

1011  
21. Marlborough Square  
14<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1869 W.C.

My dear Sir,  
With many many thanks I beg to acknowledge  
the receipt of your favour of the 30<sup>th</sup> ultimo &  
at the same time to ask you pardon for the delay which  
has taken place in answering it. - I am sorry to  
leave you as unwell, but hope that under God's  
blessing you may ere long be restored to your wanted  
health.

In yours now under reply you however ask by  
asking my opinion "as to the extent to which the  
Mutiny of 1857 grew into a popular rebellion in the  
N.W. Provinces" & express your opinion that it was  
not a mere military Mutiny. - As far as my  
personal knowledge goes respecting the Sepoy  
Revolt of 1857 & from all that I have learnt from  
investigation I find that even the name of the  
explosive Military Mutiny conveys an idea

of something more than the real fact. - It  
is denied that the use of greased cartridges did violence  
to the superstition of the Sepoys, who consequently de-  
termined not to bite the same. - Almost all the  
Sepoys had unanimously ~~had~~ never to bite the  
cartridge, which determination was the only charge  
that could be brought against them, till a very  
severe punishment was inflicted upon them at  
Meerut, a punishment which produced a strong  
impression on the minds of those men, that they  
must either bite the greased cartridge or suffer the  
punishment of their disobedience. - And it was  
then, & not before, that the discontent of the sepoys  
grew into Military Mutiny. - I am strongly of  
opinion that, if before the infliction of punishment  
the alternative offer of biting the cartridges, or res-  
igning the service, had been offered them, the  
Sepoys would undoubtedly have peaceably with-  
drawn themselves from the Company's Service. - If  
the real facts connected with the revolt in  
the N.W.P. be calmly enquired into, I do not think

that the events which happened there can properly be designated as a 'popular rebellion'. - Undoubtedly the people of the N.W.P. were dissatisfied with the Company's rule, & this in a great measure was owing to the following causes:— the decay of respectable families without the <sup>1013</sup> ~~way~~<sup>they</sup> left being filled up by others — the non-existence of any means by which the native community could procure honourable situations. \* more especially — the frequent Meafee (right of holding lands without paying any rent to Govt.) which act of the Authorities was considered a great injustice by the natives; & lastly to some other causes of less importance. — It may also be safely assumed that the Govt's exercise of the most of Pre-dominant Power; a power subject to no regulations & unlimited and the interfere<sup>s</sup>, in <sup>as</sup> may tell them unknown, in the cases of Adop<sup>t</sup> & Lepre, had created a distrust in the

mind of the native chiefs who perhaps did not longer think themselves secure. — It does however by no means appear that even this stimulated them to revolt or to take any part in the rebellion, for no native chief whatever who were in possession of their principalities, notwithstanding the distrust with which they looked upon the Company's rule, committed themselves by any act of rebellion against the Government. — Putting the subject of the Military Mutiny I shall now briefly describe the character of the rebellion in N.W.P. — The rebellion in the N.W.P. assumed three forms.

1<sup>st</sup> Robbers and Dacoits, who were kept down by the power & strength of the Govt, now assembling in numbers not only attacked wayfaring, but also plundered villages & even towns.

2<sup>nd</sup> Some of the minor chiefs whose tribes had fallen into decay, endeavoured the re-establishment of their ancestral power. — This sort of mutiny occurred in fair places <sup>only</sup> in Cannanore, Barilley,

21. Workenburgh, 1<sup>st</sup> June.

Bijnor, and Farrukhabad. — Some of those parties tried to have themselves restored while others were compelled by the mutineers to make an effort. — 3<sup>d</sup> Some of the lower classes, variously employed entered the service of such rebellious chiefs. — The first kind of rebellion cannot strictly be deemed one against the Govt. — The third sort of rebellion also although undoubtedly a rebellion can not be called a regular rebellion, if we take into consideration the state of India where serving a rebellious chief was not considered equivalent to an act of rebellion. — This notion had taken deep root in the native mind, in times previous to the Company's rule, when chiefs fought with each other and when engaging in the mutual service of either party was not considered as a crime. — The second sort of revolt was indeed of a serious nature, but this had ~~been~~<sup>been</sup> was exclusively confined to the above mentioned rebellious

chiefs and was never general. — As far as I know the population of no part of the N.W.P. tried even the thought of rendering any assistance to the native rebellious chiefs, much less them of subverting the British rule. — A great proof of the justice of this assertion lies in the fact that as soon as the numerous troops & the rebellious chiefs were expelled from a District, peace was immediately restored.

I therefore think that the mutiny of 1857 was not a popular rebellion. — To a European mind unacquainted with the state of India, the very name of rebellion at once carries with it an idea that the people of the country must have taken part in it, and the real facts are thus ignored. —

With feelings of sincere regard, and hoping the above will suffice to give you some idea of my humble opinion.

Palmcrim

Dear Sir  
Very Truly Yours

J. W. Kaye, 1<sup>st</sup> June  
India Office

God Almoned