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ON THE MUTINY IN THE INDIAN ARMY—ENGLISH INTOLERANCE—ENGLAND'S DECLINE.

The history of England, the wide world over, has but one page—namely, tyranny and intolerance: and whenever her decline comes it will be found to be a correct rehearsal of the political conduct and unendurable insolence which forced America to shake off her galling yoke in 1776. Every subject of the British Crown, no matter what his own political, social, or religious injuries may be, must deplore the late murderous scenes of Meerut and Delhi, in which so many Europeans have fallen victims to the mutinous fury of an insulted and maddened Hindoo soldiery.—When the time comes for the perfect development and the correct information of this terrific outbreak of the Native army, it will be discovered that the cause—the sole cause—lies in the religious intolerance, the eternal bigotry, of the English Government, of the English military and civil officers, from the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Canning, down to the lowest Souper corporal in Hindostan. The speech of Lord Ellenborough in the House of Lords within the last month must be in the recollection of all readers of this journal; in this speech his lordship, once himself a Governor of India, charged Lord Canning, the present Governor, with encouraging a certain missionary society, who insulted the people.—And he declared that while the English Gospel had not made two dozen converts, since the commencement of their rule there, the result of their present missionary outrage on the feelings of the Hindoo population would, if persevered in, end in the bloodiest war recorded in the pages of Indian history.

It is not one month since these words were spoken in the House of Lords; and whoever wishes to read the carnage at our largest Indian station, the conflagration of the entire cantonment, and the defection of eight thousand armed men, will judge of the prophetic words of Lord Ellenborough. And who can tell what additional murder has happened at Delhi: or how large the defection has been in the other distant stations of the Empire? What must be the injury inflicted by this missionary society on the feelings of the Sepoy, when the Catholic Bishop of Madras sends loud complaints to Europe of the cruel bigotry exercised towards the Catholic soldiers of his flock. Dr. Fennelly has published a letter in which he declares that the Catholic children of the Catholic soldiers have been forced into Protestant schools where Souper teachers ridicule their religion and insult their priests; and he continued to say, because the poor soldier refused to permit his children to receive instruction under this public insult to their faith, the Government withdrew, as a punishment, three pounds a year for each child, from the pay of the Catholic soldier!!! The Fusiliers, and the Artillery, at the Station of Madras, resented this outrage on their religion: these two corps withdrew ninety children from the Souper schools: and hence in one day, the Colonel in command, a Scotchman, deprived the Irish Catholic soldiers of the yearly sum of £270: their hard-earned pay. Dr. Fennelly even went so far in his deploring letter as to call on the Bishops of Ireland to tell their various flocks of this cruelty in the Indian army: and he called on them not to encourage the poor Irish to enlist in the service of the East India Company in the face of such insult to their feelings, such cruel bigotry towards their children, and such penal reduction of their pay. One can well fancy, therefore, what must have been the aggravated injury inflicted on the Pagan, when we have from the pen of the afflicted Bishop, the mean Souperism exercised towards the Irish Catholic.

England now wants twenty regiment to proceed to India to quell the mutiny created by the eternal insolence of her own bigotry, and she will send her sergeants through the towns and the hamlets of Ireland to demand the assistance of the very brothers of the men whom her missionary Colonels have deprived of their just pay, for their faithful adherence to the religion of their fathers. Millions of money will now be exhausted to meet a difficulty which their own intolerance has produced; and rivers of blood, and the treasures of the nation, will be profusely expended in maintaining the worship of a lie, which, in the language of Lord Ellenborough, has not produced "two dozen converts" since the time of Lord Cornwallis, in the year 1792.

The catastrophe of England in the declaration of American Independence may soon be equalled, in wresting from Great Britain her Indian Empire: how can thirty-six thousand English troops check the determined combination of two hundred and seventy thousand armed, insulted Sepoys? and how can one hundred and thirty millions of subjects tamely submit to the eternal insult of a palm-singing old Governor, and to the Souper cant of gouty old Colonels, endeavoring (according to the Madras Examiner) "to atone for the excesses of a disorderly life by presiding at Love-meetings in the Lord, and distributing

tracts of slander against the Catholics?" It is not the fact that this mutiny has reference to mere social relations: this is a cover to conceal the absurd gossellers on the missionary staff of Lord Canning: it is a mere stratagem used in an attempt to disguise their unsuccessful sectarianism, and to assuage the anger of the Sepoy army. But it will not do: Canning must be called home; fresh blood must be shipped from England: a new property tax must be devised; and a new Cornwallis and Wellington commissioned to begin again at Seringapatam, and attempt to fight their way again to the source of the Ganges. But the times are changed; and if the Indians once combine, there is an end in one month of British rule in the East. If this mutiny had been provoked while our army and our shipping were engaged in the Crimea: if Russia at that time could send even ten thousand men to aid the mutineers, it is perfectly clear and certain that our Indian possessions were lost with a single blow.

In reviewing the present Imperial character of England, one seems to be reading the history of ancient Rome in the end of the fourth century. Her boundless dominions, her incalculable corruption, her universal oppression, the deep content of her dependencies: her immeasurable debt, the fabulous wealth of her aristocracy, the increasing iniquity of the nation, and the growing abhorrence of all foreign peoples, are all lines of such close resemblance that "Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" is an exact original from which the present picture of England's history seems to have been copied. With London as the centre of her large frame, her distant gigantic limbs stretch from Canada to China, from Ireland to New Zealand; it is not in the laws of nature that a heart so small can feed limbs so large; nor is it in the instincts or the civilization of men, that a hostile junto in a remote island can govern, control, and cement, in permanent obedience, nearly one hundred and fifty thousand millions of human beings, differing in creed, nation, race and sympathies. Willing union, just laws, wise administration, sincere tolerance, unfettered liberty, might enable a small body to wield successfully these cumbersome extremities: but palpable tyranny, penal enactments, open injustice, undisguised crime, social distraction, religious division, render the centre too weak even to support itself, and of course make it impossible to hold securely its heavy remote possessions. There can be no doubt but England is fast approaching a crisis in her political destiny which will reduce her dimensions within her island proportions: the present progress of civilization, the rapid communication between men, and the growth of liberal opinions, are the agents for the overthrow of England's dominion. It has been already said, and said truly, that our dominion in India is founded not upon arms, but on public opinion. It is so, of course. Our handful of English troops in the face of a population of upwards of one hundred and thirty millions; and in the view of upwards of a quarter of a million of trained armed Sepoys, could not enforce obedience to our rule.—We have not the power to command, if the people did not entertain a public opinion in our favor: the opinion is more our safeguard than our bayonets; and hence if this public opinion be outraged and ranged in opposition, the separation of India from England is a truth which no English statesman can even attempt to deny. In fact, England is the vassal of India rather than India a dependency of England on the principles referred to: and hence the hour when England insults the Hindoo and the Mahomedan armies, in that hour her rule must close in Hindostan.—Although she conquered them by piecemeal and treachery, she cannot maintain them as a whole, without the laws of justice, aided by the public confidence. Although Caesar subdued Gaul and England successively; and although Rome, century after century, conquered a great part of Europe, Asia, and Africa, yet neither Caesar, nor his successors, nor Rome, nor her generals, nor her Senate, nor her rule, could hold these acquisitions against the contemporaneous revolt of all these nations united together against remorseless oppression, national division, and public vice.

England has done more within the last ten years to generate this public opinion against her than she can ever remove; and every day by her intolerance and her oppressive bigotry she is gathering around her through every nation of Europe an increasing public sentiment against her religion, her justice, her truth, and her policy.—In the face of such a sentiment she cannot long stand in her present imperial position: losing ground every day in the estimation of mankind, her prestige becomes continually lessened; and her own subjects, impressed with the contempt of all other peoples, will readily join in the public condemnation which in the history of all the world has ever ended in the change of the dynasty, or in the overthrow of the nation. England perchance may meet the present Indian emergency; but the punishment of the mutineers will only in-

crease the public discontent; and between railroads, the electric telegraph and progressing civilization, it is a fact which all statesmen, admit that one more blunder of intolerance or oppression, and India will soon be wrested, like America, from the imprudent government and the insolent bigotry of England.

D. W. C.

July 2, 1857.

THE REVOLT IN INDIA.

(From the Tablet.)

The revolt of a portion of the native Indian troops has succeeded in attracting towards the East the full attention of the public, which the Persian and Chinese wars had only partially awakened. But in furnishing details to the public of the recent transactions, and in discussing their causes and their consequences, the writer is encountered by an obstacle easy to name, but hard to overcome. This obstacle is no other than his own and his reader's ignorance of the subject. We are supposed to be self-governed. By the theory of the Constitution we freely elect our own representatives, for no other reason than that we believe them to represent correctly our own wishes and feelings. These representatives, by a series of successful usurpations on the Crown and the peerage, have obtained a paramount and irresistible power in the State. Yet, our ignorance and indifference are so great, as far as many of the most important duties of governing are concerned, that it may safely be asserted of a large portion of the world subject to the rule of the people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, that the rulers have no wishes and no feelings whatever.

A tract of country, 1,800 miles long by 1,300 wide, with a population of 140,000,000 human beings, speaking fourteen different languages, is subject to our rule in India alone. From this territory a revenue of £26,000,000 sterling is annually levied, and the administration of the country is confided by us to some 10,000 Europeans, who divide among them, as remuneration for their services, about £10,000,000 per annum. But it is not by moral force alone that this vast result is achieved. In January, 1856, the effective military force in India, on whose fidelity and prowess we relied for the continuance of our rule, was 324,000 men, with 516 pieces of artillery. Of these, there were in her Majesty's service 26,000 horse and foot. The European infantry in the Company's service was 9,000 strong. The native regular forces, horse and foot, were 180,000. The native irregular troops, 75,000. Add to these 6,600 European, and 5,000 native artillerymen. This immense native force is under the command of 6,200 European officers.

But so far as these European officers from detesting their whole time and attention to the soldiers under their command, that a large percentage of them are entrusted with civil duties and administrative functions, highly paid, and of great responsibility. It has been stated that in the 55th Regiment of Infantry at one moment, out of six captains two had civil appointments, and one was on leave; and out of ten lieutenants, four had administrative functions, and two were attached to irregular corps. Under these circumstances has arrived the news of widespread disaffection among the native troops in India, showing itself at various and far-distant points, and at last breaking out into mutiny, which in one place was repressed by the energy of the general, at another has caused the disbanding of regiments, and at Meerut and Delhi has been so far successful that the massacre of officers and civilians, of women and of children, the burning of cantonments, the occupation of a capital city, and the proclamation of a native king form its leading features. It is surely no wonder if such intelligence has inspired many with what, we believe, to be a mistaken apprehension that the British empire in India is tottering to its fall.—But what is wonderful, or at least can only be accounted for by our own wonderful indifference to the course of events distant from our own shores, and not immediately connected with our local or party conflicts, is the surprise which this news has excited, and the feeling that it has come upon us quite unawares. The Athenæum of last Saturday reminds us that—

"We have attacked the natives of India in their rights, their property, and their religion, all at once. In February, 1856, appeared Lord Dalhousie's minute, publicly announcing confiscation to be the recognized course of government. Oude, Nagpore, the Nawabship of the Carnatic, Tanjore, fell in, or were appropriated in rapid succession. The whole country of the Mahrattas was ransacked for documents to justify the resumption of lands held by their present owners since the Peishwas' time. Moreover, we no longer sustain, we no longer respect the religious systems of our subjects. We have first tolerated, then countenanced, then encouraged, then aided the Missionaries, whose presence in the country, though their purpose is good and holy, is a standing menace to the people." [The writer speaks of Protestant Missionaries.] "With the high hand of power, and not with the soft violence of reason, we have put down infidelity, widow-burning, and the glut-

crifices. We have interfered between father and son, sister and brother, to protect the inheritance of converts by expressed law.

"A bill was prepared to abolish polygamy, by which, at a single blow, all the Mahomedans, together with the highest caste of Hindus, in Bengal, the Koolia Brahmans, with many others, would find their most sacred relationships invaded.

"Meanwhile the press thundered forth, in no measured tones, that Hinduism was effete, the religion of Mahomed extinct. Government was reproached with its former pusillanimity, and urged to Europeanise India at a blow. While the news of insurrection and massacre, of the fall of Delhi and the proclamation of a Mogul emperor, were travelling towards Europe, the English press were singing songs of joy over the first wedding of a Hindu widow, urging severe repression of religious feeling, and treating India as we long ago treated Ireland. In such a state of things, can it be wondered that a train of suspicion and distrust was laid which a comparatively small matter—that of the cartridges—could in a moment fire? Not, however, that these cartridges, greased with the fat of the unclean animal, could be lightly regarded—to us such a mistake may appear venial; to them it would appear a crime only to be atoned by blood."

A reference to the Times for the last twelve months will abundantly establish the positions of the writer whom we have quoted.

On the 21st July, 1856, Mr. Vernon Smith's speech on the Indian budget referred to the extinction of the Rajah of Tanjore. To the annexation of Oude. To the Santal rebellion. "caused," he said, "by want of early attention to grievances," and to the torture inflicted on the natives in the collection of revenue.

The case of the Rajah of Coorg and of the Nawab of Surat figure in the same paper.

The Times, July 17th, had mentioned an insurrection in Kenedy (Madras), apprehensions in Bengal, and the censure of the British resident at Tanjore for remonstrating against the annexation.

The Times of July 30th tells us of great excitement among the Parsees. Four boys had become converts to the Free Church of Scotland, and were reclaimed by their families, to whom three returned. One persevered, and was baptised by the Missionaries afterwards.

The Times, August 15th, tells us of the Bill for the marriage of Hindoo widows. 58,000 petitions against it—50,000 for it. It speaks of "the bitter prejudices of the old Hindoos against any innovation."

Mr. Grant had pledged himself to the extinction of a similar abuse, viz., the polygamy of the "Koolin"—the high-born Brahmans of Bengal. In the correspondent's "own opinion" the law will excite a great degree of irritation.

The Times, August 18th, in a leading article, rejoices at the news, derides the "extravagance of caution," and "fanaticism of tolerance" shown by the India Government, and says that a lesson has been read against "the excessive religious timidity of our Indian policy."

The Times, September 15th, tells us of a Government order to deprive native nobles of their hereditary titles for offences (a power not yet exercised), and says the nobles consider themselves hardly treated.

The Times, October 18th, tells of the petition of the Missionaries for enquiring into the social state of the people, and says they are not Radicals, but "contend earnestly and warmly for measures which in Europe would be called somewhat high-handed."

The Times, Dec. 1st, mentions a correspondence between Sir Culling Eardley and the Mussulmans:—"The worthy baronet hoped apparently to obtain a verdict in favor of the abolition of the punishment of death for apostasy.—The Mussulmans unanimously deplore their bad fate in being compelled to forego the luxury of punishing apostasy with death." "They will not attend our schools, nor learn English, and are losing their official positions in consequence. They detest us still, and this alienation from the official employments, to which they have been accustomed, does not tend to increase their content. Their faith is said to be spreading."

The Times, December 16th, brings an order abolishing hook-swinging at fairs, and says:—"Times are changed, and innovations, which might not safely have been attempted a century or half a century ago, are ripe for."

We learn also that "the palace at Delhi is in a ferment." That "the King's privileges and pension were all granted of free grace, and the former will probably be withdrawn." Likewise, (that the palace is a sink of iniquity, and the family, on the death of its present head, will probably be compelled to move.

We are also told of an act to establish uniform weights and measures. The Legislative Council "never listens to nonsense about free-trade, vested rights, or the laws-of-demand and supply," and will, therefore, probably pass the act."

The Times, Jan. 30th, 1857, informs us that "the law permitting the remarriage of widows has been carried into effect. Pundit Goresunder Surma, a Koolia of Koolias, a man of the very highest sacerdotal rank, has married the widow of a Saadrit of equal birth. The cere-

mony was attended by hundreds of Brahmans, and created a profound sensation. The Government has recently taken another step in the direction of social reform. It is even more daring than the last..... The Government has handed the whole race (Santals) over to the Church Missionary Society. Teachers are to be selected by them, and responsible to them alone, the State finding the funds. The Missionaries are free to teach any creed they please, and it is understood, though not stated, that attendance in the schools will be pretty rigidly enforced. The same plan is said to have been tried by Lord Dalhousie in Cachar. The Missionaries' petition is enclosed. It has been rejected by the Government, partly because the inquiry would be a cause of disturbance."

So far, therefore, as we have got, one thing is plain. The Government is making innovations, some of which, even the correspondent of the Times, thinks hazardous. It is employing and putting absolute power into the hands of the Protestant Missionaries, who urge it on; but it dares not to go all the lengths to which it is urged for fear of the consequences.

The Times of April 2nd shall supply our next extract:—"There has been a very disagreeable business at Barrackpore. The cartridges for the new Enfield rifles are greased at one end to make them slip easily into the barrel. The Government ordered mutton fat for the purpose.—Some contractors, to save a few shillings, gave pig's fat and bullock's fat instead. The Sepoys found this out, and there was an immediate explosion of caste-feeling. Government, they said, was going to make them Christians. The Government instantly directed the fat to be withdrawn, and glue to be substituted. Then they got a new fancy. The paper, they said, had animal fat in it. I dare say this is true, the paper being made in England, and sized with animal size."

The Times of April 14th "touches on a question neither uninteresting nor unimportant, the present feeling entertained towards our Government by the people of India and the native soldiery." "There is, in fine, reason to be assured that evil spirits are abroad." Then comes the mutiny of the 19th Native Infantry at Moorshedabad about the cartridge paper. "This cartridge question is travelling northward, and will excite every Sepoy regiment in India."

In this paper we have the account of the Chowkedar of Cawnpore, with his two Chupatties, who set off 90,000 policemen, racing through the provinces, to hand one another these little cakes. Some "hint at treason—a view encouraged by the native officials."

The Times of April 28th tells us the 19th is to be disbanded, that more exemplary punishment would be desirable, that the empire is in no danger, but that the Sepoys are restless and dissatisfied, and that there has been a mutiny among the Madras troops at Vizieragrain.

The Times of May 19th tells us of the disbandment of the 19th, of the disaffection of the 34th, and the sympathy of the 2nd Grenadiers, and more or less of all the regiments of the line. The Commander-in-Chief's own escort have excommunicated their comrades in the school for touching the cartridges. And the Times' leader says—"So deeply rooted are these superstitions of centuries—so wide-spread is the fear that the supremacy of the Company means danger to the hereditary faith, that the mutinous spirit has spread beyond the haunts of the garrison."

The Times of June 1st says the mutinous spirit of the army has received a check. The affair will blow over, but it has brought up the question of the reorganization of the army.

The Times of June 15th insists on the same theme, "unnecessary alarm;" "the Sepoy army is not in revolt—it does not even appear that it is discontented;" "the mutiny is not instigated by a religious feeling;" "it will be seen at once that I reject the idea that the Sepoys are alarmed for their religion; if they were really under the impression that they were the victims of a proselytising government, the Mussulman would be the first to move;" the whole affair is said to be one of caste—"a social, and not a religious question."

This brings us down to the last news, when the same high authority, The Times of June 29th, tells us that the Sepoys' minds are possessed with a frantic belief in the intention of the Government to convert them to Christianity."

The same paper brings us the particulars of the insurrection, with which our readers are familiar. We have not space to comment on these extracts. They speak for themselves. They establish that the mutiny of our troops, the massacre of our countrymen, the disturbance of the empire, the destruction of property, the drain on our finances, the dislocation of our troops, and the interference with the policy of the country, both in its military and its economical arrangements, as well as the blood that must and will be