

WHY

*Shapoorjee Serajee*  
IS THE

ENGLISH RULE ODIOUS

TO THE

NATIVES OF INDIA

THE  
SERVANTS OF INDIA  
SOCIETY,  
POONA.

BY MAJOR W. MARTIN,

BENGAL RETIRED LIST.

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# WHY IS THE ENGLISH RULE ODIOUS TO THE PEOPLE OF INDIA?

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## CHAPTER I .

IN a letter by the Special Correspondent of "The Times," dated Simla, 28th August, published in the "Evening Mail" of the 6th October, 1858, there occurs the following passage:—"Behar has exhibited such deep-seated, " thorough disaffection, that it must be searched " to the very core by our troops as soon as the " weather permits them to move. When this " spirit of hostility has been subdued, it will " be deeply interesting to inquire, what were " the causes of its existence, and why the dis- " trict which boasts of the oldest settlement, " and which has been longest under our rule " should have proved so inimical to the Go- " vernment. The Punjab, our most recent " acquisition, faithful; Behar, our oldest pos- " session, bitterly opposed to us. There is a " problem here for our Indian statesmen and " their English councillors!

It will hardly be deemed an injustice to the highly-gifted Special Correspondent, to suppose that he may probably never have read a work entitled "Notes on Indian Affairs," by the Hon. Frederick John Shore, of the Bengal Civil Service ; consisting of a series of papers, extending from January, 1832, to November, 1835, which were originally given to the public in one of the Calcutta daily newspapers. An attentive perusal of those papers will afford an easy solution of the Special Correspondent's problem, as to why the British rule should be most hated in that part of the country where it has existed the longest. It may be safely asserted that all the other works put together, which have ever been written upon India, will not convey to the mind of the reader anything approaching to so just an idea of the condition of the people of that country under our rule, as is to be obtained from the two volumes containing Mr. Shore's papers. That work is now difficult to be procured ; and, consisting of two large octavo volumes, each with 500 pages of pretty close print, a good deal of which might be thought dry by the general reader, not specially interested in some of the subjects therein discussed ; it may prove a not unacceptable work to give a few extracts therefrom, which

occupying not more than an hour or two in the perusal, will demonstrate how clearly a crisis, threatening the very existence of our power in India, was foreseen to be inevitable, by those who looked beneath the surface, and whose judgment was not warped by class prejudices, or whose eyes were not wilfully closed to everything which militated against a favourite system. Many parts of Mr. Shore's work read like a commentary upon the events now taking place, rather than predictions uttered above twenty years ago; and together with quotations which he gives from the recorded opinions of other eminent men, demonstrate that there was no lack of warning as to the perilous ground upon which we were standing in India.

From these extracts the British public will be enabled to form something like an accurate estimate of the difficulties which beset our course in India. To judge from articles constantly appearing in many leading journals, it would naturally be supposed that our troubles are now nearly at an end, and that when the bands of Sepoys and others still in the field against us are disposed of, the country at large will soon quiet down into a peaceful and contented state. Very different, however, is

the real condition of things, if there be any truth in the statements of Mr. Shore, Sir Charles Metcalfe, and others, who saw things as they really are, and not as personal interests led them to wish that they should be. In the opinion of those eminent men, the people of India have been reduced under our rule to such a depth of misery and wretchedness, that they have long been ready to rise against us at any moment, could they but see the slightest prospect of success. Extracts will also be given from the reports of Mr. Halliday, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and other servants of the Indian Government, coming down to the present time, from which it will be manifest that no improvement has taken place in the condition of the mass of the people, but that they are still living under a system which subjects them, under the pretence of laws and regulations, to the most cruel oppressions. So long as this shall continue to be the case, our authority in India can only be maintained by an overwhelming military force, able to crush in the bud every attempt at insurrection. In short, if our civil administration is not amended, we shall only be able to retain our hold of the country by enacting the part played by Russia in Poland, or by Austria in Italy. Such an

attempt might possibly succeed for a time, while England could give her whole energies to the task ; but it would assuredly terminate in discomfiture and disgrace whenever our resources should come to be tasked by any great European struggle. Our only hope of giving permanence to our rule is to enlist the sympathies of the respectable natives on our side, and to make it their interest to uphold our authority. We shall never succeed in doing this unless we place our magisterial and judicial courts throughout the whole country upon a footing similar to that on which they stand where Sir John Lawrence and Mr. Freer hold sway ; and unless our revenue arrangements are based upon justice and equity, so that the people are not almost universally ground down to the lowest depths of poverty. Above all, we must no longer exclude the inhabitants of the land from a fair share in the government thereof. Every office must be opened to the Indian as well as to the Englishman, and this not in name only, but it must be carried out in practice. It needs but little reflection to assure us that nothing short of this will ever make the higher and more educated classes of natives friendly to our rule ; and that under a contrary course every succeeding year will infallibly

render them more hostile to us. They are men endowed with the same feelings as ourselves, and if thrust aside and excluded from high posts and dignities, will resent it in the same way that we should do under similar circumstances. There is, therefore, no alternative between a crushing military despotism, ever on the alert to trample out the first spark of rebellion, and a fair, honest, and generous treatment, which shall ally them to us by a community of interests and feelings.

I will commence my extracts from Mr. Shore's invaluable papers, with some passages indicating the feelings with which ourselves and our rule are regarded by the native Indians. Vol. i. p. 146; after adverting to the mistaken notions prevalent among the English on this head, he goes on to say:—"But those who are not enveloped in the mist of official dignity, and have found their way to the people at large, "have acquired a very different idea of their "real feelings; indeed, if we consider the "subject impartially for a moment, it will be "difficult to arrive at any but an unfavourable "conclusion. For what is their real condition "under the British government? Placed by "the chances of war, or negotiations, in which "they had no share, under our authority, they

“ have been ruled by a system whose primary  
 “ principle was self-interest and self-exaltation.  
 “ They have witnessed, year by year, the  
 “ gradual decay of their power, their dignity,  
 “ and their wealth; the ruin of their princes  
 “ and governors; and the daily-increasing  
 “ poverty of the whole people, caused by  
 “ the rapacity and mismanagement of their  
 “ governors; they have suffered by being  
 “ excluded from every office which it was  
 “ possible to bestow upon an Englishman;  
 “ they have seen the abolition of almost every  
 “ hereditary institution by which the affairs of  
 “ the country were formerly administered, and  
 “ have been mocked by a harassing and vexa-  
 “ tious system of miscalled justice, infinitely  
 “ more expensive and less efficient than their  
 “ own, under which oppression and injustice  
 “ have pervaded the land. This is, in a few  
 “ words, a summary of their obligations to the  
 “ British government.”

At vol. i. p. 159, speaking of the disturbances  
 in most of the upper provinces in 1824, Mr.  
 Shore remarks:—“ How is it that in the whole  
 “ of the upper provinces not one of the leading  
 “ landholders was found to come forward in  
 “ support of government? It is also true that  
 “ some of the insurgent parties originated in a



“gang of banditti formed merely with the hope  
 “of plunder; but what was the conduct of the  
 “people? On the first success of the robbers,  
 “numbers even of the better sort of inhabitants  
 “immediately joined them, and *then* insurrec-  
 “tion, and not mere plunder, was the object.  
 “The rallying cry all over the country, repeated  
 “with the most enthusiastic exultation, was,  
 “*The English reign is over! Down with the*  
 “*English!* It will not avail to say that it was  
 “foreign to the habits of the people to come  
 “forward, and that they stood aloof, leaving  
 “the business to our police and troops: the  
 “history of India abounds with instances in  
 “the native states, where, in the event of a  
 “disturbance, those of influence called out  
 “their retainers and tenants, and boldly stood  
 “forth in defence of the government. But it  
 “was very different at the period above men-  
 “tioned; they did not merely stand aloof; even  
 “those ordinarily in frequent attendance on  
 “the different magistrates, separated immedi-  
 “ately to their homes, under pretence of  
 “exerting their influence to preserve order  
 “in their own neighbourhood, and began  
 “raising men; but for what purpose? To be  
 “ready, if occasion proved favourable, to turn  
 “their whole weight and power against our

“government; some of them did so; and it is  
 “not going too far to assert that had not the  
 “most prompt and vigorous measures been  
 “adopted, and a fortunate issue not occurred  
 “at the first serious collision, or had a delay of  
 “a few days longer taken place, an insurrection  
 “would have broken out, which it would have  
 “required all the troops in the upper provinces  
 “to quell; and that it might have terminated  
 “in the utter subversion of our power.”

Vol. i. p. 165, Mr. Shore writes:—“I must  
 “beg leave to offer a few remarks on the per-  
 “manence of our empire in India, and on the  
 “possible result of a foreign invasion. The  
 “former has hitherto been considered by the  
 “majority as established beyond the chance of  
 “being shaken; as *a possibility*, the subversion  
 “of our power has been allowed; but this has  
 “been regarded as an event so far distant that  
 “little or no attention has been bestowed on  
 “the subject. The want of real combination  
 “among the native powers and the absence of  
 “any external enemy possessing sufficient  
 “military force have been dwelt upon; and  
 “this being undeniable, it has been pro-  
 “nounced that all is secure. Some few,  
 “however, have taken a different view of the  
 “question; and more than one writer of ability

“ has alluded to the event as one that must  
“ occur, and that, probably, at no very distant  
“ period. Our empire is, indeed, like an  
“ island of sand thrown up by an inunda-  
“ tion; it possesses no stability in itself, and  
“ nothing has been done to give it any. No  
“ embankments have been raised, no trees  
“ planted, whose roots might extend beneath,  
“ and bind it together. The whole attention  
“ of those who have taken possession of it has  
“ been absorbed in *digging for gold*; while a  
“ few individuals have been employed from  
“ time to time in repairing, with fresh heaps of  
“ sand, whatever damage it has sustained. This  
“ may succeed for a time; but the whole fabric  
“ is liable to sink by its own weight, or to be  
“ carried away by another flood. A *rat hole*  
“ has, ere now, carried away a dyke in Holland,  
“ which is composed of a much firmer material  
“ than sand. I do not imagine that this will  
“ ever be effected by a combination among the  
“ native princes, or by a premeditated insur-  
“ rection; it is more likely to happen when  
“ totally unexpected, and to have its origin in  
“ some petty disturbance, where the insurgents  
“ may be fortunate enough to defeat the first  
“ small body of troops sent to subdue them;  
“ and then the feeling would spread like a

“ burning forest, till the whole country was in  
“ a blaze beyond the power of extinguishment.

“ The prospect of a Russian invasion has been  
“ so often ridiculed as a bugbear that few now  
“ allude to it. We boast of the strength and  
“ efficiency of our army, and triumphantly  
“ ask, what can Russia hope to bring into the  
“ field to cope with it at such a distance from  
“ her own territory and resources? Were this  
“ the only question, we might safely treat with  
“ contempt any effort of Russia. Were we  
“ safe from internal commotion, we might, in-  
“ deed, bid defiance to any external enemy.  
“ But this is *not* the only question; many other  
“ points are to be considered. What portion  
“ of our numerically large army could be con-  
“ centrated on our north-western frontier?  
“ How many of our districts could we venture  
“ to leave without troops? What cavalry could  
“ we bring forward to keep in check the thou-  
“ sands of Persian and Cabul horse whom the  
“ hope of plunder would induce to accompany  
“ them, and who, with a disciplined army to  
“ serve as a nucleus, would scour the country  
“ in every direction, destroying what they could  
“ not carry off, cutting off stragglers and forage  
“ parties, and intercepting convoys of pro-  
“ visions? Lastly, what force would be

“required to keep down the disaffected in  
 “our own provinces, who would be hovering  
 “round every detachment, killing every man  
 “who strayed beyond his picquets? Thousands  
 “and thousands of our own subjects would be  
 “employed in this way; and I have heard  
 “many intelligent men assert that, were a  
 “body of 30,000 disciplined Russians to reach  
 “the Sutlej and avoid an immediate conflict,  
 “we should not call a foot of ground in Upper  
 “India our own, but that on which our army  
 “stood: and that our troops would starve in  
 “our camps, or be destroyed in detail in  
 “attempting to procure provisions, or be  
 “driven by necessity to desert our standards;  
 “and that in a very short time the British  
 “power would no longer be known in India.  
 “I think there is ample ground to justify this  
 “opinion. The disaffection to the English  
 “government I know to be at a most alarming  
 “height; and, with any prospect of success  
 “from external assistance, it would rise up  
 “with an overwhelming force.”

At vol. i. p. 229, the writer says, after  
 speaking of the causes which have led to such  
 feelings on the part of the natives towards the  
 English; “And what is the result at this very  
 “moment? That *the baseless fabric of our*

“ government is already tottering to its ruin,  
 “ that the ground beneath it is sinking, and  
 “ that the slightest touch, even from an invi-  
 “ sible and powerless hand, would be sufficient  
 “ to overthrow it, never to rise again. It will  
 “ probably be asked, How is it possible, if this  
 “ be true, that we should so long have been  
 “ blind to our situation in this country? The  
 “ solution of the question is not difficult. For  
 “ years the English have lived in complete  
 “ seclusion from the mass of the people ;  
 “ there has been no middle class from whom  
 “ they might have learnt the effects of our  
 “ system ; and almost their only communica-  
 “ tion has been with a few individuals of the  
 “ natives, who, for their own benefit, are inter-  
 “ ested in preserving that mode of rule by  
 “ which they fatten on the vitals of their coun-  
 “ trymen. Our supreme governors could learn  
 “ little or nothing, but what they were told by  
 “ the officials by whom they were surrounded ;  
 “ and all were interested for their own credit  
 “ and fortunes, in representing matters in the  
 “ most favourable light.”

Vol. i. p. 231, Mr. Shore, speaking of the  
 miserable condition to which the inhabitants of  
 the country have been brought under our rule,  
 says, that during the period of Lord Moira's

government, "the land advertised for sale, in  
 "a single year, was *nearly a tenth of the whole*  
 "of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, provinces of a  
 "much larger extent than the whole of the  
 "British isles." And he goes on at p. 234 to  
 say—"The cup of misery for the inhabitants  
 "of almost all the upper provinces is now  
 "nearly full. In some of the district subdi-  
 "visions, the unrealized balance of revenue is  
 "one-fourth of the whole amount. Groves  
 "of trees, the pride and ornament of the vil-  
 "lages for ages, are being cut down; property  
 "of every description, even to the agricultural  
 "cattle and implements, has already been sold;  
 "estates without number are attached for sale,  
 "while no purchasers are to be found; land is  
 "everywhere thrown out of cultivation, and  
 "the people are now thinking of selling their  
 "children to save them from starvation and  
 "to satisfy the undiminished demands of their  
 "rapacious task-masters, while crime, the na-  
 "tural result of such a state of things is every-  
 "where increasing tenfold."

At vol. i. p. 530, Mr. Shore gives an extract  
 from a recorded reply made by Sir Charles  
 Metcalfe, in a discussion upon the feelings of  
 the natives towards us:—"He (Mr. Bax)  
 "seems to me to have put out of sight the

“ nature of our situation in India. We are here  
 “ by conquest, not by the affection of our sub-  
 “ jects; and this universality of tranquillity to  
 “ which he appeals, is an effect of that extent  
 “ of force and perfection of equipment, to  
 “ which he objects. That tranquillity did not  
 “ exist when our force was smaller, and would  
 “ not continue long, if our army were much  
 “ reduced. He speaks of our force, as indi-  
 “ cating that we are in a hostile country; and  
 “ so we are, as we should soon find it, to our  
 “ cost, if we were supposed to be weak. The  
 “ figure of an enemy starting from the earth,  
 “ which he mentions in ridicule, as if we had  
 “ none otherwise, would, to appearance, be  
 “ almost realized in the swarms of enemies  
 “ which would show themselves, if they thought  
 “ that they could assail our power with any  
 “ hopes of success.”

Vol. ii. p. 102. “ I have lived long enough  
 “ among the people of India to witness their  
 “ sufferings, and to become acquainted in  
 “ some measure with their feelings; and I am  
 “ convinced that a crisis is not far distant.  
 “ Fearing the dreadful consequences that would  
 “ ensue to ourselves, and to the people, should  
 “ this take place, I would rouse those on whom  
 “ the fate of millions would depend—among



“whom, perhaps, their own wives, children,  
 “and connexions may be included—to amend  
 “what is wrong; and to prepare their measures  
 “to meet that crisis, and turn it to the benefit  
 “of the country, and the consolidation of our  
 “power; which must be founded on the only  
 “sure basis—the affection and confidence of  
 “the people. Our foreign extraction, our  
 “difference of faith and colour, is not the  
 “slightest impediment to this—as we act  
 “so as to *deserve* their respect and attachment,  
 “so assuredly shall we gain it.”

Vol. ii. p. 136. “Notwithstanding the elo-  
 “quent declamation so often pronounced in  
 “favour of the British-Indian government, and  
 “against the *tyrannical barbarians* whom we  
 “have supplanted, the truth is at length forced  
 “upon us, that whatever might have been  
 “their situation under their former masters,  
 “we have not gained any superior favour,  
 “respect, or popularity in their eyes; but, on  
 “the contrary, are regarded by them with the  
 “strongest feelings of aversion, and that they  
 “would hail with joy the first opportunity of  
 “emancipating themselves from our yoke; so  
 “bitterly do they feel our oppression and in-  
 “justice.”

Vol. ii. p. 224. Speaking of the manner in

which the feelings of the people are set at nought by the government, Mr. Shore says:—"The day is past, however, when they can safely be treated with such contempt; they are most accurate judges of character; and the circumstances in which they are placed, defenceless, and open to the attacks of all around them, have increased this natural quality to a degree of keenness and activity, of which the spider's eye, which is said to *see all round*, is scarcely susceptible. They are ever on the watch, for at present they feel their weakness, and know that they are in our power; and bitterly do they murmur at our extortions and oppressions.

"The question is now more strongly agitated than ever, '*what right have we to rule the million for the benefit of the few?*' And further, the point is also discussed, what is the amount of our power to support this right. If nothing be done to turn sentiments into a different channel from that in which they now run, the warning which predicts the downfall of the British-Indian rule will not be long ere it be fulfilled."

Vol. ii. p. 521. "The summary is, that the British-Indian government has been, practically, one of the most extortionate and op-

"pressive that ever existed in India; one  
 "under which injustice has been, and may be  
 "committed, both by Government and by in-  
 "dividuals, provided the latter be rich, to an  
 "almost unlimited extent, and under which,  
 "redress from injury is almost unattainable;  
 "the consequence of which is, that we are  
 "abhorred by the people, who would hail with  
 "joy, and instantly join the standard of any  
 "power whom they thought strong enough to  
 "occasion our downfall."

At p. 522, he continues:—"How, indeed,  
 "is it possible, after the treatment they have  
 "received, that our government, or ourselves,  
 "should be popular with them? They have  
 "dark complexions, certainly, but are they not  
 "therefore human beings? Have they not  
 "the common feelings of human nature? And  
 "yet we are pleased to assert, that they rejoice  
 "in a government by which they are trodden  
 "to the dust, and oppressed more than by any  
 "of their foreign rulers; that they entertain  
 "feelings of affection and regard towards those  
 "who treat them with insult and contempt,  
 "and that they hold those in reverence and  
 "respect, who too often exhibit the extreme  
 "of meanness, when anything is to be gained  
 "by it."

## CHAPTER II.

THE foregoing extracts from Mr. Shore's valuable papers will have put the reader in possession of the opinions of one enabled by the various situations in the service which he filled, to observe, and qualified by his abilities to describe, the sentiments with which our rule in India is regarded by the natives of that country. The revelation will doubtless astonish many who have been accustomed to picture to themselves the benefits which our conquest and appropriation of such vast territories had conferred upon the inhabitants; and the question will naturally arise, how is such a feeling on their part towards us to be accounted for? A ready answer will be supplied by a few further extracts from the same volumes where the author depicts the working of our internal administration in the judicial and revenue departments.

Vol. ii. pp. 92 to 94. "What have been the results of our police system, and that for the administration of civil justice? It has been

“ over and over again pronounced, in our reports, not only not to afford protection to the people, but to be a source of intolerable vexation and oppression. To be in any way concerned in a criminal prosecution, is regarded with such horror, that the almost universal object of a person who has been robbed, is, not to seek redress from the police, but to conceal the injury he has suffered, that he may not be subject to the additional extortions of the officers of government.”

Again:—

“ The extortions of our native government officers, and the amount which is annually paid to these people as bribes and douceurs, are notoriously greater than exist under the native princes. Men who receive fifty or a hundred rupees only a month, spend double, or even treble; and yet, at the end of a few years, have sometimes amassed property to the amount of twenty or thirty thousand rupees.”

Again:—

“ What (let it be asked) is the general character of the system we have established for the civil, criminal, and revenue administration of this great country? Oppression, extortion, and injustice are its main features.

“ Not only do the people of whatever class,  
 “ English or native, who are subject to its in-  
 “ fluence and operation, universally lift up  
 “ their voices against it, but the committees  
 “ that have been formed in England to inquire  
 “ into the business, as well as the public func-  
 “ tionaries in India, have borne testimony to  
 “ this lamentable fact.”

At vol. ii. p. 96, Mr. Shore gives a quotation from a minute dated 1st October, 1830, by Mr. Holt Mackenzie, Secretary to the Supreme Government, which runs as follows:—“ If I  
 “ were required to give an opinion as to the  
 “ practical effect of our code in the western  
 “ provinces (the effect of our administration is  
 “ a very different question), I should say, that  
 “ *just in proportion as it has been enforced,*  
 “ *have the people suffered.* Of the ceded dis-  
 “ tricts, those within or immediately adjoining  
 “ the jurisdiction of the Benares provincial  
 “ court, have been most cruelly outraged. As  
 “ we proceed further to the west, we find fewer  
 “ symptoms of the operation of our code, and  
 “ the people better secured in their rights and  
 “ properties; and in the Delhi territory, though  
 “ the people have, I suspect, often been in  
 “ many cases over-taxed, and though when we  
 “ acquired the country, their habits were par-

“ ticularly lawless, the state of things appeared  
 “ to me to be far more satisfactory than in any  
 “ of our regulation districts.”

Again continues Mr. Mackenzie:—

“ We are everywhere met by people com-  
 “ plaining of the authorities set over them, and  
 “ the authorities complaining of the people.  
 “ *The longer we have had the districts, the*  
 “ *more apparently do lying and litigation pre-*  
 “ *vail; the more are morals vitiated, the more*  
 “ *are rights involved in doubt; the more are*  
 “ the foundations of society shaken; the more  
 “ has the work of civil government become a  
 “ hopeless, thankless toil; unsatisfactory as to  
 “ its immediate results, hopeless as to its future  
 “ effects.”

At vol. ii. p. 359 to 362, speaking of the miseries entailed upon the people by our laws relative to landed tenures, and the almost insuperable difficulties and ruinous delays and expenses in the way of obtaining any judicial decision upon suits between individuals where real property is concerned; Mr. Shore proceeds to say:—“ It is very different when a  
 “ collector seizes goods to realize some govern-  
 “ ment balance; he can then be sufficiently  
 “ active and summary: nor is he very scrupu-  
 “ lous whether he has seized the right person’s

“ property or not. If others, unconnected with  
 “ the defaulter, claim a portion of what is at-  
 “ tached, the system too often is, sell it first,  
 “ realize the government balance, and so keep  
 “ up your own character ; leave the people to  
 “ get justice as they can. I beg to assure my  
 “ readers that I have known many of such pro-  
 “ ceedings.

“ After such proceedings have been carried  
 “ on for more than thirty years, it is no wonder  
 “ that landed tenures have been brought into  
 “ such confusion that no one could make a  
 “ title. Is not this a melancholy state for a  
 “ country to have been reduced to? and still  
 “ more lamentable is it, that it has been effected  
 “ not by any necessity, but by the ignorance  
 “ and inattention of successive English func-  
 “ tionaries. . . But it may be asked, where was  
 “ the fault? what ought to have been done?  
 “ Simply this:—instead of following our own  
 “ absurd ideas, and enacting laws totally un-  
 “ suited to the people, we should have inquired  
 “ what their customs were ; we should then  
 “ have discovered that in disputes regarding  
 “ land between members of the same village,  
 “ the abstract law of inheritance never was in  
 “ the least regarded, either by any native tri-  
 “ bunal or any native arbitrators. Unless in



“ case of possession acquired by force, and that  
 “ too but recently, actual possession invariably  
 “ formed the grounds of the decision of the  
 “ above authorities before the country was ac-  
 “ quired by the British.”

Mr. Shore then proceeds to give the follow-  
 ing quotation from a minute dated 10th October,  
 1830, by Mr. Holt Mackenzie, Secretary to the  
 Government, on occasion of his visit to the  
 upper provinces. “ But on this (the eastern)  
 “ side of the Jumna, quite a different state of  
 “ things presents itself; for the omlah (the  
 “ native functionaries attached to the courts)  
 “ are comparatively everything, the English  
 “ gentleman little, the people nothing. Regu-  
 “ lations are enforced, and forms observed, but  
 “ no one can say with what practical result.  
 “ Many thousand villages were alienated under  
 “ all the modes of fraud and folly set forth in  
 “ Regulation I. of 1821; and large commu-  
 “ nities sold as if they had been cattle, for the  
 “ default of their directors; no one, from go-  
 “ vernment downwards, being able to say pre-  
 “ cisely what was sold. Instead of taking the  
 “ people as they existed, we forced them into  
 “ all incongruous positions, to meet inappli-  
 “ cable laws; and their properties were neces-  
 “ sarily thrown into a state of indescribable  
 “ confusion, from a system of revenue manage-

“ment conducted without judicial investiga-  
 “tion, and of judicial decision without revenue  
 “knowledge. Every district, consequently,  
 “presents a great number of wrongs, which  
 “every one sees ought to be redressed, but for  
 “which the most skilful regulationists can  
 “scarcely tell the injured in what shape they  
 “are to seek redress; and the people are be-  
 “wildered among the various opinions and  
 “principles of the public officers.”

A full corroboration of Mr. Shore's opinions  
 as to the miserable inefficiency of our adminis-  
 trative system, and its disastrous results upon  
 the happiness and prosperity of all classes of  
 our native Indian subjects; will be found in a  
 report, made in April, 1856, by Mr. Halliday,  
 Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, to the Supreme  
 Government, on the state of Police and Criminal  
 Justice in the lower provinces of Bengal,  
 wherein he observes that, “For a long series  
 “of years, complaints have been handed down  
 “from administration to administration regard-  
 “ing the badness of the Mofussil (country)  
 “police under the government of Bengal; and,  
 “as yet, very little has been done to improve  
 “it.”

Respecting Darogahs, a word and office  
 equivalent to our Superintendent of Police,  
 Mr. Halliday says, “We have ceased, it is

“ true, to expect integrity from darogahs, with  
 “ inadequate salaries and large powers, sur-  
 “ rounded by temptations, and placed beyond  
 “ the reach of practical control.” Again,  
 “ Train the darogah as you might, could you  
 “ expect purity and integrity until you had  
 “ cleansed away from about him the foul  
 “ atmosphere of corruption, necessarily en-  
 “ gendered by the aggregation of ill-paid and  
 “ unscrupulous underlings, with whom bribery  
 “ and extortion were almost a necessity, and  
 “ had long been the habit of their lives.”  
 Again, says Mr. Halliday, “ Throughout the  
 “ length and breadth of the land, the strong  
 “ prey almost universally upon the weak ; and  
 “ power is but too commonly valued only as it  
 “ can be turned into money. The native police,  
 “ therefore, unless it be closely and vigorously  
 “ superintended by trustworthy officers, is sure  
 “ to be the scourge of the country in exact  
 “ proportion to its extent and power.”

Besides the general police, there is a distinct  
 institution, of native origin, the village police,  
 which, under native rule, was managed by the  
 landowners and people themselves ; but since  
 the establishment of English authority, it has  
 been under the control of the government.  
 Of this village police, Mr. Halliday says, in  
 his report, that “ from 1784 to 1837, the need

“ of improvement has been acknowledged by  
 “ successive governments, but nothing has  
 “ ever been carried into execution ; and it is  
 “ a lamentable but unquestionable fact, that  
 “ the rural police, its position, character, and  
 “ stability as a public institution have, in the  
 “ lower provinces, deteriorated during the last  
 “ twenty years.” Mr. Halliday goes on to  
 say of these village police, “ They are all  
 “ thieves and robbers, or leagued with thieves  
 “ and robbers, insomuch that, when any one is  
 “ robbed in a village, it is most probable that  
 “ the first person suspected will be the village  
 “ watchman.”

Again Mr. Halliday reports it to have been  
 said by the Commissioners on the state of the  
 police in 1837, that it was “ a question whether  
 “ an order issued throughout the country to  
 “ apprehend and confine them (the village  
 “ watchmen) would not do more to put a stop  
 “ to theft and robbery than any other measure  
 “ that could be adopted.”

From discussing the character of the native  
 police, Mr. Halliday proceeds to comment upon  
 the administration of justice, saying, “ Whether  
 “ right or wrong, the general native opinion is  
 “ certainly that the administration of criminal  
 “ justice is little better than a lottery, in which,  
 “ however, the best chances are with the crimi-

“ nals ; and I think this also is very much the  
 “ opinion of the European Mofussil (country)  
 “ community. No complaint is more common  
 “ among magistrates and police officers of every  
 “ grade than that of the disinclination of the  
 “ people to assist in the apprehension and con-  
 “ viction of criminals. From one end of Bengal  
 “ to the other, the earnest desire and aim of  
 “ those who have suffered from thieves, or  
 “ dacoits, is to keep the matter secret from  
 “ the police, which causes it to be popularly  
 “ said, that dacoity is bad enough, but the  
 “ subsequent police inquiry is very much  
 “ worse.”

Speaking of the Civil Service Magistracy being too often in unqualified hands, Mr Halliday says, “ Yet this has not only been long the  
 “ notorious fact, but peculiar and accidental  
 “ circumstances, partly temporary and partly  
 “ arising out of the constitution of the Civil  
 “ Service, have, at this moment, made the  
 “ inexperienced condition of the magistracy  
 “ more observable than it has ever been before,  
 “ while it seems certain that the evil during  
 “ several succeeding years is likely very  
 “ seriously to increase.” \*

\* The author is indebted for the foregoing extracts from Mr. Halliday's report to the letter of “ Indians,” published in the *Daily News* of the 30th Dec., 1857.

On the 16th Feb., 1858, Mr. H. Baillie, in the House of Commons, quoted Mr. Halliday as follows, viz. : " The administration of justice " is nowhere alleged to be worse in Oude than " it is within our own districts ; and it could " not be possible, in the most barbarous country " in the world, to discover anything more " atrocious, as a system, than is laid open in " the recent report of the Commissioners " appointed to inquire into the practice of " torture in the territories of Madras."

On the same day, Mr. Mangles, chairman of the Court of Directors, said in the House of Commons, " No doubt the administration of " justice was very bad in many of the provinces, " but this had arisen from unavoidable causes. " When we acquired possession of India, we " did not understand how the Asiatics required " to be governed, and introduced the English " system of administration, law, and police. " That system had signally failed ; and it was " a remarkable fact that the administration of " justice was worst in the oldest provinces, and " best in the newly-appointed ones."

## CHAPTER III.

Considering how very much of the public interest is now centred upon the kingdom of Oude, I need hardly apologize for proceeding to put before the reader the opinions of so able and competent a judge as Mr. Shore upon the relative condition of the people of that country as compared with those in our own provinces. And be it remembered that, two years ago, the kingdom of Oude was forcibly taken from our ally, the reigning sovereign, and annexed to the British dominions upon the alleged ground that the native government was so corrupt, and its administration so intolerable as to have become utterly unbearable, thus rendering it an imperative duty on the part of the English, as the paramount power in India, to step in and rescue the unfortunate inhabitants from an oppression too great to be any longer endured.

At vol. i. pp. 154 to 158, Mr. Shore writes: —“But, it will be said, *Oude is notoriously ill governed; robberies and dacoities are of daily occurrence; troops are necessary to the*

" collection of the revenue; and, in short, the  
 " people are groaning with oppression. Let an  
 " impartial inquiry be made before it is pro-  
 " nounced that the frequency of crime is greater  
 " than in our own adjoining provinces. The  
 " fact may be strongly doubted. If the people  
 " there are really in such a wretched condition,  
 " how comes it that, with a mere arbitrary line  
 " and nominal boundary, where the soil and  
 " climate are on each side the same, and where  
 " the people of each country are connected by  
 " every tie of relationship, how is it that, under  
 " such circumstances, *emigration* has not taken  
 " place? I have known many officers who  
 " have been stationed at Seetapoor (in Oude),  
 " and have made excursions into the neigh-  
 " bouring parts; without an exception, they  
 " described the country as a garden. In the  
 " number of cattle, horses, and goods which  
 " they possess, and in the appearance of their  
 " houses and clothes, the people are in no points  
 " worse, in many better, off than our own sub-  
 " jects. The wealth of Lucknow, not merely  
 " of those in authority, but the property of the  
 " bankers and shopkeepers, is far superior to  
 " that of any city (Calcutta, perhaps, excepted)  
 " in the British dominions: so at least the  
 " native bankers and merchants, who are



“ pretty good judges of such matters, uni-  
 “ versally assert. How can all this be the  
 “ case if the government is really so notorious  
 “ for tyranny and oppression? As to the ad-  
 “ ministration of justice, the following is the  
 “ answer of an Oude acquaintance whom I was  
 “ consulting on the mode of realizing some  
 “ demands there. ‘The amil will hear your  
 “ ‘ complaint, and, if proved, will levy the  
 “ ‘ amount, of which he will keep one-fourth,  
 “ ‘ and give you the remainder; but your  
 “ ‘ business will be settled in a week; and,  
 “ ‘ after all, your clear gain will be greater  
 “ ‘ than it would be by the vexatious and  
 “ ‘ dilatory proceedings of our own courts.’

“ I have been led to say more than I at first  
 “ intended on the Oude Government, because,  
 “ of all the native states, that country is gene-  
 “ rally instanced as that in which misrule and  
 “ oppression have reached their *acmé*. The  
 “ accuracy of the statement, however usually  
 “ given, is hardly consistent with the facts and  
 “ inferences above enumerated, and I will con-  
 “ clude by reminding my readers of the answer  
 “ mentioned by Heber to have been received  
 “ by the British Resident, from an inhabitant  
 “ of Oude, whose opinion was asked as to the  
 “ benefit they might expect from the occupa-

“ tion of the country by the British: ‘*Mis-*  
 “ ‘*rable as we are, of all miseries keep us from*  
 “ ‘*that.*’ Further, the evils that do exist in  
 “ Oude, have been chiefly induced by the sys-  
 “ tem of interference which has been esta-  
 “ blished by the British Government. Had  
 “ the country been left to itself from the be-  
 “ ginning, it is probable that it would have  
 “ been in a far better state than it is at pre-  
 “ sent.”

Vol. ii., page 75.—Mr. Shore, adverting to  
 arrangements entered into between the British  
 and Oude Governments, during the Governor-  
 Generalship of Lord Cornwallis, says: “ The  
 “ misfortunes of Oude may be said to have  
 “ commenced from that time, previous to which,  
 “ we have Lord Cornwallis’s own testimony  
 “ that this country was in a most flourishing  
 “ condition, and that this declined from the  
 “ moment of direct interference by the English.  
 “ This is expressly declared by the Court of  
 “ Directors, who, in reply to Lord Cornwallis’s  
 “ intimations to that effect, observed, that  
 “ ‘ the vices of the native government were not  
 “ ‘ the only cause of this desolation; that for a  
 “ ‘ great part of it the vices of their own ad-  
 “ ‘ ministration were justly accountable, under

“ a system (they say) defective in almost  
 “ every part of it.”

At page 79, Mr. Shore goes on to quote the following summary, from an official memoir drawn up by Major Sutherland, and printed, but not published, by Government, in 1833:—

“ There is no state in India with whose go-  
 “ vernment we have interfered so systemati-  
 “ cally, and so uselessly, as with that of Oude.  
 “ But this interference has been more in favour  
 “ of men than of measures ; and has apparently  
 “ been utterly useless for the purpose of secur-  
 “ ing to the people of Oude any improvement  
 “ in their institutions, or in the form of admi-  
 “ nistering them. We at one time sent our  
 “ officers and troops to enforce the payment of  
 “ the revenue claimed by the Oude Government  
 “ from its subjects, without having the means  
 “ of judging whether that claim were just or  
 “ unjust ; and we have lent our troops almost  
 “ for the performance of the ordinary duties of  
 “ police. We at another time supported a  
 “ minister in his office, and, during our support  
 “ of him, borrowed money from the treasury of  
 “ the state, the interest of which we guaranteed  
 “ in perpetuity to him and his family, though  
 “ in lending it, he was guilty of betraying the

“ interests of his sovereign. We have at an-  
 “ other time withdrawn our troops from the  
 “ support of the minister, and left him to his  
 “ own resources. We have on several occasions  
 “ placed ourselves in the humiliating condition  
 “ of debtors to the Oude Government : we have  
 “ shut our eyes to the extortions and oppres-  
 “ sions which have driven its subjects into  
 “ rebellion, and then we have lent our army to  
 “ punish and reduce them to obedience. But  
 “ in the whole history of our interference,  
 “ there does not seem to be one measure calcu-  
 “ lated to produce any lasting benefit to the  
 “ people of Oude.”

Again, at vol. ii., page 83, Mr. Shore  
 writes :—

“ Who does not recollect the member of our  
 “ civil service, who, after having been dismissed  
 “ for mal-practices, with a positive order from  
 “ the Court of Directors against his future  
 “ employment, was sent up to Lucknow with a  
 “ recommendation from the Governor-General  
 “ to the King, which the latter considered in  
 “ the light of a command to give him an official  
 “ post? Who does not remember the same  
 “ influence exerted to procure employment, or,  
 “ in plain English, a pension, for an English  
 “ singer and his wife, from the unfortunate

“ King of Lucknow? I have myself seen the  
 “ influence of the Resident at Lucknow exerted  
 “ to induce the King to buy a French toy at  
 “ a most exorbitant price. The Resident him-  
 “ self exhibited the toy, and recommended the  
 “ purchase; and when we consider the com-  
 “ plete thralldom in which the Government of  
 “ Oude was then held by the Resident, if this  
 “ be not direct influence, I know not what is.  
 “ The same authority has been exerted to  
 “ induce the King to entertain English coach-  
 “ men, gardeners, musicians, and all sorts of  
 “ people whom he had no wish to employ.”

Vol. ii., p. 272, Mr. Shore, writing upon the  
 state and prospects of Oude, remarks:—

“ The summary of the whole is, that the  
 “ people of Oude are not worse governed than  
 “ our own subjects. It is true, that things  
 “ are not yet carried on with the regularity  
 “ which is practised in the British provinces;  
 “ a rougher and more precipitous mode of pro-  
 “ ceeding is occasionally adopted, with the loss,  
 “ sometimes, of a few lives in consequence; and  
 “ the revenue officer, if he find an estate very  
 “ productive, will sometimes demand a higher  
 “ rent than was originally agreed to. Such  
 “ are, I believe, all the real grievances they  
 “ have to complain of, and an individual hard-

“ship is thereby now and then caused. But  
 “the mass of the people,—I speak not of those  
 “in power, but of the landholders and pea-  
 “santry,—are far more lightly taxed than  
 “those of the British dominions. The civil  
 “and criminal administration is certainly not  
 “worse than ours,—that is, judging by the  
 “only true criterion, the difficulty or facility  
 “of enforcing a claim ; the people are governed  
 “by their hereditary rulers, and benefit by  
 “the expenditure in the country of the revenue  
 “that is raised, instead of being subject to a  
 “few foreigners, by whom as much wealth as  
 “possible is carried out of the country. In  
 “every part are to be found respectable land-  
 “holders and heads of villages, of various de-  
 “grees of rank and wealth, forming the chain  
 “between the higher and lower classes, instead  
 “of, as in our provinces, the whole being re-  
 “duced to the equality of a nation of paupers.  
 “They are not cursed with confiscation laws,  
 “or special commissions ; nor with salt, opium,  
 “or other monopolies ; they have not one sys-  
 “tem for realizing the demands of Govern-  
 “ment, and another for individuals ; nor is  
 “the punishment of revenue defaulters to be  
 “compared, in severity, to that of our proceed-  
 “ings ; the people are not excluded from every

“ office which a man of integrity could accept ;  
 “ and men who, in our provinces, are slaving  
 “ on a bare subsistence, which they have little  
 “ prospect of increasing, cast a wistful eye  
 “ towards Oude, where they see that the door,  
 “ even of the highest offices, is not closed  
 “ against them merely because they are dark-  
 “ coloured natives instead of white English-  
 “ men ; and, without exception, there is not a  
 “ single class which does not possess more  
 “ wealth and property than the corresponding  
 “ class in our own provinces. Such, and I  
 “ fear not any inquiry properly conducted, is  
 “ a true picture of the state of Oude at this  
 “ moment ; and yet we are told the people are  
 “ sighing for the blessings of the British-Indian  
 “ rule ! When the voice of *the people* shall be  
 “ really heard,—not that of courtiers and men  
 “ in power, but of the landholders and pea-  
 “ santry,—they will be found to unite in one  
 “ cry of, ‘ *Of all miseries keep us from that.*’  
 “ So far from entertaining any such feeling, I  
 “ can inform my readers, that in one part of  
 “ the Doab, not many months ago, the people,  
 “ farmers and peasantry, held quite a rejoicing,  
 “ on hearing a report that that part of the  
 “ country was to be transferred to the King of  
 “ Lucknow : there are English merchants re-

“siding on the spot who can corroborate the  
“truth of this statement.”

After such an exposition of the light in which our rule is looked upon by the natives of India, we need be at no loss to understand the conduct of the people of Oude, as detailed in Lord Canning’s despatch of the 17th June, 1858. In that document, the Governor General broadly asserts, when speaking of the Talookdars of Oude, that, “Owing to the ascendancy which  
“the men of this class acquired, the weakness  
“of the native Government, the venality of  
“the courts, and the absence of justice, the  
“condition of the actual occupants of the soil  
“of the province was one of unparalleled de-  
“pression.” Nothing can be more flat and positive than the contradiction between Mr. Shore’s statements and Lord Canning’s despatch. If any weight is to be attached to the conduct of the people of Oude themselves, there can be no doubt which of the two conflicting accounts must be received as the correct one. We will take Lord Canning’s own statement of the appreciation in which the people of that country held us and our rule. He says:—“The mu-  
“tinies broke out. It might have been ex-  
“pected that when insurrection first arose in  
“Oude, and before it had grown to a formid-



“ able head, the village occupants who had  
 “ been so highly favoured by the British Go-  
 “ vernment, and in justice to whom it had  
 “ initiated a policy distasteful to the most  
 “ powerful class in the province, would have  
 “ come forward in support of the Government  
 “ who had endeavoured to restore them to  
 “ their hereditary rights, and with whose in-  
 “ terests their interests were identical. Such,  
 “ however, was not the case. So far as I am  
 “ yet informed, not an individual dared to be  
 “ loyal to the Government which had befriended  
 “ him. The village occupants, as a body, re-  
 “ lapsed into their former subjection to the  
 “ talookdar, owned and obeyed his authority  
 “ as if he had been their lawful sovereign, and  
 “ joined the ranks of those who rose up in arms  
 “ against the British Government.”

Mr. Shore himself could not desire a stronger  
 attestation to the literal correctness of his asser-  
 tion, when speaking of the alleged desire of  
 the people of Oude for the blessings of the  
 British-Indian rule, that, “ when the voice of  
 “ *the people* shall be really heard, they will be  
 “ found to unite in one cry of, ‘ *Of all miseries,*  
 “ ‘ *keep us from that.*’ ”

Let the reader again peruse the just-quoted  
 paragraph from Lord Canning’s despatch, and

see how he almost echoes the prophetic words of Mr. Shore ; announcing, that even before the mutiny had grown to a formidable head, the village occupants (*the people*) availed themselves of the earliest possible moment to show their hatred of the foreigner, and their desire to free themselves from "the blessings of the British-Indian rule." And yet, for so doing, it is pronounced that "the surest, the safest, the most politic, and a thoroughly just course, seemed to be to declare the proprietary right in the soil (to whomsoever appertaining, for all classes, as such, had sinned equally) confiscated."

Truly *the sin* of these people is quite appalling. They have no mind to see their towns and villages overrun with a swarm of collectors, judges, and magistrates, with their attendant officials, bringing with them what Mr. Halliday, the present Governor of Bengal, describes as "the foul atmosphere of corruption necessarily engendered by the aggregation of ill-paid and unscrupulous underlings, with whom bribery and extortion were almost a necessity, and had long been the habit of their lives." In the eyes of British-Indian statesmen such blessings as these are doubtless invaluable, and the non-appreciation of them a sin, deserving

the most condign punishment; but it seems that the people of Oude, having witnessed their results on our side of the border for the last fifty years, have risen up as one man to make a final effort for deliverance from the proffered boon. A hopeless struggle it must be; for what can they do against the power of England congregating to coerce them? Nevertheless, it cannot be but that many will sympathize with them in the sufferings which the forcible seizure of their country and dethronement of their lawful sovereign will have so speedily brought upon them.

It is indeed strange that a nation professing to be first in the world in Christian civilization, and which has not unfrequently interposed its good offices in behalf of oppressed peoples, should deem it a "politic", and a thoroughly "just course" to inflict such a penalty as absolute and unreserved confiscation upon a whole country, because the inhabitants have attempted to throw off a yoke which the Governor-General of India, in the same document, acknowledges to have been imposed upon them little more than a year before, and that they had become British subjects by no act of their own; facts which he admits to constitute "a palliation of" rebellion even where hostility to us had been

“most inveterate.” Is it not sufficiently clear that they merely embraced the opportunity which the mutiny of our own soldiery seemed to offer, to free themselves from the dreaded infliction of what Mr. Shore designates the curse of confiscation laws, and special commissions, and salt, opium, and other monopolies, reducing, as in our provinces, the higher and lower classes alike to the equality of a nation of paupers!

It is the incubus of a system producing such withering effects upon the prosperity of the entire people, which will be found to interpose the greatest difficulty in our future government of our Asiatic possessions. So long as general poverty and wretchedness continue to be the characteristics of the masses, however the presence of an overwhelming military force may produce an apparent calm and quietness at the surface, there will be an under current of hatred and detestation to our rule ever ready to break out. As Sir C. Metcalfe foretold,—the figure of an enemy starting from the earth, will be almost realized in the swarms of enemies that will show themselves whenever they think that they can assail our power with any hopes of success.

In his reply, under date 17th June, 1858, to

the Ellenborough despatch, Lord Canning expresses his alarm at the evil effects which may be anticipated on its becoming known in Oude that the annexation and confiscation policy was disapproved of by the home Government. He says, "I cannot but fear that it will make a turbulent and warlike people more impatient than ever of subjection to our authority and order. I fear that it will furnish a pretext for resistance to the Government, of which many bad spirits will not be slow to avail themselves now and hereafter." In a letter, addressed by Lord Canning to the Court of Directors, dated 4th July, 1858, or 17 days after the foregoing, Lord Canning, speaking of his confiscation edict, says, "Your Honourable Court will of course bear in mind that the proclamation was addressed to a province in arms, throughout which we had not at that time a surviving friend or interest to defend, and that therefore any fear of danger from an outburst of resistance, by which matters should be made worse, was imaginary."

Such being the case, it may well puzzle any one, taking a plain common sense view of the matter, to discover how the publication of the Ellenborough despatch was to add to our difficulties in the re-conquest of a country which

had already risen up as one man in antagonism to our rule, and in which we had not *a surviving friend or interest to defend*. Whether was it more likely that a province so circumstanced would be favourably influenced by a knowledge that the controlling power in England was well disposed towards them; or by the circulation of a decree absolutely confiscating every proprietary right in the soil throughout the entire kingdom?

## CHAPTER IV.

BEFORE finally bidding adieu to Mr. Shore's interesting volumes, it will probably not be unacceptable to the reader to hear what he says upon the subject of caste. The chapter upon that head occupies 26 pages of close print, so that only a very brief summary can find a place here. To those who are desirous of obtaining fuller information upon that very intricate subject, I can only say that the cost of the entire work will be amply repaid by the instruction derivable from that one chapter.

First of all, he observes that *caste* was a division of the Hindoos into four principal classes—Brahmin, Kshutriya, Voishya, and Shoodra. The Hindoos have assigned the priesthood and work of legislation to the Brahmins; the Kshutriyas fill the executive departments, and are also the military tribe; the Voishyas were to be employed in trade and commerce; while the Shoodras were devoted to all kinds of servile employments, and especially to serve the Brahmins.

“ But the caste of the present day is very  
 “ different from what is above described. The  
 “ second and third orders do not now exist as  
 “ separate classes; the very names are unknown  
 “ as conveying the original meaning, and the  
 “ people are all comprised in two classes,—the  
 “ Brahmin and the Shoodur; at the same time  
 “ that thousands are hardly acquainted with  
 “ the latter name. The castes now existing  
 “ are very numerous, and, with the subdivi-  
 “ sions, would probably amount to some hun-  
 “ dreds in the Bengal Presidency alone, almost  
 “ every district containing some which are not  
 “ known in the adjoining province. Many of  
 “ these owe their separation from the original-  
 “ sect and specific denomination to mere acci-  
 “ dent; the latter is not unfrequently derived  
 “ from the province or parish in which a  
 “ man who has left his original name has  
 “ settled. Some have arisen from ancestors  
 “ who had forfeited their original caste and  
 “ established a new one; others from the ille-  
 “ gitimate offspring of parents of different  
 “ castes. The origin of that immense class, the  
 “ Rajpoots of Rajwara, or Rajpootana, who  
 “ claim a descent from the sun, is no where  
 “ provided for in the theoretical classification  
 “ by the Brahmins; they would be extremely



“ indignant to be denominated Shoodras, yet  
 “ they certainly do not belong to any of the  
 “ three first orders. Colonel Tod endeavours to  
 “ trace their origin from Scythia ”

“ It would be almost a hopeless attempt to  
 “ define, within any exact limits, the institution  
 “ of caste, or its practical operation, so as to  
 “ give a clear and accurate idea of the subject ;  
 “ its influence is so extensive, so minute, and  
 “ so intricate, as almost to defy generalization ;  
 “ all that can be done is to endeavour to de-  
 “ scribe, as far as one’s knowledge extends, its  
 “ peculiarities in detail, both what it is, and  
 “ what it is not. None of the works yet written  
 “ on the subject convey any clear idea of it ;  
 “ the authors have almost all fallen into the  
 “ same mistake that Government has done, re-  
 “ garding the Hindu law. They have given  
 “ us a picture drawn from the Hindu Shasters,  
 “ and the representations of a few bigoted  
 “ pundits. Now, few things can bear less re-  
 “ semblance to each other than these dicta and  
 “ the customs which exist in practice. From  
 “ the former we learn that the Shoodras are  
 “ made for the service of the Brahmins, and  
 “ that they are never to rise in the scale of  
 “ society ; yet, in practice and reality, there is  
 “ nothing to prevent a Shoodra from rising

“ to the highest rank or wealth. There have  
 “ been many instances of men of the lowest  
 “ ranks attaining even to sovereignty, nor did  
 “ they owe their exaltation to the assistance  
 “ of the English or Muhammdans, who might  
 “ be supposed free from such prejudices. The  
 “ Mahratta rajahs, most of whom are of very  
 “ low caste, fought their way to their respective  
 “ thrones against the Muhammedans, and at a  
 “ period when the English were only known  
 “ as foreign merchants at some of the sea-  
 “ ports.”

“ So far from its being the truth that the  
 “ Shoodras are condemned for ever to serve the  
 “ Brahmins, it depends much less upon caste  
 “ than upon the wealth of the parties, which  
 “ shall serve the other. The low caste Rajah  
 “ never found even the Brahmin at all back-  
 “ ward to enter his service; and were even a  
 “ choomar or sweeper to acquire considerable  
 “ wealth, he would experience no difficulty  
 “ in procuring Brahmins to serve him as lac-  
 “ queys, cooks, or in other menial capacities.  
 “ We learn from books that to a Brahmin the  
 “ very touch of a Shoodra is pollution, and  
 “ that he must immediately purify himself by  
 “ bathing; what is it in practice? The Eng-  
 “ lish are regarded upon a par with the very

“ lowest natives in point of caste, yet a Brahmin  
 “ servant in the service of an Englishman, will  
 “ not hesitate to bring him his shoes, or a glass  
 “ of water, or even to take the glass away after  
 “ he has drank from it. I have myself seen in  
 “ attendance upon an Englishman, as valets-  
 “ de-chambre, instead of bearers, a Brahmin, a  
 “ Rajpoot, a Gosain, and a Moosulman, all of  
 “ whom performed all the services which usu-  
 “ ally fall to bearers, except carrying the  
 “ palanquin. It is much more among the lower  
 “ castes that difficulties are started than among  
 “ the higher, just as one sees a man whose  
 “ rank in society among us is established, least  
 “ afraid of having it called in question.

“ The chief criterion of caste, *i. e.*, whe-  
 “ ther one man is of higher or lower rank  
 “ than another, is the eating dressed food, and  
 “ the forming a matrimonial alliance between  
 “ families. All undressed food, even fruit, is  
 “ pure, from whatever hands it may come ; and  
 “ even to dressed food there are exceptions to  
 “ the rule. In some parts of India a man will  
 “ eat bread cooked by another, from whose  
 “ hands he would not touch boiled rice, nor  
 “ would any native hesitate in sending a person  
 “ of much lower caste than himself to buy and  
 “ bring him ready-made pastry and sweetmeats,

“ although the touch of the same person would  
 “ be considered to pollute any other kind of  
 “ dressed food. In the Punjaub, they will only  
 “ allow two castes, the Hulwae and Kuhar, to  
 “ superintend the boiling of the sugar ; in our  
 “ provinces they are indifferent about the matter,  
 “ and employ almost any one for this purpose.  
 “ In fact, the contradictions and peculiarities  
 “ of caste are so great in practice, that it is  
 “ impossible to deduce any rule regarding it,  
 “ founded upon a general principle.”

“ Caste is said to form a bar to conversion,  
 “ because a man thereby becomes an outcast  
 “ from all his former friends and relations ; but  
 “ it is not so much attributable to caste, as to  
 “ the general dislike and prejudice which is  
 “ felt by every nation and class of people  
 “ against one of their number who renounces  
 “ the religion of his fathers, which they still  
 “ profess, and becomes a convert to another.

“ Caste is fully as much a civil as a religious  
 “ distinction ; and we have some arbitrary rules  
 “ in English society, which approximate very  
 “ nearly to that institution among the natives  
 “ in India. It is constantly urged against these,  
 “ that respectability of character weighs no-  
 “ thing when put in competition with caste,  
 “ and that a man would forfeit his caste who

“ should be found eating with one of a lower  
 “ class, although the latter may be an excellent  
 “ and virtuous man. Have we nothing similar  
 “ to this? If a gentleman was to be found  
 “ associating with tradesmen, giving and re-  
 “ ceiving entertainments from them, would he  
 “ be able to keep his place among his own  
 “ class? Would he not be excluded from the  
 “ society of the latter, because he kept what  
 “ would be called *low company*?

“ We are ready enough to taunt the Hindus  
 “ with the iniquitous anomalies of their rules  
 “ of caste, according to which a man may be  
 “ guilty of theft or perjury, or other crime,  
 “ with impunity; but if he should be found  
 “ eating with a virtuous friend, he becomes an  
 “ outcast. We forget how very similar our  
 “ own customs are. A man may seduce his  
 “ friend’s wife or sister, and follow it up by  
 “ murdering his friend, without losing his place  
 “ in society: a few, who would consequently  
 “ be considered particular, might withdraw  
 “ their countenance from him, to make up for  
 “ which, some would admire the *éclat* he had  
 “ brought upon himself; while the majority  
 “ would receive him as if nothing had hap-  
 “ pened. Yet the same man would be excluded  
 “ from society, should he be found associating

“ with a tradesman, although the latter may be  
 “ a most respectable, well-informed man! Well  
 “ may the poor abused Hindus say to us,  
 “ ‘ *Look at home.*’

“ Much of caste is, as I have observed, a  
 “ mere civil distinction, and, in minor points,  
 “ is no more than exists in every country. It  
 “ is founded on self consequence, and a desire  
 “ to exalt ourselves a little higher in the scale  
 “ of the society in which we move, and this is  
 “ also much the same in all countries. Com-  
 “ plaints are often made, especially by new  
 “ comers, that the native servants each perform  
 “ only one particular duty, and refuse to assist  
 “ in any others, urging, that it is against their  
 “ caste; and comparisons are drawn between  
 “ them and the English servant, who will do  
 “ anything he is bid to do. As to caste, the natives  
 “ merely urge that as an excuse, because they  
 “ think it more likely to meet with attention;  
 “ what they mean is, *it is not my business.* A  
 “ little consideration will show us a very tole-  
 “ rable parallel between India and England on  
 “ this subject.”

“ The English in India have chosen to adopt  
 “ the style of noblemen and men of large for-  
 “ tune in England; almost every man chooses  
 “ to have his butler, (Khansamah,) two or three

“ table attendants, head valet, messengers, &c. ;  
 “ not that the individuals employed are at  
 “ all qualified for these situations ; it is only  
 “ the dignity of the name, for which the  
 “ masters are obliged to pay accordingly.”

“ It is among the establishments of men of  
 “ rank and fortune in England, that the parallel  
 “ to this must be sought. Where a butler,  
 “ under-butler, two or three footmen, valet,  
 “ coachman, groom, stable-boy, house-keeper,  
 “ lady’s-maid, head-nurse, with two or three  
 “ nursery-maids, upper and lower house-maid,  
 “ laundress, cook, kitchen-maid, scullion, &c. ;  
 “ are retained, there is just as much caste, in  
 “ this respect, as there is among the native  
 “ servants. Try the experiment : order the  
 “ butler to stand behind the carriage ; the  
 “ powdered footman to sweep the stable ; the  
 “ coachman to clean the horses ; the lady’s-  
 “ maid to sweep the room ; the upper house-  
 “ maid to scrub the fire-grate ; the cook to  
 “ wash the dishes, &c., &c. ; there is not one  
 “ who would not leave his or her situation, or,  
 “ in the cant phrase, *part with* their masters,  
 “ rather than comply, simply because it *was not*  
 “ *their place*, that is, beneath their notions of  
 “ dignity.”

“ Should an Englishman be sent to a retired

“ part of the country, to live by himself, and  
 “ hire men of that neighbourhood who have  
 “ never before been in European service, with  
 “ few exceptions, any one will do whatever he  
 “ is ordered. No sooner, however, does this  
 “ Englishman rejoin his countrymen, than these  
 “ very men will speedily adopt the airs of the  
 “ other servants.

“ There is also a great deal of very conve-  
 “ nient latitude on the subject of caste. If a  
 “ man can persuade a considerable number to  
 “ join him, he will do a great many things  
 “ which he dared not have been guilty of alone.  
 “ Strictly speaking, the Hindu sepoy who  
 “ have gone on foreign expeditions by sea,  
 “ have all lost caste; but who dare tell them  
 “ so? They form too strong a party for any  
 “ to presume to hint at it, much less *act* upon  
 “ the idea.”

“ A strong instance in which caste and pre-  
 “ judice are thrown aside, when there is an  
 “ object in view, occurred some years ago at  
 “ the temple of Juggernaut. It used to be  
 “ pronounced that the entrance of any unclean  
 “ person would destroy the sanctity of the  
 “ holy place, and would bring dire evils upon  
 “ the country; yet, in spite of all this, a British  
 “ officer who was much beloved and respected



“ by his men, having expressed a wish to see  
 “ the interior of the temple, a party of his  
 “ sepoys took him in disguise as one of them-  
 “ selves. It was afterwards well known; but  
 “ as to the defilement of the temple, the Brah-  
 “ mins had sense enough to say nothing about  
 “ it, as it might have diminished the presen-  
 “ tation of offerings; so they quietly submitted  
 “ to what had occurred, rather than ruin their  
 “ trade.”

A curious circumstance is mentioned by Sir  
 J. Malcolm, in a letter to Lord William Ben-  
 tinck, dated the 27th November, 1830. “ In  
 “ 1818, a low caste private in one of the Bengal  
 “ regiments was promoted; several Brahmins  
 “ disgusted at this, took their discharge. One  
 “ of these men enlisted in the 8th Bombay  
 “ Native Infantry, where Captain Mac Donald  
 “ met him, and asked, how he who had left  
 “ his corps because a low caste man was pro-  
 “ moted, could submit to serve under a Jew  
 “ Subadar, a Purwarie Jemadar, and other  
 “ low caste officers? The man replied, in  
 “ *Hindoostan it is the pride of caste; in Bom-*  
 “ *bay, that of the corps*, or, in plain English,  
 “ when I am among men who care little about  
 “ caste, I am indifferent about it myself.”

“ The majority of the Bengalees do not eat

" meat, which cannot be ascribed to a compli-  
 " ance with the injunction against destroying  
 " life, since almost all will eat fish when-  
 " ever they can procure it. The Shasters do  
 " not prohibit the use of flesh; so far from  
 " it, they prescribe several sorts of flesh to be  
 " sacrificed for offerings to the manes of ances-  
 " tors, yet, the habit of refraining from meat,  
 " which most probably originated in the po-  
 " verty of the people, has now become so  
 " inveterate, that I have been assured by eye-  
 " witnesses, that in the great famine in Bengal,  
 " many died of starvation, who could have  
 " procured meat, if they would have eaten it."

" Some of the minor points on which they  
 " affect to be particular, are very absurd.  
 " Some will take medicine in powder which  
 " they can mix and drink themselves, but  
 " object to take it prepared. At many places  
 " our kitchen servants agree among themselves  
 " to eat such dishes as come from our tables  
 " untouched, but not those which have been  
 " partly eaten.

" A set of bearers, after a hard day's work,  
 " will thankfully accept an unopened bottle of  
 " brandy, but will often object to receive one  
 " from which any portion has been drunk by  
 " an Englishman."

“ The loss of caste is, as is observed, a much  
 “ less serious matter than is generally supposed;  
 “ generally speaking, it is nothing more than  
 “ this,—that if a man do certain things, his re-  
 “ lations and friends refuse to eat with him,  
 “ until he gives a grand entertainment, after  
 “ which he is received on his former footing.”

“ The loss of caste in the present day is, in  
 “ fact, a much less important matter than the  
 “ publications drawn from the sacred books  
 “ and Brahminical dogmas would lead us to  
 “ believe. Some rare instances there are of  
 “ men, whose strong sense of shame rendered  
 “ existence more painful than death, and who,  
 “ accordingly, committed suicide; but numbers  
 “ live just as happily as if nothing had hap-  
 “ pened, and maintain just the same social in-  
 “ tercourse with those around them; with the  
 “ sole exception of not eating together.”

“ The above remarks are thrown together in  
 “ a desultory manner, for the subject is one  
 “ which it is difficult to treat with method or  
 “ regularity; the institution of caste, as it  
 “ exists in practice, is so full of absurdities and  
 “ contradictions, that it is impossible to deduce  
 “ any rules founded on a general principle;  
 “ and I have only given the result of several  
 “ years’ practical observation, without attempt-

"ing to arrange the data in any connected  
 "form. There can be no doubt that caste is  
 "gradually losing the influence it once held  
 "over the people of India; and, although it  
 "has, upon the whole, been productive of more  
 "evil than good, its sudden abolition, supposing  
 "this were practicable, would be by no means  
 "beneficial, as it would remove one check  
 "before another was imposed. It will gradu-  
 "ally die away as the people become more  
 "educated and enlightened, and it is probable  
 "that much good might be effected by a judi-  
 "cious interference on the part of the official  
 "functionaries in the mode above mentioned.  
 "The institution of caste, in itself, whatever  
 "may be imagined, forms but a very small bar  
 "against conversion to Christianity; the ex-  
 "ample of Baba Nanuk, who converted suffi-  
 "cient numbers to form a nation, sufficiently  
 "proves this, although one of the fundamental  
 "tenets of the Sikhs was the destruction of all  
 "caste; and when attempts to induce the  
 "natives to adopt the Christian religion are  
 "properly conducted, it may reasonably be  
 "expected, under the divine blessing, that the  
 "result will be very different from what has  
 "hitherto been the case."

## CHAPTER V.

We may venture to hope that we have now succeeded in overcoming the greatest military revolt recorded in history. When it first burst upon us, all unprepared as we were for such a catastrophe, it was alarming enough; but each retrospect, now that the danger is past, only impresses the mind more strongly with the magnitude of that danger, and with amazement that we should have come out of it victorious at last. In the earlier days of the momentous struggle, there were so many threatening contingencies, any one of which coming to pass might not improbably have changed the whole issue, that we can only attribute our escape to the manifest interposition of Providence. The active operations of the Gwalior contingent in the direction of Agra and Delhi, with the consequent fall of the former and the raising of the siege of the latter, could hardly have failed in adding the Punjab to the list of our enemies. Or had the contingent moved upon Cawnpore, it is

now known that Havelock had felt that he must retire thence and leave Lucknow to its fate. Or had we lost Allahabad, as, at one time, seemed more than probable, the disaster would have been almost irretrievable. Or had the Bombay army, generally, caught the infection, the whole of central India would have been one mass of revolt. But great as were the perils with which we were then menaced, there are yet greater before us, if our rule in the country is to be conducted upon principles which, in the very nature of things, must render the people at large bitterly hostile to us. We must govern in a great measure by the Indians, and still more for the Indians. The myriads of India must not be trodden down and oppressed for the sake of a few hundred foreigners, whose home is thousands of miles away. The government, both in England and India, must show in the most decided manner their determination to enforce upon their servants, of all ranks and classes, both civil and military, such a treatment of the inhabitants of the country as shall not degrade them in their own eyes, rendering, thereby, our presence in the land, year by year, more odious and hateful. There never was a period when there was so much danger in this respect as at the present

moment. There has been an immense influx of European soldiers into the country. Almost all, both officers and men, are necessarily ignorant of the language, manners, and customs of the people. They are surrounded, for the most part, by servants who have picked up a smattering of English, and who are notoriously the very worst class anywhere to be met with. Add to this, the general exasperation of the Europeans against the natives, and we cease to wonder at the sentiments expressed by those who have just returned from thence. The bitter contempt and hatred displayed against everything Indian warns us of the difficulties which government will have to contend with. But those difficulties must be met, and overcome, unless we intend to rule by brute force alone; and the sooner the government make known their views and intentions on this head, the better.

But whilst it is contended that nothing can be more injurious to our prestige with the natives than their contemptuous treatment by a large mass of ignorant and domineering British soldiery, unacquainted with their language and manners, and careless of their feelings; the effect of an influx of Europeans of another class would probably be widely different; and I cannot resist giving a few

more extracts from Mr. Shore's work, illustrative of his opinions upon that point. Speaking of the general ignorance among the members of *the Services*, of the feelings of the people towards us, he says, at vol. i. p. 3, "There is, however, a class in the country whose business obliges them to become sufficiently acquainted with the natives to acquire a knowledge of their feelings. It will be easily understood that I allude to the merchants and indigo-planters, particularly those who live in the Mofussil."

Again, at vol. i. page 47, replying to the objection that the settlers would oppress the natives, he says: "The very reverse of this would be found to be the case; in proof of which we have only to examine the estimation in which the English merchants and indigo planters are held by the natives; I speak chiefly of the upper provinces. I do assert, most positively, that, as a class, of all the English, the merchants are those most liked and respected by the natives.

"The reason is plain. In order to insure the prosperity of their concerns, they are obliged to study the native character, to treat the people with consideration and civility, and pay some regard to their feelings and



“ prejudices. The natural result of such conduct is, that they are met with correspondent dispositions, and they possess an influence among the people far beyond any that the officers of Government have, generally speaking, been able to obtain.”

Vol. i. pp. 164, 165 :—“ I have latterly conversed a good deal with the natives respecting the permanent settlement of English as landholders ; one and all declare that, provided the settlers would behave with civility to the people, and be moderate in their demands for rent, they would obtain immense influence, and would find their tenants and dependents ready to follow them for good or evil. Would not such a body of men, who would never prefer a native to an English government, be of the greatest assistance in strengthening our power.”

Let the reader bear in mind that the foregoing are not the words of one of the class referred to, but that they express the sentiments and views of a member of high rank and position in the Bengal civil service “ of more (to use his own words) than fifteen years actual residence in India, chiefly in the north-western provinces of the Bengal Presidency ; during which period I have held various

“ situations in the police, revenue, and judicial  
 “ departments, and have been in habits of close  
 “ communication, both private and official,  
 “ with the people of the country of all classes.”

Whilst writing, I have just seen, in Allen's  
 Indian Mail, of 15th October, 1858, what ap-  
 pears to be a quotation from some work by  
 General Tremenheere. That able and expe-  
 rienced officer, speaking of the English in  
 India, says :—“ It is very important that some  
 “ plan should be devised to increase the num-  
 “ ber of the English in India. As a nation,  
 “ we are too small a body there; and this,  
 “ perhaps, as much as any other cause, has  
 “ led to the recent attempt to exterminate our  
 “ rule. We live in cantonments, or standing  
 “ camps, apart from the people, and there is no  
 “ identity of interests between us. We do not,  
 “ as a body, understand the native character,  
 “ its habit of thought and springs of action.  
 “ This experience has been seldom gained  
 “ except by such men as the Skinners, the  
 “ Forsters, and Van Cortlant, who have been  
 “ born in the country, and have grown up in  
 “ daily intercourse with the natives.”

In the concluding chapter of his invaluable  
 papers, Mr. Shore tells us how he commenced  
 his career with “ the quiet, comfortable, and

“ settled conviction, which in those days ex-  
 “ isted in the minds of the English population,  
 “ of the blessings conferred on the natives of  
 “ India by the establishment of the English  
 “ rule.”

It was not until sent to an out-station, where he could have little intercourse with Europeans, that Mr. Shore began “ to perceive  
 “ the errors and absurdities of my former no-  
 “ tions, and soon discovered, that though the  
 “ natives were of a different race and com-  
 “ plexion from ourselves, there were among  
 “ them men of respectability and worth; and  
 “ that, with regard to their own country and  
 “ concerns, many of them were very well in-  
 “ formed.”

Speaking of the hitherto insurmountable difficulty of opening the eyes of people in England to our real position in India, he says:—  
 “ In vain has the voice of truth been uttered.  
 “ Those works which descant on the inferiority  
 “ of the natives, and on British excellences,  
 “ find favour in our sight; while, on meeting  
 “ with a true picture of what has happened,  
 “ and still continues to exist, we shut the book  
 “ in disgust and exclaim against the pre-ju-  
 “ diced, absurd, and erroneous views of the  
 “ writer.”

" That the opinions expressed in these  
 " papers should be declared erroneous and  
 " offensive; that they should be scouted and  
 " scorned, as they have been by many, is no  
 " more than might have been anticipated. Few  
 " people like to have their self-love mortified,  
 " or will willingly subscribe to their own or  
 " their country's misconduct, and fewer still  
 " know anything of the real sentiments of the  
 " people. But let it be remembered that I  
 " have not dealt in mere assertion and decla-  
 " mation. From the very laws enacted by the  
 " Government, from the orders issued by the  
 " superior courts and boards, from the official  
 " minutes of functionaries of the highest rank  
 " and talent—from these sources alone has  
 " enough been quoted in these papers to prove,  
 " in its fullest extent, the truth of all that has  
 " been asserted of the extortionate and oppres-  
 " sive nature of our rule; to say nothing of the  
 " practical facts which have repeatedly been  
 " brought to notice."

" Upon the whole, however, I have been  
 " rather flattered than annoyed by the indigna-  
 " tion which these letters have at times ex-  
 " cited. It is the very fidelity of the picture  
 " that has given so much offence."

Mr. Shore, going on to lament the indiffer-

ence almost universally displayed by Anglo-Indians to subjects which relate to the welfare and prosperity of the people and the country, states, that there have of late been manifested some indications of a change in this respect, and terminates the chapter with the following observations :—

“ The people, also, who have long been sensible of our faults, are now beginning to discuss them with tolerable freedom ; and, what is more, to calculate our strength and means of maintaining our present position. Unless, however, we move much faster in the path of duty, we must inevitably share the fate of the French monarchy and its insatuated nobility in the Revolution. It is not too late to avert the catastrophe, and to render the British rule a real blessing to the people ; nor shall we fail to hear it acknowledged as such by them, provided we will only perform the natural and obvious duty of every Government,—promote the welfare of the people. But I confess that I entertain but little hope of the establishment of our Indian empire on a solid foundation, until those who compose its rulers have some permanent interest in the country.”

## CHAPTER VI.

## CONCLUSION.

I FEEL that I owe not a few apologies to the reader for having trespassed upon his time and patience to a much greater extent than I had any thought of when I commenced this compilation. I can only hope that the deep importance of the subject will plead in my favour, and I will now conclude with an extract from a letter addressed to the Marquis of Hastings, when Governor General of India, by Sir Thomas Monro, showing how clearly that eminent man foresaw the results which would follow from our continuing to annex State after State to our dominions :—

“ Even if all India could be brought under  
“ the British dominion, it is very questionable  
“ whether such a change, either as it regards  
“ the natives or ourselves, ought to be desired.  
“ One effect of such a conquest would be, that  
“ the Indian army, having no longer any war-  
“ like neighbours to combat, would gradually  
“ lose its military habits and discipline, and

“ that the native troops would have leisure to  
 “ feel their own strength, and, for want of  
 “ other employment, to turn it against their  
 “ European masters. But even if we could be  
 “ secured against every internal convulsion,  
 “ and could retain the country quietly in sub-  
 “ jection, I doubt much if the condition of its  
 “ people would be better than under their  
 “ native princes. The strength of the British  
 “ Government enables it to put down every  
 “ rebellion, to repel every foreign invasion,  
 “ and to give to its subjects a degree of pro-  
 “ tection which those of no native prince en-  
 “ joy. Its laws and institutions also afford  
 “ them a security from domestic oppression  
 “ unknown in those states. But these advan-  
 “ tages are dearly bought; they are purchased  
 “ by the sacrifice of independence, of national  
 “ character, and of whatever renders a people  
 “ respectable. It is from men who either hold  
 “ or are eligible to public office that nations take  
 “ their character: where no such men exist,  
 “ there can be no energy in any other class of  
 “ the community. The effect of this state of  
 “ things is observable in all the British pro-  
 “ vinces, whose inhabitants are certainly the  
 “ most abject race in India. The consequence,  
 “ therefore, of the conquest of India by British

“ arms would be, in place of raising, to debase  
“ the whole people. There is, perhaps, no  
“ example of any conquest in which the natives  
“ have been so completely excluded from all  
“ share of the government of their country as  
“ in British India.

“ Among the disorders of the native states,  
“ the field is open for every man to raise him-  
“ self; and hence among them there is a spirit  
“ of emulation, of restless enterprise and inde-  
“ pendence, far preferable to the servility of  
“ our Indian subjects.”



## POSTSCRIPT.

Since the foregoing pages went to press, there has appeared another letter from the "*Times*' special correspondent," so remarkably illustrative of the accuracy of the views and sentiments put forth in this pamphlet, that I cannot refrain from giving one or two short extracts therefrom. He says—

"The Hindoo and the Mussulman are our fellow men after all; their nature is human nature; they may be less grateful than Englishmen, but they are assuredly as sensitive to kindness as to cruelty."

"The habit of speaking of all natives as niggers has recently become quite common. That it is general now, I can testify, so far as my experience goes. Every man of the mute, white-turbaned file who, with crossed arms, glistening eyes, and quick ears, stand motionless along the messroom table, hears it every-time a native is named, and knows it is an expression of contempt."

"The natives sometimes confess they dislike our rule. Its tendency is to beat them all

“down to one dead level; and, by nature,  
 “Orientals are an aristocracy. They say our  
 “policy is—*First, to cut down the oaks, then*  
 “*to cut the smaller trees and shrubs, at last we*  
 “*lop off the heads of flowers, and then crush*  
 “*down all alike with an iron roller.*”

The correspondent mentions that Bishop Heber, speaking of the French in India, says,  
 “I was told that many people were accustomed  
 “to speak of them as often oppressive and  
 “avaricious, but as of more conciliating and  
 “popular manners than the English sahibs.  
 “. . . . Most of them were free from  
 “that exclusive and intolerant spirit which  
 “make the English, wherever they go, a  
 “caste by themselves, disliking and disliked  
 “by their neighbours. Of this foolish, surly,  
 “national pride (continues the good Bishop),  
 “I see but too many instances daily; and I  
 “am convinced it does us much harm in this  
 “country. We are not guilty of wilful injustice  
 “or oppression; but we shut out the natives  
 “from our society; and a bullying, insolent  
 “manner is continually assumed in speaking  
 “to them.”