

THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE
OF
THE INDIAN MUTINY,

AS SET FORTH IN THE OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE .

BY GEO. CRAWSHAY, ESQ.

MAYOR OF GATESHEAD.

A LECTURE DELIVERED AT THE MECHANICS' INSTITUTION, GATESHEAD, ON
WEDNESDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 4TH, 1857.

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" In general the English have paid very great attention to the jurisprudence and civil legislation of India, as the fundamental principle of their Indian government is to rule that country according to its own laws, customs, and privileges; while, on the contrary, the other European powers that once had obtained a firm footing in India, formed alliances with, and attached themselves by preference to, the Mahometan sovereigns of the country. By this simple but enlightened principle in their Indian policy and administration, the English have obtained the ascendancy over all their rivals or opponents, and have become complete masters of the whole of this splendid region," —FREDERICK VOX SCHLEGEL. *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, 1828.

LECTURE.

Mr. J. B. Prockter having been called to the chair, in the course of a brief address, said that they could not but respect the Mayor for the trouble he took in obtaining and giving information on matters of public importance, and the interest he took in the affairs of this rising country.

The Mayor of Gateshead. —Ladies and gentlemen, my friend, Mr. Prockter, has been kind enough to say that he gave me credit for taking an interest in the affairs of this rising country. I am afraid that the interest which I take arises from the painful feeling that possibly this is a falling country. The mutiny of the Bengal army is a great danger in itself; but, in my opinion, it is a less danger than that arising from the ignorance of the people of England as to its causes. I have made it my duty to inquire into those causes, and my object to-night is to explain what they are. I have found no difficulty whatever in ascertaining them. I have only had to make reference to certain official documents which were laid before the House of Commons in July of this year; the information contained in which is so clear, that I hold it to be impossible for two men to look one another in the face, after reading them, and so much as express a doubt as to what has been the cause of these disasters. You have heard probably something about greased cartridges. What I shall state to you to-night will show that, whatever other causes of disaffection there may be in India, there are no sound reasons for the belief that this mutiny would have occurred, unless there had existed in the mind of the Hindoo a panic or belief that his religion was to be interfered with, and that this was to be done by means of the greased cartridge. That you may understand the case, it is necessary, before I commence an examination of the official documents, that I should say a few words as to the nature of *ciste*, and what is meant by losing caste in

India. This is indeed very necessary, as it is often spoken of at present in the most flippant and careless manner. It is gravely alleged, as a chief fault of the East India Company, that they have made it a rule of government to respect the religion of the Hindoos ; and people talk of abolishing caste, as if it were the simplest matter in the world ! We in England talk of losing it ; but that is a misuse of words by which we are misled as to what losing caste means in India. When we use the expression, we only mean that a man falls from a higher to a lower station; consequently we apply the phrase to the country whence we got it in the same trivial sense. Caste is not even a Hindoo word, but a Portuguese word, signifying race. Losing caste *in India* is equivalent to excommunication in a Roman Catholic country, or rather to what excommunication was in the old days of the Roman Catholic Church, when it carried with it the penalties of contempt and persecution in this world, and damnation in the next. The division into castes is not confined to India, but existed among other ancient nations; and a Hindoo, when he commits an act by which he loses caste, does not fall from a higher caste to a lower,—he does not, from a Brahmin, become a Sudra, but is shut out from all fellowship with any Hindoo. A man who loses his caste loses his home ; his family and friends cannot speak or sit with him. He becomes a most miserable being during his life on this earth, and in his own belief is condemned to perdition in the next. This dreadful penalty falls upon the Hindoo in consequence of offences equivalent to the mortal sins of the Roman Catholic Church. Many offences may be committed not entailing this penalty; but there are some for which no forgiveness can be hoped. Of these some are moral, and some ceremonial observances. In this respect the Hindoos are like the Jews of old. There are some few observances of a ceremonial character, the violation of which stands upon the same level in the minds of the people as moral sins. Amongst these the most prominent are the prohibitions as to food. The eating of anything forbidden is defilement. The cow is the sacred animal of the Hindoos,—the pig is alike unclean to Hindoos and Mussulmen. Grease of cows and pigs strikes at both, and for the Hindoo to put such substance to his lips is to commit one of the mortal sins: any Hindoo will rather suffer death than submit to it: and an order to do so is one which could no more be obeyed

by a Hindoo than could be an order to a Roman Catholic regiment to feed their horses with the holy water. I will not allow this to rest upon my word, I will put in evidence: the whole hinges upon this. Col. Sykes, the first witness whom I shall call, was the Chairman of the East India Company last year. He has spent the greatest part of his life in India; there is no authority higher than his. In a letter to the *Times*, dated October 8th, Colonel Sykes, after showing that the Sepoys are willing to make many concessions, proceeds to explain that there are points which they cannot concede, and to attempt to exact which must bring about such results as we have seen. He states -

"After the perusal of the above memorandum it will very naturally be asked what more could be desired or expected from native soldiers, and what possible cause or causes can there be to *drive such 111en into mutiny*—into the vengeful massacre of their European officers—into an utter recklessness with respect to their immediate and future personal interests, involving the loss of employment and the loss of provision in old age, of their liberal pensions from Government—and into exposing themselves to the risk of a direful retributive vengeance. There must, then, be some fatal, imperative, and irresistible obligation to produce such results. Sir, any one but a sciolist in the knowledge of Asiatic beliefs, customs, and usages, replies that external bodily defilement is removed by ablutions and oblations, but that a breach of certain alimentary laws, *ipso facto*, consigns the offender to excommunication and degradation, than which death is preferable, for his parents, his brothers, and his friends, can neither eat nor smoke with him, nor let him drink out of their water vessels. He is become an out-caste. He is condemned to contempt in this world, and his soul is damned in the next. Now, it is very lamentable that in this age of reason such stern obligations should be accepted by human beings, and be operative; but they exist,—there they are as great facts. So it is lamentable that hostile religions should exist; but there they are, and always have been—great facts which produced the conflicts of the Henoousians and the Homoiousians in our early church, Bartholomew's Eve, De Montford's bloody doings at Carcas..soue, Anabaptist atrocities at Munster, oui Smithfield fires, Irish massacres, and, even in those days, threatened bloodshed at Belfast. Nor are alimentary laws of modern origin. We find that the Egyptians could not eat with the sons of Jacob because" that was an abomination to the Egyptians;" the Jews equally were debarred by their usages from eating with the Gentiles, as is attested by St. Peter's vision of the sheet full of animals, and the command, "Rise, kill, and eat," and St. Peter's reply of "Not so, Lord, for I have never eaten anything that is common or unclean." Acts x, 11—15, and at verse 28, St. Peter adds;" Ye know how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company or come unto one of another nation." With such precedents in our own Sacred Volume, we can the more readily understand the food obligations of the Hindoos, which, however, have, no doubt, increased in stringency with the growth of Brahminical influence since the Christian era,"

If you read the Bible you will find that, in the case of the animals taken in the ark by Noah, there was a distinction made between clean and unclean; that in Deuteronomy, some are mentioned as to be eaten, and others as not to be eaten; and that, in the case of the new converts to Christianity, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles: they were commanded to refrain from partaking of things strangled and from blood.

Col. Sykes continues :-

„ But, whether more or less stringent, if we take the Hindoos as our servants, subject to their religious obligations, as just and humane masters we are bound to respect these obligations. The Mahomedans, also, are equally subject to a food interdict, in the case of swine's flesh ; and Brigadier John Jacob knows full well, that if he were to order his Mahomedan soldiery (though they may venerate him) to bite a cartridge greased with pig's fat, or his high-caste troopers to bite a cartridge greased with cow's fat, that both the one and the other would promptly refuse obedience, and, *in case he endeavoured to enforce it, they would shoot him down.*”

Again Col. Sykes says:-

„ Let us suppose such an order to have been given at Meerut, or anywhere else, to native troops, and the consequences were inevitable. Missionary labours would have had nothing to do with producing the bloody results ; though Christianity itself had not existed they would have followed, and a Buddhist, a Pagan, or any other authority would equally have been resisted to the death. Irrational and absurd as these caste obligations are, even felons in the gaols die to maintain them, and their active resistance to the recently introduced messing system in the gaols of Bengal and the North West Provinces has occasioned bloodshed. We have read in a recent Madras newspaper that some convicts who were embarked for transportation to the eastward refused the ship's food given to them, and, as they were dying of starvation, it became necessary to disembark them, How are we to deal with such tenacious obduracy ? We cannot kill the fanatics, and we can only, therefore, lament the fanaticism and tolerate it. It is little known or thought of in the western world to what privations and sufferings the high-caste Sepoy is subjected in embarking for foreign service. From the moment he sets foot on board a ship he cannot cook; he cannot receive the ship's provisions, and his support is confined to parched grain and condiments which he takes with him. In the great expeditions to Java, China, and the Persian Gulf these privations and sufferings were borne cheerfully by thousands of Sepoys in our service, and would be borne again and again if their religious prejudices were respected. In the present feeling of resentment which has been so justly roused by the bloody acts of the Bengal Sepoys, and the generally expressed want of confidence in the future loyalty of the Brahmin and Rajpoot, it is of vital importance, as we cannot do without a native army, that there should be a clear understanding not only with respect to the constitution of that army, but that in its management we should have constantly in mind what services we can and what we cannot exact from them.”

These religious scruples were in existence in the time of Alexander the Great. They are much older than the days of Menu; are so old that nobody knows their origin. If you put four or five thousand years down for their antiquity, it may not be far from the mark ; and, when we consider that these observances are regarded as of the most stringent character, and are of such antiquity, it is easy to see that they must have become so fixed in the minds of the people as not to be easily removed. Nor is there any reason why they should be, since it does not hurt anybody else, if a man wishes to abstain from certain kinds of food.

There has been published a letter from a Highlander of the 78th Regiment, in India, which had been out one night burning villages. The story he tells is painful to read, and I wish to enter to-night into no details of atrocities either on one side or the other. I merely tell you that he went amongst the flames, and succeeded in rescuing a few poor people, who would otherwise have perished in them. He rescued a female, an old man, and a child or two. He then says:-

" I went in at the other end of the village and came across a woman about twenty-two years old. She was sitting over a man that, to all appearance, would not see the day out. She was wetting his lips with some sise. The fire was coming fast, and the others all round were in flames. Not far from this I saw four women. I ran up to them, and asked them to come and help the sick man and woman out, but they thought they liad enough to do, and so they had, poor things ; but, to save the woman and the dying man, I drew my bayonet, and told them if they did not I would kill them. They came, carried them out, and laid them under a tree. I left them. To look on, any one would have said that the flames were in the clouds. When I went to the other side of the village there were about one hundred and forty women and about sixty children, all crying and lamenting what had been done. The old woman of that small family I took out came, *and I thought she would have kissed the ground I stood on.* I offered them some biscuit I had for my day's rations; but they would not take it ; *it would break their caste,* they said. The 'assemble' sounded, and back I went, with as many blessings as they could pour out on anything nearest their heart."

These poor perishing creatures, naked and faint, would not take the food offered to them, when " it would break their caste !" This will be new to you, but these things are not unknown to any man connected with India. The East India Company always understood this, and this has been the one thing by which they have been enabled to maintain their power. India never could have been acquired at all if it had not been a settled point that the feelings of the

people were to be scrupulously respected. This you will find has been acknowledged by the English Parliament, which has always laid it down that the Hindoo laws and customs were to be maintained. An act of George III. laid this down. The Indian articles of war provide that there shall be no interference with the religious scruples of the Sepoys. I have not been able to obtain a copy of them; but I find this in the Blue Book:-

"The Articles of War clearly state that any person acting against the religious feelings of any man in a regiment of the army is liable to the severest punishment," —*Blue Book, page 294.*

Consequently, it forms part of the contract with the Sepoy that his feelings in these matters shall be respected.

You will hear me mention Dum Dum and Barrackpore, which are close to Calcutta. I shall mention Berham"pore, which is 100 miles up the Ganges from Calcutta. Six hundred miles up the Ganges is Lucknow, and 300 miles further up, or 900 miles from Calcutta, is Delhi, with Meerut only a few miles off. These are the places I shall mention, and I beg you to bear in mind that they lie all in one line up the Ganges from Calcutta. As early as January 2nd of this year, there was a wide suspicion at Dum Dum and Barrackpore, that the new cartridge made at the Calcutta arsenal for the Enfield rifle was greased with the fat of pigs and cows, and that this was done *for the purpose* of defiling the Hindoo, depriving him of his caste, and compelling him to be a Christian :-

"Lieut. Wriqhi; to Ensign Smith, Adjutant, Rifle Depot, Dum Dum.
" Dum Dum, January 22, 1857.

" SIR,—I have the honor to report for the information of Major Bontein, commanding the depot, that there appears to be a very unpleasant feeling existing among the native soldiers who are here for instruction, regarding the grease used in preparing the cartridges, some evil-disposed person having spread a report that it consists of a mixture of the fat of pigs and cows.

" 2. The belief in this report has been strengthened by the behaviour of a classie attached to the magazine, who, I am told, asked a Sepoy of the 2nd Grenadiers to supply him with water in his lota. The Sepoy refused, observing, he was not aware of what caste the man was; the classie immediately rejoined, '*You ivill soon lose your caste as ere long you will liave to bite cartridges covered wit/i tite fat of pig; and cows,*' or words to that effect.

" 3. Some of the depot-men in conversing with me on the subject last night, *said that the report had spread throughout India, and when they go to their homes their friends will refuse to eat with them.* I assured them (*believing it to be the case,*) that the grease used is composed of mutton fat and wax, to which they replied, '*It may be so, but our friends will not believe it:* let us obtain the in-

redients from the bazaar, and make it up ourselves ; we shall then know what is used, and be able to assure our fellow-soldiers and others that there is nothing in it prohibited by our caste.'

" In conclusion, I most respectfully beg to represent that by adopting the measure suggested by the men, the possibility of any misunderstanding regarding the religious prejudices of the natives in general will be prevented. —I have, &c.,

" J. A. VRIGHT, — Lieutenant and Brevet Captain,
70th Regiment, Native Infantry."

[Blue Book, page 2.]

The question arises, was there any foundation for this suspicion? The Blue Book tells us there was, that the suspicions were right, and that the cartridges had been greased in this manner in the arsenal at Calcutta. I must beg you to be patient with me to-night, because this is necessarily a long story. (*Applause.*) In the course of a court martial connected with the mutiny in the earlier stages, Lieut. Curry, of the Ordnance, on the trial of Salikram Sing, March 23rd, is recalled and examined :-

" By the Prosecutor. — You stated in your evidence on Saturday, that before the 27th January, cartridges were issued to the Delhi magazine from the Arsenal already greased ; what are the orders you have received on the composition of grease for the use of cartridges? — A. The grease was to be made of six parts of tallow and one of bees-wax,

" Q. Of what ought that tallow to consist of? — A. No inquiry is made as to the fat of what animal is used.

" Q. You do not yourself know what fat is used? — A. No, I don't know.

" Q. Is it not the intention of Government that the tallow to be used in the preparation of grease, should be mutton or goat's fat? — A. It is now the intention of Government that all grease used in any preparations in the magazine is to be made of goats' and sheep fat only." — *Blue Book, page 223.*

The officers in the Ordnance Department at Calcutta cannot deny the statement that the fat of the Hind swine had been used. Evidence to the same fact is given as to the ammunition sent from London, and there are further passages to the same effect in the Blue Books. It will not be disputed.

The alarm existed on the 22nd of January, and caused such discontent amongst the Sepoys that already there had been some isolated cases of incendiarism. The Government made no admission as to the cartridges ; on the contrary, it is asserted that the report was false; even to the last no admission of error was ever made :-

Colonel Wheeler, commanding the 34th Native Infantry, assured them the rumour so industriously circulated was false, and the na-

tive officers and men said they were satisfied it was so. But one native officer respectfully asked if any orders had been received regarding the Enfield rifle cartridges." —*Despatch of General Hearsef, Blue Book, page 9.*

What they did was to issue an order, which I will read to you:-

„ *The Secretary to the Government of India to the Adjutant-General of the Army.*

(Telegraphic.)

„ Calcutta, January 27, 1857.

" In order to remove the objection the Sepoys may raise to the grease used in the cartridges of the rifle-muskets, all cartridges are to be issued free from grease, and the Sepoys are to be allowed to apply, with their own hands, whatever mixture suited for the purpose they may prefer.

" You are requested to communicate to the parties concerned, and to inform the officer in charge of the Depot of Instruction at Meerut, where the cartridges are prepared,

[*Blue Book, page 5.*]

" R. J. H. BIRCH, Colonel."

This was on January 27th; but, on January 28th another order was issued which confined the operation of it to rifle practice. It is stated :-

" This arrangement, however, is to be considered applicable only to the depots of rifle practice, the question of the state in which cartridges are to be issued under other circumstances, and especially for service in the field, being under the consideration of Government." —*Blue Book, page 5.*

On the following day, the 29th, a telegraphic communication was received by the Adjutant-General of the army at Meerut from the Secretary to the Government at Calcutta, by which the order was *altogether abolished so far as Meerut was concerned*. The Secretary to the Government had received a message from the Adjutant-General in which he said his men had had no suspicions hitherto, but that the issuing of a new regulation might make them so; and he asked for fresh orders, in reply to which he was told that the "existing practice in greasing cartridges for rifles may be continued."* So that the point of the Sepoys satisfying themselves as to the mixture was put on one side. You must recollect that it was impossible to tell by the taste at any time what the substance was with which the cartridge was greased.

* " *The Adjutant-General of the Army, Meerut, to the Secretary to the Government of India.*

" (Telegraphic.)

" Received your message of yesterday. Greased rifle ammunition has been used some years by native troops, to whom Minie rifles were issued on the Peshawur frontier; also by Rifle Companies. (see paragraph 21,

It was a matter of belief, a suspicion in their minds, that constituted the danger. They had been told by the Hindoos working in the arsenal at Calcutta, that the cartridges had been so greased, and the thing for the Government to do was to deal with their minds so as to remove the suspicion. In a letter to the *Times*, Major-General Tucker actually says :-

" If the recommendation addressed by me, under the authority of the then Commander-in-Chief to the Government of India in 1853, had not been most culpably disregarded, the existing disaffection among the native troops would never have arisen—not, at least, as connected with the greasing of cartridges ; for in that year, when some rifle ammunition was sent out to India from this country, and certain experiments in connexion with it were ordered, occasion was taken in my office urgently to recommend to the Government, that, "*in the greasing composition nothing should be used which could possibly offend the caste or religious prejudices of the natives !*" That recommendation was addressed under my signature as Adjutant-General to the Military Secretary of the Government ; it must obviously have been entirely disregarded."

He adds:-

" I do not presume to say with whom specifically the blame of this most culpable neglect may rest,—only investigation can settle that point ; but I conceive that either the Military Secretary or the officer presiding in chief over the Ordnance Department in Calcutta is, or both, the party implicated. As far as I can learn with accuracy at this distance, *the ferment existing arose, first, from the glaring error of greasing cartridges in the Calcutta arsenal, after the English receipt, with tallow ; and, secondly, in issuing to the native troops, similarly greased cartridges, sent out direct from England, but which ought, of course, only to have been issued to the European troops.* It appears truly wonderful that it should not have occurred to any of the authorities in Calcutta, charged with the issuing of these cartridges, that tallow made of the fat of all kinds of animals, a filthy composition at the best, would seriously outrage the feelings and prejudices of all the native troops, whether Moslems or Hindoos. My humble opinion is, that the

section 2, Military Regulations). Grease composed of mutton fat and wax. Will not your present instructions make the Sepoys suspicious about what hitherto they have not hesitated to handle? Fresh orders are solicited in reply."

" *The Secretary to the Government of India to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Meerut.*

" (Telegraphic.)

" Calcutta, January 29, 1857.

" In reply to your message of the 28th, the existing practice in greasing cartridges for rifles may be continued, if the materials are mutton fat and wax. Further orders will be given, and explanations will follow by post,"—*Blue Book, page 13.*

NOTE.—These clearly indicate that on January 30th the suspicion as to the cartridges had not reached Meerut.

Government of India should have insisted on learning with whom rested the blame of the grave errors committed. And the facts of the case having been ascertained, a frank explanation should have been issued for the information of the native troops. By such a course the European officers would have been armed with a truthful and candid explanation; whereas now, in fact, the officers themselves do riot in general know exactly how or in what manner the greasing process originated."

This course of the Government bore its legitimate fruit: suspicion was not removed but strengthened.

On February 3rd the new cartridges were shewn to the men, and they objected to the paper :-

Captain Boswell to the Major of Brigade.

"Barrackpore, February 4, 1857.

"SIR,—I have the honor to report that in obedience to instructions contained in a riot of yesterday's date, filed in the Brigadier commanding the station to the address of officers commanding regiments at the station, I yesterday afternoon at a parade of the wing under my command, had fully explained to the men of the wing that the cartridges for the new rifles were to be made up exactly like the five produced on parade, and of the same paper as that sent with the cartridges, and that the Sepoys would dip the cartridges themselves in wax and oil before using them,

„ I took the cartridges into the ranks, and showed them to the men (having one broken open); and upon my asking several of the men, here and there in the ranks, if they could see anything objectionable in them, and their reply, made in the most civil but soldier-like manner, was that the paper was not the same as that used for the old cartridges, and that they thought there was something in it.

I deem it my duty to report this circumstance for the information of the Brigadier Commanding, as I imagine there will be no difficulty in substituting the old cartridge paper for that made use of in the construction of the new cartridges.

I have, &c.

"N. C. BOSWELL, Captain Commanding Left
Wing 2nd Grenadiers."

[Blue Book, page 14.]

An inquiry was made on the 6th, the result of which was communicated on the 8th to the government at Calcutta by Major-General Hearsey :-

Major-General Hearsey to the Deputy Adjutant General of the Army.

"Barrackpore, February 7, 1857.

"SIR,—With reference to the official letter to your address dated the 24th ult., I have now the honor to forward, for submission to the Government, the proceedings of a special Court of Inquiry which has been assembled at Barrackpore, for the purpose of ascertaining from the evidence of a selected portion of the 2nd Native Grenadier Regiment the cause of their continued objection to the paper of which the new rifle cartridges are composed.

" 2. A perusal of the several statements and opinions, recorded in these proceedings clearly establishes; in my judgment, that a most unreasonable and unfounded suspicion has unfortunately taken possession of the minds of all the native officers and Sepoys at this station, that grease or fat is used in the composition of this cartridge paper and this foolish idea is now so rooted in their minds, that it would, I am of opinion, be both idle and unwise even to attempt its removal.

" 3. I would accordingly beg leave to recommend, for the consideration of Government, the expediency (if practicable) of ordering this rifle ammunition to be made up of the same description of paper which has been hitherto employed in the magazines for the preparation of the common musket cartridge, by which means this groundless suspicion and objection could be at once disposed of.

"I have, &c.

" J. B. HEARSEY, Major-General, Commanding Presidency Division.

[Blue Book, page.13.]

The paper was of a yellow colour, glazed, and had the appearance of being greased, and Major-General Hearsey, as a sensible officer, who did not wish to offend the soldier on a matter of no consequence, recommended a change of paper, with a view to remove suspicion. I cannot read all the evidence that was taken on this inquiry, but give some passages: —

" Byjonath Pandie, Sepoy, 5th Company, 2nd Grenadier Regiment, appears in Court, and voluntarily states as follows :-

„ Q. Were you on parade on the evening of the 4th instant, when the new cartridges were shown to the men of the regiment? — A. I was.

" Q. Did you make any objection to the materials of which those cartridges were composed? — A. I felt some suspicion in regard to the paper, if it might not affect my caste.

" Q. What reason have you to suppose that there is anything in the paper which would injure your caste? — A. Because it is a new description of paper of which the cartridges are made up, and which I have not seen before.

„ Q. Have you ever seen, or heard from any one, that the paper is composed of anything which is objectionable to your caste? — A. I heard a report that there was some fat in the paper; it was a bazaar report.

" Q. Are these the cartridges and paper which you examined on parade (the paper and cartridges shown to the witness)? — A. Yes."

" Cnaut Khan, Sepoy, 7th Company, 2nd Grenadier Regiment, voluntarily states as follows :-

„ Q. Do you object to the paper of which the new cartridges were made, notwithstanding before the Court; and if so, on what grounds? — A. I have no objection to the bullet powder; it is only the paper, which I have doubts about, which appears to be tough, although it smells as if there was grease in it.

" Q. Were you present when a piece of the paper was burnt, and when? — A. On the evening of the 4th instant a piece of the cartridge paper was dipped in water and afterwards burnt. When burnt it made a phizzing noise, and smelt as if there was grease in it...

" Q. Who were present when this burning of the paper took place?—A. Two or three were present. I do not recollect what their names are. [A piece of the cartridge paper is burnt in Court by the witness.]

" Q. Are you still of opinion that there is any smell of grease in it?—A. No; there is not.

" Q. Have you now any objection to use these cartridges with paper of that description?—A. I object to this paper being used, as every one is dissatisfied with it on account of it being glazed, shining like wax-cloth."

"Jemadar Buddor Sing, 6th Company, 2nd Grenadier Regiment, is called into Court :-

" Q. I have you any objection to the new cartridge which lies before the Court?—A. Nothing except the paper, which I have *some suspicion about*, as I have never seen *anything of the kind before*; and the general report is that there is grease in it."

"Jemadar Gunness Sing, No. 10 Company, 2nd Grenadier Regiment being called into Court:-

" Q. Have you any objection to the cartridge which lies on the table?—A. I have no objection to the cartridge myself, but there is a report amongst the men that there is grease in it.

" Q. How did this report get abroad?—A. I do not know.

" Q. What, in your opinion, would be the best plan to undeceive the minds of the men on this point?—A. I know *no other way than to substitute other paper in its place*."

"Jemadar Golaul Khan, 2nd Company, 21st Grenadier Regiment, is called into Court :-

" Q. Have you any objection to the use of the cartridges now lying before you?—A. *I have objection to the paper, as there is a report got about that there is grease in it.*

" Q. Can you prove yourself that there is grease in it, or have you taken any measures to do so?—A. *There is grease in it, I feel assured, as it differs from the paper which has heretofore been always used for cartridges.*"

"Jemadar Ram Sing, 9th Company, 2nd Grenadier Regiment:-

" Q. Have you any objection to the use of the cartridges now lying before you?—A. A report got about, which, I think, came from the Magazine Classies in Calcutta, that there was some grease in the paper; on this account I have some suspicions about it.

" Q. How can this suspicion be removed from your mind?—A. I cannot remove it."

"Jemadar Wuzeer Khan, 7th Company, 2nd Grenadier Regiment, called into Court :-

" Q. I have you any objection to the use of the cartridges lying upon the table?—A. I have no objection to it—it appears to be new.

" Q. Would you have any objection to use it in the way the old cartridges are used?—A. I should have some objection, in consequence of the suspicion which exists generally in the cantonment."

"Havildar Major Ajoodiah Sing, 8th Company, 2nd Grenadier Regiment, called into Court :-

" Q. Have you any objection to the use of the cartridges lying on the table?—A. I have suspicions about the paper, on account of the bazaar report that there is grease in it.

" Q. Have you taken any measures to prove whether this report is true?—A. I have tried it in oil, and also in water, and where it was wet with the oil it would not dissolve. After this trial I thought there was no grease in it.

" Q. By the experiment, in your opinion, there was no grease in the paper; would you object to *bite off* the end of the cartridge? —A. *I could not do it, as the other men would object to it.*"

" Bheekun Khan, Havildar, 10th Company, 2nd Grenadier Regiment, called into Court: —

" Q. Have you any objection to the use of the cartridges lying on the table?—A. I *suspect* that there is cow's and pig's grease in them, from a bazaar report.

" Q. If you had any doubt, why did you not ascertain the point from your officer?—A. I could not report it to the officer, it being merely a bazaar report.

" Q. When the paper and cartridge was shown you upon parade, had you any reason to suppose that there was any grease mixed with the paper?—A. I have *heard that it smells of grease* when it is burnt." —*Blue Book, pages 15 to 18.*

Well, the project of changing the paper was declared at Calcutta to be inconvenient, because the paper objected to was thinner, and answered better; but, in the middle of the discussion as to what should be done, Major-General Hearsey writes to them in a despatch of February 11th, that at Barrackpore "we are dwelling upon a mine ready for explosion," and complaining that he had received no answer to his recommendation of the 8th that the paper should be changed. Lieutenant-Colonel Hogge, Director of the Military School of Instruction, writes from Meerut on the 21st February, making the very opportune suggestion that the biting of the cartridge should be altogether abolished. In the course of his despatch he says:—

" As Colonel Abbott states as an objection to the use of mutton fat, that it might be difficult to persuade the native soldiers that no other animal fat was used, I can only suggest that either the cartridges should be issued from magazines ungreased, and that the Quartermaster or officers commanding companies in native regiments should purchase the material themselves, through a joint agency of a Brahmin or a Mussulman, which would convince the other men that the fat used was not from either cow or pig, and further, that *instead of the end of the cartridge being bitten off as laid down in drill instructions, the men should be told to twist it off with the left hand, the cartridge being shifted to the left hand for this purpose, whilst the rifle is supported against the body by the left wrist: this latter plan would remove all objections from that class of Hindoos who never touch animal food.*"

On March 5th, the biting of the cartridge is abolished. After this, you will wonder that suspicion could still exist, but after I have told you more you will cease

to wonder at anything. The biting of the cartridge was necessary when the old flint and steel firelock was in use ; but, since the substitution of the percussion musket for the old firelock, cartridge biting had been unnecessary. Major Bontein, at Dum Dum, on March 2nd, writes to the Government :—

" Permit me to quote the regulation as it now stands:-

„ ' The firelock being at the word ' prepare to load ' placed on the ground six inches in front of the body, and held at the full extent of the left arm, the recruit receives the order ' load ;' upon which the regulation says, first bring the cartridge to the mouth, holding it ' between the forefinger and thumb, with the ball in the hand, and bite off the top, elbow close to the body,"

" The above regulation is at present in force, but I would submit that the practice of biting the cartridge is a mere remnant of the platoon exercise introduced in the days of the flint and steel firelock, when the musket being brought to the right side with the left hand, for the purpose of priming, it was almost impossible to use the cartridge without the aid of the teeth,"

He further says :—

" I would suggest that, at the third motion of the order, ' prepare to load,' the left hand, instead of holding the musket at the full extent of the arm, should, after placing it on the ground in front of the body, slip up and seize the rifle at the brass band, or tip to the stock ; it will then be in a position to meet the right hand, which conveys the cartridge from the pouch, to tear off the cartridge-paper in place of using the teeth, and (at the fourth motion of the word ' load,' when the right hand seizes the head of the ramrod) to return to the centre part of the stock, ready to throw up the firelock into the ' capping position' at the sixth command of the platoon exercise. The above suggestion I offer with every deference to the judgment of superior experience. *I do not, in the least, intend to consult the caprice of the native soldier ; my motive is an increase of efficiency ;*"

Mark the concluding passage, that the substitution of tearing for biting the cartridge would be an increase of efficiency. *Major Bontein. dared not offer his suggestion to Lord Canning on the ground of sparing the religious feelings of the Sepoys.* The Government at Calcutta could not resist Lieut.-Colonel Hogge and Major Bontein, and issued this order :-

„ This mode the Governor-General in Council is disposed to think will be an improvement, and should his Excellency concur, his Lordship in Council requests that early instructions may be given to the several depots of instructions, *not making any allusion whatever to the biting of the cartridge, but drawn up in such a way that they may appear to be independent of anything laid down in previous regulations.*

" The Governor-General in Council considers that it would be best to make the alteration before any objection is raised, and, therefore, requests his Excellency's early attention to the subject.

„Instructions have been issued *confidentially* to the depot of instruction at Dum Dum, to defer the use of ammunition pending the reference to his Excellency. —I am, &c.

" R. J. H. BIRCH, Colonel."

[*Blue Book, page 35.*]

Major-General Hearsey, writing on the same day, the 5th March, to the Government, says:-

" The new mode of loading may be considered as a part of the intended drill for a new weapon about to be introduced into the service, and *not as a concession extorted by discontented men:*"

He adds:—

" *We shall thus be keeping our word with the Sepoys, and, at the same time introducing a better plan of loading with reference to their religious scruples.*"

This order of the 5th of March *was concealed from the Sepoys. The order was not acted upon.*

I have gone in point of date, beyond other events of very great consequence. On the 26th February, occurred the mutiny of the 19th Regiment at Berhampore, and upon the conduct of Government at this juncture everything depended. The men at Berhampore were only 100 miles further up the Ganges, and the alarm which commenced at Barrackpore had spread there. The inquiry held on the 6th, at Barrackpore, clearly showed that the Sepoys objected to cartridges of a certain paper and colour. The mutiny occurred at Berhampore, on the 26th: upon this very point. Here I must read you a document of some length, viz. the petition of the 19th Regiment for mercy, first giving you the Governor-General's admission that they had stated the facts correctly. He says:-

„Upon the whole, the petition contains a fair account of what took place on the occasion of the outbreak, the main points being borne out by the evidence at the Court of Inquiry," —*Minute of the Governor-General in Council of Mal-ch ZUU, page 80, Blue Book.*

" *Petition to the Major-General Commanding the Division, inclosed by Colonel Mitchell.*

" (Translation.)

" March 2nd.

"Hitlerto this regiment has been alW3.)'S obedient in every way, and marched and halted wherever ordered, without question of any sort. For the last two months or more it has been rumoured that new cartridges have been made in the magazine at Calcutta, on the paper of which bullock's or pig's fat was spread, and that it was the intention of Government to coerce the men to bite them. On this account we were very much afraid on the score of our religion. The Colonel on hearing this assembled the native officers, and told them that on the arrival of the new muskets he would make such arrange-

ments as would satisfy them ; that is to say, that such grease as was necessary should be prepared before the Sepoys by the Pay Havildars of companies; with this we were perfectly satisfied. After some time some fresh stores arrived from Calcutta, and on the 26th of this month we received orders on the following day to fire fifteen rounds of blank cartridge per man ; at 4 o'clock in the afternoon the cartridges were received at the bells of arms and inspected by us; we perceived them to be of two kinds, and one sort appeared to be different from that formerly served out. Hence we doubted whether these might not be the cartridges which had arrived from Calcutta, as we had made none ourselves, and were convinced that they were greased. On this account, and through religious scruples, we refused to take the caps."

Bear in mind, that if the men *had a design* and wanted to fight *they would not have refused to take the caps*. It goes on:-

" At half-past 7 o'clock, the Colonel, accompanied by the Adjutant, came upon parade, and very angrily gave orders to us, saying; " If you will not take the cartridges I will take you to Burmah where through hardship you will all die. These cartridges are those left behind by the 7th Native Infantry, and I will serve them out to-morrow morning by the hands of the officers commanding companies'. He gave this order so angrily that we were convinced that the cartridges were greased, otherwise he would not have spoken so. The same night, about a quarter to 11, shouts of various kinds were heard, some said there's a fire, others that they were surrounded by Europeans, some said that the guns had arrived, others that the cavalry had appeared. In the midst of this row the alarm sounded on a drum, then in fear of our lives the greater number seized their arms from the khotes."

Colonel Mitchell had previously sent an order for horses and artillery to be there in the morning with a view of coercing the men, who were to be made to bite the cartridge, The men heard of this, and flew to arms. The narrative proceeds :—

" Between 12 and 1 o'clock the 11th Irregular Cavalry, and the guns with torches, arrived on the parade with the commanding officer, which still more confirmed our suspicions of the cartridges being greased, inasmuch as the commanding officer appeared to be about to carry his threat into execution by force; *We had been hearing of this sort of thing for the last two months or more, and here appeared to be the realization of it.* On this the Colonel called all the Native officers, and said to them very angrily, "This is a very bad business • we don't fear to die and will die here.' Then the Native officers, in the most respectful manner, represented to him, the Sepoys are fools, whereas you have sense and judgment; do not at this time speak so angrily, for this is a matter affecting their religion, and that is no slight thing. Please to send the artillery and cavalry away. The Colonel agreed to this and sent each officer with his Native officer to his company to soothe and explain to the men. *The Sepoys represented that all men value their religion, and we believe we shall lose caste by biting the cartridges;* and on seeing the artillery and cavalry

we became more frightend ; their officers then said to the men, we will ask the Colonel to send away the cavalry and guns, which was accordingly done. At the same time, however, the Colonel said I will have a general parade in the morning, then I will have the Governor-General's orders read out. On this the Native officers again represented to him that only a short portion of the night remained, and if he had the cavalry and guns there so soon again, the men would only believe that they were intended to act against them. It would be better if he only paraded the regiment alone ; at first he would not agree to this, but on its again being represented to him by the Adjutant he agreed to it. The men then lodged their arms and went to their lines. They all appeared on parade on the following morning. On the 28th, again according to orders, there was another parade, at which the cartridges, which the men had refused to fire, were inspected, when assuredly two kinds of cartridges were found, one kind of white thin paper, and the other darker and thicker. On burning and submerging the two the difference still was evident, which did not remove the distrust. The Colonel put up specimens of each kind of paper and has sent them to you. From that time onwards all duties have been properly carried on, and so shall be ; as long as we live we will faithfully obey all orders ; wherever in the field of battle we are ordered to go, there shall we be found ; therefore, with every respect, we now petition, that since this is a religious question from which arose our dread, and as religion is by the will of God the first thing, we petition, that as we have done formerly, we may be also allowed to make up our own cartridges, and we will obey whatever orders may be given to us, and we will ever pray for you.

" The petition of the Native Commissioned and Non-commissioned Officers and Sepoys of the 19th Native Infantry." —*Blue Book*, page 264.

These men had never at any time before had any cartridges except those made with their own hands. For the first time, in the midst of all these rumours about greased cartridges, they have ready made cartridges handed to them of entirely novel appearance. When seized with panic, Colonel Mitchell threatens them: in terror for their religion and their lives, they take up arms *to defend themselves*. It is true that afterwards Col. Mitchell did all in his power to undo the harm he had done. The same night he does appear to have tranquillized the men, sent away the guns and cavalry, the men laying down their arms, and abandoned his purpose of insisting on their using the cartridges. In consequence order was restored, and, the matter left to the Colonel, the danger was over. But there was a Governor-General and Council at Calcutta : after bearing the case, the Governor-General decided that :-

" Mutiny so open and defiant cannot be excused by any sensitiveness of religion or caste, by fear of coercion, or by seductions and deceptions of others. Accordingly it has been resolved by the Governor-General in Council that the 19th Regiment shall be disbanded immediately," —*Minute of March 27*, *Blue Book*, page 51.

In this critical month of March, they had laid before them, at Calcutta, a recommendation of the utmost importance, that biting the cartridges should be dispensed with: a few days before they had learnt of the outbreak at Berhampore. Government could not refuse to abolish the biting of the cartridges, yet could not allow the order not to bite them to be read at the head of every regiment, and at the same time disband the 19th Regiment. What they did do was to keep secret the concession, and publicly to disband. The disbanded Sepoy is reduced to beggary and starvation. The news spread all through India. The order disbanding them was read at the head of every regiment. The Sepoys heard nothing at all about the not-biting, but all of the biting of the cartridge, and, consequently, a panic spread that the Government was determined to make them, at all costs, bite the cartridges, or disband them, as it had done the 19th. (*Applause.*) The 19th Regiment was removed to Barrackpore, to be disbanded in the face of all the regiments that could be gathered from far and near. But, two days before the 19th got there, a mutiny of the 34th Regiment had broken out at Barrackpore, because the 19th was *to* be disbanded. The 34th was the regiment which Lieutenant-Col. Wheeler was endeavouring to convert to Christianity. You may imagine the effect of a Protestant Colonel denouncing the Roman Catholic religion to a Roman Catholic regiment. Two days before the disbandment of the 19th, Mungul Pandey, a man hitherto of good character, appeared in a state of religious frenzy before the lines, shooting at every one near till he was arrested. He was tried and hung, of course. The man was in no plot, but simply excited by the fear of the greased cartridges, 'There was a general indisposition on the part of the men to arrest him, and the consequence was that another man was tried and hung for not arresting him. An inquiry was ordered into the state of the regiment, and the result was an order condemning the Colonel and disquancing the regiment.

It has been said that the mutiny was the result of a "*cc* Mahommedan conspiracy," *That, if it were so,* would not alter the facts just stated ; but the Blue Book proves the contrary. The question for us to consider is what drove the men to do what they did ? All the officers of the 34th Regiment examined testify that they would trust the Sikhs and Mahommedans of the regiment : then evidence is thus summed up at the conclusion of the inquiry :

" April 17th.

" Thé Court, upon the additional evidence before them, adhere to their former opinion, viz. :-

" That the Sikhs and Mussulmana of the 34th Regiment Native Infantry are trustworthy soldiers of the State, but that the Hindoos generally of that corps are not trustworthy !

" C. GRANT, Brigadier, President.

" E. AMSINCI, Brevet Colonel, Member,

" C. S. REID, Brevet Lieut.-Colonel, Member.

" H. W. MATTHEWS, Major, Member,

" W. A. COOKE, Major, Member.

" GEO. N. GREENE, Captain,

Conducting the Proceedings,

" J. B. HEARSEY, Major-General,

[Blue Book, page 148.]

Commanding Presidency Division.

On May the 4th, Lord Canning issued a general order disbanding the 34th Regiment. Now I told you before that the order abolishing the biting of the cartridge had not been read to the regiments, but that the general order disbanding the 19th Regiment had been read at the head of every regiment. In the same way, Lord Canning directed that the order of May 4th disbanding the 34th should be read at the head of every regiment. But I cannot say that did any harm, because by the time it could have been read there were no regiments to read it to. On May 4th, the very date on which the 34th was ordered to be disbanded, and the order of disbandment ordered to be read to every regiment of the service, at that very date, a letter was written from Lucknow with the news of a mutiny there. All this time, ever since the disbandment of the 19th Regiment at the end of March, the disbanded Sepoys had been on the road, and by this time the panic as to the cartridges, which in January had been confined to the neighbourhood of Calcutta, had spread from one end to the other of the Bengal Presidency. At Lucknow, on May 4th, the following despatch was written :-

„ *The Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oude to the Secretary to the Government of India.*

" Sir,—I am directed to report, for the information of the Governor-General in Council, that on the 2nd instant the 7th Oude Regiment, stationed seven miles from the Lucknow Cantonments, refused to bite the cartridge when ordered by its own officers, and again by the Brigadier. It was ordered to parade on the 4th. On the 31st several symptoms of disaffection appeared. At 4 P.M. the Brigadier reported it in a very mutinous state. Instantly, a field battery, a wing of Her Majesty's 32nd, one of the 43rd and 71st Native Infantry, and of the 7th Cavalry, the 2nd Oude Cavalry and 4th Oude Infantry, marched against it. The regiment was found perfectly quiet; formed line from column at the 01:00, and expressed contrition. But when

the men saw guns drawn up against them, half their body broke and fled, throwing down their arms. The Cavalry pursued and brought up some of them. The arms were collected and brought away, and the Regulars were withdrawn. The disarmed 7th were directed to return to their lines, and recall the runaways. They were informed by Sir Henry Lawrence, that Government would be asked to disband the corps ; but that those found guiltless might be re-enlisted."

I have, &c.,

" GEORGE COUPER."

[*Blue Book*, page 209.]

On the 5th March the biting had been abolished ! Can anything go beyond that ? The men of Oude two months after the date of that order are ordered " to bite," and thereupon Lord Canning says, in his Minute of May 10th:-

" This despatch from the Chief Commissioner in Oude reports the outbreak of a mutinous spirit in the 7th Regiment of Oude Irregular Infantry and their refusal to *use* the cartridge furnished to them."

It was no unconscious man who altered the minute word of the despatch "bite" unto the word of similar dimensions "use." He continues :-

„ I see no reason in the tardy contrition of the regiment for hesitating to confirm the punishment of all who are guilty. I would, therefore, support the Chief Commissioner at once. I think it better, however, that the disbandment, to whatever length it may be carried, should be real."

Now mark the concluding paragraph:-

„ It appears that the revised instructions for the platoon exercise, by which the biting of the cartridge is dispensed with, had not come into operation at Lucknow, when the event took place. Explanation of this should be asked." —*Blue Book*, page 210.

Not one word is there in this book in answer.

Mr. Dorin, Member of Council, says :-

" The biting of the cartridge can only have been an excuse for mutiny, since I presume it is certain that no new rifles or greased cartridges have been served out to this local corps."

Major-General Low says:-

„ I cannot say with much precision all that ought, in my opinion to be done by orders of the Government, especially as it appears to me, that probably the main body of this regiment, in refusing to bite the cartridges, did so refuse, not from any feeling of disloyalty or disaffection towards the Government or their officers, but from an unfeigned and sincere dread, owing to their belief in the late rumours about the construction of those cartridges, that the act of biting them would involve a serious injury to their caste and to their future respectability of character. *In short, that if they were to bite these cartridges they would be guilty of a heinous sin in a religious point of view.*" —*Blue Book*, page 211.

Major-General Low, admitting that the men refused to bite the cartridges because they would be guilty of a heinous sin, would punish them for refusing !

Mr. Grant, in his minute, says:-

„I agree with my honourable colleague, General Low, in thinking it probable that the main body of these men may have refused to bite the cartridges, not from any feeling of disaffection, but from an unfeigned dread of losing caste, engendered by the stories regarding cartridges, *which have been running like wild fire through the country lately*. Sepoys are, in many respects, very much like children, and acts which, on the part of European soldiers, would be proof of the blackest disloyalty, may have a different significance, when done by these credulous and inconsiderate, but generally not ill-disposed beings. These men, taken from the late Oude army, can have learned as yet little of the vigour of British discipline ; and, although there can be no doubt that the cartridges which they refused to bite were not the new cartridges for the Enfield musket, which, *by reason of the very culpable conduct of the Ordnance Department, have caused all this excitement* ; yet it may be presumed, that they were the first cartridges that these men were ever required to bite in their lives. Also, there is no saying what extreme mismanagement there may have been on the part of the Commandant and Officers ill the origin of the affair ; *the mere fact of making cartridge-biting a point after it had been purposely dropped from the authorized system of drill, merely for rifle practice, is a presumption for any imaginable degree of perverse management.*" —Blue Book, page 212.

Nevertheless Mr. Grant condemns the Sepoy to disbandment! Whilst these events were occurring in Oude, the like was taking place at Meerut, In the first instance, seventeen recruits at Meerut were dismissed the service for refusing to use the cartridge, and complaints were sent from head-quarters to Meerut that those men had not been sufficiently punished :-

„, *Docket of a Letter dated May 6th, 1857, from the Adjutant-General of the Army to the Secretary to the Government of India.*

" To prevent vague and exaggerated accounts of the mutinous conduct of some of the troops at Meerut, intimates that eighty-five out of the ninety men of the 3rd Light Cavalry armed with carbines having refused to receive the cartridges tendered to them, the Commander-in-Chief has ordered the trial of the whole of them by general court-martial, and a squad of artillery recruits (seventeen in number) having also refused they were at once summarily dismissed by the officer commanding the artillery at the station, *a punishment which the Commander-in-Chief considers to be incommensurate to the offence, and which Excellency has caused the authorities concerned to be informed that the recruits should have been instantly placed in confinement in view to their trial by court-martial.*" —Blue Book, page 175.

What happened in a few days ? Ninety of the troops there were ordered to use the cartridge; 85 refused! They were tried by court martial, and condemned to im-

prisonment in irons for ten years.* (*Gries of "ehasne!"*) This was on the 9th of May. On the 10th May the rest of the regiment rose in revolt, broke open the gaol, liberated their comrades and 1,200 felons besides. From that time everything was confusion, and rebellion was enacted from Calcutta to Lahore. A gentleman in this room wrote these words in the *Morning Herald*, of 22nd August, 1856 :-

"Once put forth your hand, and touch what the Asiatic considers the ark of his honour, and you will have precisely what Russia REQUIRES, *scenes like those of the Vellore Mutiny, enacted from Calcutta to Lahore:*"

But the story of infatuation is not yet completed. I must call your attention to the conduct of the Indian Government after the events of Meerut and Delhi. On May 28th—(recollect the expressions of March 5th with regard to the biting of the cartridge, "a mere change of drill, with no appearance of concession to discontented men")—mark now the conduct of the Indian Government when the Sepoys had risen in revolt. On May 28th, a circular is issued recounting

• "I have (observes Col. Sykes) no hesitation in saying, from my personal knowledge of the classes of men constituting the Bengal army, that a similar and equally sudden revolt might have occurred at any time in the last hundred years had the same dangerous religious chord been touched by rough and imprudent hands, as has been done recently, and this, too, although there had not been a missionary in India. It will be observed from the Parliamentary papers that the first uneasy feeling about the greased cartridges was manifested in January; regiments mutinied and were disbanded in March and April, and without indications of combined hostile feelings against their European officers; and it was not until the 10th of May at Meerut, after the 85 troopers had been condemned *en masse* to ten years' imprisonment in irons, with hard labour, as felons: for refusing to use suspected cartridges, that the Sepoys, for the first time in a hundred years, in combination, lifted their hands in exasperation against their officers to massacre them, *The shock of the punishment was electric throughout 80,000 men; each Sepoy made the troopers' case his own—it was resistance or supposed degradation; and, from that moment, a Bengal Sepoy was not to be trusted.* * * * I must protest against the doctrine that a Sepoy army is not to be trusted for the future. Only respect their religious prejudices and keep faith with them, and you ensure fidelity. It is physically impossible that our small islands with their population of 28 millions can afford a perennial supply of troops to keep in subjection 181 millions of people, dispersed over an area of 1,466,576 square miles. * * It is attributed to the Sepoys that they are using the greased cartridges against us, and consequently their objection to them is a subterfuge. The fact is, they have neither the Enfield rifle nor the greased cartridges, but are using 'Brown Bess, and the usual musket ammunition. Lastly, the public should know that the original phases of the military revolt have passed away, and that we have now to contend with a Mahomedan conspiracy, ramifying throughout India, and that the Sepoys are merely tools in the hands of our ancient and implacable enemies."

what the Government *had* done to quiet the minds of the Sepoys, when the following information is for the first time given :-

„ *An alteration was also made (in Jfarch) in the platoon exercise by which the ends of the cartridges were no longer to be placed in the mouth;*”

The circular ends thus:-

" The above information is furnished for the use of officers in command of stations, regiments, or detachments, and they are hereby ordered to circulate it, and make it understood amongst all under their command, officers and men, without delay.

" Every means is to be taken to do this effectually and immediately, both formally on parade, and privately in the quarters of every corps. And commanding officers are hereby directed to spare no pains to make their men, each Sepoy individually, fully aware of its contents."

There is no talk now of avoiding the appearance of concession to discontented men. A singular fact is revealed in this circular :-

„ From communications lately received by the Government, it seems that misapprehension regarding the cartridges *is not confined to the Native troops.* Some officers appear to believe that cartridges of the new kind, or made of unusual materials, have been issued to the army."

The circular adds :-

" This is quite erroneous. No cartridges for the new musket, and no cartridge made of a new kind of paper, have at any time been issued to *any Regiment of the army*, nor is it the intention of Government that any should be issued." —*Blue Book*, page 340.

After this let me read to you a document of the fatal date of May 4th :-

„ *The Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India.*

" Head-Quarters, Simla, May 4, 1857. ;

" SIR,—Referring to previous correspondence regarding the target practice of the Native detachments at the several rifle depots, the Commander-in-Chief considers it will be satisfactory to the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council to learn that at all three depots the practice has been commenced, and that the men of all grades have unhesitatingly and cheerfully used the new cartridges,"

No, for the distinction between "The Army" and
cc Any Regiment of the Army."

" In communicating this information to his Lordship, I am to beg you will be good enough to add that a confidential circular has been addressed to officers commanding regiments, enjoining upon them to take every precaution in their power to prevent the *depot men*, upon their rejoining *their corps*, being subjected to any taunting or

ill-usage from their comrades with reference to their having used the Enfield rifle cartridges at the depots.

"I have, &c.

" C. CHESTER, Colonel."

[Blue Book, page 270.]

On May 14th, ten days after, proceeds the following from the same quarter :-

" Adjutant General's Office, Head Quarters,
Simla, May 14, 1857.

" SIR,—The Commander-in-Chief desires that all firing for drill or target practice purposes shall be suspended until further orders.

" It is to be thoroughly explained to the Natives, that the sole object of this order is to soothe their minds, now so excited, and also to remove the possibility of their being supposed by their comrades at other stations, or by the people at their homes, to be using any objectionable cartridges.

" I have, &c.

" C. CHESTER, Colonel,

[Blue Book, page 44.]

" Adjutant-General of the Army."

On May 19th, the cartridge is withdrawn altogether, whether greased or ungreased, torn or bitten:-

General Orders by the Commander-in-Chief.

" Head Quarters, Umballah, May 19, 1857.

" The Commander-in-Chief on the 14th of May issued an order, informing the Native army that it had never been the intention of the Government to force them to use any cartridges which could be objected to; that they never would be, either now or hereafter. His object in publishing that order was to allay the excitement which has been raised in their minds, although he felt there was no real cause for it. He hopes that this may have been the case; but he still perceives that *the very name of greased cartridges causes agitation*, and he has been informed that some of those Sepoys who entertain the strongest attachment and loyalty to the Government, and are ready at any moment to obey his orders, would still be under the apprehension that their family would not believe that they were not in some way or other contaminated by its use. The rifle introduced into the British army is an improvement upon the old musket, and much more effective; but it would not be of the same advantage in the hands of the Native army if it was to be used with reluctance. Notwithstanding, therefore, that the Government have affirmed that the cartridges are perfectly harmless, he is satisfied that they would not desire to persist in the use of them if the feelings of the Sepoys can be thereby calmed. His Excellency therefore has determined that the new cartridges shall be discontinued. He announces this to the Native army, with the full confidence that all will now perform their duty free from anxiety and care, and be prepared to stand and shed the last drop of their blood, as they have formerly done, by the side of the British troops, and in defence of their country."—*Blue Book, page 357.*

The last thing I have to lay before you is an attempt vainly made by the Lieut.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces to save India. Agra, the capital, is between

Delhi and Lucknow, and the very centre of the disturbed district. Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor. was one of the most eminent and excellent men of the Indian civil service. Since the event I am about to detail he is dead. For good men, in such stations and in such times, there is a peculiar malady—a broken heart :-

„ *The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces to the Governor-General of India in Council.*

" (Telegraphic.)

" Agra, May 24. 7 P.M.

" On the mode of dealing with the mutineers, I would strenuously oppose general severity towards all. Such a course would, as *we are unanimously convinced* by a knowledge of the feeling of the people, acquired amongst them from a variety of sources, *estrangle the remainder of the army.* Hope, I am firmly convinced, should be held out to all those *uiho were not ringleader-s or actively concerned in murder and violence.* Many are in the rebels' ranks because they could not get away; many certainly thought we were tricking them out of their caste ; and this opinion is held, however unwisely, by the mass of the population, and even by some of the more intelligent classes. Never was delusion more wide or deep. Many of the best soldiers in the army, amongst others of its most faithful section, the Irregular Cavalry, show a marked reluctance to engage in a war against men whom they believe to have been misled on the point of religious honor. A tone of general menace would, I am persuaded, be „rong. The Commander-in-Chief should, in my view, be authorized to act upon the above line of policy; and when means of escape are thus open to those who can be admitted to mercy, *the remnant will be considered obstinate traitors even by their own countrymen, uiho will hacc no hesitation in aiding against them.* I request the earliest answer to this message. The subject is of vital and pressing importance." —*Blue Book, page 331.*

On May 25th he issued the following proclamation:-

" Soldiers engaged in the late disturbances who are desirous of going to their own homes, and who give up their arms at the nearest Government civil or military post, and retire quietly, shall be permitted to do so unmolested.

" *Many faithful soldiers have been drioeti into resistance to Government* 011ly because they were in the ranks and could not escape from them, and because *they really thought their feelings of religion and honor injured by the measures of Government.* This feeling was wholly a mistake, but it acted on men's minds. A proclamation of the Governor-General now issued is perfectly explicit and will remove all doubts 011 these points. Every evil-minded instigator in the disturbance, and those guilty of heinous crimes against private persons, shall be punished. All those who appear in arms against the Government, alter this notification is known, shall be treated as open enemies." —*Blue Book, page 322.*

This proclamation was immediately disavowed by Lord Canning, and Mr. Calvin's anticipations realized.

I have to thank you for the attention which you have given to these weary details. I dared not have stated that the mutiny of the Bengal army had been caused by these cartridges, unless I adduced the evidence. Is it not astonishing that you should come here in the month of Novem

ber to hear these facts from me? In the month of July all this was laid before Parliament. I have only given you a portion of the evidence; every part of it is to the same effect. It stares at you from every page of these volumes—"the cartridge, the cartridge, the cartridge," the cry of the dying Sepoy!* There are 650 members in the House of Commons; there is a House of Lords, and a Press, the instructor of the country. Mr. Disraeli assured the House of Commons the rise and fall of empires was not an affair of greased cartridges—drawing men's minds away from the contemplation of the truth in the outset. The Duke of Cambridge, at Sheffield, the other day said that "70,000 men had mutinied nobody knew why;" Lord Shaftesbury more recently has said, these men had no wrong to complain of, and put forward none. You have read the report of the public meeting in Newcastle, as well as of the speeches of the members of parliament there, and of statesmen from end to end of the Kingdom, and yet not a word of the case, as set forth in the official documents, have they acquainted you with? I do not say that there are not other causes of disaffection in India. There are other grievances which have turned men's minds against us; but *this* mutiny we would not have had but for the greased cartridges. (*Al! plause*). Is it not dreadful to think that a large portion of the world should be plunged into bloodshed, misery, and ruin from such a cause? Can "perverse management" equal this in any page of the history of the world? I know of none like it! To think that the carrying out of a point of discipline (of no consequence whatever to us) should have shaken this empire! I declare that, as an Englishman, I am ready to sink into the ground with shame when I think of these things, (*Applause*). But the more shame do I feel that my countrymen should be ignorant of them. There is a conspiracy to prevent you knowing the truth. The government has the London Press in its hands, with few exceptions. The English people, instead of inquiring themselves, trust to it, not suspecting that it may be worked by men whose object is to deceive them. Thus it becomes possible that these documents may be published and people know nothing about them. The *Times* can publish in one column the letter of Colonel Sykes, explaining the thing so clearly that there can be no misapprehending it, and in

* Orders were given to interrogate the wounded at Delhi as to the cause of mutiny, the universal answer was "the cartridge, the cartridge, the cartridge." It was stated in the *Times* that the Sepoys killed all of their own number who were wounded with the Enfield cartridge.

† Colonel Sykes and General Thompson are the only exceptions.

another column a leading article telling the people that the Sepoys had no cause of complaint, knowing perfectly well that the anonymous article would be believed, and the authenticated statement of Col. Sykes disregarded. (*Hear, hear*). Some time ago, in London I saw all extraordinary machine. It was a talking machine. It had the form of a man, and lips that moved. The inventor sat behind a screen and played on notes like a piano. The machine spoke four languages, and sung songs. It is the type of the Englishman of the present day, with the finger of the *Times* behind him, playing on his organs. These things could not have been possible but for the cry "Don't enquire." We are told not to enquire till the proper time has come. When the "proper" time does come, all that will be necessarily will be to sacrifice the East India Company. The people will be made to believe they are discharging their duty by abolishing the East India Company. Now, upon that point they are as much misled as they are with regard to the cause of the mutiny. It would take another lecture to go into this folly. Since the institution of the Board of Control by Mr. Pitt, the governing power has not been in the hands of the East India Company, but of the Board of Control, which is simply all *alias* for Prime Minister. The really responsible parties are the Board of Control, - in point of fact, the government of England. These men having accepted these acts, have become responsible for them. I have no hope that anything I can say will have any effect on the course of affairs in India. I only hope that it may awaken some of you to a sense of your duties. For these things there can be no remedy, save by the old-fashioned process of impeachment. When anything wrong is done, it is always said you must change the system. If I found my cashier robbing me, and I were to believe the mischief would be remedied by changing the system, how long do you think I should be in getting into the *Gazette*? A man of business dismisses or prosecutes a faithless clerk. Why not pursue the same course in the affairs of the nation? Because, being slaves in heart, you cannot realize to yourselves that you are the principals, and the Prime Minister and Government your servants. You bow down before the Minister as the Hindoo bows down before Juggernaut. A nation that cannot understand that its duty and its safety require that a clear case of delinquency on the part of its servants, whether that delinquency arises from gross incapacity, wilful neglect, or treachery, should be met with retribution on the heads of the offenders, has ceased to be a community of men.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since delivering this Lecture I have obtained that information as to the circumstances of the outbreak at Meerut which is not given in the official documents.

The substance of it is, that the Sepoys were not themselves alarmed about the cartridges—but begged that the issue of them might be *temporal*ly deferred, on the ground that the intensity of the religious panic, prevailing at that time throughout Bengal, would subject them to contumely, and expose them to the danger of loss of caste, in case they were known to have used them *in any way*. It was *not* attempted to enforce the biting at Meerut, as in the case of Lucknow, but the perfect truth of the statement of the Sepoys is attested by General Anson's own order of May 19th ; "the very *name* of greased cartridges causes agitation."

The mutiny at Meerut was the direct consequence of his order of May 4th, issued with perfect knowledge of the existence of that state of things, as will be seen on referring back to it.

General Anson was informed from Meerut, by *Com-
par,* y's officers, that mutiny would probably follow the attempt to enforce that order. The men having in vain begged for time to be given, to allow agitation to subside, refused to receive the cartridges. They were tried by court martial, and their petition for delay was put in evidence. All who had served above three years were condemned to ten years' imprisonment ; all who had served less, to five years. The irons were fixed upon them at a parade of the troops, three hours being occupied by the process, and they were then 'marched to gaol.

General Anson, the Commander-in-Chief, was in the Royal Army, as was also his subordinate in command at Meerut,

