

THE
THOUGHTS
OF A
NATIVE OF NORTHERN INDIA
ON
THE REBELLION,
ITS
CAUSES AND REMEDIES.
WITH A PREFACE.

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P R E F A C E.

The following paper was prepared at the request of a well known officer in the North-Western Provinces, and is published, with the consent of the writer, at the request of several others who are well qualified to judge of its value. It was not written by any member of that race of Bengali Baboos, whose convictions constantly condemn their conduct, and to whom the friends of India look in vain for an example and for efforts calculated to elevate their countrymen; but by a man of a very different stamp in the North-Western Provinces, a native gentleman of the highest character, who has long been distinguished by well directed zeal for the public welfare. It is published precisely as he wrote it, without any correction of grammar or style, or the erasure of any objectionable expression. The writer is a man of loyalty, benevolence, and ability, and represents a class who are fairly entitled to be heard at a time when their country is attracting so much attention, and when so many other classes, both in India and in England, are submitting their views to the consideration of Parliament.

Unfortunately it has hitherto been customary to legislate for India without due enquiry. Once in twenty years, prior to the renewal of a Charter, each House of Parliament has been wont to appoint a Committee on Indian affairs, and much important information has thus been obtained. But, for the most part, no cognizance has been taken of the sentiments of the population of India; or, some general, and probably totally erroneous conclusions have been formed from the petitions of bodies like the British Indian Association, which represent the mind of the people as much the Chamber of Commerce in Liverpool represents the feelings of the Agricultural interest, or the Smithfield Cattle Club represents the opinions of the Factory men of Manchester. To the only practicable mode of ascertaining, fairly and fully, the real condition and the sentiments of the people at large, (the appointment of a Royal Commission,) there has always been a firm and unconquerable opposition. Even so lately as the end of 1856, when the Calcutta Missionaries represented the anomalous and lamentable condition of the peasantry of Bengal, and prayed for a Commission of Enquiry, the Government of India rejected the prayer, and in June, 1857 the House of Commons, on the debate on Mr. Kimbird's motion in support of the Missionaries' petition, plainly indicated its aversion to this necessary measure. But now, when it may be fairly assumed that the British Parliament will no longer believe that all is known that need be known, and that all has been

done that need be done, there is good reason to hope that the necessity for full enquiry will be acknowledged, and that the necessity for a Royal Commission will be acknowledged too.

There are many points in the following Dialogue which deserve much consideration. Among these is the notice of the peculiarities of the Oriental mind. If these be overlooked, measures will be adopted that are altogether unsuited to India; and other measures will be condemned, simply because they are unsuited to England, while they may be precisely the sort of measures requisite for this population. Much ridicule, for instance, was cast on the pomp with which Lord Ellenborough reviewed the Cabul Army—the triumphal arch, the sweetmeats, and the like—and yet, there can be no doubt that this kind of child's play is exactly the sort of thing which the native understands, and which secures his attachment. In like manner with the Proclamation respecting the Gates of Somnath. Perhaps there are few persons who will now deny, that party-spirit rather than religious zeal detected patronage of idolatry in that "song of triumph" on the restoration of the symbols of former grandeur, which for so many centuries had remained the trophies of the invader's victory in a foreign land. Judging by our plain English taste, which admires, most of all, the Dispatch which narrated the destruction of so many ships "as per margin," the inflated address to Brothers and Friends, seemed diffuse and extravagant; but in dealing with a people among whom there are hereditary feuds based on some trifling personal indignity, a century or more ago; in which a large part of life is spent in the ceremonies and refinements of caste; and whose languages teem with lofty terms of flattery and courtesy, our severe taste must be out of place, as truly as our winter clothing in India's month of May.

We have also to remember that we are dealing with a people who are not yet released from patriarchal habits; who look for summary justice to him that sitteth in the gate; and who are wholly unprepared for representative institutions. They require a paternal government.

On the other hand, we have to consider the claims and the interests of the European community in India, as the supporters of our power, and the necessary agents of civilization.

The writer of this Dialogue thinks that the European must mix more freely with the people, as 'I'od did, and others of the past generation. Others will doubt the possibility, at present, of this junction. The Englishman in India in 1857, has advanced in many things beyond the Englishman of seventy years ago; and there are few natives of India who have advanced at all. There is little community of ideas; none of family habits, or of domestic arrangements; there can be no ties of kindred; and the friendship between men who are thus severed cannot be really intimate and confidential. There is also another and wider difference. The Englishman is a Christian, and in many cases is, an earnest Christian, or hopes to become so. The Native worships Kali and Krishna, or receives with reverence the

bloody and cruel traditions of the Mussulman Elders. If there be community of feeling between such an Englishman and such a Native, it cannot extend far, unless the Englishman is dragged down to the lower level, or the native is raised to the higher. The more closely they are associated, the keener must be the consciousness of imperfect sympathy.

Nor is the case much better with the educated Native, whose confidence in his religion is destroyed. He no longer believes, he cannot believe, either its false science or its mythology, but he will not advance onwards to a positive and influential belief in the One true God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent. If he learns any truth, he holds that truth in unrighteousness. He will not submit to its power. He will persist in maintaining Caste, supporting Brahmans, and maintaining licentious or foolish festivals of idolatrous worship. In morals he exhibits no higher standard than many of the more steadfast Hindus.

There must then be a change on the one side or the other, before there can be really a satisfactory affinity between the Englishman and the Native; and the expectation of securing the affections of the people by this intimacy and alliance, while each remains as he is, must be abandoned.

This writer is equally mistaken as to Caste. It is true that it ramifies and permeates Native Society, and that it constitutes a large part of the religion of the Hindu population. It is said that we must maintain it; that the people are more sensitive on this point than on any other; that they will resent encroachments and indignities at all hazards, and so on. Still, the path of duty is here sufficiently obvious. Caste is based on a palpably false theory of the Creation of Man. It is a system manifestly repugnant to British jurisprudence. It is hostile to the interests of the great body of the people. What then? Is its maintenance, by our recognition of it, an essential condition of our security? Must we indeed perpetuate it or lose the Empire? It is believed that no apprehension of danger need attend a calm and tolerant policy, which simply leaves Caste to be dealt with by the people among themselves, voluntarily, like Freemasonry, but denies it all support, encouragement, or countenance. The plain duty of England, before all things, is Faithfulness to Truth. We cannot, as Christian men, admit that God did create four distinct races of human beings, and that the highest are divine and the lowest are impure. Nor can we, with common self-respect or fidelity to God's revelation, admit that we ourselves are not made "of one blood" with the Brahmans.

What then remains? Is India to be placed in peril? Certainly not. No real Christian will believe that it is impossible to frame a policy which shall combine with a complete non-recognition of Caste, such wisdom, justice, firmness, strength, and material benefits, as will secure the attachment of the people, increase and develop the energy of the European community, and bring down alike on the rulers and the country, the Divine blessing.

Let the Christian obligation to treat Caste as a thing which we can no more recognize than we can recognize the worship of Krishna, be plainly acknowledged. Let us educate in earnest: not, as hitherto, in a partial inadequate manner. Let our power be known and seen, for the assurance of the well affected, and the discouragement of the lawless and disobedient. Let us have cheap justice with a natural system of procedure, and a public administration of simple form and speedy action, including the development of the resources of the country; let the Christian Church give herself to the great task of evangelizing India with the energy of faith and hope; and the result will be, the establishment of British authority on firm foundations, and the gradual amelioration of the condition of the people, the overthrow of error, and spread of light and truth. Any other policy will end in speedy disappointment. God will not bless it; "the root will be rottenness and the blossom, will fly up as dust." We may purpose to keep people in ignorance; we may discourage railways and trade; we may establish a military despotism; we may fetter the Press, patronize Caste, and discountenance Christian Missions. This policy has been avowed by Lord Ellenborough and others, and in a great measure it has been the traditionary Indian policy. But it cannot prosper. We may not discover precisely the spot where trouble will arise, but come it will, and at last we shall either lose the country, or be driven to govern it on Christian principles for the glory of God in its final conversion to Christianity.

M. W.

Calcutta, January 12th 1858.

To H. C. T. Esq.

DEAR SIR,

I beg to enclose herewith the Memo. which I had promised yesterday. I hope you will be kind enough to keep it quite secret, because if it falls into any other hand, it may do me a deal of harm, and throw me into scrape. You will find there, I dare say, many nonsensical thoughts, foolish ideas, harsh words, audacious sentences, and opinions quite contrary to yours; but you know, Sir, that I wrote it for Mr. ———, and from him I expect forgiveness for every fault except falsehood, which is unpardonable.—He was anxious to know my impression, and I wrote only to let him know it.

As to your question of yesterday's that "what is now to be done," it is difficult to answer without knowing the man through whom it is to be done. In this country much depends on the disposition and qualification of the person who is to do, than on the nature of the work to be done. In England you have only to pass good acts and draw good rules, and people will take upon themselves to see that they are worked in right way and for their benefit by the local authorities; but here the case is otherwise, the best regulations can be turned into a source of worst oppression by an unscrupulous and careless magistrate; and if you give us a good magistrate, he can keep us happy without any regulation at all: Panjab owes its happiness more to Sir J. Lawrence and Messrs. Montgomery and McLeod than to any system or regulation. Oudh was placed under the same system, but not under the same officers, and it did not succeed. Remove them from the Panjab and fill up their places by the gentlemen whom I name, none of them receive at present less

than 2,000 Rupees per mensem, and hang me, Sir, if Panjab does not go to pieces before the earth has completed its annual circuit, and another Guru Gobind Sing does not appear among the Sikhs before long. Colonel Sutherland asked the Government if they wanted the assistance of a Lakh of Rajputs, which he could easily furnish, at the time of the Cabul disaster, and now they cannot suppress the little Jodhpur rebellion without more European soldiers. I do not know how it is that General Outram—the acknowledged Hero of the “True Heroism,” who reconciled the Bheels, could not keep Mán Sing to his faith; either he is changed or some inexplicable blunder has been committed. But does the Government know why the Azingurh Regiment got suspicious, why it allowed the treasure to depart and then changed its mind and retook it; why the Palwárs became exasperated, and why they are now so desperately fighting; and a hundred other things—though appearing trifles but pregnant with mighty consequences—natives have naturally no moral courage to speak the truth, their religion allows them to speak lies, but at the same time, I am afraid, there are very few men in the world who are always prepared to hear and love the truth. A man may get Khilluts for speaking lies, but may lose his life if he speaks the truth.

The natives have lost confidence, and England is wrathful, the country will shortly be deluged with European soldiers, and the Government has already assumed the sternest tone possible, the disaffection will increase and the country will doubtless suffer.—Though for a time India may become again tranquil, like some Volcano to heave its sighs only in its bosom and burst again with redoubled fury.

Can a Government be considered safe or strong when its subjects are discontented and not happy?

I had many a time thought of the possibility of a mutiny in the army—a foreign European invasion and internal disaffection and combination, though I had never for a moment expected such a catastrophe in my lifetime. The first of these, however,

we have already borne, and it is the duty of the Government to provide against the latter.

If the Government are determined to irritate the people and turn every hand and heart desperately against them, I do not think that even three hundred thousand European soldiers will ever be able to keep India *quiet*; though fifty thousand of them are quite sufficient to turn it into a perfect desert.

But man proposes and God disposes; nothing yet is impossible; England may yet be able to send out some statesman, who would make the whole native population again a set of most loyal subjects by one stroke of his pen. Sir C. Napier a mere soldier when appointed Governor of Sindh was petitioned by the Balúchis against the officers shooting peacocks, his order was this: If officers will shoot peacocks, Balúchis will shoot officers; and Balúchis remained as loyal to him as English. He fought like a hero and he governed also like a hero. We do not want acts and legislators but a *just* and energetic man of an independent mind like the hero of Mianee.—Let a magistrate be dismissed for his notorious unpopularity with the people and the whole thing will mend of itself. Sir J. Lawrence would never promote a magistrate whom he knows to be unpopular with his people.

As for education I beg to inform you that it is my determined decision that if any thing is to benefit this country—people as well as the Government—it is education, I mean education carried on upon religious principles. Whether I live on the bounty of the Government or my private resources, whether I have large districts under me or only a few boys of my relations, I have made it the work of my life and hope assistance from above.

They may abolish education, the prospects of India may become gloomy for a time, but I am quite sure that it is all for its good and for the God's glory. When the Mahrattás devastated the country, no one could foresee that it would end in the establishment of such a beneficent Government as the British. Nor when the barbarians sacked Rome any one could foretell

that the death of that empire will give birth to so many noble powers who hold now Europe. |

Though it is difficult to answer that question "what is now to be done?" but I may venture to say so much, that if any thing is to be done the first of all ought to be to let the people FEEL that Government will protect the innocent as certainly as they will punish the guilty, and no single innocent person will be allowed to suffer even if the safety of the empire be at stake; had this point been kept in view from the first, the revolt which was purely military would not have assumed such an aspect.

I have the honour to be,

Dear Sir,

Your most humble and obed^t. Servant,

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MEMO.

ON THE CAUSES

AND

REMEDIES OF THE REBELLION.

*In the form of a Dialogue between an European and a Native.*

*European.*—What do you think of the rebellion and its causes? do you think that Russians or Persians had any thing to do with it?

*Native.*—What a strange idea! How on earth the Russians and Persians could communicate and concert plans with such a vast number of natives, as they are, without the fact being brought to the notice of the Government. Had Russians or Persians any hand in the matter they would have marched their army by this time in Affghanistan. The Europeans never like to part with their own peculiar ideas—ideas formed in Europe—by which they want to govern this country, and decide every question howsoever grave or of whatsoever nature it may be—they see and know so little of the natives that it is no wonder if they have no notion of the ideas of the natives. They think that the natives will do the same here, what they would do in England.

*E.*—Did not those “Chapátees” mean something?

*N.*—They were mere “Chalawás” to stop the progress of some disease, as Captain Erskine wrote, and never a political move as many of your countrymen think.

*E.*—But surely the king of Delhi is implicated in the matter.

*N.*—He may be—He is a king and he might have extended

his hand or his mind to grasp the kingdom. The wish to become an independent king is a natural one. But was it ever really in the power of the pauper king of Delhi to alienate the Bengal army from the British Government? If it was, could he get a better opportunity to realize his wishes than at the time of Cabul disaster or the Mudhki and Pheru Battles?

*E.*—But then was he not a passive observer of all this mischief which happened to us in Delhi?

*N.*—And what else he could be; but for that you cannot lay the cause of rebellion to his doors. He had no moral courage to risk his life in trying his best to stop the horrid cruelties perpetrated by the mutineers in the precincts of his palace and under his very eyes, and perhaps most likely the goddess Hope gave him a gleam at that time of the restoration of his lost empire, but I can never for a moment acknowledge him to be the cause or the original instigator and plotter of this rebellion.

*E.*—And are you then an advocate of the continuance of the pension to that miscreant?

*N.*—By no means—It was a folly from the first to allow him a place in the same Dewánkhás from which his forefathers had ruled an Empire—and to allow the Mahárájas to strike coins in his name up to this period. I do not object to pension, but he ought to have received it in Australia or New Zealand. To allow him to remain in Delhi was just as to allow a man to play with fire-arms in the powder Magazine. The sooner the name of Timur is now forgotten the better.

*E.*—But the Ex-King of Lucknow?

*N.*—And do you think Sir, seriously that a man would plot against the Government when his mother, brother and son are in England; a man who left voluntarily his own kingdom, and preferred to live as a common subject in the heart of Calcutta? It is possible that he began to stir himself when he heard of the disaffection of the army so as not to let this golden opportunity slip from his hand to retake his kingdom, or perhaps his courtiers

to show their zeal and anxiety, might have been trying since the first, one foolish act or the other to secure his restoration but to alienate the whole Bengal army from the British Government, I think, was as much out of his power as to alienate that of Great Britain is out of mine?

*E.*—They say papers have been seized which throw great suspicions on the Ex-King of Oudh.

*N.*—That I do not know, but I have very little faith in the papers. They have not however yet been made public.

*E.*—Well then, what is the cause of this national rebellion and of the revolt of the people? The Government cannot find it, nor the people in England can find it.

*N.*—Nor they will ever find it, no one can see the defects of his own face with his own eyes. The Government have searched for the cause of the rebellion in the heavens and the earth, but never in themselves, or most likely having found it in themselves now, do not like to confess it. The gagging Act has perhaps been passed to prevent the discovery and leave the Home authorities in quite darkness about it. But please, Sir, do not call it a “national rebellion,” it is a pure military revolt.

*E.*—But have not the villagers of many districts taken themselves to plunder and murder, and have not the Nawábs of Bareilly and Fatahgarh and this vile Nanhá and treacherous Mansing raised the standard of rebellion against us?

*N.*—Yes; but only when they found the Government weak and without an army, in fact ceasing to exist. If there be no army, no police, in fact no Government in England, what will be the consequence? will there be no riot? will the people not act on the proverb “might is right,” and will they not take law in their own hands? and here when the Government cannot control its own army, when they are let loose like so many wild wolves and the people are left at their mercy, what else can you expect from a people strongly suspicious of the intentions of the Government to take their caste. The Government, which though the best we can have, has made itself notoriously unpopular

through the ignorance and arrogance of many individuals who are entrusted to carry out its well meant designs.

*E.*—But that is the question, what did induce the blackguards, the sepoys to revolt?

*N.*—The Cartridge!! The Cartridge!!!

*E.*—Never! Never!!

*N.*—It is indeed, Sir: First pray answer me a few questions, and then I will tell you the history of revolt and its progress. Pray, sir, answer me, were not some greased cartridges imported from England? were not some new ones made and greased in the Fort William? Were they not issued to some of the sepoys? if you say not, then how it is that some of the newspapers to prove that the sepoys had no real prejudice against those Cartridges brought prominently forward the fact that they fired their guns loaded with the same greased Cartridges which are said to be so obnoxious to their feelings, against their officers? Was not the Government resolved at one time to force these cartridges upon the sepoys, and were not some of the officers very anxious to exhibit their zeal in removing the objections of the sepoys against these infernal cartridges. If not, then why a change was made in the Drill about cutting the cartridges with teeth, and why the "*Friend of India*" wrote such thundering articles at the time. He wrote, if my memory does not fail, that in some of the stations the officers had succeeded (applauding the officers of course) in introducing the greased cartridges in their Regiments, and they ought to be, and should be, introduced under the loaded guns.

*E.*—I never recollect such sentences in the *Friend*.

*N.*—I will not bind myself for the exact words, because I have got no file of the paper with me. I refer you to the papers themselves.

*E.*—But the *Friend of India* was very foolish. The Government stopped the greased cartridges as soon as the objections of the sepoys was brought to their notice. Did you not see the proclamation issued by the Military Secretary?

*N.*—Ah Yes! but the proclamation was not issued till Delhi was in the hands of the rebels; and recollect, Sir, that the intention of the Government to force the greased cartridges or in the native words, to take the caste, was impressed on the minds of the people through the length and breadth of the country, to be as a fact, beyond doubt, with the report of the disbandment of the 17th (?) I mean the Berhampur Regiment—Had the proclamation been issued before the disbandment of that Regiment, most probably it would have checked the progress of mutiny.

*E.*—And what you mean by the history of rebellion and its progress?

*N.*—Suppose, Sir, that the greased cartridges were imported from England and stored in the Fort and the new ones prepared there. Would not the sepoys on guard in the Fort observe the fat brought for the purpose and rubbed on the cartridges?—Nay, I hear they were taunted by the contractors of the fat or the cognizant parties. They of course related the whole matter to their comrades in the line. Native soldiers cannot be expected to comprehend at once the principles on which the Enfield rifles have been made, and the necessity of applying grease; they took it doubtless as a dodge to take their caste, and resolved not to accept these cartridges at any risk. The natives prefer losing life to the loss of caste, an out-caste in this country is worse than dead. It is true that the cartridges issued to the Berhampur Regiment were not greased, but their suspicion was so strong, and aggravated by the unusual colour of the paper with which unfortunately those cartridges were made, that in my humble opinion, it was the duty of the commanding officer, by whatever means possible to remove that suspicion, instead of contenting himself by ordering the native officers to tell the sepoys that the cartridges were not greased, and if they would reject them in the morning, when they were to be distributed by the English officers, they should be subjected to Court Martial. The sepoys did not know what to do, it was late in night, and they could not come to any conclusion; they rushed to arms in despair, but

again laid them down when they were ordered to do so by the commanding officer. The Bengal Army could not believe that a Regiment of Native Infantry will take up arms against the East India Company on any other ground less than the fear of losing caste, nor they could believe that the Government should acquiesce in losing such a fine Regiment unless they are determined to take the caste of the sepoys at whatever cost it may be. The Sowars in Meerut could not bear to see their comrades laid in irons for a fault which was rather a virtue or binding duty in their eyes. They released the other prisoners with their comrades only to create a confusion and facilitate their escape, and thus it became a signal for all the Regiments and Risalas to mutiny.

*E.*—But why some of them waited so long and did not throw off the mask till so late as even September or October?

*N.*—I told you, Sir, that it was not a concerted plan. Many of them had till late hopes that the Government would feel fully satisfied by disbanding the Regiments already gone, but now they are daily convinced that the Government only waits the arrival of the European soldiers to annihilate and get rid of the Bengal army by disarming them or blowing them up by the cannons; it is out of my power to give you all the local causes or the blunders of the authorities which actuated each Regiment to rebel at its own way and its own time.

*E.*—But what on earth could induce the sepoys to murder their officers and the innocent women and children?

*N.*—Ay! that was the binding cord between the ringleaders and the whole Regiment, as soon as a few men consulted and agreed to rebel, they shot their officers to make the whole Regiment proclaimed by the Government as that of mutineers, and thereby secure the services of all their comrades without the least fear of any of them betraying their ringleaders and going over to the Government or dispersing and taking the road to their homes. Besides that to kill their officers, to plunder treasuries, and to burn Cutcherries, was in their opinion a sure



passport and the best certificate to procure them employment with much higher salaries in the services of the king of Delhi or Lucknow. The fools also thought it possible to exterminate the English race, and hoped that when there would be no English, the rájás will rise simultaneously and take possession of the country and engage their services on the highest salaries imaginable.

*B.*—You said “suspicious.” I do not think the people have any reason to suspect the motives of the Government. The Government never wishes to interfere in the least way with their caste or prejudices, proclamations after proclamations have been issued to that effect and why the people do not read them?

*N.*—They read them, but do not believe them, simply because they find the acts of the Government contrary to their words. I know it is not the intention of the Government, yet the mischief is done, through the ignorance of their officers. Do you not, Sir, remember the row, which I hear, was made in Benares, the seat of Hindú religion, the resort of the pilgrims from the four quarters of India, at the time of introducing the messing system in the jail of Benares, and yet it was introduced. The people of the town met publicly and secretly to discuss the question, they insulted the magistrate openly and contemned the police, yet the system was introduced. The sowars were brought down from Sultanpoor and hundreds of the citizens of Benares were sent to jail. What would have been the consequence, had the same system been introduced at the time by the commanding officers in their regiments? nothing more or less than brought by these infernal cartridges. It is a fact worthy of being sifted by a historian. Was it not a straw to show the course of the wind? Yet the Government did not heed it. Hundreds of other acts, too numerous to relate, have been committed in this way by the officers of the Government which convinced the people beyond doubt that it was the intention of the Government to take their caste. Many of these acts were totally un-

called for, and without the least gain to the Government or anybody.

*E.*—And are you an advocate of re-establishment of the rites of “suttee” and infanticide?

*N.*—This is the way, Sir, that the Editors of the Newspapers blend the matters together. The abolishment of “Suttee” and Infanticide, was a deed in which even a boy clearly saw the advantage to be gained, without any loss to anybody, and every one applauded the Government, but in messing system and the works like that, no one can see what gain could be derived, except the loss of caste (if it can be called any gain), which is so dear and valuable to the natives.

*E.*—I thought from the first that it was very foolish in the Government to give even a pretence to the people to suspect its motive, as far as it was concerned with the interference in their religion: unbounded toleration to the Missionaries, unchecked distribution of religious tracts, indiscriminate zeal of many of the Government officers in promoting the cause of Missions and openly assisting the Missionaries, and the Government connection with the Missionary Schools, are no doubt much to be deplored.

*N.*—Here you and many of your countrymen, Sir, commit a serious mistake. No European can form, though they ought to form, a correct idea of the difference between the prejudices of caste and those of religion. Give a couple of Goldmohurs to a Pandit, and he will cheerfully compose a book in refutation of his own religion; but give him a glass of water, openly touched by you, even through the medium of a stick, hundred feet long, and he will not drink it, though you offer him a thousand Goldmohurs! I say “openly” because secretly perhaps he may not have objection to do any thing either to please you or satiate his own passions. Few nations on earth are so indifferent to religion as the Hindús are. Their religion has undergone mightier and more numerous changes than that of Europe. It is absurd to think that the English are hated by the Hindús on account

of their religion: for the Mahomedans believe the shortest way to go to Heaven, to be, to cut the throat of a Hindu, to demolish a sacred temple, or kill a cow in the day of "Id," yet they are worshipped by the Hindús. Look to Gházi Myán and a hundred other Pírs and Fakírs. The Mahomedans too do not hate the English solely for their religion, because the Bible is more honoured in the Korán than the Korán itself, and Moses and Jesus not less than Mahomed, yet their hatred towards Christians (the people of the book) is more inveterate than towards the idolatrous and Mushrik Hindús. If the English believe in the mission of Mahomed or the sacredness of the Vedas without any change in their manners, do you think that they would acquire any popularity among the natives? It is not religion but the want of religion which has brought so much evil to this country. The people know that the Government is a Christian one, let it act openly as a true Christian: the people will never feel themselves disappointed, they will only admire it. Who can detest "religion?" It is the order of their own 'Shástars' that every man is to revere his own religion. You may have a thousand Missionaries to preach, and another thousand as masters of the schools at the expense of the Government, or distribute a thousand Bibles at the hands of the Governor General. The people will not murmur out a single syllable, though they may laugh and jeer; but take care that you do not interfere with their caste, — you do not force them to eat the food cooked by another in the jails; or thrust grease down their throats with the cartridges made by Europeans. I do not think such acts have any thing to do with the Christian religion.

*B.*—But would you like to perpetuate the system of caste which is such a great curse to India?

*N.*—By no means—But the teeth fall off themselves in old age though it is painful to extract them in youth. Difference of caste must vanish with many other offsprings of folly and ignorance when its proper time comes. To try to exterminate it now, must end in bloodshed.

*L.*—What bloodshed! the sooner such a nation is exterminated the better, the cruelties of Nánhá have made the Indians an everlasting stain on the human character, let them be gone and make room for a better race as you know the English are; to talk of civilization to natives is to throw pearls before swine.

*N.*—Are you, Sir, serious? Would you, Sir, exterminate a hundred and fifty millions of human beings, one-sixth of the population of the world; perhaps equal in number to them who were destroyed in the flood by the Almighty wrath, you cannot make them slaves even, and keep them under the yoke of servitude. The Moguls tried to do that for seven hundred years, but the moment they grew weak to hold their sceptre, the Marathás, the Játs and the Sikhs, whom they had never dreamt of before, sprung to wrest it from their hands, you may not even allow the natives to surpass the English, as long as they are English, in the science of war and especially in the practice of Artillery, but you cannot exclude from the pale of possibility a foreign invasion. I mean an invasion of some European power. In what a jeopardy will not the Government of India fall with a strong enemy out and a disaffected people in. Even if you exterminate the natives and colonize the country with your countrymen, it may become another America, another rival, and another source of trouble, nay a perfect thorn to Great Britain; but it can no longer remain the brightest gem in the British crown, of a garden—a granary—a purse to England. Sir, do not make of India what Turks have made of the Roman Empire; but be to them what Romans have been to you; they carried civilization wherever they went, but never interfered directly with the manners and customs of the people. The Jews enjoyed perfectly their own rights under their Roman masters.

*L.*—But your countrymen have refused civilization; I again say, we have thrown pearls before swine.

*N.*—But, Sir, pardon me, and tell me if you have ever tried to civilize them, have you ever done any thing for them purely in that respect? Take a Division, and let us see what you have

done for the civilization of its population. Take that of Benares for instance, one of the finest divisions in India, having a population of about ten millions of human beings, and yielding about a million of sterling pounds per annum to Government, it has been in the hands of the English since 1775, and now let us see what has been done to civilize the people who form a fiftieth part of those of India.

*E.*—Is there not a Government College in Benares, a magnificent College?

*N.*—Yes, there is one, but do you not know that the Rájá of Benares had paid a lakh of rupees for its establishment, and do you think that it can civilize ten millions of souls scattered over six districts, with such a scanty means of communication as this country possesses; but look to the adjoining division of Allahabad, almost equal to that of Benares, there you will not be able to point out even a school of any kind established by the Government.

*E.*—Surely, they have done something for the village schools, and the education of the mass of the people since the memorable Despatch of the Court of Directors.

*N.*—Yes, *since* that despatch; but what did they do during the last almost a whole century. Did they ever think of educating the sepoys? Could they not learn the Hindi alphabet in a month or two, and then spend their weary hours in reading useful and interesting books prepared for the purpose, and collecting a store of general information. Would they have thought for a moment of mutinying in this way, had they even a gleam of the resources of England? Would they have thought for a moment the cartridges as a means to get them converted to Christianity, had they possessed the least knowledge of the commonest principles of that religion? From the sepoys, and the people too, so grossly ignorant as to think Company Máí now too old a lady to hold the reins of Government, can you expect any thing else than the present confusion and havoc? I hope if ever a native corps is again to be raised, whether for police

or for the field, let it be raised on this condition that 4 annas per mensem will be deducted from the salary of each sepoy and one rupee from that of sowar, to defray towards the expenses of a Regimental School and library until he passes an examination in reading and writing Hindi alphabet fluently and correctly. Intelligent enemies are far less dangerous than the foolish and ignorant friends. Let them have a correct idea of the resources of England, a gleaming of the past history of India, a notion of the benefits which this country derives from its connection with England, and the knowledge of the kind of relation which the latter maintains with the former, even if their officers do that, I shall make myself responsible, if such a thing ever occurs again as it has now. The rise and fall of a nation depend on the kind of education it receives. The fate of a nation, at least for some generations, can be easily foretold by knowing the nature and the amount of education that it receives. Even now with all the despatches and orders of the Court only some thirty thousand rupees could be got from the Government for the Benares division, and with the full operation of the new Government educational system including the whole missionary and private institutions, only one boy in 48 of school-going age,\* or one boy in four hundred souls of its inhabitants could be counted under tuition! Education cannot be expected to produce that effect, which is so desirable, until the Government does not attach to it that importance which is so undoubtedly due to its rank. Bonaparte perused and answered a college report from the field of battle; but our Governor-General cannot do that sometimes for years. All the zeal and labour of individuals are lost by the apathy shewn in the Head Quarters.

*W.*—But the people ought to look themselves after the education of their own children, ought they not? In England they have their own schools and pay for the education of their children.

*N.*—There is the same error which you, Sir, so seriously commit

\* In Prussia nine-tenths of *this portion* of the population is stated to be under instruction.

every where, you blend the ideas of England so confoundedly with this country, that it is very difficult for me to explain to you the wants of India. However, let me try it, first let us consider a few points in which the two countries so materially differ, and on the consideration of which points the Government ought to form its policy. The state of society in England, at the time of William the Conqueror, may be compared in many respects to some of the hilly and jungly parts of India. He having found himself sole master of the land by the right of conquest, divided it among his vassals like Maafce Jágghirs in this country; the law of primogeniture secured perpetuity to a set of nobility who have in all ages been thought as pillars of state; and the income tax has brought high and low so equally under the burden that no one can complain or even pretend to have a complaint. The people tax themselves from year to year, or in other words pay only so much to the ministers that they think requisite to secure internal peace, and protect themselves from foreign invasion. The other works of general interest and public utility they take upon themselves, they meet, they consult, they subscribe and they act like true patriots for the benefit of their country. In fact, the king and ministers in England are nothing more than the servants of the people and responsible to them in every sense of the word, servant. Here in India the case is quite different. The Rájás and Bádshahs assumed the position of a father, that is master of person and property both, they left to their subjects, from the fruits of their labour, only as much as they thought proper to meet their individual wants and expenses. If any one of their subjects built a Serai or a bridge, or dug a well or a tank, it was only to perpetuate his own name and not to aggrandise the nation, for *that* the Rájás and Bádshahs only were to be looked at. They took from the Zemidárs as much as the latter could afford, they levied duties on merchandise as much as the commodities may not be driven out of market and whenever a servant of state amassed wealth beyond the limit assigned to him according to the caprice of these

self-elected "fathers," a portion of it was easily brought to the Royal Treasury under the name of Dand, or forced contribution; thus agriculture, trade and service, the three grand portals of income in the world, were all subjected to taxation; and the Rájás and Bádshahs did every thing which was required for the benefit of the country and the prosperity of the nation, they dug canals, they made roads, they built bridges, they established alm-houses, hospitals, and colleges. Hundreds and thousands of charitable institutions were established and hundreds and thousands of them received support in cash or rent free lands from the Emperors. The people thought this as their right and as a binding duty of their rulers. Whenever they failed to perform it satisfactorily and sunk in self-indulgence and luxury, the people groaned, complained and shook off the yoke of obedience; and so a kind of balance was always kept. You take more from the Zemindars (and I can prove it if you want) than the Rájás or Bádshahs took. The demand on account of land revenue in Bengal has, if my memory does not fail, more than doubled since the time of Alivardi Khan—you monopolize opium and salt—you sell stamps and levy fees—you give contracts for drugs and liquors—you collect chowkidaree, yet do not fulfil those fatherly duties for which the names of Rájás like Bhoja and Vikram, and the Bádshahs like Feroze and Akbar will long remain engraved on the memory of generations to come. The people of this country accustomed in this way to look to their rulers for the work of charity and public utility are quite astonished, and not a little annoyed to find the Government officers constantly begging for subscriptions on one pretence or the other. England sent an army to assist Turkey against Russia, the natives of India were made to subscribe for the Patriotic Fund. A Magistrate fancies to establish a hospital, the natives are called upon to subscribe; another comes and fancies to have a Ghat, the natives are called upon to subscribe—a third comes and fancies an Asylum or Dharamsálá, or library, or school, or tank, or well, or picture, or statue or any thing, and the people are called upon to subscribe.



Though the amount does not come very hard upon the subscribers, yet it being against the customs of this country is very obnoxious and unpalatable to the people, and lowers the Government in their estimation. Let the Government officers cease to have any thing to do with Chándás and subscriptions, and let the Government lay a crore of rupees or so per annum apart for charitable purposes.

*E.*—Bápre! where the money is to come from, the Government is already bankrupt.

*N.*—Thirty crores, which never came to the coffers of any Mogul, is quite sufficient to govern India, and if it does not suffice it is your fault, Sir, and not ours. Make sweeping reductions, reduce superfluous work, reduce superfluous establishments, and reduce extravagant expenditure and make people happy—the resources of the country are inexhaustible, with a little help the natives will be able to pay you even as much more as you want.

*E.*—Was it not our Government which abolished the transit duty—the people must be thankful at least for that.

*N.*—No one thinks about it—and in my opinion it was impolitic—the class which has directly gained by that is very small compared to that of agriculturist, and is composed entirely of bankers-merchants and shopkeepers. They are the wealthiest part of the population and best off under the British rule. They do not pay a single cowrie in the shape of taxation, and derive all the benefits of the best Government in the world; when the agriculturists groan overtaxed, these Mahájans fatten upon their ruin. I do not know how far it is possible to regulate and levy an income tax, but a moderate duty levied on all kinds of merchandise will not be felt by the people in this country, though if it is levied on just principles, it may be felt in England. But of whatever kind and of whatever amount the new tax may be deemed advisable for this country, let it be fixed in rate for ever, and let it have as its preliminary, a promise from Government that this is a final demand and no more will ever be asked

for. I know you will never approve this promise of "for ever," but remember that your ideas are formed in England where people have a voice in administration, a sure guarantee to protect their own interest and regulate the amount of taxation from year to year, as they find the calls of the state to meet with. But the natives of this country are still living under a despotic Government, cannot dare to open their mouth in the state affairs and find their refuge only in the word "Sudámád Kádím (law of precedence); once that barrier is broken and there is no limit to stop at, for the extortions of the Government. The people feel it. They argue it thus—"if the Government has passed an act to levy 5 per cent. on our income, what on earth can prevent it from passing another act the next year to augment it to 10—it must ultimately ruin us, so it is better as far as we can to oppose it now."

*E.*—No doubt the Government of India requires great reforms. Its fiscal, judicial and political—all administrations are based on false principles, it requires great statesmanship and genius to reform them—I hope the Parliament will take up the matter and do something for this country to which we owe so much.

*N.*—This is, Sir, another mistake of your countrymen, they take up every matter so elaborately and make it so grand that it becomes almost impracticable and useless. If they fancy it requires to give a code to the natives—they labor for years and years, and spend lakhs of rupees, and after all when the code is ready, they find it too difficult to be translated in Vernacular, and beyond the comprehension of the natives of this country. They never think for a moment, that first of all they ought to make themselves acquainted with the ideas of the natives for whom they have to legislate: when I told this to a gentleman—he said, "Keep your native ideas, we expect natives to imbibe *ours*." Just as if Jesus Christ instead of coming down in the form of a man and mixing with the humblest class and delivering the word of God in the language of the country, had waited in the heavens for men to go up and hear his lectures in the lan-

guage of Angels! Asia is a land of trifles, a word, a move, a courtesy, an insult, an hour's conversation, a letter, nay a look, decides here the fate of empires. Mahomed Sháh was brushing his teeth when Jay Sing went first to pay his respect after the death of his father, the king to have a fun tried to frighten the boy by taking hold of his both hands, and asking, "Well boy, how shall I treat you now?" Jay Sing answered unhesitatingly that, "O the refuge of the world, if a man takes hold of another's hand, he supports him through his life, when you have taken hold of both of mine what more have I to ask for," the king made him "Savái" that is one fourth more than the greatest Rájás of the time, and so he was called all along Jay Sing Savái. You know, Sir, how much the British Government is obliged to the Mahárájá of Patialá for his valuable assistance in the Sutlej Campaign. He asked Lord Hardinge as a favor to give his Highness' hand in that of Colonel Mackeson then Agent at Umbállá, the Lord did so immediately, but I hardly think that the Colonel ever understood its meaning. The Ladies and Gentlemen present at the Darbár were observed to smile at what they thought a mere piece of nonsense. Such is the land of Asia and such her people, whom you wish to govern by the laws and ideas of England. To expect reforms in revenue and judicial matters from Parliament is just to expect (don't laugh at me, Sir,) your dinner from the moon. To us it is of no consequence whether the Court remains or is abolished, whether the destinies of India remain in the hands of the Chairman of the Court, or the Colonial Secretary of the Queen, whether it is ruled by Mr. Mangles or V. Smith. We never take any interest in the discussions of Parliament, they show only how sadly the members are ignorant of the affairs of this country, they fight only for patronage and what is that to us, if in place of Grants and Colvins the country is deluged with Earls and Marquises. The natives may be delighted to hear the talk of having the sons and relations of Lords and Dukes as their magistrates, because they think Amírs of England must live somewhat in the

style of the Amírs of this country, namely, the Nawábs and the Rájás : will buy plenty of jewels for their ladies, employ many servants and give large Bakhsish. But they will feel themselves sadly disappointed when they find them, exceed in no other respect the present Hákimlogs, but in the ignorance of the country and its people. If the people of this country ever vote for the Queen, it will be only with an impression what they have of the difference between a king and a contractor in India. The king lavishes his wealth in gifts and khilluts and gives large Jágirs, when a contractor tries only to fill his own coffers. It was this false impression, or rather ignorance of English and England which took the Queen Mother of Lucknow to England, she thought that the Queen of England perhaps, taking compassion on a creature of her own class, and being pleased with a high valued present, may pass a word from her mouth to give back Oudh to Vagídakí Shah. Poor woman ! she did not know that our gracious Queen has as little power to give an inch of land in this world as Janáb Aliya (the Queen of Oudh) has to give in the other. She perhaps had also calculated on procuring a recommendation of Pasha of Egypt in her way to England, and never thought that the recommendation of the Pasha of Egypt in such matters cannot be treated in England in any other respect than her recommendation in France to restore the house of Bourbons. If you intend seriously to reform the fiscal and judicial systems of India, why don't you have a run by dák through the length and breadth of the country. See at each stage a Tahsildár, and many respectable and intelligent Zamíndárs and Mahájans, but none of those who have the least imbibe-ment of English ideas and talk over the matter with them ; note down their hints and remarks, and in six months a man having a common sense can prepare codes which will fully supply the wants of these people. How strange it is that you do discuss such matters at the house of Lords for years and years, and never ask a question from the people of this country.

*E.*—When Government pass an act in this country do they not publish a draft in the Calcutta Gazette three months before?

*N.*—Yes, they do, but who reads it? except a few Bábús of Calcutta fit only to be employed as attorneys or teachers of Milton and Shakespear in England, they have become so imbued with English ideas and strangers to their own country, without getting rid of that want of true patriotism the wish of self-aggrandisement, and other defects so peculiar to an Asiatic, that they even think in English language, being unable to talk in their mother-tongue, are now teaching their wives English, they do not know the correct spellings of their Hindú names, and consequently have now adopted the mode of English short signatures as A. Ghose or B. Chackerbatty. They cannot walk without wearing high heeled boots and puzzle the Hindustánees by offering them their hands to shake, who do not know what to do with that extended hand. The Gazettes are very expensive, and the mass of the people do not yet understand the object of publishing drafts; neither they are able to write petitions to Counsel about them. Why the judges are not ordered immediately on the receipt of a draft in the Gazette to convoke a meeting of the respectable natives in their districts, note down their remarks and opinions and send the paper up to Government?

*E.*—Have your Bengálís not formed a British India Association?

*N.*—Yes, but can India expect for a moment a reform from this Bengalí (par excellence called British India) Association. An Association which could not get any other person to represent its petition before the Parliament than an Englishman, an Association, the members of which shudder from putting their steps on board a steamer, though perhaps many of them would not hesitate to indulge themselves in beef and sherry.

*E.*—But tell me what has made the Government so unpopular with the people, what is the real cause of that?

*N.*—I can sum up the whole cause, or the real cause, in two words, namely, the reluctance of the English to *mix* with the

natives on equal and social terms. The Government did not become unpopular when officers like Tod and Malcolm, Augustus Brooke or Sir T. Munro were appointed to govern the country; reluctance in Englishmen to mix with the people increased with the increase of their power. Colonel Tod sat down for hours by the pallet of the Udaipur Ráná in his sickness to beguile his time by showing him pictures and mirrors; but in 1851, when the last native independent state, I mean the Punjab, had fallen in the hands of the British, and their power attained its zenith, a very renowned functionary invites one of the great Mahárájás to meet him from 12 miles and yet cannot spare of a few minutes to see him from his Cutcherry works. If the members of the Parliament were sincere well-wishers of their Indian possessions they would have made Tod's travels, and Rajasthan, as a text Book for the Indian Civil Service examination instead of History of Greece and Rome, where they could have found in almost the first page written "that no European can be an acceptable or useful functionary amongst the Hindus who is not familiar with their language, manners and institutions, and disposed to *mix* them upon equal and social terms." So the real cause of the unpopularity of the Government, and consequently of all the miseries under which the country labors is the reluctance of your countrymen to mix with the natives, because without mixing with the people they cannot acquire a thorough knowledge of their ideas, sentiments, notions, capabilities, social and moral conditions, internal economy, wants and prejudices, which is so necessary to govern successfully an empire, and through this ignorance and ignorance only, what a vast amount of money, labor, genius and energy is thrown away quite uselessly. The Government has become bankrupt, the people are oppressed and plundered by the very police which has been appointed to protect them. The debt cannot be recovered on account of the same laws which were passed to facilitate its recovery, the gentry and nobility are becoming daily scarce. The Zemindars had in my life time horses and elephants, have now become cultivators and plough

another's land, the Mahájans who could lend lakhs of rupees are now obliged to borrow in hundreds. The discontent and disaffection is spreading and increasing fast through the length and breadth of the country. The Government will feel no doubt stronger after the suppression of the mutiny than they ever were; if the hatred of their countrymen towards the natives increases in ratio to the increase of power as hitherto, the disaffection of the people and unpopularity of the Government, will increase also proportionally. The consequences are obvious and be assured the country will be ruined and desolated.

*E.*—But surely there are officers still in India who should eclipse the names of Tods and Malcolms.

*N.*—There are, Sir, but how few they are. It is owing to these few officers who come now and then to the lot of some districts that people have not yet despaired and risen in body against the Government.

*E.*—Look to the Punjab how admirably and energetically peace has been preserved there, and how contented the people are.

*N.*—Yes! but at the same time our North Western Provinces owe all this rebellion and anarchy to the very Punjab for which Sir J. Lawrence has so repeatedly been thanked.

*E.*—What you mean by this?

*N.*—Why, Sir, Lord Dalhousie annexed Punjab, but did not increase the European army—he poured the whole European army of the Bengal Presidency into the Punjab and took from Mr. Thomason, the best Civil officers that the North Western Provinces did possess. It is no wonder if peace has been preserved in the Punjab with such an amount of European soldiers and such a kind of Civilians untied with the acts of the Government or the Circulars and constructions of the Sudder Adawlut, but at the same time it is no wonder if the North Western Provinces are suffering proportionally for the absence of the very materials which helped Sir J. Lawrence in preserving peace in his satrápy. The great mistakes that I find in Lord Dalhousie's administration are first, his not increasing the European army.

and the 2nd, his converting the 5 per cents. to 4 per cent. loans. The plan of the Punjab did not succeed in Oude because an adequate number of European troops could not be spared for it—nor there was time or man to select officers for it, every thing was done in hurry and in a slovenly manner. Now the consequences are to be borne. The very peasants for whose protection as an ostensible pretension, the Government took the odium of annexing Oude, have raised their hands against the Government. The "*Friend of India*" wrote that 2 Companies would suffice to depose the king, and now three Regiments of European soldiers cannot restore order, such are the delusions of mankind at the time of success.

*E.*—But how is this rebellion now to be suppressed?

*N.*—Had proper care been taken at *first*, it had not given us so much trouble, but now *as it is*, and perhaps may be a little more troublesome, the rebellion must be suppressed with a strong hand, no mercy is to be shewn to the rebels, they must be hunted down like wild beasts wherever they go, even for years to come. The troops are coming from England and they ought to be poured in and pushed on as fast as practicable, let the man who has dared to oppose the British authority whether he is a King or a Mahárájá meet the extreme penalty of law. Let the people be convinced, by whatsoever means it may be possible, of the resources of England and the power of the English, but be careful that you, at the same time, convince the people of the cool and calm judgment and impartial justice of the British Government and the influence of the Christian religion. Do not condemn the whole nation if a handful of Badmashes or certain delinquents disaffected for the loss of political power or the power of plunder, or suffering from the hands of the police and the Court officials, have raised the standard of rebellion, or your own army has mutinied against you through your mistakes. Do not hang an innocent man because the real culprit cannot be found, or the man possesses an immense wealth or a prodigious state or a large pension, or is obnoxious to the police or magis-



trate strike terror by all means, by hanging the guilty, but never alienate from you and irritate the people by punishing the innocent. If a man commits a crime, do not burn or plunder his whole village. Till a man is not proved guilty, do not let him feel that you are suspicious or have no trust in him. It is a time that the wants of the army must be supplied in carriage, &c., by force and impressment, but see that every thing is paid fairly and liberally. Delhi is taken and Lucknow relieved. Mánasing will soon be killed or arrested, and I am quite sure that before cold season is over the rebellion will be suppressed and order restored. However I deplore the fate of my country. It was a day when Lord Lake entered Delhi to save it from the depredations of the Marathás and to raise it to a first class city from a perfect desolation, and now it is a day after more than half a century that General Wilson enters it to massacre and plunder the innocent inhabitants indiscriminately, with the mutineers, and convert it from a first rate city of the British India to a "perfect desolation!"

*E.*—And what reforms would you propose immediately after the suppression of the rebellion?

*N.*—For that, Sir, do not ask me because you, Sir, want some elaborate logically deduced theoretical reform which is utterly beyond the conception of a native, we live in the lands of trifles, and the reforms which we want are also very trifling; but first of all, let us have a Royal commission. Unless India is so fortunate that Sir J. Lawrence is appointed Governor-General with the powers of the President of the Board of Control, or her own Council or the Court of Directors take it into their heads to select at once Commissioners from men who may be found even better than Sir John. The Commissioners must be experienced men, well acquainted with the languages of the country, not very old, active, sharp, stout and bold, who can bear the fatigues of long journey and are unreservedly disposed to mix with the people. They must not travel like the Governors-General to cut the Burs and Peepuls which give such a cool shade to the weary

traveller, to consume the wood, grass and earthen pots which take the poor peasants months to prepare and to fill the coffers of the Burkandázes who invariably pocket the price of all such things for themselves, nor remain shut up in the big tents surrounded by Secretaries like the Governor-General, nor content themselves merely with, or waste their much time in, inspecting the records, be prepared to travel by Dák with one or two Secretaries through the length and breadth of the country and collect their information from the people, and the people only, corroborated of course by the records of the offices. They must not put up with the local authorities, for by so doing the people will be overawed to give any correct information; though the Commissioners must see and hear also the local authorities and have many references to adjust with them. The party which is against the Royal Commission, and wants to keep the public of England in perpetual darkness about this country, may object and say that such a commission will put the Indian Government in a great jeopardy, and the people will set at naught its authority, but ask them if the annual tours of the Commissioners of Révenue or the Governors put the magistrates in jeopardy and do the people set at naught their authority. All the other reforms must depend on the result of the enquiries of these Commissioners, but I can name a few subjects towards which the attention of the Commissioners may be drawn most prominently, viz. : 1st, reduction in expenditure by reducing superfluous works like hundreds of references and statements, innumerable appeals and huge appendages of law and Court formalities, by abolishing superfluous establishments and stopping the extravagancies of the Government. If I be allowed to see all the bills for one year which are submitted to the Auditor's office for the whole of India, I dare say I can suggest a reduction of at least of five crores of rupees per annum; 2nd, attaching greatest possible importance to the education of the mass of the people and appointing an educational Secretary to the Government of India, the education must be carried on a sounder principle, and religion must be

fostered. Don't turn India from idolatry to atheism ; 3rd, centralizing authority in the district officers as they have done in the Punjab, I mean do away with judges. Make the magistrates, Deputy Commissioners, convert the Deputy Collectors into extra assistants. Those cases only where the punishment is to be hanging or transportation are to be tried by the Commissioners, the rest by the Deputy Commissioners ; appeal of course lying to the Commissioner and his decision to be final, reduce the number of Commissioners, give them each a good personal assistant or Secretary, abolish the useless Board of Revenue and the burthensome Sudder Adawlut, give three or four more Secretaries to the Lieutenant Governors and the Chief Commissioners. Give them both more powers and give plenty of European assistants and native extra assistants to the Deputy Commissioners. Each Tahsil ought to have a European assistant. 4th. Stopping all the native newspapers. Let one and only one be issued in each presidency under the immediate superintendence and control of the Director of Public Instruction, if you go through the file of only Chashmaifaiz for the last year, you shall be surprized to find that the rebellion is yet so circumscribed. 5th. Preparation of very short and most simple codes for Civil, Criminal and Revenue cases. They ought to be published in all the languages and alphabets current in the country. 6th. Disallowing the Vakeels and Mukhtárs who are not lawyers but professional liars ; had I been king I had made a lie as punishable as murder. Arbitration ought to be made compulsory in civil cases, but the arbitrators to be appointed by the parties themselves. 7th. Making the Cutcheries in the hearts of the cities and a little more respectable, so that the natives may not think it as a long journey or a Pluto's realm, but as a Government office, to enter which is, by no means, disgraceful. This cannot be done as long as the peons of the Court are allowed to treat insolently and disgracefully the persons who are compelled to attend the Court. Let the authorities treat the persons who go to them in the Cutcheries, and give them seats according to their ranks, as •

they do in their houses. The custom of receiving visitors at home only has made the Cutcheries very contemptible, no one likes to go there as far as possible either as a plaintiff or a witness. Let the public officers furnish their Cutcheries with carpets and chairs and receive the visitors there as the natives receive in their Durbars; the objection which the respectable natives now have to go to the Cutcheries will soon vanish, and the cases with the parties themselves present with respectable witnesses without any Vakeel to advise them to speak nothing but falsehood, will soon be decided without much time and trouble, nearer to truth and generally speaking satisfactorily to the people, a little courtesy and the commonest attention on the part of the authorities will achieve wonders. 8th. Making a provision in your revenue code against the great Zamindars being reduced in a short time to mere cultivators and their lands passing in the hands of some Mahajan: at such a settled state of the country which it enjoys under the British Government, and when there is no fresh grant of land from the state, the law of division to infinity is very injurious to the existence of great Zamindars and nobility. 9th. Electing the Thanadars by the people like the Lord Mayor of London, though the power of dismissal is to remain with the magistrate. The appointments of the Tahsildars and Saristadars ought to be gazetted like those of Munsiffs. The Tahsildars should have powers of Munsiffs and Deputy Magistrates. 10th. Increasing number of European troops by 10 or 20 thousand; local corps must be raised in different localities, never confine them to one caste or to the inhabitants of one part of the country, never import foreigners like Africans, &c., more than necessary, otherwise men of India will starve for the want of employment, 4 or 5 officers are quite sufficient for a corps, but they must think it the work for life and set their whole heart and soul in their corps without the faintest hope of ever getting a civil employment, it is not the quantity but the quality of the officers which has been the cause of our losing the Bengal army, for as soon as an officer made himself a little acquainted with

the languages of the country and showed himself conspicuously and knew a little of the people he was drafted out for the Civil Service and the Regiment left in their hands of mere boys who if failed in other things did not fail in imitating the arrogance of the Civilians and treating their sepoy's with the same contempt and hatred as the Jemadars and Thanadars and sometimes Mahárájás and Nawabs also are treated by their brother Hazúrs of the Civil Service. 11th. Having the keeper of Jail always a European to protect the prisoners from the tortures of the native Daroghas, I would never allow the prisoners to increase so much, and have recourse to fine and flogging—flogging is the best punishment, felt, as the wise Chinese say,—equally by every man of whatsoever position he may be. 12th. Giving free passage at least to 10 natives of this country selected by the different Governments through their Commissioners every year to go to England, arrange for the Hindús about water and cooking places in Egypt and the board steamers. This is a very important thing equal to 10 European Regiments. 13th. Making grain cheap, put a check on its exportation. 14th. Expediting railways and increasing facility of communication in the interior. But remember that to mix with the people and to make yourself perfectly acquainted with the country is of the *first importance*, without that, no reform can be of any use, and if you do that, you will never be wanting any hint or advise from the others. Let the Governors at the time of their tours examine the district officers like Mr. Thomason by putting a few pertinent questions in their knowledge of the country and the people and let their promotion depend on the amount of that knowledge and popularity with the people, and not with the amount of favoritism in certain quarters.

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