummedans in India are the descendants of Hindoos converted by the Arab and Affghan conquerors of Hindoostan by the sharp persuasion of "the Koran or death!" They have naturally retained many of the notions of their ancestors; more especially that of *caste*, so flattering to the pride of the natural man. "Stand off, for I am holier than thou," is the language of multitudes of unholy men—the formula being occasionally varied in England to "Stand off, for I am richer than thou." Even when Muhummedans were the tyrants of India, they had been led or forced into a kind of social fraternity with the Hindoos.

Akhbar the Great married the daughter of his favourite prime minister, "Bir Bul," a Hindoo, and ensured to her the free exercise of her religion; even building a tower for her Hindoo astro-

logers. There is no question that the enforced tolerance by all parties of each other's religion under British rule, which has, alas! almost obliterated from the mind of the ungrateful Hindoo the recollection of his forefathers' sufferings at the hands of our predecessors, has produced a greater external assimilation between him and the Muhummedan, while it has secretly rankled in the heart of the latter. And now, after the most strenuous and unremitting exertions of successive Governments to keep Christianity at bay, lest its pure teaching should offend the natives of India, it remained for our rulers, by an act of supreme and unmitigated idiocy, themselves to furnish the weapon for the destruction of their own authority, and the veil also by which the Hindoos have been blinded as to the mode of their religious enlightenment, which, up to the cartridge-order, they had imagined to consist in the preaching of a few missionaries and other Christian men to which they might listen or not, according to their own good pleasure. And let me repeat, what I have partly shown in my former letters, that the train to which the cartridge folly was the portfire, had been previously laid by successive acts of legislative blundering. I do *not* say that it is *sport* "to see the engineer hoist with his own petard," for almost all now admit that the explosion has shaken the British empire in India to its very foundation.

It is not impossible that the rumour as to the fall

of Delhi may be correct, but there being no confirmation of an event which after all would only give us a little breathing time, you must surely perceive with me that the aspect of affairs in India continues ominous and sinister to the last degree.

The defection of the Gwalior Contingent—without that of the Maharajah himself, which is imminent—is an incalculable evil; and authentic private advices intimate that in the Hyderabad country there are signs and portents sufficient, in conjunction with the increasing disaffection of the neighbouring lately annexed State of Nagpoor, to create the most lively alarm. The Regular Madras Cavalry belonging to the Secunderabad force are strongly suspected of being in league with their co-religionists in the city of Hyderabad, who are openly proclaiming a holy war, and a crown of martyrdom to all who fall in assisting to extirpate the English infidels root and branch. The Resident himself, on parade, informed the said 7th Light Cavalry of the rumours concerning their fidelity, judiciously or otherwise. He is also reported to have had two very stormy interviews with the present Nizam on the subject of the instant restoration to his Highness of the districts ceded to Lord Dalhousie in 1853. The Nizam is urged, without ceasing, to take advantage of our present difficulties by the principal *Begum* (or lady) of the palace, who also exercised a malign influence to our prejudice over his father. I believe that the Prime Minister, Salah

Jung, a young man of twenty-four years of age, has sense enough to side with us as long as possible; but he is a Sheeah, and the Nizam and the most powerful nobles of his court Sunies. This difference of religion, so long as we remained Lords Paramount, is not of much consequence; but it signifies much in our present position. We have some European artillery in Secunderabad, and between 500 and 600 English infantry. In addition, including the Contingent, and pre-supposing the fidelity of our native troops in that dangerous quarter, we can muster about 9000 men of all arms. Including 15,000 Arabs, and some 10,000 Rohillas—*i. e.*, Affghans—the Nizam could hurl against us at least 50,000 men. And will he not, if he thinks he has a chance?

The late Governor-General was warned over and over again, by men whose position and character by no means justified the contempt with which he habitually treated all whose opinions did not coincide with his own, of the absolute necessity of strengthening our European force in the Nizam's territory. Did he relieve his conscience by demanding more troops from England for that purpose, thus leaving the *onus* upon those who denied them? Like Napoleon, he blindly trusted to his star; and truly in both cases the star has led to a Rock. Read Lord Dalhousie's exulting, self-gratulatory manifesto on leaving India—his statements of the faultless and sound condition of the rotten Bengal army, offensively rotten at that

very time. Look at the defenceless state, as far as regards the power of coercion, in which he left the Governments of the countries—with the exception of the Punjaub—which he had himself annexed. Like the Eton boy,

“No sense had he of ills to come,
No cares beyond *that* day”

on which he received the thanks of her Majesty for the Koh-i-noor, a marquisate, and a handsome pension. The banker who stakes the funds entrusted to him at the gaming-table is justly transported to a penal colony. If, for the sake of appearing to have done great things for the British Empire at small cost, Lord Dalhousie has trusted to chance, to the turn of the die, for the preservation of those sacred interests, and if the late terrific and harrowing events prove that at the time of his resigning office the army was not sound, as he asserted, but rotten (and this has been miserably proved), in such a case the assertion would be correct that Lord Dalhousie has gamed away the precious deposit entrusted to his hands, viz., the honour and interests of his country and the lives of his fellow-subjects, if indeed he admit the idea of fellowship with anything below Royalty.

The wisest suggestions made to such men as Mr. Vernon Smith are really pearls thrown before swine. I will not believe that the fatuous delays in sending out troops and ships to India which have occurred, and

the still (when compared with the occasion and demand) meagre extent of these reinforcements, can be attributed to Lord Palmerston; but if his lordship continue to hesitate as to the instant dismissal from office of his incompetent subordinate, the nation will hold him responsible for the mischief which may result from his paternal weakness.

I would press one point on the attention of all concerned. The important station of ADEN is in great danger. Only sixty European artillerymen and a regiment of Bombay Native infantry defend that post from the swarming and hostile Arab tribes who surround it, who long to repossess it, and to revenge themselves on the presumptuous infidels! Each Arab holds himself a match for three Sepoys, and it is notorious that the presence of a European force in Aden has alone kept the Arabs at bay hitherto. Three hundred English soldiers sent out overland as passengers might be the means of saving our steam communication from being cut off.

I am, &c.,

CAUBULEE.

LETTER X.

NEED OF GUNBOATS—HOW TO RAISE FUNDS—OUTLAW THE
MUTINEERS.

SIR,—The following is an extract from a letter received this morning from a Bombay gentleman:—
“They hope there will be no mutiny in Bombay or Poona. Sir H. Somerset, on the first hearing of disturbances in Bengal, sent away all native soldiers, guards, &c., from his person and house. The natives felt the insult keenly; still the troops are believed to be staunch.”

No one can suspect Sir Henry Somerset of personal timidity; but the above act of haste and indiscretion proves him to be little fitted for his present high and responsible functions. Contrast his conduct with that of Lord Canning, who still retains his native body-guard, I will not say for the protection of himself and his noble-hearted wife (as I believe he commits his and her safety to Him who alone can shield in this hour of gloom and danger), but from a conviction that such an exhibition of coolness is the only dignified, ay, and prudent course, at this time. Letters from

Aurungabad show that, during the late cavalry mutiny at that place, the cantonment was saved from the fearful scenes enacted elsewhere by the fidelity of the Contingent Infantry and Artillery, and the great tact and pluck of Captain Abbott, who fortunately commanded the whole as senior officer. On this occasion the loyal soldiers were Hindoos, and the disloyal Muhummedans—as in the Bolarum mutiny two years ago. While holding the mutineers in check, Captain Abbott despatched a pressing request to the Bombay head-quarters for aid. The answer was, that the Commander-in-Chief felt he would have enough to do in defending his own frontier!!! What *did* the old gentleman mean by the word “frontier,” and against what enemy was he to defend it? Luckily, the Resident at Hyderabad, Major Davidson, having been informed of the critical state of affairs in Aurungabad, had sent a pressing official requisition to Bombay to the same effect as Abbott’s, and General Woodburn arrived, on what had actually become the scene of action, just in the nick of time. Comment on the above is superfluous, even for the enlightenment of a Quaker, or the President of the Board of Control.

Allusion to the last-mentioned personage reminds me of the far-spread but unreasonable belief, that the late frightful disasters in India, and many public measures in that country, (proved by experience to have been idiotic,) are owing to, and have emanated

from, the "pigheadedness, incapacity, and vicious self-seeking" of the Court of Directors of the East India Company. That these qualifications for public office exist to a certain degree in this honourable body no candid man will deny; but the majority of the Directors are conscientious, able, and upright men, and many of them have had great personal experience in India, where they have filled most important posts with much credit to themselves, and benefit to our fellow-subjects, white, black, and yellow. The wretched system by which the energies of these calumniated gentlemen are "cabined, cribbed, confined," has been *forced upon them*, and that system I have explained in a former letter. If my words of wisdom have not been weighed and attended to, it is because in this case, as in higher matters, "men love darkness rather than light." I say this fearlessly, inasmuch as slender inquiry would prove, that, from the commencement of my correspondence with you, I have advanced only truth. The love of justice is innate in an Englishman's heart. Therefore let the nation and Legislature pause, before they condemn wholesale the most singularly honest and enlightened body of men that ever formed part of the government of any country. Impeccable they are not, and various are the exhibitions they have afforded of the fallibility of human nature; but, *as a whole*, the Court of Directors stand foremost in the civilized world as an example of wisdom and virtue.

John Bull! John Bull! inarticulate monster as thou art, understand one thing, or ask thy little daughter to explain it to thee.

The Court of Directors CAN NEITHER INITIATE NOR CARRY OUT THE MOST INSIGNIFICANT MEASURE, LEGISLATIVE, POLITICAL, FINANCIAL, OR OTHERWISE, WITHOUT THE PREVIOUS AND FINAL APPROBATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF CONTROL, who (God save the mark!) can initiate and carry out any measure, wise or foolish, with or without the consent of his eighteen colleagues in Leadenhall-street, who are nevertheless compelled APPARENTLY TO YIELD THEIR FULL APPROBATION to said President's propositions, too frequently in opposition to their sense of right and expediency!! Remember the Affghan war and its consequences, which showed the Sepoy that the English can be thoroughly beaten by Muhummedans, and which was fathered, in Parliament, in the most brazen manner by the unhappy John Cam Hobhouse ("seedy Cam," as he is called, and who has always been a better judge of port wine and Greek literature than of Eastern politics). Look at the mischievous intermeddling of Mr. Vernon Smith, who, opposing his shallow theories to the deliberate wisdom of a Clive, Wellesley, &c., has been cutting down the barely-sufficient salaries of all the higher functionaries in India, thereby exposing them to the temptation of making unlawful hay, against which Clive and Wellesley strove to guard them, and

to the contempt of the natives, who, in addition, argue that "if Government rob their own caste, what will they do to us?" Put the Court of Directors on their defence before the bar of the British nation, give them fair play, and, as to their being "art and part" in the steps which have from time to time been taken (including "black acts"), one would think with the avowed purpose of undermining the national prestige and authority in India, I look forward to a unanimous verdict of "NOT GUILTY."

I perceive that my suggestions as to the employment of gun-boats on all the great Indian rivers is finding favour. In our present struggle for life and death they would be invaluable, and their presence will be absolutely necessary for years to come on the great water-highways for the protection of life and property; for, depend upon it, a disregard for the laws, a contempt for Europeans, and a hunger and thirst for blood and plunder have been awakened to an insane pitch by late events in the minds of all natives, even of the more peaceably inclined. And this would be the case, under similar circumstances, among the masses in England.

In looking forward to the prodigious expenditure which must be incurred in settling our Indian affairs, and contemplating the enormous loss already sustained, the question arises, "How is all this to be met?" The answer is plain, "Out of the pockets of the natives!" And justly so. The man who breaks my windows without cause, ought to pay the glazier.

Summary despotism must to a great extent take the place of Chancery delays and Old Bailey quibbling in our civil and military administration of India. If necessary, let us borrow a few functionaries from Russia, Austria, or even our next neighbour, Louis Napoleon. I dare say he would lend us a few civil and military gentlemen of Algerian experience. I would confiscate the property of every Muhummedan and Hindoo convicted of being, in the least degree, connected with the present mutiny, of the one, down to the silver amulet on his arm (which amulet is forbidden by the Koran), and of the other, down to his wife's nose-ring. This ought to be irrespective of the personal pains and penalties incurred by all who have been personally engaged in treason, and atrocities for which murder, rape, and robbery, are palliative names. Every prince and chief who cannot prove his entire innocence of all participation in this unhallowed conspiracy against God and man, ought to be, if not hanged, fined at least to the last ducat in his treasury; and another member *of his family* ought to be set up in his stead, the custody of the offender being committed to him. Let the Indian Government show themselves, for the first time since the days of the foolish men(!) who gained India for us, munificent in rewarding fidelity and good service. To grants of Jagheers (land estates) natives attach great value, as being both profitable and honourable. From such grants, Koompani Béhadur has for many years religiously abstained,

and in the resumption by the Government of many ancient Jagheers, the title-deeds of which were, in the opinion of certain civilians, defective, some have been swallowed up in the vortex which were actually bestowed on the ancestors of the possessors for important and hard service rendered in perilous times to the English.

When Warren Hastings was beleaguered, and nearly lost his life in Benares, the great instrument of his salvation, and that of the British Empire, was rewarded by a grant of land. I have understood from credible authority that, in default of some wretched formality, the descendant of this worthy native gentleman was despoiled of his inheritance by the late Mr. Thomason, who of course acted under orders, for he was himself a man of rare benevolence, judgment, and philanthropy.

Let this unworthy niggardliness be discarded for ever, and where princely gifts to deserving and influential individuals strengthen the hands of Government, let an intelligent self-interest bestow them. See, what a paltry pension of 1000 rupees *per mensem* to such a man as Jan Fishan Khan has, by all accounts, elicited from that worthy nobleman in the neighbourhood of Meerut! As for flattering the military masses by unworthy acts of conciliation, and occasionally bullying them by docking their pay, &c., *Ecce finem.*

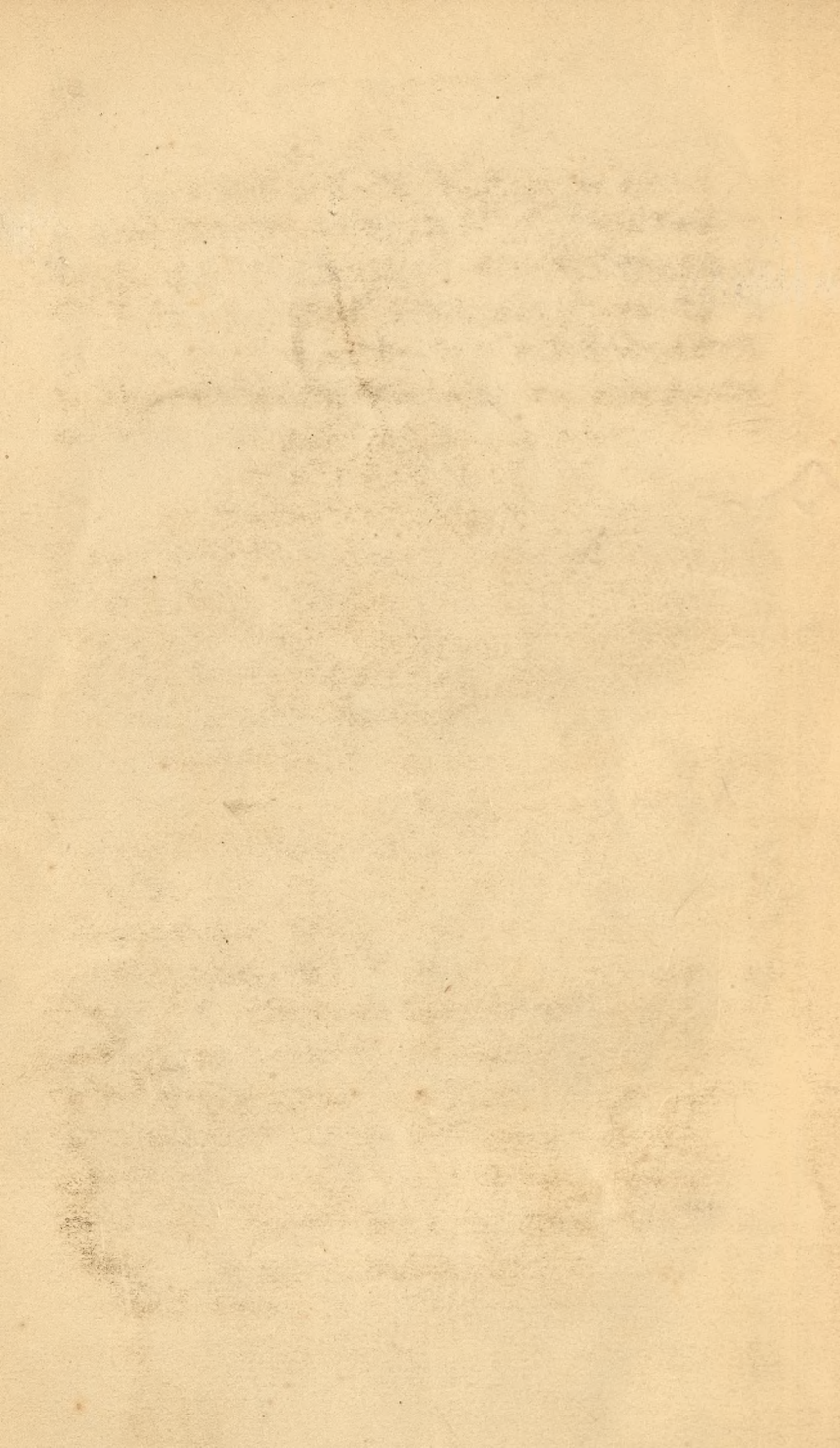
I am, &c.,

CAUBULEE.

P.S.—“Anglo-Bengalee,” in *The Times*, makes a suggestion so worthy of adoption, that I say ditto with all my heart. Let every mutineer be put *hors la loi*, and let this be fully explained, by proclamation, in every part of India. I add that rewards for their apprehension, *dead or alive*, ought to be freely offered, as also to all who have been the means of preserving the lives of Europeans, men, women, or children.

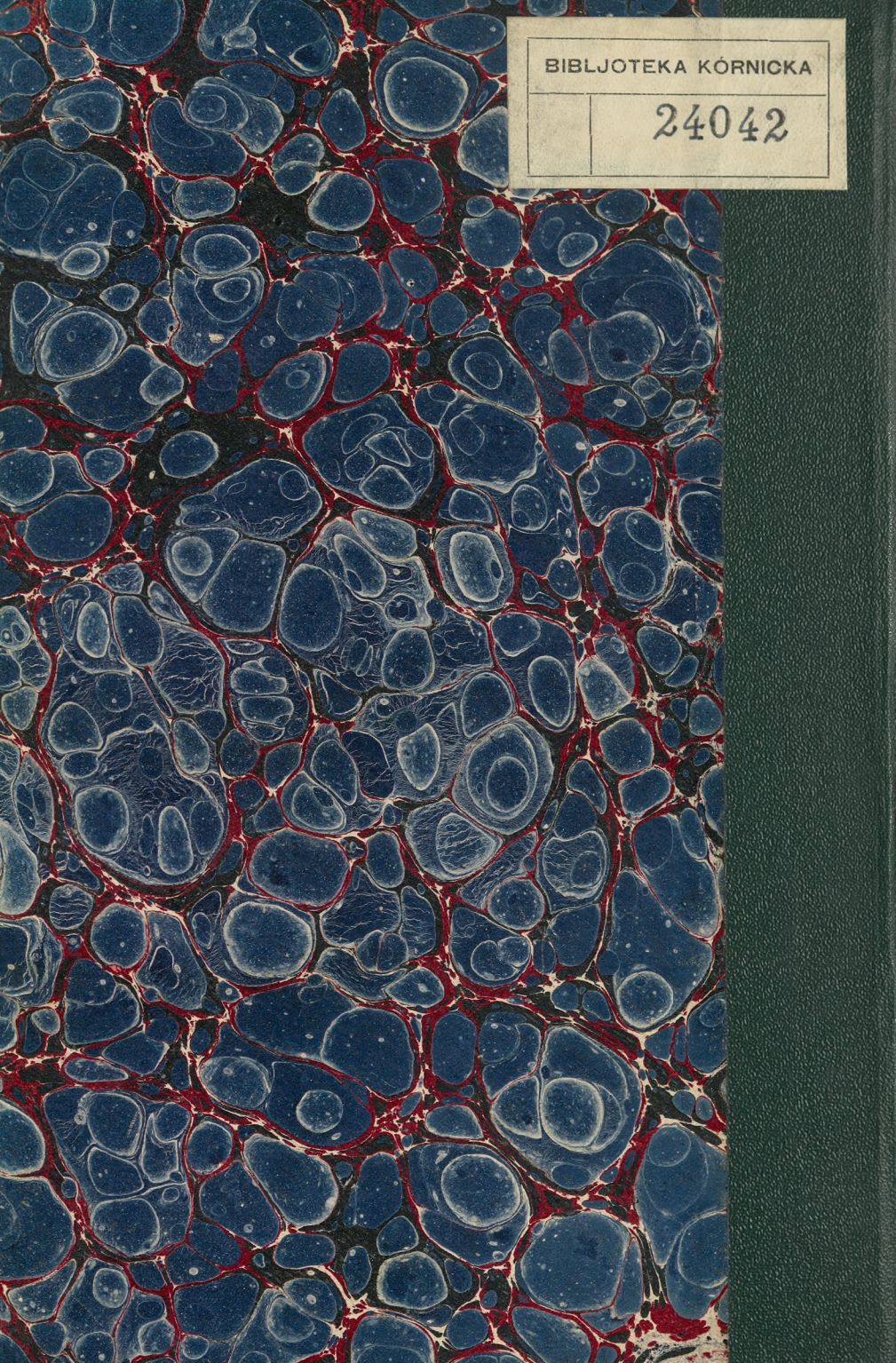
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