THE

MILITARY MUTINY

IN

INDIA:

ITS ORIGIN AND ITS RESULTS.

BY

LEOPOLD VON ORLICH.

Translated from the German.

WITH OBSERVATIONS

BY

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THE Letter of which the following pages are a translation, although noticed briefly in the "London and Westminster Review," and placed in the headings of articles in the "Quarterly" and "Edinburgh" just published, does not appear to have been made generally known to the British Public.

Yet as containing the views of an enlightened foreigner, practically acquainted with India, who had served in her armies, and under her most distinguished Generals, the translator believes them well deserving the serious attention of all who would take a dispassionate and correct view of the cause of the present crisis, and thence seek to establish our rule upon the only sure foundations of justice and right.

Though few Englishmen will be found to endorse the views propounded in reference to the press of India, and there will doubtless be great difference of opinion in the estimate of the qualifications and acts of her civil and military rulers, the reader will be struck by the general coincidence of the view taken by this writer with the now almost universal conviction of the people of this country.

Who can doubt that the disasters in Afghanistan, the failure to rescue Stoddart and Conolly, the unavenged murder of two plenipotentiaries in Mooltan, the result of the mutiny at Bolarum, by "which a golden bridge was built for insubordination," taken as evidences of our weakness, and then "the law to resume the lands from those owners who could shew no title to them" in Oude, taken as evidence of an intention to uproot a large portion of the landed proprietors,—who can doubt that these were causes sufficient to produce such a rising? Weakness and oppression are the inseparable adjuncts of despotism, and the native mind, unable to discrimi-

nate while suffering under the one, imagined he saw evidences of the other.

That a wise Government, intent not on extending its dominion, but on consolidating its power, beneficially for the people, aided by skilful civil and military commanders, such as the present crisis has produced, and England has always at command, and not infirm, or otherwise inefficient Generals, as have been some of those appointed in times past, to the command of our Indian armies, would have given no opening to such an émeute, or would at once have put it down, is an opinion shared not less generally; while the observations in reference to the abolition of a native army, except for the mere purpose of relief to the European soldier from the severer portion of his duty,—the disbandment of the regular cavalry,—the formation of an extended police force, under the sole command of Europeans,—the substitution of an European for a native artillery,—and finally, the abolition of the double Government, seem strikingly in accordance with the general feeling, and are all the more valuable as having most of them been formed prior to the present crisis.

The translator has desired to render faithfully the meaning of the author, and trusts that in so doing he has not been led into any ambiguity of expression.

A. R.

The defection of the Bengal Army, its causes and consequences, having in the last six months engrossed so large a share of the anxious thoughts of the people of this country, and having drawn so many able writers into the discussion of them, the subject may be considered to admit of but little further elucidation; but from the conflict of opinions originating either in party feelings, or the intense interest with which Englishmen naturally regard it, the dispassionate sentiments of an intelligent foreigner who has had peculiar opportunities for observation, may not be undeserving of attention.

The following letter appears to have been written in the Autumn of 1857, and to have been widely circulated on the Continent; and as the writer possessed the confidence of and corresponded with the late Sir Charles Napier, with whom he served, and was consulted when in England by the late Lord Hardinge, his professional opinions may be considered entitled to much weight. As he has manifested also a desire to do justice to those authorities who have been more or less responsible for the civil and military administration in India during the eventful periods referred to; it is hoped, that allowing for some mistakes, his suggestions may receive from all parties that impartial consideration which is due to the important questions he has discussed, on the successful solution of which depend under Providence the future fortunes of our Indian Empire, and the destinies of England in the East.

Without recapitulating in detail the causes which, in the opinion of this writer, have led to the mutiny, in which he appears to coincide with other competent judges by whom the subject has been so amply and ably discussed; it may be sufficient briefly to notice the changes which he has recommended in the reorganization of the Army, and in the resettlement of the country.

In regard to the first, his opinions are comprehended in the recommendation that the European Army composed of Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry, should be largely augmented; and that the Native Army, to consist henceforth only of regular Infantry, and of irregular Cavalry, should be reduced within the limits required for service, as auxiliaries, in carrying on those duties, which from their nature, would be injurious to the health and efficiency of the Europeans; and further, that in order to provide for the peace and security of the country, a Native Police Force should be raised and officered by Europeans. From the expense attending the support of the large European force, upwards of 100,000 men, which he considers to be required, and to obviate the waste of European life from re-occupation of the Lower Stations, now in ruins, exposed as they are to a tropical sun, and the influence of hot winds, it would be well to consider, and to provide in time, for the future disposal of such a force, by the erection of large military cantonments in the elevated regions, where the temperature is more congenial to the European constitution; and also by the gradual formation of Military Colonies in the vicinity of such stations. By the establishment of such *corps d'armées*, the defence of the frontier, and the security of the provinces, would at once be provided for; and by connecting the lines of railway with the military stations, the rapid concentration of the troops, in any emergency, would be easily effected. By the location with their families of military pensioners, discharged after certain periods of active service, military colonies would grow up, which in time would facilitate the reduction of the European force. The military settlers should hold their lands on a tenure of conditional service, when required; and by recruiting the native army from the Anglo-Indian population, a valuable auxiliary force would be obtained. It is to be presumed, that to whatever extent Mahomedans and Hindoos may henceforth be retained in the native armies of the three Presidencies, there will be a large admixture of the

Goorkas and others, not imbued with *caste* prejudices. It is not to be forgotten, that in the wars of Clive the *Anglo-Indians* and the *outcasts* did good service; and that in allowing the men of *high caste* to supersede and discredit them, a serious mistake was made. The first are our natural allies, bound up in our existence, as the rulers of the country, and identified with us in faith, language, and habits; while the outcasts are prepared to receive the impression of our civilization, which they could acquire in no way with greater facility, than in the ranks of our army. It has been justly said, that the successful efforts of humane and enlightened men who have devoted themselves to reclaiming the wild races, are the brightest pages in our history.

In regard to the settlement of the country, the writer has justly remarked upon the solemn obligation imposed on us to confer a Christian Government upon it. Such a Government in observing the most scrupulous good faith in its relations with the native states, and in tolerating the superstitions of our native subjects, so far as they are inoffensively exercised, would conscientiously abstain from identifying itself with practices, at once degrading and derogatory. His observations are not the less cogent in regard to the impolicy of our 'Centralizing' system, and the importance of recurring to our English principle of responsibility. Such a principle is alone compatible with the prospect of extending the European Settlements, and it is to be hoped that, whatever obstructions and discouragements may hitherto have been opposed to the settlement of British emigrants in the country, they will henceforth be removed, were it only on a principle of self-preservation; but in reality, such settlements cannot fail to prove beneficial to the native inhabitants from the example of English probity and enterprize, where the institutions are effective for the protection of the rights of all classes.

In recurring to the great struggle with the powers of the Company since the first introduction of the reforms under Mr.

Pitt's India Act, it is deserving of remark that the complaints which led to the curtailment of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Courts erected under that Act, namely, that they conflicted with native customs, are those which are now urged against the Company's tribunals, and it is probable that if those Courts had been allowed to carry out the great principles of the Common law of England, they would have opposed a check to the innovating spirit of the Government and its officers, and have protected the people where their customs were not opposed to those principles which, as a Christian Government, we are bound to respect and uphold. Their intervention too might have been of especial value in vindicating the rights of the hereditary landholders, and protecting them from the sweeping revolutions by which their ruin has been effected, under the various systems of landed settlement which have been carried out. Succeeding as we did to the rapacious Moguls, some allowance is to be made for mistakes arising from the difficulty of reverting to the original tenures, where titles had been obliterated, and to the lighter assessments of earlier times. The impolicy of a system which has checked the investment of capital in the improvement of the land and the construction and maintenance of useful works, is, however, now fully apparent; a remedy for which may be found in allowing the redemption of the land rents at an equitable rate; a measure which would aid the development of the resources of the country, and restore the prosperity of an impoverished people, not indisposed to attach themselves to the Government by whom they are protected.

As the carrying out our laws, *so far as they are applicable*, is the time-honoured privilege of English colonists, it is fortunate that in no country are the indigenous races better prepared for the recognition of that responsibility in local communities which is in harmony with our English institutions. If we recur to the principles on which the country was originally colonized by races who were the progenitors of our own, we

shall find that so far as their institutions have survived the revolutions to which it has been subject, they have a kindred origin; and although from usurpations, impoverishment, and dispersion the larger incorporations are now extinct, the germ of them still exists in the elementary form of village communities with the "*panchayat*" which is analogous in its structure to the Anglo-Saxon jury. It is this simple institution which has enabled the rural population from time to time to re-organize and re-occupy the lands from which they had been violently ejected by predatory invaders, and which constitutes a *nucleus* on which the settlement of the country may be best effected; and it may be deserving of consideration, whether, by increasing and enforcing the responsibility of the village communities for the peace of their districts, and for the apprehension of mutineers, Thugs, dacoits, and other marauders, their active co-operation might not be rendered instrumental in restoring peace to the country. The re-organization of more extensive communities, carrying out the principles of local and responsible government, and eventually leading up to a representative system, must await the gradual introduction of that great army of British settlers, with which, if we are to perpetuate our rule in the country, and even to preserve our own institutions, we must be prepared to invade it.

Until our own time the centres of population in India have been exclusively the seats of Government, where, depending entirely upon territorial contributions and not upon commerce, large cities have arisen and subsided like the sand hills of the desert. It is thus that Bejapoor, the capital of the Kings of the Deccan in the 17th century, and Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore in the 18th, have been entirely depopulated; while Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta have risen into prosperous and established communities, deriving as they do a large amount of independent support from external commerce. When it is considered, that in a quarter of a century of free and unfettered trade, a commerce, the value of which has been

estimated at five millions annually, has grown up at the single port of Calcutta, it is scarcely possible to anticipate the changes which are likely to be the result of free European settlement in the country, and how far the existing centres of population at Lucknow, Delhi, and other places, may be abandoned; and, from their migratory habits the people may gather around the rising European communities, which under due encouragement may hereafter grow up; but all prospect of such changes and ameliorations must depend on the security of the settlers in the enjoyment of their laws and customs, to which they are at least as well entitled as are the indigenous races to the preservation of their own.

Since the days when our Anglo-Saxon ancestors first launched their barks from the Elbe and the Weser to establish themselves in this country, the English have been a colonizing race; and as the obstructions systematically opposed to their colonization in India beyond the Presidencies have not led to the strengthening and consolidating of our institutions, but on the contrary to a perilous and disastrous outbreak, the time has arrived for a recurrence to first principles, and for a radical change of policy. That England is destined to regenerate the land, and, strengthened by her Faith, to plant in it the germ of her own glorious institutions, is devoutly to be hoped, for our own sake and that of the people submitted to our rule; and that it will redound to the welfare and happiness of both countries, and to the benefit of the world at large, may be confidently predicted by those who see in the passing events the hand of that "Providence which shapes our ends, rough hew them as we will."

W. M. G. C.

A LETTER TO LORD W.

My dear Friend,

You ask my candid opinion upon the causes and consequences of the military revolution in India. I have hesitated to respond to your wishes, as well as to the demand of other friends, knowing as I do how many distinguished and experienced men there are amongst you who must necessarily be more intimately acquainted with the course of things, and who are competent judges of the causes of these occurrences. Nevertheless, since the Augsburgh "Allgemeine Zeitüng," and the "Journal des Debats," are the only Continental papers, so far as I am aware, which comment upon these events dispassionately, or with any degree of sagacity, and even the views and criticisms of the English press exhibit the most boundless ignorance of the condition and government of India, it may perhaps be of use to make known the opinion of one wholly unprejudiced and impartial, who, since his return from India, has never ceased to follow up the course of events there, and the action of its Government.

Far and wide, in the press, and in the mouths of the educated classes, we hear the most bitter accusations, and the British Government condemned as cruel and blameable, because of this sudden explosion of fearful revenge on the part of the Sepoys against their English rulers. Now you hear the East India Company abused as the

cause of the disaster; now the Board of Control; now one or other Crimean General; now one or other high functionary; now superannuated old generals, or unserviceable used-up office holders. It would, however, exhibit great ignorance of the Indian administration to award to any one party exclusively the fault of this unhappy catastrophe. But I am not surprised at the most senseless views and opinions being propagated, for on my return from India I was staggered at the ignorance Englishmen of all ranks betrayed in regard to the history and governmental administration of that country.

"Was ich nicht weiss, macht mich nicht heiss,"* one may here in truth say; and I must confess I could not suppress a blush when a Member of Parliament paid me a visit once with the view of obtaining from me information on some question of the day regarding India, upon which this respectable member had undertaken to speak in the House of Commons.

These events in India are to be traced to the same causes which produced the melancholy experiences of the Crimean campaign. The Government either could not make up its mind, or did not feel itself strong enough to take in hand those reforms in the military and civil systems which were absolutely necessary to its escape from the danger. You know that even the great Duke did not favour these reforms, always instancing his own experience, that it was the army through whose means he had achieved such great, such almost incredible successes in both quarters of the globe. Unfortunately, this great general and statesman forgot that the Continental armies had introduced such reforms as their experience in their late wars

* A German proverb: "What I am ignorant about, gives me no anxiety."

had pointed out as needful; and that, moreover, it may be possible for a great character and genius like the Duke's to elevate and lead to victory even an ill organized army. Such a machine, however, gets out of gear when the great commander is absent, and leads to such results as we once saw in the Crimea, and now see in India.

It would at the same time be premature to look to these instances of neglect or remissness alone as the causes of a military rebellion, which is unique in the history of standing armies; for it is here especially that the military events of the last twenty years, the political misunderstandings, religious influences, a false educational system, and all the varied impressions produced by the progress of events, have worked upon the minds of the people; not to mention the errors committed by men who, from their position, influenced the thoughts and feelings of Indian communities.

You may rest assured that the disaster at Cabul in the winter of 1841-2, gave the first note of warning of recent occurrences. While your Generals, nearly a thousand miles from their base of operations, were living in perfect security in the midst of a treacherous nation, suddenly Europe and Asia are staggered by the intelligence that an English army has been annihilated in Cabul, and the few surviving officers and their wives have fallen into the hands of the Affghans. The impressions and causes of these melancholy events are still vividly present to us. Want of unity between the Civil and Military authorities, as well as the great familiarity of intercourse on the part of Sir A. Burnes with the natives, and other political mistakes, enabled Akbar Khan to gain over most of the Affghan chiefs, and to declare war against the Feringhees. The

news that English officers were prisoners in the hands of the Affghans, made a powerful impression upon the armies of the three Presidencies. The thoughtful Indian, no less than many of the Sepoys, perceived that the invincible Briton had a weak spot! The few who returned to their homes told of the sufferings which themselves and their English officers had endured. True, many were the noble traits of self-sacrifice which not a few of the Sepoys exhibited towards their officers, but the halo which had hitherto surrounded England's power in the mind of the Indian, had for the first time been dimmed.

Nor was the report which had become current that the power of Britain had failed to rescue Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, who suffered martyrs' deaths in Bokhara, without its influence upon many of the Mussulman Princes.

At this period, Lord Ellenborough was sent to India as Governor-General, and a more fortunate selection could hardly have been made. It was owing to his firmness of character and impartiality, and his love for it, that he succeeded in raising the Indian army, and especially that of Bengal, from the state of depression into which it had fallen. The officer who felt himself subordinated to the civil authority, found in Lord Ellenborough a protector, the promoter of his interests, at a time when his services were indispensably necessary. The triumphant return of the troops under Sir G. Pollock, Sir Robert Sale, and Sir W. Nott, restored to the Indian army its feeling of self-reliance and capacity for victory. But there were also, unfortunately, manifested weaknesses and disorders, the growth of years, which could not but exercise the most unfavourable influence upon the army generally. It was, you are aware, in Poonah, where Sir Thomas McMahon was in command of

the head-quarters of the Bombay army, that I had the first opportunity of seeing any considerable force of that army, and where I became acquainted with Sir Charles Napier. I shall never forget the impression which was made on me by the 14th Regiment of Dragoons, which mounted but a few days previously on Arabs, executed manœuvres only possible to the most accomplished horsemen. The Irregular Cavalry were on this occasion the most distinguished. A few days afterwards, as Adjutant to Sir Charles Napier, I ascended the Indus to Kurrachee in a steamer with 150 men of the 28th Queen's, and 100 Sepoys. On this unfortunate trip we lost in four days a Captain and sixty men from cholera—excellent soldiers, and deserving a better fate. Soon after our reaching Kurrachee, Sir C. Napier was wounded in some rocket experiments, and confined to his room for some days. I have to thank this accident for my intimate acquaintance with this renowned General. I gossipped away the evenings often into midnight, in interchange of views on the art of war, as practised by Gustavus Adolphus, Frederic, Napoleon, and the Duke of Wellington. From these mighty warriors we came to the Generals of our own days, and to the constitution and condition of the armies of Europe, and finally to that of India. At a later period Sir Charles communicated to me in a letter, which I received from him after the battle of Meeanee, his views, with that clearness and keenness of vision so peculiar to him.

I deeply regret that I cannot lay my hand on this most interesting paper, or I would at once put you in possession of it.

Sir Charles Napier deplored the unwieldiness of the

Indian army, the luxury which had crept into the habits of the officers, and the want of simplicity in their tastes and pursuits. He had seen my small tent, such as soldier and servant with us are accustomed to use, and said to me, "If I can accomplish it, I am determined that my officers shall have no other kind of tent. They may entrench themselves, if they want protection against the heat or cold." Of the correctness of all his views, I had afterwards the most striking evidence. I scarcely trusted my ears when I was assured on one occasion by a most trustworthy informant, that the Political Agent sent by Lord Keane to Affghanistan, took with him for his personal use 800 camels laden with all kinds of wines and delicacies, and even a Piano Forte! I saw a Captain of the Bengal army, on his way to the army of reserve at Ferozepore, with two large waggons drawn by oxen full of geese, fowls, pigeons, wine, sugar, coffee, tea, and numberless tin cases of delicacies, to say nothing of the goats, sheep, and the camels which carried his tents. Such cases were indeed but few, but they were enough to have their influence with the junior officers, and the more an officer departs from the simple mode of life which accords with his position, especially in the field, the more will he estrange himself from his duty with his corps.

The Sepoy regiments have but few English officers, and most of them aim at the acquirement of the native languages, in order to obtain staff appointments. Hence it happens that companies are commanded by Ensigns, who have no knowledge either of the habits or language of the natives, and are consequently compelled to delegate the duties to the Sepoy officers. The Sepoys are far too much withdrawn from the eyes of the English officer, or are

treated by them with an indulgence and consideration which is injurious to discipline. The Sepoy is indeed the spoilt child of the East India Company. Between the Sepoy and the English officer, it is very difficult to establish that relationship and oversight, which ought to exist in every army, because religion creates a barrier, the effects of which can only be nullified by an experienced officer, thoroughly acquainted with the language and habits of Indians. But let only a regiment or company be commanded by an officer of this stamp, and such a mutual confidence springs up between them, that the Sepoy no longer regards his officer as his mere leader, but as his father and friend. I have witnessed such relations between English officers and Sepoys, where the most intimate connections subsisted between them, and the officer could reckon upon his men in the most dangerous circumstances. Especially was this the case with the Goorkas, with the Irregular Cavalry Regiments, and as I heard afterwards with the more recently raised Sikh corps.

The formation of this Irregular Cavalry is very peculiar. The pay of an ordinary soldier in these regiments, which consist chiefly of Mussulmen, and belong to the better classes, is forty rupees a month. For this the soldier must provide himself with horse, arms, and clothing, and he receives the title of Silladar. The right to possess a horse in a regiment is denominated "Asami." It is hereditary, and is worth from 1500 to 2000 rupees; and if the owner, who sometimes is a woman or child, cannot ride, he gives a fixed portion of the salary to a Bargyr or Trooper, and retains the largest share for himself. With a view to reduce the Contingent, as in the territory of the Nizam, the Government ordered the Asamis to be suppressed at the

death of the Silladar or Bargyr, an order which naturally produced much discontent.

The Government, after the war, were desirous of limiting the expenses in every possible way, and hence the order for the discontinuance of the war Batta in the Bengal army. The Sepoy loves money, saves all he can, and sends home his savings. Such a curtailment of his pay could not fail to disgust him. Difficulties were thrown in the way of invalids obtaining their pensions, the amount of which had reached an unheard-of sum. Hence many a soldier, utterly useless for service in the field, held to his colours to the last, and was thereby deceived in the hope of passing the remnant of his days in undisturbed repose, in the bosom of his family. Ancient Rome inaugurated her political power with the destruction of the Veii, and ended with conquering the world. England planted a colony upon the Hooghly, and was compelled for self-preservation to subjugate all India. From the very commencement of its dominion in India up to the latest times, has each successive extension of territory been acquired against the wishes of the Company. The atrocious administration of most of the Indian princes, as well as the utter absence of all national feeling, has facilitated the occupation of each fresh territory. The policy of every state is to some extent selfish. The more powerful the state, the more obtrusive the egotism, as England has so often evidenced in her sway. After the breaking up of the Mahrattas, it became the established policy of the East India Company, to watch over the still independent territories of the Nizam, the kingdom of Oude, Gwalior, Scinde, Bawalpoor, Bhurtpore, and other small states, to direct their Governments, and to establish such influence over their princes and ministers

as the interest of the moment demanded. Gross injustice resulted from this system, the effects of which fell chiefly on their unfortunate subjects. As at the Court of the Nizam, at Hyderabad, no effective efforts were made to check the enormities and intrigues of princes and ministers, such as befitted the principles of a free Government. In the kingdom of Oude, a king and court sunk in the lowest depths of sensuality and vileness, was protected against his own subjects, who were themselves legally entitled to this protection. The most powerful of these independent states were ruled by Mahommedan princes.

You will remember how Sir Charles Napier in two sanguinary battles, and a campaign in the desert, put an end to the sovereignty of the Ameers. Out of these conquests arose a mistrust between the Directors and the General; and regarded as a question of strict right, they had perhaps some grounds for feeling dissatisfied. But as matters were, it was impossible for Sir Charles Napier to have done otherwise. What would have become of the English army in the Punjaub war, if the power of the Belooch chiefs had not been previously crushed? Nearly all the inhabitants of Scinde are Mahometans; their Ameers indeed were not beloved, but a patriarchal relationship subsisted between the people and their chiefs. The last of these Ameers excited the deepest interest amongst many of the most distinguished Englishmen.

Scarcely was Scinde subjugated, and incorporated with the Indian Empire, than it became necessary to break the power of Gwalior. While these matters were yet in suspense the murders and political convulsions at the Court of Lahore brought the Sihks into a threatening and hostile attitude. But before the actual collision, Lord Ellen-

borough left India, owing to misunderstandings with the Court of Directors. If I am not mistaken, it was this distinguished statesman, who at that period perceived the necessity of removing the King of Delhi and his Court and followers from Delhi, and appointing them their place of residence in Calcutta. This was in January, 1843, a moment the most favourable for carrying out such a decision, because there were then abundant troops for all emergencies; but the council feared a riot, and refused to sanction the project.

Sir Henry, afterwards Lord Hardinge succeeded Lord Ellenborough. He too was imbued with the most peaceful principles, and had scarcely set foot in India when he was driven into a war with the Sikhs. All these wars were carried on under Lord Gough, who at the close of the China war, had been appointed to the command in chief of the Army in India. After a series of the bloodiest conflicts, the war ended in the complete subjugation of the Sikhs, and the incorporation of the Punjaub. Shortly after this, two political plenipotentiaries, most distinguished officers, were murdered at Mooltan, at the instigation of the Rajah; and again a conflict ensued for the occupation of this Province. The Rajah, an usurper, lost his throne, but the murderers went unpunished. A fresh violation of a British plenipotentiary, which the Indian press did not fail significantly to record.

Meanwhile, failing health had compelled Sir Charles Napier to return to England. He had administered the government of Scinde with rare sagacity, attached the people to his government, fostered cultivation, and had secured the contentment of the inhabitants. It was my good fortune to see much of the General after his return. His conversations about the Army and its constitution,

which places old and experienced Generals under the orders of young civil officers, raised gloomy forebodings in my mind. "Events will arise," he said, "which will shake things to their foundations; take care lest reforms come then too late." A year had hardly passed, when Sir Charles was again called to India against his will, to take the command-in-chief of the army. After the battle of Meeanee, he wrote to me that he was sixty-eight years old, much too old for his responsible post; and that it would be much better to send him home, where he might shuffle into church, panting and coughing. In this most interesting communication, the General imparts his views on the Generals of the English and our army, and gives expression to the most exalted feelings of patriotism for his Queen and country.

Next to the Duke of Wellington, Sir Charles Napier was the greatest of England's Generals. In that small frame there dwelt a rare spirit, which with keen eye measured the time and its wants, and pierced prophetically into the future. His massiveness of character reminded me of the greatest heroes; and his sympathizing heart was penetrated with the most amiable Christian feelings. In the short period of his second residence in India, he had done much to elevate the tone of the Officers of the Bengal army; but his health was broken, and he was compelled to return home. It was to be expected that Sir Charles Napier would bring to the knowledge of the Court of Directors, and of the Board of Control, the faults of the Army, and the measures he deemed needful for their correction. Unfortunately the Court could not forgive the General the conquest of Scinde; and they probably never came to any satisfactory understanding. Thus

it is that party spirit in England but too often stands in the way of the most useful reforms, and calls the most incompetent men to fill the most weighty offices.

After the lapse of five years, Lord Dalhousie succeeded Lord Hardinge as Governor-General. We all remember with how distinguished a name the latter left India. After nearly ten years' constant warfare, we were again blest with peace. Lord Dalhousie's administration has latterly been the subject of multiform attack, but no one can deny that we owe to him the blessing of many reforms which preserve his memory from oblivion. It was under his rule that Sir John Lawrence converted the Punjaub, which had been desolated, into a fruitful and flourishing country. It is said, however, that the law to resume the lands from those owners who could shew no title to them, threw many families into distress, and created great discontent.

You must not forget that the British power in India had, within the last ten years, by the conquest and incorporation of Scinde, the Punjaub, Mooltan, and the kingdom of Oude, stretched its boundaries to an extent equal to France, Belgium, and Holland. The Army had experienced no increase, except in native troops, who were taken into pay from the disbanded Sikh regiments, and had English officers placed over them. The European troops remained in their original weakness. On my return from India in 1843, the then Secretary at War, Sir H. Hardinge, begged me to tell him candidly what impression the British Indian Army had made upon me. Appreciating such a mark of confidence, I observed to him that the European force was far too weak, and in view of the probable further extension of territory, it appeared to me that great danger might arise out of this weakness. I thought that double the

existing force would barely suffice for security. At the same time, I gave my opinion in favour of gradually disbanding the entire regular native cavalry, and maintaining none but irregular; finally, on no account to make use of a native artillery.

In a great army a long peace is destructive, and especially so in a climate like that of India. Of the three armies of India that of Bengal is the most exposed to disturbing influences, inasmuch as the larger part of the soldiers belonged to the higher castes, owing to which certain indulgences were allowed them, which are not conducive to the maintenance of a soldierly spirit. The Bengal army possessed the men of the finest physique, and the Bengal soldier was a regular spoilt child.

After repeated attempts on the part of the East India Company to avoid any interference with the King of Oude, in the autumn of 1855, the Governor was compelled to remove the King from his capital, and to occupy the country. It would be impossible for any one in civilized Europe to form any conception of the tyranny, cruelty and licentiousness of this sovereign and his Court. It was high time to put a stop to these atrocities. The intrigues and abominations of this detestable Court became dangerous to their neighbours. The King, his family, minister and suite were hated throughout the country. Sir James Outram effected the occupation of the country with the caution and skill so characteristic of this General and Diplomatist, and sent the king,—whose ancestors were formerly but vassals of the Great Mogul, and achieved their independence—with his family and court to Calcutta. Following the old usage, the enormous pension of £150,000 was assigned him. When Sir James Outram was appointed

to the command of the Army against Persia, Sir Henry Lawrence succeeded to his post.

This was the last act of Lord Dalhousie. Exhausted with the arduous duties of his Government, this highly gifted statesman left India.

Under actual circumstances the existing civil administration of India is the most suitable. Whoever has had the opportunity of watching its working, cannot fail to feel respect and admiration at it. I must confess,with shame, that the conviction was forced upon me that no race understand the art of colonization like the British. In a country where intrigue, corruption and lying are the order of the day amongst high and low, it does one's heart good to see how the acts of the Civil authorities are characterized by the strictest justice, and every possible consideration for the religion, manners and customs of the Indian population. I am far from saying that this holds good of every individual functionary, for it would be against all one's experience of frail human nature to suppose that in a country larger than Europe, acts of oppression, violence and weakness should never be committed. Yet in cases where such came to my knowledge, it was chiefly native officials who were concerned in them. India has trained many of England's greatest statesmen and generals; it is the school in which her youth have claimed that character which has shewn itself in the hour of danger equal to the greatest achievements. Amid the not small number of distinguished statesmen you will recollect Sir George Clerk, a man especially called in those times to the conduct of the most momentous affairs. With what skill and forethought amidst the greatest dangers and difficulties did he administer the Sikh government!

The greatest mistake of late years has been the constant aim at centralisation. All centralisation carries in it the germ of revolution and ruin. The centralisation of an Empire like India must be regulated by the measures which its external relations demand, while internally it should aim chiefly at the management of its roads, canals, posts, &c. All beyond should be left to the different territories, and the more the principles of self-government are allowed their full play amongst the various peoples, districts, places and communities, each according to its situation, customs and means, so much stronger will be the chain which binds all together. England herself exhibits to the fullest the blessings of such a system, and her neighbour the consequences of a fatal system of centralisation.

In India, religion takes the place of nationality. The unvarying principle of the Government has ever been to avoid all interference or even contact with it; but in acting upon this principle, it was forgotten that it is wholly impossible for a Christian people, ruling over a heathen nation, to avoid exercising an indirect influence over their religion and religious customs; and experience has shewn that it is so. The horrors of Juggernaut; the prohibition of widows who had never lived with, perhaps had never even beheld their husbands, to marry again; as well as the Suttee, it was impossible to do otherwise than suppress—thanks to the wise precaution of a civilian, who obtained the assent of the priests to this last measure, who confessed that the observance was entirely their work, and not required by any laws of their faith.

The Indian Government during the last twenty years had made great efforts in the cause of education; but it has been specially careful to keep out of sight Christian

doctrine and its truths, as handed down to us in the Bible, and to confine the teaching to morality, and thus it has come to pass that the young who were educated in its schools have for the most part either grown up as atheists, or within a short period of leaving school have relapsed into their vile idolatrous worship, or become utter infidels, and formed a young India party, with which their own relations had nothing in common. Even the missionaries, who were allowed to teach and distribute the Bible, have made but small progress. There are indeed many excellent men in their number, who exhibit traces of their labours, but there are unhappily others who regard their office like a milch cow. How few natives have been led by them to embrace Christianity! Even Dwackanauth Tajor, a man endowed with rare mental gifts, who passed most of his life amongst Europeans, who had no taste for other than European society, and travelled over a great part of Europe, made no profession of Christianity. When in Rome, a priest entertained the hope of inducing him to enter the Roman Catholic Church, but the crafty Hindoo replied, "I see no advantage in changing my idols for yours," and turned his back upon him. The nature of the Hindoo is peculiar. There seems to be a process of decline going on in the physical powers of the body, and a corresponding decline in the spiritual powers of the soul. Their youth exhibit great aptitude for the acquirement of knowledge, but they forget almost as soon as they learn. Many young men full of promise, and justifying great expectations, no sooner enter into life, surrounded by their families, and withdrawn from the eyes of their teachers, than they fall back into the indolent existence of their fathers.

From the moment that the Government entertained the idea of educating the native Indian for civilized life, it should publicly have laid the foundation of such education in Christianity. Far too much indulgence and protection has been shewn to the vile worship of the Hindoos, no less than to that of the Mahometans; and many a dirty Fakeer has been allowed to vagabondize throughout the length and breadth of the land, practising his obscene rites. Without offering any violence to their religion, it was the duty of the Government simply to tolerate it. This over-anxious watchfulness to avoid even the appearance of interference with the religious rights of the Indians, has not escaped the keen eye of the Hindoo, and especially of the still more fanatical Mussulman, by whom it has been assuredly taken as an evidence of weakness.

On the average every twelfth inhabitant is a Mussulman; but they are not the Mussulmen whom we find in Turkey or Arabia, who still hold to the laws of the Koran, but a degenerated race, who know nothing of the good laws of the Brahmins, but who have appropriated all the idolatrous and indecent worship of the Hindoos. Their forefathers were converted to Mussulmen at the sword's point by the Mongols. They have retained all the old caste prejudices; they regard it as contamination to eat anything which has been touched by Europeans; they hold in abomination all eaters of beef and pork, and manifest feelings of reverence for the cow. Hence their horror at the greased cartridges; and it is not to be wondered at that their priests, an ignorant and fanatical race, egged on the insurrection in reminding them of the splendour of the Mogul empire.

It is remarkable that most of the civil functionaries were

disinclined to every attempt at conversion, and most determinedly opposed the exercise of any influence upon the religious opinions of the natives,—while on the other hand, many English officers exerted themselves to bring to the knowledge of the native the lying system of his priests. Sir Charles Napier was convinced that nothing could withstand the truth. It is true the attempts of officers were not invariably the most judicious, and perhaps in individual instances they rather damaged than aided the cause of Christianity.

In such a state of things, with a free press, you can hardly feel surprised that the poison spread. The English papers gave the editors of the native press the matter, and so furthered the mischief. The free press of India was the unlucky idea of a man who, having held the office of Governor-General provisionally, conferred that freedom as the last act of his government, a gift which raised the suspicion that the object of it was popularity.

A free press in a conquered country, where so many deposed princes not only remained in close connection with the people, but had at their disposal vast wealth, and where the ruling power rests its support chiefly on native troops, was a theory not indicative of the usual practical character of the Briton. Hence it became absolutely necessary to put the press under a censorship. At the present juncture India requires a Dictator! More than a million of money, nearly a thirtieth part of the revenue, is in the hands of pensioned princes! Not to lose sight of the numberless secret means open to natives of binding together far and near the discontented, and gaining over the native Indian press.

Not less calculated powerfully to excite the native mind

was the discovery and application of the railways and electric telegraph. It was evident that caste was breaking down. "Stand up, I am better than you," was language which was not likely to be of long observance. The priest felt that his authority, and the reverence shewn towards him by the lower castes, was no longer the same as it once was; and the feeling could not but develop itself especially in the Bengal army. All this could not be unknown to the discontented Mahommedan princes, and the mortified priests, and they determined to gain over for themselves the power which was the prop of the Government. The greased cartridge was the last bitter drop which caused the glimmering spark to burst out into a glowing flame.

The most powerful of these discontented princes were the Mahometans, the King of Delhi, the King of Oude, and some of the lesser Mahratta chiefs.

In the midst of these complications, and in the midst of these changes and ferment, the war with Russia broke out. You will remember how Russia since the year 1825 has succeeded in exerting a powerful political influence in Central Asia, by the use of secret agents, chiefly Poles, and how she sought to establish that influence in Bokhara and Cabul at the cost of Great Britain. To acquire a firm foothold in Central Asia, is to hold out to her the hope of threatening England's power in India. Hence all appliances were set in motion to win over the Court of Teheran, which was spurred on to occupy Herat; and we know how cleverly the Russian Cabinet managed to gain the precedence of the British Ambassador. Think you there was no concert between Persia and the Indian princes? When we know that to this day a correspondence is kept up

between the King of Delhi and many of the Mahommedan princes of Central Asia, how passionately devoted the Oriental is to intrigue, how they delight in writing to each other, it need not surprise us that a web like this should have been spun. Was it not perfectly natural that everything should be set in motion to mislead the armed power, to seduce it from its duty, and to secure the Bengal army? It seems that the Mussulman priests were the first to dilate upon the subject of the greased cartridges. These were eagerly seized upon by the credulous Hindoo, and represented as a violent aggression upon his faith. The vacillation and misunderstanding between the military and other authorities favoured the outbreak.

The first military émeute of any moment happened on September, 1855, at Bolarum, in the Nizam's territories. Colonel Colin Mackenzie, who commanded the southern division at this station, was mortally wounded by several soldiers of the 3rd Cavalry Regiment, during the festival of the Moharrum. Several other Englishmen and their wives were assaulted by these drunken and fanatic cavalry. Read the "Narrative of the Mutiny at Bolarum in September, 1855, by an Eyewitness," and you will see the beginning of these atrocities on a small scale, which now, on an enlarged one, fills us with such horror and disgust. Colonel Colin Mackenzie belongs to the most distinguished and bravest of the officers of the Indian army, an acknowledgment which Lord Dalhousie himself made him. But although on this occasion he alone acted as became a soldier, and a man of character, that justice has never been done him which was his due; and all because it was alleged the brave Colonel allowed himself to be carried away by his religious zeal. One cannot lay down this report without

a feeling of pain and regret, seeing in it how weakly and wanting in self-confidence the resident and Captain O— behaved. Instead of calling them to account, and punishing the ringleaders with death, all were pardoned, and thus a golden bridge built for future insubordination.

This occurrence ought to have opened the eyes of the authorities. It was clear that henceforth no dependence could be placed in native troops: 20,000 troops should have been sent to India without delay. Instead, they lulled themselves into the belief, that it was but an isolated case, which had resulted from the unbending Christian opinions of the Colonel. It now appears that it was the Court of Directors, who, on this occasion, as previously, had rejected the application of the Governor-General, for an increase of the European force; it was said, "the Sepoys had always done their duty, and the native army was equal to any emergency."

In the autumn of the preceding year, the Sepoys of the Bengal Army first exhibited proofs of a disposition to rise. The authorities, however, still looked upon these signs of a threatening storm as merely single and isolated symptoms. Nor indeed could the English credit the possibility of an army rising *en masse*—an army too, which had shared so many and great dangers with its officers, to whom apparently it was devoted, heart and soul. But lo! like lightning out of the serene sky, that diabolical fanatical spirit, which, in former times the Inquisition, a fanatical Roman priesthood and monkery brought into the world, seized upon the soldiery. Under pretext that their religion was in danger, the most atrocious murders and abominations, degrading to human nature, were perpetrated, and their

benefactors persecuted with a fury and venom, to which the page of history furnishes no parallel.

Mourners in England and India, parents, widows and orphans, brothers and sisters, you have one consolation, in that those dearest to you in the world have died as martyrs. But let us live in the full confidence and firm faith, that a day is coming when another race shall have grown up in those regions, which shall bear in their hearts the eternal word of God, as our Saviour taught us, shall worship God in spirit and in truth, and will recall to their memory with love, penitence, and gratitude, those now doomed to a martyr's death.

The Bengal Army has ceased to exist. Not without design did these murderers choose the least favourable season of the year, the season of the hot winds, and the subsequent monsoons, when frequently the rain falls in unceasing torrents for days together,—the season too, which is especially fatal to European troops. With equal foresight did they choose Delhi for their base of operations, —Delhi,where the shadow of the great Mogul still resides, and where were the largest military magazines of the northern provinces. Lord Ellenborough, as far back as 1842, brought under the notice of the Directors the danger of having a general depôt in Delhi, and urged that the citadel of Agra should be selected for that purpose. These magazines were under the sole guard of the Sepoys, chiefly because the climate of Delhi is considered unfavourable for Europeans, and the Government avoids quartering them in a great city.

If you desire to obtain an idea of the present state of things, the following sketch would seem to represent it. Bengal, from Benares to Delhi, is partly in insurrection,

partly in a state of insecurity; in the south, Lucknow, Cawnpore, and Allahabad, are the gathering points of the murderers: and in the north, Delhi is the central point of the whole outbreak. At the same time, the troops of Gwalior, and of the Rajah of Indore, cannot be trusted, while, however, their princes remain true!

Delhi is surrounded by a high wall, and may be stormed without any formidable preparations, the street fighting may be easily managed, since the streets are broad and regular. But there are from 150,000 to 200,000 inhabitants, chiefly Mussulmen, of whom scarcely a third part are otherwise than favourable to the movement. The rest will, from one or other motive, take part in the struggle. The King, called satirically "a shadow King," has grown up in idleness and the delights of the harem. But as he and his advisers together planned the outbreak, and he has been the rallying point of it, he will bc driven to hold out to the last. It is in truth the last expiring spark of the Mogul Dominion.

There can be no unity of action in Delhi. There will be as many to command and advise in council, and in fight, as to obey. The excitement, the excesses, and cruelties which prevail inside those walls, will cause all the more fearful confusion from the raging of cholera and fever, and the sufferings and cries of the dying and wounded, in vain imploring help and succour. Nearly all feel, that when the place is stormed there can be no hope of mercy, and that the avenging hand of England will as ruthlessly slay, yea, we may add, must as ruthlessly slay, as did once Nadir Shah, in the self same spot. A native, writing from Delhi, confesses, that they deserved such punishment for the atrocities they have inflicted on their benefactors.

I entertained the hope that the force advancing under General Anson would have been strong enough to have stormed Delhi at once. What prevented this—whether indecision, insufficient force, or the want of heavy ordnance—we shall learn hereafter. Whatever the cause, the effect will be to compel the English to remain on the defensive until October; for first the hot season, and now the rainy season, will make all movement of troops extremely difficult.

The Army may receive reinforcements from Bombay by two routes, by land by way of Agra, by water by the Indus. These will probably reach it at the same time as those from Calcutta. Simultaneously troops may be sent from Calcutta up the Ganges, by Cawnpore and Allahabad, and as far as Burdwan by the railway. It is probable that a party exists at Delhi ready to negotiate for a surrender, unconditionally or otherwise. In that case Delhi will fall sooner. Such a party would consist of Hindoos. If not, October will be the earliest period at which the storming could be attempted; but care must be taken that the columns are sufficiently strong; for every one found with arms in their hands, or making any defence, must be put to the sword.

It is of the greatest moment that Madras and Bombay should remain quiet. The authorities in these Provinces must exercise the greatest watchfulness, without affording room for suspicion or mistrust. How self-reliant and dignified, nay, how heroic is the attitude of the Governor-General, Lord Canning! In the Madras Presidency the most menacing danger is from the Nizam's dominions. He is a Mahommedan; his adherents a wild and lawless race, of whom he could readily bring into the field 40,000 men.

His first minister is devoted to the English, and so we may hope that he will succeed in keeping his sovereign faithful to the British alliance.

Another danger is lest the outbreak acquire anything of a communistic character. In the country, as in the towns, the proprietors of the land are attacked by those who have nothing to lose, and are robbed of life and property. As in China, armed bands have been formed, which lay waste the country, murder and rob, and perpetrate the most fearful atrocities. Nothing short of martial law can avail in such a state of things. The sword and the halter must rid the country of these miscreants.

If you only take into account the thousands of Thugs and Dacoits who have been let loose out of prison, men who make a trade of murder and assassination, you cannot be surprised that no one feels his life safe: while the conviction in the minds of the Sepoys, that they have forfeited their life, must have the effect of making them fight desperately.

The insurrection will scarcely be quelled before the next spring. There will then be the not much less difficult task of ridding Bengal, and indeed India, of its robbers and murderers. It will be some years before the power of England is again as firmly established as before in the minds of the people, and that the law regains such might, that the European may traverse the land from end to end in perfect security.

The course of events will exercise great influence on the constitution of the future government of India. It must, however, be obvious to all at all conversant with the system, that the double government connot be maintained.

The achievements of the East India Company and the

Court of Directors are matters of history. It would be the height of ingratitude not to recognize them. But since the powers of the latter body have been so curtailed that they are but the shadow of their former greatness, behind which the Board of Control in reality rules, and the authorities are so circumstanced that it is in the power of the one to impute all wrong doings to the other, while that other claims for itself the credit of all that is beneficial in its administration, it is better to substitute an entirely new system.

India must be incorporated with the British Empire, and the Queen be declared its immediate governor. It will quite accord with the nature and habits of thought of the Indian to be governed by a King or Queen. I am quite aware that in incorporating India one is placing a power in the hands of a Government which might endanger the constitution itself. The patronage of so many lucrative offices might threaten the independence of the House of Commons. But can no means be tried of avoiding these dangers, at a time too when public opinion has become such a power in England that no minister could brave it, or risk losing the confidence of the nation?

You ask, when you have again conquered India, what are the reforms indispensable in its military and civil constitution. This is a problem to be solved only by a statesman of the largest experience, and one most conversant with the country. Nevertheless, I will venture to submit a few observations for your examination.

The European army must be the mainstay of the ruling power, and I believe a hundred thousand men will hardly be sufficient for that object. The Sepoy army must be gradually reduced, and eventually only so many natives allowed

to serve under their colours as are sufficient to relieve the European from the severer portion of duty. All the regular native cavalry should be disbanded, and the irregular alone retained. The artillery should be wholly in the hands of Europeans, and the rifle battalions confined to the Ghoorkas, and other mountain tribes. Lastly, a well organized and well paid police force, both horse and foot, adequately armed, should be raised throughout the country, and none but Europeans should be placed at their head. How and where recruiting can be carried on in Bengal, if it be desirable at all, must depend on circumstances.

The Court of Directors opposed the increase of the European force on account of its great cost, and also of the mortality caused by the climate. As regards this latter point, however, I believe the climate would be found far less fatal were proper attention paid to the clothing and habits of the men. A rapid change of quarters for a short period will often suffice to arrest a contagious disease, which may have broken out in a garrison. Then again care should be taken to impress upon the soldier the dangers of licentious living, and the too free use of spirits, &c. In these respects each individual officer who interests himself in the welfare of his men, may effect incalculable good, as was evidenced in the Crimean campaign, where those regiments enjoyed the best health, whose officers most conscientiously watched over the condition of their men. In order that regiments should not be robbed of their officers by their receiving staff appointments, a general staff corps should be organized. At the same time, the Empire should be brought under a regular system of fortification, and naval harbours built at Kurrachee, at Madras, and in the Hooghly, so that ships of war might be stationed there.

As to the native pensioned Princes, it is clear that the conquering power has the fullest right to deal as it pleases with both person and property of all who were in any way connected with the murderers. Not only should their pensions be reduced to a bare subsistence, but themselves and their families should be deported out of the country to some other colony.

England has extended her power until she has become the mightiest and most influential in the world. At moments when mighty events threaten to shake her to her foundations, voices are heard which prophetically announce them as the signals of her doom. Moral purity alone preserves the power of a great people, and so long as the British nation prizes its virtues, which are the distinguishing marks of a truly Christian people, higher than the riches and honours of the world, England need fear no danger. Every great kingdom falls through its own vices, it carries within it the germ of its decline; and when such inward rent works into the life blood of a people, then follow outward events to hasten its ruin.

Such incidents as the Crimean war, and now this military revolution, afford to a great nation the opportunity of testing its powers, its defects, its friends, and its enemies. Such sufferings were needed to bring about the required reforms, which it was impossible to achieve in the ordinary course of things.

Whoever has carefully studied the history of the development of the human race during the last three centuries, must have had the conviction forced upon him, that the English and the German nations are the pillars upon which Civilization and Christianity must be built up with sure and safe advance. England, by reason of her position, her

marvellous extension over the earth, and her peculiar and free constitution, is especially called to the task; but she will only accomplish it by a close and intimate union with Germany.

It is not in the power of Britain to abstain from all interference in the idolatrous customs of the Indians. No, the British nation has the task assigned to it of spreading Christianity and that civilization over Asia which makes man happy and contented. In such a spirit, and with such views and sentiments must re-conquered India be again governed; for our ever-hurrying age, with its steam and its electricity, will take upon itself the office of the missionary amongst the nations.

Believe me ever,

Yours very sincerely,

LEOPOLD VON ORLICH.

Lake of Geneva,
September 1st, 1857.