

the opinions of most Government officials are opposed to mine, and that they prefer the Punjab system of administration. I therefore consider the subject important enough to be noticed at some length. The Punjab Code is but a compendium of the laws and regulations in force in these provinces. No regulations or laws have been enacted extending its provisions, or making alterations in it. Each officer is vested with discretionary powers in this matter. The judgment of every officer may not be sound. It can therefore be imagined how many evils are possible. The Civil Courts are the most important of all Courts, and the business thereof ought to be managed with as much care and regularity as possible. It is upon the proper and systematic working of these Courts that depends the prosperity of the country, the improvement of commerce and trade, and the preservation of the rights of the people. The importance of these Courts, however, is very much depreciated in the Punjab. The authorities do not pay the slightest attention to the business connected with them, and I may even state that, were they willing, they have not sufficient time to attend to them. As yet the files of the Punjab Civil Courts do not furnish so many cases for adjudication as those of the Courts in the older provinces of the British Government, where litigation prevails to a greater extent, not only on account of the large number of changes that have occurred, but on account of the length of time that has elapsed since their conquest. When, however, the Punjab Civil files are similarly encumbered, it is almost certain that the Punjab Code will be found wanting in dealing with cases of a complicated nature. The connection of the Civil Courts with the rebellion appears to have resulted simply from two causes: *firstly*, the forcible seizure and deprivation of proprietary rights, and *secondly*, debt in general, or in consequence of the Court's decrees. These two however were prolific causes of quarrel and disputes among the people themselves, but they did not form any grounds of resistance to the Government. It is generally the case that whenever the authority of the Government is somewhat weakened, all the latent jealousies and enmities of the people break forth with unusual violence, and lead to disturbances and breaches of the peace. A principal cause of these during the rebellion, was the unjust

deprivation of proprietary rights, and the execution of judgments decreeing false claims against parties not really indebted. For this reason the Civil Courts have come in for a large share of obloquy. It scarcely admits of any doubt that the way in which the business of the Punjab Civil Courts is conducted (the cases being generally disposed of summarily, without much enquiry into their merits, and at the discretion of the presiding officer), will hereafter occasion much disgust and vexation. The effects of the action of the Civil Courts do not generally become apparent within ten years or so. After fifty years more it will be necessary to introduce into the Punjab Provinces the system of administration and procedure that prevails in these. I freely admit that the laws and regulations in force in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces are susceptible of improvement. Great delay takes place in the final adjudication of cases, and the ruinous price of stamp paper, as well as the facilities afforded for carrying every suit through several Courts of appeal, involve the parties thereof in unnecessary and heavy expenses. Owing to the Civil Officers too not having been invested with certain necessary powers, great inconvenience is felt in deciding cases. This has been remedied to some extent by the passing of Act XIX. of 1853; but the law is susceptible of further improvement. But I beg to refer the reader for my opinions on this head to my treatise on the good Government of India.

Cause 3rd.—The ignorance of Government of the condition, manners, customs, and prejudices of their subjects, the injuries they were suffering, and on which account they were becoming disaffected.

There is no doubt that the Government was ignorant of the condition, habits, and grievances of its subjects; nor was there any means of getting information on these points; for a knowledge of the circumstances, wishes, and habits, of the people can be acquired only by freely mixing and having constant social intercourse with them, which again is possible only when one race of men unreservedly mix with another, living together

Thirdly.—The ignorance of Government of the state of the country and its subjects.

in peace and friendship as natives of one and the same country, precisely as the Mohammadans did in Hindoostan, enjoying the love and friendship of a people foreign to them in religion, manners, and customs. That therefore which could alone have enabled the Government to get an insight into the real circumstances of its subjects, could not possibly have been accomplished by it. It may be stated that the people themselves might have made known to the Government their wishes, and grievances. Now it so happens that they had neither the means nor the opportunity to do so, for they were not allowed to have any share in the government of the country. If any one forwarded a petition representing his wrongs, even if it were submitted to the Governor General, it was generally considered more as a mere appeal, than a claim to interfere in the affairs of Government. For this reason no good effects were produced. It was therefore necessary that

Local authorities generally unacquainted with the condition of the people.

some third party should lay before the Government an account of the condition of its subjects, and the Government had to depend on the reports of the Covenanted District and Divisional Officers for such information. But it so happened that these officials themselves were in utter ignorance of the circumstances of the people for whom they administered the laws, and executed the orders of the Government; nor was any source open to them to obtain the necessary information from. Besides which their absolute inattention to such matters, as well as their irritability of temper, were subjects of general remark. They were dreaded by all, and no one had the courage to speak out the truth, (especially in such matters as were known to be distasteful to them); while both subordinates and gentlemen not in Government employ, influenced by fear, indulged them with flattery and adulation.

* The terms used are *Nötyah* and *Shakhsyah*.

We have no terms that express their exact meaning, as they seem to be used by the writer. The Government of the Arabs under the first four *Khalifahs* was *Nötyah*. Under their successors *Shakhsyah*.

TRANSLATOR.

Our Government which in reality was an elective or representative monarchy seemed as it were despotic.* It appears however that the agency of the local authorities for ascertaining and communicating to Government information regarding the condition

of the people, was not only insufficient, but wholly wanting. For these reasons the Government always remained in ignorance on the subject. Whenever any new Act or Law interfered with the well-being of the people, or caused them injury, no one was present to raise his voice in their behalf, or even to report on the evil to the Government. Unprotected and unsympathized with by any, their blood boiled within them, and they wept long and bitterly in silence, unseen, and unnoticed by all.

Under the British Government there were many causes at work to impoverish the Indian races.

Overwhelming poverty of the Indians, particularly of the Mohammadans.

Of all the different means of earning bread, employment is considered the best, and is the most acceptable to the Natives of India. Service is generally considered here as a profession; and though the scarcity of employment was generally complained of, the Mohammadans in particular felt it most severely. It may be remarked that the Hindus the original inhabitants of the country, were not accustomed in former ages to take service. On the contrary, every one carried on trade. The Brahmins had nothing to do with employment. Those known as *Bais Baran* were either tradesmen or Mahajans. Ancient history informs us that even the *Chathris*, who once ruled and exercised power in the country, did not consider service as a profession to be followed. They owned and ruled over small tracts of land. They had no troops in their pay; but on occasions of emergency, the several clans assembled together and formed an army, just as we see to a certain extent in Russia. The *Kayasthas* were the only Hindus who, from the most ancient times, accepted service as a profession. The Mohammadans are not the Natives of India. They accompanied the *Moslim* conquerors with the view of getting employment, and settled themselves here with their families. Accordingly, they lived by service, and followed it as a profession. The difficulty of obtaining it, therefore, gave them more cause of complaint than the original inhabitants. Commissions in the army, which were beyond the reach or expectation of ignorant men, were too few in number. Natives of respectability and birth considered it degrading to enlist in the army, the ranks of which were but too generally

recruited from the *Tilanga* class of men. Employment however was open to them in the Cavalry ; but the number of troopers was very small, compared with what was kept up by former Governments. Again, under the former rulers of this country, besides appointments in the service of Government, employment in great numbers were procurable in the service of the Subahdars, Sirdars, and Noblemen, who entertained men in their own pay. Now all this was wanting under the British Government. For this reason there was a great scarcity of employment, and the effect of this was that when the rebels offered to take men into their service, thousands of expectant candidates flocked to their standards, with as much eagerness as persons dying of starvation would to food and plenty.

Shut up a hungry *Kafir* with good fare,
And, think you, for the fast-day, he'll much care ?—*S'adi*

Many persons served the rebels on one *anna*, one and half *anna*, or for one seer of flour *per diem*. From this it is plain that the Natives of India were anxious for employment in proportion as they were impoverished through, and on account of, the scarcity of it.

Under former governments there was another cause of contentment to the people, *viz.* charitable pensions and stipends. When Shah Jahan ascended the throne, he gave four *lakhs* of *bighas* of land, and one hundred and twenty villages as *Jaghirs*, and *lakhs* of Rupees as rewards on the day of his coronation. This practice was wholly discontinued under the British Government. On the contrary the Government resumed former *Jaghirs*, and thus reduced thousands to great poverty and destitution. I have already described the impoverished condition of the Zamindars and cultivators. Those again who carried on trades and followed different professions lost their business, and ceased to get work in consequence of the increased demand for, and consumption of, British manufactures. Native trades had been depreciated to so great an extent that even needle and match makers found it difficult to eke out a living. The

The stoppage of charitable pensions and stipends tended in a great measure to the poverty of the Indians.

contentment to the people, *viz.* charitable pensions and stipends. When Shah Jahan ascended the throne, he gave four *lakhs* of *bighas* of land, and

weavers who, be it remarked, took a prominent part in the late disturbances, had been absolutely ruined. Now as the Providence of God had made India a dependency of the British empire, the Government was bound to take notice of the condition of its Indian subjects, and to exert itself in removing the evils under which they suffered so much.

The Company's Promissory Notes furnished quite a novel method of adding to the oppressions under which the country was groaning, a precedent for which was furnished by no previous Government. The money that was borrowed, as well as the interest thereon, had to be repaid out of the revenues of the country, and accordingly measures were adopted for finding the requisite funds. In short the country was impoverished in various ways. Old families distinguished for their affluence and wealth, were reduced to penury and destitution, and this was one of the primary causes of the dissatisfaction of the people with the Government.

I speak only the truth when I state that it was chiefly for this reason that the people wished for a change in the Government, and rejoiced so heartily at the idea of the British rule being superseded by another. I speak again the truth, and I emphatically repeat that I say not one word more than the truth, when I state that the news of the conquest of Afghanistan by the British overwhelmed the people with grief. The reason of this was an apprehension that the Government would now openly interfere with their religion. When Gwalior was conquered, the Punjab taken, and Oude annexed, the people were much grieved, because the incorporation of these Native states into the British Indian Empire deprived them of those advantages which their existence had enabled them to derive. Not only employment could be procured in abundance, but a considerable trade in Native goods and manufactures was carried on in these states. By their annexation therefore, the country became more and more impoverished and though under the British Government, the country

The desire of a change of Government proceeded only from the poverty of the people.

this reason that the people wished for a change in the Government, and rejoiced so heartily at the idea of the

enjoyed innumerable benefits, it suffered as well under very many evils. Yet I do not certainly mean to pronounce an *unqualified* condemnation of the system of administration introduced by it, for the poet says—

The ills of wine you've sung—its virtues too,
Pray kindly sing, if, you can find a few;
It is not over wise, though in the mind,
To deny all science, to please the blind.—*Hafis*

The maintenance of peace and order, freedom of the roads from highway-men and robbers, capture and annihilation of *Thugs* and *rogues*, construction and repair of roads, both for travelling and traffic, constant transmission of letters, even those of the poorest classes to the most remote parts of the country, suppression of civil wars and bloody affrays, the protection afforded to the oppressed, &c., these and similar other and many more benefits has the country enjoyed under British rule, never before enjoyed to the same degree under any former Government. But, if attentively considered, it will be apparent that these benefits, however inestimable in themselves, could not neutralize the evils I have referred to. Moreover, the benefits in question were chiefly enjoyed by women. They undoubtedly lived in perfect peace and security. They no longer saw their children falling around them in family affrays, nor their property plundered by thieves or *Thugs*. Their husbands and children were protected from the oppressions of the Collectors, and they were, in short, well off in a thousand other ways; and grateful for these benefits received and enjoyed, the women were perfectly loyal to, and stood firmly by, the British Government in its day of trial. Mahajans and tradesmen too, who had enjoyed prosperity under the British Government, were not in any instance found unfavorable to it. The truth is, no class of men was opposed to the British or unfaithful to it, but those who, in some way, suffered under its Government.

Fourthly—Neglect in matters which should have received consideration of Government.

Causes 4th.—Neglect in matters which, in the administration of the affairs of Hindoostan, should have been attended to by our Government.

In discussing the subject which in this place will engage my attention, though my remarks may meet with the disapproval of some of the authorities, I shall nevertheless speak freely and

Want of cordiality towards the Indians. without reserve. It is incumbent upon me to speak the truth in such a matter,

for what I allude to is a thing so all pervading and powerful in its nature that, not to speak of men, the very birds of the air and wild beasts of the forest are attracted and tamed by it. It is unnecessary to expatiate on the advantages of friendship, love, and union. Lord Bacon's Essays on the subject have left nothing unsaid. I need only state that the attachment which *should* exist between a Government and its subjects, is of more importance than what private individuals may bear towards each other. As one person contracts friendship with another, so ought Government with its subjects. Two individuals are considered as one and the same person, on account of the reciprocity of feelings and ideas which subsists between them. A Government, in the same manner, ought to identify itself with its subjects to so great a degree that both may appear one and the same body politic.

"The people are as the roots, and Government the tree,

"The tree, my son, acquires strength and firmness from the roots."—*S'ad*

Could not this have been accomplished by our Government? Certainly it could. For in the daily experience of life we do not unfrequently find the existence of friendship and unity between two races peopling different countries, and differing from each other in religion, habits, and characteristics; while on the contrary, we as often find two persons of the same caste, country, and faith, bearing towards each other feelings of inveterate hatred and deadly enmity. From this it is clear that persons uniting themselves in the bonds of friendship and union, need not be of the same race, country, or religion. How truthful and just is this prayer of Paul the Apostle—"And the Lord makes you to increase, and abound in love one towards another, and toward all men, even as we do toward you". In other words, it impresses us with an idea of the importance of loving, not merely our neighbours and friends, but all mankind, even our enemies; and inculcates the necessity of daily