

Dhananjayrao Gadgil Library



GIPL-PUNE-000524

ESMEX

TOPICS

FOR

INDIAN STATESMEN.

# INDIAN STATESMEN.

BY

JOHN BRUCE NORTON, Esq.,

BARRISTER-AT-LAW, MADRAS,

AUTHOR OF "THE REBELLION IN INDIA," "MADRAS," ETC.

EDITED BY G. R. NORTON, Esq.

LONDON :

RICHARDSON BROTHERS, 23, CORNHILL.

---

1858.

V21L-MS

~~A858~~

524

# CONTENTS.

---

PREFACE .....	vii
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER II. TOPICS 1st, 2nd. I. What is the character of the Rebellion?—II. What is its cause? .....	5
CHAPTER III. TOPICS 3rd—6th. III. How shall we treat the Rebels?—IV. Had the Supreme Government warning of the coming danger?—V. Were all practicable measures taken to meet the crisis?—VI. Who is to pay the cost of the Rebellion? .....	60
CHAPTER IV. TOPIC 7th. VII. What is required for the military protection of India?.....	87
CHAPTER V. TOPIC 8th. VIII. What shall be the form of the Home Government of India?.....	114
CHAPTER VI. TOPICS 9th—11th. IX. Shall we continue our policy of centralization?—X. How can we improve the constitution of the local Governments?—XI. Is the Legislative Council properly constituted?.....	127
CHAPTER VII. TOPIC 12th. XII. Shall we continue our annexation policy? 1st, as to Princes—2nd, as to Zemindars—3rd, as to Enamdars. ....	156
CHAPTER VIII. TOPICS 13th, 14th. XIII. What is required to improve the tenure of land?—XIV. Shall we redeem the land-tax? .....	178

and enterprise invested themselves in it.

—XVI. Can they be induced to do so? ..... 281

CHAPTER X. TOPICS 17th, 18th. XVII. Do our Law  
Courts require reform?—XVIII. Is the Police to be re-  
organized? ..... 281

CHAPTER XI. TOPIC 19th. XIX. What shall be the future  
condition of the Indian Press? ..... 323

CHAPTER XII. TOPIC 20th. XX. Should our future policy  
in India be retrogressive, stationary, or progressive? And,  
herein, of stoppage of Public Works; demeanour towards  
the natives. Education. Proselytism. .... 349

APPENDIX ..... 387

APPENDIX A. .... 395

APPENDIX B.—No. 1. .... 399

APPENDIX B.—No. 2. .... 400

APPENDIX C. .... 404

---

**ERRATA.**

Page 152, line 1, for "in the Civil Service," read "not in the Civil Service."  
Page 221, line 20, for "attempted," read "successful."

## PREFACE.

---

IN editing this book it is my desire to take on myself the responsibility of any errors that may have occurred. I feel the very great disadvantage my brother labours under in being unable to see his work through the press ; many additional illustrative facts which he has sent to me have arrived too late for insertion, and in any case where doubt has arisen it has been impossible to refer to him. For many years MR. NORTON has been endeavouring to rouse, in the words of LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK, “the shameful apathy and indifference of England to the concerns of India.” Hoping against hope, he has continued to write with this object. His last book, the “Rebellion in India,” has never yet been answered, and why ? Because it is unanswerable. It has suited those who are interested in keeping India in its present state of darkness to ignore that book. It appears to me that every purpose for which MR. NORTON wrote the “Rebellion in India” has been achieved ; it was in advance of public opinion, which is now in accordance with his views,

both with regard to the double Government and the annexation policy ; and with respect to the injustice of the seizure of Oude, Government has endorsed his opinion in the famous Despatch of LORD ELLENBOROUGH. When MR. NORTON wrote the present work, the now defunct East India Company was only moribund ; I have in every case allowed the name to stand. It may serve as a warning, lest *nomine mutato* the same state of things be allowed to continue.

I think it right that I should state that in what is said of the future Home Government of India, the Author had only in contemplation the first India Bill, LORD PALMERSTON'S ; he could never surmise that, as by the wave of an enchanter's wand, the Court of Directors, with but slight alteration, would re-appear as the Council for India.

In conclusion, I wish to state that the book is entirely free from political bias, MR. NORTON has no party feelings. Party is not his guide, but Justice.

KENSINGTON GORE,

1st September, 1858.



## A P P E N D I X.

---

THERE are in the three armies of India 4492 officers of infantry of all ranks from colonel to ensign, belonging to 155 regiments of native and nine of European infantry; each native regiment having 26 officers, six of the European regiments 51, and the other three regiments 52 officers; the European regiments thus having in all 462 officers, and the native regiments 4030,—total 4492 infantry officers.

It is allowed to withdraw for staff duty seven officers from each regiment of native infantry, and fourteen from each European corps, thus making a total of 1211 officers withdrawn from the infantry for staff or detached duty; and the colonels of regiments (167 in number) being also absent, there are 1378 officers of infantry actually allowed to be absent from regimental duty.

By the regulations of 1796, one-third of the lieutenant-colonels and majors, of whom there are 346, are allowed to be absent on furlough, which gives about 116 absentees in these two ranks; one-fourth of the captains (of whom there are 1211) being also calculated to be absent, gives 303 absentees in the captains' grade; and one-sixth of the subalterns (of whom there are 2768,) gives 460 subalterns absent, making a total of 889 officers of all ranks absent on furlough, which, added to those absent on staff and detached duty (1378), makes in all 2267 officers absent from their corps; leaving for actual regimental duty 2225 officers of all grades.

Allowing double the number of officers to the European corps, as compared with the native, this number gives a proportion of  $24\frac{1}{2}$  officers to each European, and  $12\frac{1}{2}$  to each native corps, for the discipline of about 9000 rank and file European infantry, divided into 90 companies, and 135,000 rank and file of native infantry, divided into 1550 companies: total 144,000 rank and file, divided into 1640 companies; and allowing, as before, double the number of officers for the European corps, the proportion of officers will be one to every 35 Europeans, and one to every 70 natives, or about two officers to each of the 90 companies of European infantry, in all 180 officers, and 1550 officers to the 1550 companies of native infantry—one for each company,—total 1730 officers for the 1640 companies of Euro-

pean and native infantry; and leaving 495 officers for regimental command and regimental staff, that is, a proportion of  $2\frac{1}{3}$  officers per regiment.

These proportions of officers would be sufficient for all military purposes if always uniformly maintained throughout all the regiments with efficient and experienced officers; but no allowance is here made for the proportion that must at times be sick and unfit for duty, especially when on service. And these proportions are liable to be materially affected and the efficiency and numbers in the different grades rendered unequal, in particular corps, by reason of a larger number of officers than are allowed being withdrawn for staff duty; and also by reason of many being either young and inexperienced, or old and worn out—merely hanging on for pension; then these evils are more especially felt when a regiment is on service with officers unfit for duty, from wounds and sickness; the evils are often irremediable from the impossibility of recalling officers from staff employ.

These defects and inequalities might be remedied without any great increase in the number of officers, simply by dividing the infantry into larger bodies than the present battalions; for instance, instead of having 164 regiments of infantry, native and European, let the whole infantry (native and European) be divided into 45 regiments or corps, or legions, each with 100 officers; making in all 4500 officers, or 500 more than at present, out of which number (100) there must be kept with the soldiers a sufficient number of experienced officers properly to carry on the regimental duties; and in the event of a portion of the regiment being employed in the field, those officers becoming unfit for duty, could easily be replaced, which, under the present system of small regiments, is impossible, as no transfer of officers can conveniently be made from one regiment to another, however much it may be needed. In order to improve the discipline and practical military training of the officers, let each of these proposed regiments consist of a body of European infantry,—say 600 men or more, divided into six companies, and 3000 natives, divided into thirty companies, total 3600 rank and file, making, in the 45 regiments, 162,000 rank and file (divided into 1620 companies,) of whom 27,000 will be European in 275 companies, and 135,000 native infantry in 1350 companies.

Let each regiment have present and always effective, at least 60 officers out of the 100, making, for the 45 regiments, 2700 officers for regimental duty, and whatever may be the proportion of ranks of the 100 officers assigned for each regiment, let the same proportions be, if practicable, maintained for the 60 officers present; but if, at any time, the ratio should vary, and the duties be performed by officers of inferior rank, let them enjoy the benefit as respects superior allowances, so as by this outlay to force on the attention of Government the fact of insufficient officers with corps.

This arrangement provides for a force of 162,000 European and native rank and file of infantry, being 18,000 more than the whole infantry of the three Indian armies prior to the breaking up of the Bengal army: this increase being entirely in Europeans, and the

native infantry continuing in the same numbers as before. Now, to provide officers for this additional European strength, it would be necessary, if maintaining the existing proportion of 462 officers for 9000 European rank and file, to make an increase of 924 officers; whereas, with the improved organisation, by the proposed division of the infantry into larger bodies, only about eight more officers would be requisite.

The distribution of the 100 officers of each proposed large regiment, or legion, may be shewn by attaching two officers to each company of European infantry, and one to each native infantry company; or 42 officers for 36 companies, 12 for the European and 30 for the native companies; giving 540 officers for the 270 companies of European infantry, and 1550 officers for the 1550 companies of native infantry—total 1890 officers for 1620 companies; and reserving 18 officers per regiment (or 810 for the 45 regiments) specially for regimental command and regimental staff, there would be 2700 officers actually available for regimental duty, admitting of 40 per regiment, or altogether 1800 out of the 4500 being at all times absent on staff or detached employ, and on leave.

If the proportions of the different ranks be fixed similarly to the Royal Artillery, which is, like the Indian army, a seniority service, the grades of the 100 officers per regiment and the 4500 officers of the 45 regiments or legions would be as follows, and is contrasted below with the grades of the establishment of infantry officers, as at present fixed for the Indian army:—

Grades.	For each Regiment or Legion.	For 45 Regiments or Legions.	Present Establishment of Infantry Officers.
Colonels commanding .....	6 { 2	270 { 90	} 167
Colonels .....	6 { 4	270 { 180	
Lieutenant-colonels .....	8	360	346 { 173
Majors .....	..	..	
Captains .....	35	1575	1211
Subalterns .....	51	2295	2768
Total .....	100	4500	4492

The regular cavalry of the Honourable Company's army consisted, up to May, 1857, of 21 regiments, each of six troops, all native, comprising about 10,000 sabres, divided into 63 squadrons, each consisting of two troops of about 70 troopers, making 140 to each squadron.

For this force, an establishment of 483 European officers,—from colonel to cornet,—was allowed; the proportions of ranks being on the same principle as in the infantry branch, only with three subalterns less; giving altogether 23 officers per cavalry regiment, instead of 26 as for each native infantry regiment.

The paucity of officers was thus yet greater in the cavalry than in

the infantry; although they were yet more required with the former than with the latter, both to lead the cavalry in the field and to maintain discipline in cantonment.

It has also been considered as equally necessary to have a proportion of European cavalry as a component part of each native cavalry regiment, in order to give stability and set an example, as to have European infantry attached to the native infantry regiments. But the army of India contained no European cavalry, and although the strength of the cavalry of Her Majesty's army stationed in India was considerable, and in general about 20 squadrons, yet even this proportion was far too small for the 63 squadrons of native cavalry; and, moreover, the whole force of cavalry, as compared with the strength of the infantry, was far below the proportions maintained in Europe, and also far less than Asiatic warfare required.

The number of cavalry officers absent from their regiments on staff and detached employ, was about 126, and, with the colonels, in all 147, which, added to the absentees on furlough (96,) make up altogether 243 absentees, out of the establishment of 483 officers, leaving available for regimental duty 240 cavalry officers, giving one officer to about 40 rank and file, or nearly four to each squadron of about 140 troopers.

It would be of great importance to have attached to cavalry of the Indian army a body of European horsemen of a lighter description than Her Majesty's cavalry, and therefore, if a smaller class of men should be enlisted for Indian service, (and thus the recruiting for the heavy cavalry of England would not be interfered with,) the cavalry for India might be fixed at 75 squadrons of cavalry (15 being European and 60 native) for all India, in the following proportions for the three Presidencies: for Bengal 35 squadrons, seven European and 28 native; for Madras 25 squadrons, five European and 20 native; and 15 squadrons, three European and 12 native, for Bombay; each squadron having a squadron leader, as also each half squadron, making, with one officer in reserve, altogether four officers per squadron; thus giving for the 35 Bengal squadrons 140 officers, for the 25 Madras squadrons 100 officers, and for the 15 Bombay squadrons 60 officers—total for the whole 75 squadrons, 300 officers; add to this a proportion of officers for regimental command, regimental staff, and reserves, say 28 officers for Bengal, 20 for Madras, and 12 for Bombay (total 60), which, with the above 300, would make altogether 360 officers present for duty; and supposing the same number of absentee officers to be allowed as at present, there would then be required to be always present for regimental duty, (besides these 360 officers, who are, in fact, 120 more than have hitherto been available,) at least 240 officers for general staff, detached employ, and on leave, requiring an increase of 117 officers to the present establishment, in order to allow of the same number of absentees as at present.

The organization of the cavalry might be made on a uniform system; each squadron, both European and native, being composed of 150 sabres which, for the 75 squadrons, would make 11,250 sabres,

of which 2250 would be European, and 9000 native cavalry, distributed amongst the three armies, as follows:—

	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Squadrons—Europeans .....	7	5	3	15
Ditto —Native .....	28	20	12	60
<b>Total Squadrons .....</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>75</b>
Sabres—European .....	1050	750	450	2250
Ditto —Native .....	4200	3000	1800	9000
<b>Total Sabres .....</b>	<b>5250</b>	<b>3750</b>	<b>2250</b>	<b>11250</b>
Squadrons—Officers .....	140	100	60	300
Staff —Ditto .....	112	80	48	240
Reserve —Ditto .....	28	20	12	60
<b>Total Officers.....</b>	<b>280</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>600</b>
<b>Present Establishment .....</b>	<b>230</b>	<b>184</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>483</b>
<b>Increase .....</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>117</b>

*Statement showing the Settlement Beriz of all branches of Revenue in the District of South Arcot,  
from Fusly 1255 to Fusly 1266.*

No.	Fusly.	Extent of wet, dry, and garden land cultivated.	Land Revenue.	Frontier Customs.	Abkary.	Sundries.	Salt.	Sea Customs.	Moturpha.	Stamp.	Total.	Remarks.
		Acres.	Rupees.								Rupees.	
1	Fusly 1255	523,950	20,29,444	94,977	75,100	4,832	2,65,322	51,616	41,531	5,794	25,68,620	
2	" 1256	633,599	24,37,544	49,430	73,250	3,904	2,55,469	62,915	41,576	8,853	29,32,944	
3	" 1257	642,548	24,90,746	34,132	83,730	4,040	1,99,370	40,332	39,216	10,089	29,01,658	
4	" 1258	593,481	22,30,244	27,468	82,370	10,922	1,87,387	24,918	38,678	15,837	26,17,827	
5	" 1259	509,770	18,60,698	46,526	68,000	10,855	2,29,515	24,747	40,146	19,273	23,01,764	
6	" 1260	680,638	23,40,550	43,848	81,300	11,286	2,77,863	31,069	41,142	20,025	28,47,085	
7	" 1261	692,322	25,22,927	57,516	78,000	11,708	2,70,140	29,002	41,899	18,804	30,29,991	
8	" 1262	656,538	24,21,369	71,744	85,000	12,238	1,98,895	20,420	42,967	25,262	28,77,900	
9	" 1263	594,383	20,75,612	67,770	95,100	9,550	1,75,523	22,213	43,078	21,264	25,10,113	
10	" 1264	636,676	19,51,276	46,886	85,000	9,851	2,06,400	16,196	41,104	19,853	23,76,567	
11	" 1265	861,430	24,04,464	68,314	1,04,900	"	2,70,371	23,784	41,236	27,615	29,50,140	
12	" 1266	895,486	25,56,902	80,046	1,35,300	"	3,36,212	30,701	41,848	22,500	32,03,511	

In 1256 (1846) the Frontier Customs, except on the Pondicherry or French side, were abolished, and the Sea Customs much reduced.  
Note.—Besides the above revenue, the collections for the District Road Fund in 1266 amounted to 37,864 rupees.

**LAND REVENUE STATISTICS.—BEFORE THE MODIFICATION.**

Average of 10 years, 1816 to 1825,	rupees 18,78,925	
Ditto 1826 to 1835,	" 18,07,093	
Ditto 1836 to 1845,	" 20,66,206	Some estates fell in to Government.
Ditto 1846 to 1855,	" 22,56,996	

**AFTER THE MODIFICATION.**

In Fusly 1265, or A.D. 1855-56,	rupees 24,04,464	} Exclusive of the Road Fund, about 40,000 rupees.
" 1266, " 1856-57,	" 25,56,902	

The modification of assessment has reduced the tax on the land under cultivation by above 10 lacs of rupees, (or 10,29,947 rupees), and yet Government have been gainers as well as the people.

*Extract from Madras Atheneum of 1854.*

## IMPORTS.

During the 18 years, from 1834 to 1852, both inclusive, the exports from Madras amounted to £25,506,197-12; in round numbers about a hundred and forty lacs a year. The imports, in the same period, reached only £14,439,449-6, or eighty lacs per annum. We naturally look for the balance under the head of "treasure imported," but, strange to say, more money was sent out of the country than was brought into it, and we have not included the precious metals in the list of exports! Still dealing with the same period of time, we find that £3,338,810-10 was shipped from Madras in the shape of treasure, and but £3,190-767-10 brought back again. The total of money and merchandise put on board or sent across the frontiers by land is £28,845,008-2, and the total imports amount to £17,630,217-4. A sum then of £11,214,790-18 is wholly unaccounted for, and if we allow the merchant a profit of ten per cent. on exports, we shall find that for every rupee's worth sent out of the country, whether in the shape of produce, manufactures, or the precious metals, but nine annas come back again to the country.

But the value sent forward and the trader's profit must find a way out again through some channel or other. True enough! The London banker, who is debtor to Madras for the sums that his correspondents here have advanced on bills of lading, and which he gets back from the mercantile agents, returns the equivalent, either by paying the drafts which the Madras branch has valued on him, or by making advances on goods shipped to this port, or remitting bullion. The agent of the Madras trade returns in goods or money, as he is directed, all that *he* has received, and in fine, every one who owes us anything, is good enough to pay it. But there is one firm that has neither paid money on our account nor sent out a shilling's worth of goods, who yet demand and receive every year the seven annas in each rupee that we have found missing. In the four years ending 1850-51, the East India Company carried off nearly £2,470,000 of coined money, exclusive of the sums raised by advances on goods and the sale of bills. In 1851-2 they shipped from Madras £651,200, and obtained money on bills to the extent of £303,000. If this sum be added to the imports for that year, the whole will amount to £2,854,965-10, against a total export of £2,670,444-8 merchandise and treasure in 1850-1, and gives us back the worth of our ventures, and a profit of more than seven per cent.

We have searched for a proper standard of comparison, but without success. The Crown Colonies within the tropics, which are said to be wretchedly governed as contrasted with the countries under the sway of the East India Company, are so small in comparison with Madras, that the disproportion is ludicrous. Ceylon and Mauritius receive about a third more than the total imports of Madras, and pay about *one-eighth* of its revenue. We prefer therefore to quote the South American States, where the negro works for a bare maintenance, where the rulers have never been trained for the duties of government, and the hunter wears a dress of deer-skin, and seldom requires the aid of the dhotie. Our authority is the Parliamentary return of "British cotton-manufactured goods exported in the year 1851," from which it

appears that Brazil and nine South American Republics, having in the whole a population of less than twenty-two millions, took more than four millions' worth of manufactures, or a trifle less than four shillings per head.

---

*Extract from Madras Athenæum of July 25, 1854.*

EXPORTS.

There are 90,000,000 of acres in the Madras Presidency, or nearly double the area of Great Britain, and the population is more than that of England, Scotland, and Wales. There is no limit to the power of producing silk, indigo, sugar, coffee, and cotton, the most valuable staples of commerce, the demand for which, in the markets of the world, is almost equally inexhaustible. Three fourths of the people of Madras are agriculturists; rich lands in every direction are lying waste; English capital is ready to flow into every channel that is opened to it. Nothing, then, but idleness or hindrance stands in the way of a large surplus production, and, by consequence, of national wealth and progress.

The extent of real *surplus* production cannot, of course, be always ascertained by looking at the returns of articles exported. Yorkshire produces both beef and broadcloth, but if the people in that county were to resolve henceforth to wear cotton garments and live wholly on potatoes, it is quite certain that a large increase might be made in the amount of exports, whilst production remained stationary. The figures in the Customs' records show the amount of wealth that has been sent away, but not of that which is retained for home consumption. A large export may be often nothing more than a forced contribution, the necessities of the producer obliging him to sell more than the proportion that he would part with under prosperous circumstances. But in analysing the social condition of Madras, it is not possible to make a mistake of the above kind. Every year the whole available excess of production is sent out of the country. The grain merchant maintains his usual store of rice, always hoping for adverse seasons, but the ryot sells his crop even before it is cut down, and the weaver's cloth is always due to the money lender. There is no such thing as keeping up stocks of exportable merchandize; at the end of the season the hut and the godown are equally empty. The trader is as bare of goods as the peasant of coin and comfort. Any one who examines the official statements of revenue and commerce, will see that the average totals scarcely vary from one year to another, and that Madras has paid more revenue, exported more produce, and taken a greater share of imports in some former years as compared with the present.

We have before us "statements of the trade of the Madras territories, for 1851-2," published by order of Government. The year in question was favourable to all kinds of agricultural production; and may therefore be taken as even above the average of seasons. In this period, then, of general plenty, we find that the whole external commerce of Madras, by land as well as by sea, deducting re-exports



and treasure exported by Government, amounted in value to £2,793,459:2, (2,79,34,591 rupees), or less than two shillings and sevenpence per head, on the population of twenty-two millions!

The authorities we quote are Parliamentary Returns, of the Session 1851-2, and M'Culloch, Ed. 1853, from which it appears, that the population of the *British West Indies* was, in 1848, 900,000. In 1850, they exported to the value of £3,666,250, upwards of one-fourth more than the out-turn of the twenty-two millions of Madras, and considerably above four pounds sterling per head.

*Cuba*, with a population of 1,200,000, sent forward in 1841, produce of the value of £6,306,028, the despised slave creating fifty times as much wealth as the well cared-for inhabitant of Madras.

*Mauritius*, where the soil is cultivated wholly by the voluntary exiles from India, exported in 1850, merchandize to the extent of £950,000, being at the rate of nearly six pounds for each inhabitant, the latter amounting, according to the last census, to 168,000.

In 1836, the latest date which can be referred to, 560,093 Negroes and Asiatics, under French control, in the colonies within the tropics, sent to *France only*, products to the value of £2,839,448, a little more, it will be seen, than the entire exports of Madras.

*Porto Rico* contrived to produce in 1839, exportable commodities worth £1,242,479, which were raised by the labour of 357,000 people.

*Ceylon*, in 1845, had a population of 1,500,000, but we believe it has less at present; in 1850, it sent forward exports worth £974,439.

*Java*, with a population of seven millions, exported in 1845, goods valued at £5,491,264.

---

## APPENDIX A.

*Extract Minute by the Right Honourable the President (Lord Harris), dated 2nd May, 1857 (referred to in the letter from the Governor-General, dated the 4th July, 1857.)*

I have now been three years in India, and during that period I have made a point of keeping myself acquainted with the tenor of the larger portion of the British press throughout the country, and I have no hesitation in asserting my impression to be, that it is, more particularly in this Presidency, *disloyal* in tone, *un-English* in spirit, and *wanting in principle*, seeking every opportunity, whether rightly or wrongly, of holding up the Government to opprobrium, not so scurrilous certainly as portions of the press in the colonies, but utterly regardless of *correctness* in statement.

With such an influence disseminating itself throughout the country, uncontrolled and uncontradicted, what must be the consequence?

The greater number of men, even in highly civilised countries, are not very clear in the discrimination of the truth and falsehood of statements which come before them, and, if this be so, what must be the case in a country where there is still less of that power?

I do not see how it is possible for the natives, in the towns more

especially, with the accusations, *misrepresentations*, and *calumnies* which are constantly brought before them, to come to any other conclusion than that the Government of their country is carried on by imbecile and dishonest men.

And I believe I may add that the effect thus produced is not limited to the natives, but that it has spread itself also amongst our own countrymen.

I am aware that it may be contended that the influence of the press is not great; that no one minds what it says; and, lastly, that things go on very well in England, though the same attacks are made there.

I am not prepared to allow the truth of the two first propositions above mentioned, and I would point out as to the third, that the case of India is totally dissimilar.

In England, however strong may be the attacks on the Government or on individuals, there is still that homogeneity of race which prevents any dangerous results to the common weal; moreover, every man is certain, whether on public or private matters, of having an opportunity of bringing his case before the public, either by means of rival newspapers or in Parliament; there is, therefore, the certainty of removing, in a short time, an unfavorable impression, if produced by an unfair or untrue statement.

But in India just the contrary is the case; *week after week, month after month, year after year*, are these attacks on the Government and on its servants disseminated almost unnoticed and uncontradicted.

What must be the conclusion which will be impressed on weak and ignorant minds?

Inevitably that no defence can be made. It may be right to look with indifference on opinions which are so crudely imbibed, but I do not coincide with that opinion.

All men are endued with some degree of the sense of right and wrong, and it is well worth while to lead their feelings in a right direction.

It will be asked, what is the remedy for this state of things? Is a  *censorship*  of the press to be introduced? If so, would it achieve the desired object?

I believe not; and at all events it would be *impolitic to recede from the freedom* which has been granted, in order to cure the license which has emanated from it.

A disease of this nature should be kept under command, not by repression, but by the application of a cure on sound principles. *The liberty of the press is a most important and vital principle* in the best interests of humanity, and cannot on any account *be interfered with*; but that freedom has been won and granted for the purpose of eliciting truth, not for disseminating *falsehood*.

The propagator of untruth or of misrepresentation should be made responsible for his statements; the burden of proof should be thrown upon him, either as proprietor or editor, and on failure the act should be penal in an *ordinary court*.

The reputation of a government or of its officers, or of any individual, should not be valued at a money rate, or left to the *fickle and timorous decision of juries*.

The freedom of subject demands that there should be some change in the law on this point, by which *relief* may be given to those liable to attack.

It must be evident to all candid minds that there is a *tyranny* now extant, under the specious term of the liberty of the press, to which numbers are slaves, and against which they dare not strike a blow.

Relief from such a tyranny is, I know, *desired*, but it is thought hopeless to attempt to obtain it.

There has been much said and written about torture of the body in these days, and every attempt has been made to stop it: but there is another description of torture much more painful to an honourable mind, that of *trading the reputation*, which equally deserves consideration, which equally calls for interference, and which now can be practised by any man who will descend to *defamation*, while *skulking under the shield* of the editorial We; or to *misrepresentation*, while hiding himself behind some *nom de guerre*.

The bully of society in former days—I mean the duellist, offensive as he was and frequently unfair—still had the merit of boldness, and risked his own life whilst he took the lives of others; but these bullies of the present day are sheltered, under present circumstances, from all risk.

The first maxim enjoined by our divine religion is that of *charity*, and it is confirmed by the sanction of every sound system of morals; but can this be said to be supported by our laws, when the practice of the unlimited publication of misrepresentation and *detraction* is permitted with impunity?

I am aware that I am expressing opinions at variance with those generally avowed in the present day, but I am bold to do so in the conviction that they are founded on eternal truth, and that they will prevail; and that a contrary system, however plausible in theory, will induce unfavorable results, such as, I believe, are now partially manifesting themselves in this country.

The honour of a Government should be maintained with the greatest strictness, and when attacked should be defended, and every real misrepresentation should be dogged to its source and branded publicly with falsehood.

---

*Extract Minute by the Right Honourable the Governor (Lord Harris), dated the 20th June, 1857 (referred to in the letter from the Governor-General, dated 4th July, 1857.)*

In support of the statements which I have lately made respecting the tone of the press and its effects on the army, I now circulate two copies of the "Examiner" newspaper of the 18th instant, one to be sent to the Honourable Court, and one to the Government of India, which contains an article *full of seditious matter*, and addressed *in the most open manner to the soldiery*.

I at once referred this, in order to save time, for a legal opinion, and the answer was as I anticipated, that though the article was *highly seditious*, yet that the risks were so great, or rather, that the

chances of *success in the courts were so small*, that it would be better to allow such *poison* to be disseminated than to offer an opportunity whereby Government might suffer a defeat.

So that the preaching of sedition and of, in fact, rebellion, must be allowed to run in its full course.

I have already stated that this newspaper is the mouth-piece of the Roman catholic priests, and *is probably mainly supported by the money paid to them by Government.*

It is circulated *at so cheap* a rate that it cannot be remunerative; and lately, since enlarged allowances have been granted to the Bishop, it has been issued on *three days in the week* instead of, as previously, on two.

I am informed also, that arrangements have been made by which these seditious articles are immediately translated into the native languages, and that the circulation of them is rapidly increasing.

And amongst whom do these papers circulate first? *undoubtedly amongst the sepoy.*

Sir Thomas Munro, in his Minute of the 12th April, 1822, to every word of which most remarkable and prophetic document I would at the present time call especial attention, writes, "The native troops are the only body of natives who are always mixed with Europeans, and they will therefore be the first to learn the doctrines circulated amongst them by the newspapers;" and this no doubt is the case, and the results we are, I believe, now witnessing.

(True copies.)

(Signed) J. S. MILL,  
*Examiner of India Correspondence.*

East India House, August, 1857.

## APPENDIX B.—No. 1.

*List of the Proficients of the late High School and Presidency College of Madras*

No.	Names.	Names of Offices.	Salaries in Rupees.
1	C. Runganathum Shastry ..	Head Tamil Teloogoo, and also Mopple, and Malayaham, Interpreter of the Supreme Court ..	350 with fees.
2	P. Thenathialoo Naidoo .....	Without employ .....	
3	V. Sadagopa Charloo .....	A Pleader in the Court of Sudder, Udalut ..	100
4	M. Sadasiva Pillay .....	Sherestadar of the Civil Court of Cuddalore ..	
5	V. Ramyengar .....	Head Sherestadar of Tanjore .....	280
6	T. Madava Row .....	Acting Dewan of Travancore .....	2000
7	Mr. B. Lovery .....	Principal of Patcheappah's School .....	200
8	A. Sashiah Shastry .....	Head Sherestadar of Masulipatam .....	280
9	V. Ramanooja Charriar .....	Secretary to Charities, also Pleader of the Court of Sudder, Udalut.	100
10	G. Chungunnah Shastry ..	Head Accountant in the Collectors's Cutcherry of Chingleput ..	100
11	C. Runga Charry .....	Naib Sherestadar of Nellore .....	175
12	W. Sasha Chellaw Naidoo ..	Indexer in the Revenue Department of Government Office .....	100
13	G. Rajagopal Naidoo .....	Teacher in Patchappah's School .....	60
14	A. Rama Chendra Row .....	Naib Sherestadar of Salem .....	175
15	D. Baboo Row .....	Merchant .....	150
16	T. Venkata Charry .....	Deputy Inspector of School at Trichinopoly ..	
17	Mr. H. Herakoose .....	Merchant .....	85
18	C. Sama Row .....	Dep. Master of the Zillah School, Cuddalore ..	
19	J. Runganathum Moody .....	Interpreter in the Small Cause Court .....	70
20	B. Kristnasawmy Naidoo ..	Head Writer of the Civil Court, Chingleput ..	70
21	S. Soondram Naidoo .....	Clerk, Public Department, Government Office ..	70
22	P. Rungiah Naidoo .....	Interpreter in the Small Cause Court .....	70
23	P. Vijarauga Moody .....	Deputy Inspector of Schools at Madura ..	150
24	T. Teeromala Row .....	Translator in the Chingleput Collectorate ..	85
25	T. Durmarayen Moody .....	Sub-Division Sherestadar of Rajahmundry ..	175
26	D. Teagiah Shastry .....	Clerk in the Accountant-General's Office ..	60
27	A. Streenevasa Row .....	Head Javobnevis in the Collector's Cutcherry of Guntoor .....	70
28	M. Sivagooroo Pillay .....	Head Accountant in the Collector's Cutcherry of Chittore .....	100
29	A. Narrain Row .....	Head Master of the Zillah School, Chittore ..	200
30	C. Teroovengadam Naidoo ..		
31	Mr. A. Dique .....	Teacher in the Presidency College .....	120
32	V. Kristnama Charloo .....	Deputy Inspector of Schools at Chingleput ..	
33	P. Chinnatambee Naidoo ..	Ditto ditto at Masulipatam .....	100
34	V. Rajagopala Charriar .....	Tahsildar in the Nellore District .....	
35	T. Moottoosawmy Iyer .....	District Moonsiff of Tranquebar .....	100
36	P. Vurda Charry .....	Translator attached to the Marattah Cutcherry of the Revenue Board Office .....	54
* 37	B. Gopaliah .....	Tahsildar in the Nellore Collectorate .....	70
38	N. Ramasawmy Moody .....	Clerk, Public Department, Government Office ..	40
39	C. Ramiah .....	Teacher in the Wesleyan School at Madras ..	60
40	C. Armoogum Moody .....		
41	P. Venkatakrishnama Naidoo	Javobnevis in the Collector's Cutcherry of Chingleput .....	31½
42	Y. Venkataramiah .....	Clerk in the Accountant-General's Office ..	70
43	T. Samiah Shastry .....	Deputy Inspector of Schools at Cuddalore ..	80
44	V. Rajagopala Charloo .....	Translator in the Sudder Udalut .....	70
45	V. Kanakiah Naidoo .....	Clerk in the Accountant-General's Office ..	35
46	T. Cooposeamy Iyer .....	Ditto ditto .....	50
47	V. Soobramaniem Naik .....	Without Employ .....	

## APPENDIX B.—No. 2.

*List of the past Students of Patcheappah's School, who are now holding  
Employments.*

No.	Names.	Employment.	Salaries.
1	C. Coorasaloo Naidoo . . . . .	Senior Head Signaller, Electric Telegraph Office . . . . .	70
2	M. Singala Charry . . . . .	Translator in Government Office . . . . .	50
3	Narasimma Charry . . . . .	Signaller in Telegraph Office . . . . .	21
4	C. Viziaragavooloo Naidoo . . . . .	Senior Head Signaller, Electric Telegraph, Madras . . . . .	110
5	M. Teroovengadam . . . . .	Signaller, Electric Telegraph, Bangalore . . . . .	21
6	Soobbiah . . . . .	Telugu Head Master, Provincial School, Rajahmundry . . . . .	30
7	V. Narrain Iyah . . . . .	Writer in the Commissary General's Office . . . . .	25
8	M. Parthasarady Chetty . . . . .	Clerk in Government Office . . . . .	20
9	Davasegamony . . . . .	Tutor in Mr. Grant's School . . . . .	15
10	C. Rajaruthenum . . . . .	Writer in Sea Custom House . . . . .	25
11	Valoo Moodelly . . . . .	Clerk in Government Office . . . . .	14
12	Kistnama Charry . . . . .	. . . . .	20
13	Sashachella Pillay . . . . .	In Revenue Board Office . . . . .	15
14	Narrainsawmy . . . . .	In the Treasury . . . . .	20
15	Sashadriah . . . . .	2d Teacher in Patcheappah's Branch School, Conjevarum . . . . .	15
16	Mausing . . . . .	Head Teacher Madras Native Progressive Seminary . . . . .	25
17	V. Ramanoojum . . . . .	Clerk . . . . .	25
18	C. Vurdacharry . . . . .	Telugu Head Master at Nellore . . . . .	14
19	Nadamoonny Naidoo . . . . .	Clerk in Small Cause Court . . . . .	21
20	C. Kistnasawmy Moodelly . . . . .	2d Tutor in the Native Progressive Seminary . . . . .	10
21	A. Vurda Charry . . . . .	Moonshee at the College . . . . .	25
22	Cooposawmy . . . . .	Writer in Oakes Partridge and Co. . . . .	10½
23	Chendrappah Moodelly . . . . .	A Teacher at Rajahmundry . . . . .	35
24	Sambaseva Pillay . . . . .	Clerk in the Madras Bank . . . . .	25
25	C. Moorogasa Pillay . . . . .	Writer in Sheriff's Office . . . . .	12½
26	C. Etherajooloo Naidoo . . . . .	Cash Keeper . . . . .	35
27	S. Streerunga Charry . . . . .	Writer in the Custom House . . . . .	18
28	Rajagopaul Charry . . . . .	In the Railway Company's Office . . . . .	25
29	Chunniah Naidoo . . . . .	Clerk in Small Cause Court . . . . .	14
30	Thungavaloo Moodelly . . . . .	Engineer's Office . . . . .	35
31	Singaravalo . . . . .	Railway Office . . . . .	25
32	T. Narrainsawmy Naidoo . . . . .	Clerk in the Mercantile Bank . . . . .	40
33	Visvanathen . . . . .	. . . . .	50
34	Pillaloga Charry . . . . .	Moonshee at the College . . . . .	25
35	M. Streerunga Charry . . . . .	Cashkeeper at Stephenson & Co. . . . .	30
36	Casava Charry . . . . .	Writer . . . . .	12
37	T. Ragavooloo Naidoo . . . . .	At Rangoon . . . . .	40
38	Kistniah . . . . .	At Revenue Board . . . . .	15
39	Appiah Naidoo . . . . .	Writer at Guntoor . . . . .	21
40	P. Parthasarthee . . . . .	General Treasury . . . . .	16
41	Ramanjooloo . . . . .	Oriental Bank . . . . .	20
42	Ragava Charry . . . . .	Writer, Civil Auditor Office . . . . .	15

No.	Names.	Employment.	Salaries.
43	Moorogasa Moodelly	Ashton Richardson and Co.	25
44	Veerasawmy Moodelly	Writer in Ice House	13
45	M. Rajagopaul	Clerk at Salem Civil Court	25
46	Ramachendra Chetty	Writer in the Cutcherry of Nabob of Carnatic	21
47	V. Vurdachary	Telugu Moonshee at Sadras	30
48	Solayappen	At Sudder Court	14
49	C. Vanogopaul	Telegraph Office Signaller	15
50	Vencatasooboo	Clerk in Military Board	16
51	Soobroyen	Railway Company	15
52	Rajaruthenum	Ditto ditto	40
53	Sunthojes Row	Gun Carriage Manufactory	18
54	Veerunnen	Clerk, Adjutant-General's Office	30
55	V Parthasarady	Clerk, Office of the P. & O. S. N. Company	21
56	Soodaresana Naidoo	Clerk in the Sheriff's Office	17 $\frac{1}{2}$
57	Moorga Pillay	Ditto ditto	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
58	Moonesawmy Naidoo	A Private Teacher	20
59	Rungasoyee Naik	Schoolmaster, Rajahmundry	20
60	P. Vencataramiah	Cashier at Messrs. Kenrick and Co.	21
61	Namasevoya Moodelly	Clerk in Accountant-General's Office	35
62	Vencataramanjooloo	Rajahmundry	50
63	Naunoo Iyer	A Teacher at Bangalore	50
64	C. Appasawmy	A Writer	14
65	Colundavaloo Naidoo	Medical College	24 $\frac{1}{2}$
66	Somasoondara Moodelly	Ditto ditto	14
67	V Rajaruthena Moodelly	Clerk in the Government Office	25
68	Teroovengada Pillay	Messrs. Oakes Partridge and Co.	14
69	Easvara Row	Gun Carriage Manufactory	37
70	Vencata Charry	Merchant	
71	Lutchumiah	Apprentice in the Railway Department	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
72	Narrainsawmy	Writer in the Treasury	20
73	S. Parthasarady	Senior Head Signaller, Bangalore	35
74	C Augustoesvara Moodelly	Head Teacher, Patcheappah's Branch School at Conjeverum	25
75	Ramanjooloo Naidoo	A Private Teacher	20
76	Authecasavooloo Naik	Tutor in the Native Progressive Seminary	7
77	Soobroyaloo	2d Teacher, Vernacular School at Triplicane	10
78	Davasegamoney	Writer at Messrs. Ashton and Richardson.	15
79	C. Kistnasawmy	Apprentice in the Chief Engineer's Office.	0
80	Chengulvaroyen	Ditto ditto	0
81	Kistnasawmy	Ditto ditto	0
82	Moorogasa Moodelly	Clerk at Messrs. Ashton Richardson & Co.	20
83	Saravanam	Clerk in Adjutant-General's Office	15
84	A. Teroovengada Pillay	Clerk at General Police Office	50
85	Sadagopen	Apprentice in the Chief Engineer's Office.	0
86	Sevananda Moodelly	Paymaster's Office	10
87	Namasevoyen	Teacher in London Mission School	7
88	Narrainsawmy	Clerk in the Military Fund	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
89	Rajamunnaroo	" " " "	25
90	Veerasawmy Moodelly	" " " "	20
91	Kistnama Charry	Clerk, Railway Department	35
92	T. Ruthenum	Stipendiary Student, Medical College	10
93	Teroovengada Charry	" " " "	14
94	Moorogasa Moodelly	Medical College	10
95	Parthasarady Naidoo	Clerk in Government Office	20
96	T. Parthasarthee	Signaller, Telegraph Department., Bangalore	21
97	Thaneachella Moodelly	Clerk in Government Office	20
98	T Verrasawmy Moodelly	Signaller, Telegraph Office, Mysore	21
99	C. Sashachella Moodelly	Writer	17 $\frac{1}{2}$

No.	Names.	Employment.	Salaries.
100	Ponnoosawmy Moodelly	Clerk in Land Customs Office	10
101	Soobratmaneya Moodelly	Ditto Railway Department	16
102	Thamodara Moodelly	In Assessment Office	17½
103	Parthasarady Moodelly	In the Railway Department	10
104	Sabapathy	Clerk in a Shop	10
105	C. Theroovengadam	Revenue Board	14
106	C. Dorasawmy Moodelly	Clerk in Small Cause Court	30
107	Ponnoorunga Moodelly	English Head Teacher at Royapooram	30
108	P. Moorogasa Moodelly	Clerk in the Madras Bank	25
109	Auroomoga Moodelly	At Neelgherry	42
110	Ramasawmy Moodelly	At Messrs. Binny and Co.	14
111	Chocalingum		
112	Ragavacharry	Revenue Board	25
113	Ramasawmy Chetty	Messrs. Binny and Co.	21
114	P. Kistnasawmy Moodelly	Messrs. Binny and Co.	25
115	Rungiah Naidoo	Messrs. Hill and Co.	21
116	Shunmoogum	Deputy Examiner, Rangoon	70
117	Aroonachella Moodelly	Ditto ditto	150
118	Vencatarunga Pillay	At Oakes Partridge and Co.	30
119	Balasoondra Moodelly	Public Works Office	50
120	Valoo Moodelly	Accountant-General's Office	25
121	Appasawmy		25
122	Tholasy Ram	Government Office	20
123	Rungasawmy Moodelly	Light House Overseer	14
124	P. Vencatarunga Naidoo	Student, Medical School	7
125	Cundasawmy	Clerk in the Railway	25
126	Rungasawmy Moodelly	Clerk, Engineer's Office	12
127	A. Sadagopa Moodelly	Clerk, Railway	16
128	T. Narramsawmy Naidoo	Ditto, Military Fund	10½
129	Soondara Moodelly	Teacher, Mr. Grant's School	15
130	T. Rajamunnaroo Pillay	Clerk in Post Office	18
131	Mootiah Moodelly	Writer in the Engineer's Department	35
132	A. Ramanjooloo Naidoo	Clerk in Adjutant-General's Office	20
133	P. Appiah Naidoo	Peishcar at Masulipatam	14
134	Ramanoojiah	Writer in the Collector's Cutcherry, Nellore	15
135	Balakistna Chetty	Writer, Messrs. Oakes and Co.	0
136	P. Ramanjooloo Naidoo	Head Master, Madras Hindoo Seminary	25
137	Ramanoojah Charry	Writer at Messrs. Binny and Co.	20
138	Coomarasawmy Chetty	Writer in Custom House	14
139	P. Lutchumiah Naidoo	English Cadaca Pillay, Rajahmundry	21
140	P. Valoo Moodelly	Writer in the Accountant-General's Office	20
141	T. N. Comaravalo Moodelly	Ditto ditto	30
142	M. Moorogasa Pillay	Ditto ditto	30
143	P. Namasevaya Moodelly	Ditto ditto	35
144	Sashachella Moodelly	Military Fund Office	28
145	T. Vencatichella Moodelly	In the Nabob's Establishment	20
146	Ramasawmy Chetty	Writer in Accountant-General's Office	20
147	Kistnasawmy Chetty	Cash-keeper, Dale and Boyson	52
148	D. Lutchumiah Naidoo	Writer in Small Cause Court	18
149	C. Nadamoony	Ditto Stationery Office	20
150	Govindappah Chetty	Ditto Family Pension Office	25
151	T. Chennatumbee Moodelly	Ditto at Stephenson and Co.	10
152	W. Shashachella Naidoo	In the Road Department	20
153	M. Ramachendra Chetty	Writer in the Chief Engineer's Office	25
154	C. V. Ruthnum	Writer	28
155	P. Parthasarady Naidoo	Writer, General Post Office	12
156	Saravana Moodelly	Ditto, Accountant-General's Office	20
157	Moorga Pillay	Sheriff's Office	12½



No.	Names.	Employment.	Salaries.
158	V Parthasarady Naidoo	Clerk in Accountant-General's Office .	25
159	M Comarasawmy .....	Sea Custom Office .....	10
160	M Parthasarady .....	Ditto ditto .....	20
161	C Collingaroy Moodelly	Writer M .....	14
162	Moottoosawmy .....	Writer, Rangoon Pay Office .....	14
163	Soobiah .....	Normal Student, Primary School ..	15
164	Janugheerum .....	Medical Student .....	7
165	Balakistnan .....	Ditto ditto .....	5
166	Moorgasem .....	Writer, Accountant-General's Office ..	15
167	Vencatasooboo .....	Ditto, Civil and Session Court, Chittoor	20
168	Novlamony .....	Signaller, Telegraph Office .....	30
169	Maselamony .....	Normal Student .....	5
170	Moonesawmy Chitty .....	Ditto ditto .....	5
171	Annasamiah .....	Ditto ditto .....	5
172	Iyaviah .....	Ditto ditto .....	5
173	Vincutuchillun .....	Ditto ditto .....	5
174	Numbermal Chitty .....	Writer, Railway Company .....	15
175	Strenevusa Charry .....	Writer, Telegraph Office .....	30
176	Runga Charry .....	Ditto ditto .....	10
177	Ruthenum .....	Ditto ditto .....	30
178	Veeraperwa Iya .....	Private English Teacher .....	10
179	P. Ruthenum .....	Teacher in Free Church of Scotland's Mission Branch School .....	15
180	Parthasrathy .....	Accountant, Railway Department .....	15
181	Moottentiah .....	Clerk, Engineer's Office .....	25
182	C. Casavooloo Chitty .....	Ditto, Government Office .....	15
183	Teroovanyadum Chitty .	Merchant .....	
184	Ramasamiah .....	Normal Pupil .....	15
185	Dorasamiah .....	Ditto ditto .....	15
186	B Vencatasoobiah .....	Accountant, Survey Department, Cuddalore	10
187	Ram Chitty .....	Cash-keeper .....	25
188	Chengulroyen .....	Sub-Overseer, Survey Department .....	40
189	Kistnasawmy .....	Ditto ditto .....	50
190	Camoo Chitty .....	Clerk, Stationery Office .....	12
191	Appasawmy Chetty .....	Cash-keeper, Messrs Dale and Bryson's	80
192	M. Sashial .....	Reader, Small Cause Court .....	

The salaries of many of these young men have been increased since the publication of this report

MEM.—It is almost impossible to get the names of all the lads educated in Patcheappah, who are now holding employments, as they are so scattered about the country. The list now furnished contains the names of but a fraction of those lads who are indebted to Patcheappah's Institution for their situations.

## APPENDIX C.

*Translation of a copy of a Proclamation issued by Feroz Shah, son of Bahadoor Shah, Ex-King of Delhi, at Bareilly, on the 18th February, 1858.*

“ Be't known to all Hindoos and Mussulmans of Hindostan, that power and dominion are one of the greatest blessings of Providence, and that his blessing cannot long be enjoyed by a deceitful tyrant. .

“ For some years past, these wicked Christian kafirs commenced tyrannizing over India, intending to cause the spread of Christianity by violence, and to do away with the religion of Hindoos and Mussulmans, but it pleased God to turn the minds of the people against them, so much so, that all of a sudden, they became intent upon destroying them, and of a truth they are very nearly annihilated; but owing to the lust of power and dignity, they have collected themselves here and there, in wretched plight, and making useless efforts to regain their power. Please God, in a short time they will be so annihilated as not to leave a single tract behind them. Let it be known to all Hindoos and Mussulmans in India, that owing to the circumstances mentioned above, there exists the bitterest enmity between the natives and the English; and if, after all that has past, the latter regain their former power in India, it is certain that they will destroy the religion, honour, life, and property of every one. I therefore give a short account of the resolutions past, with the joint concurrence of the Judicial Council, the Supreme Court, and the Parliaments, in hope that our Indian Brethren, becoming aware of their evil intentions, will join together in extirpating them. When the army mutinied for the sake of their religion, and killed without mercy these kafirs with their swords, then, with regard to the cause of the mutiny; and the loss of life, their Priests and sages came to the following resolution, viz., that if the former Governor had properly looked to the following points, there would have been no rebellion:—

1st—“ The Government took measures for protecting the heirs and descendants of the former rulers, instead of extirpating them. They ought to have taken them, on the pretence of conveying them to England, on board ship, and to have drowned them in the sea.

2nd—“ They ought not to have preserved the religious books of any tribe in Hindustan, but they should have taken them by force and burnt them.

3rd—“ They ought to have deprived all natives of holding a single ‘Biswah’ of land.

4th—“ They ought to have intermarried with the daughters of

natives of rank, compelling the parents by force, and bribing them with money, to give them their daughters, so that in a few years they would all have become one.

5th—"They ought not to have taught artillery practice to any natives of India.

6th—"They ought not to have left arms or weapons in the hands of the natives.

7th—"They ought not to have given service to any one, unless he had eaten food with them.

8th—"They ought not to have permitted the Hindoos to relate their religious tales, or granted permission to Mussulmans to preach sermons.

9th—"They ought not to have permitted the erection of Mosques and Temples.

10th—"Decisions in the civil courts ought to have been passed according to the precepts of the Christian religion.

11th—"The marriage ceremonies should have been made over to the English clergy, instead of allowing the old customs of 'Nikau' and 'Bhowlee.'

12th—"Hindoo and Mussulman systems of medicine ought not to have been allowed to be practised.

13th—(Wanting in the copy furnished to me.)

14th—"They ought not to have allowed the Hindoo and Mussulman Faqueers, unless especially permitted by the clergyman, to make Proselytes.

15th—"They ought not to have allowed midwives, but insisted that English medical men should attend women in child-birth.

"These points were not at all regarded by the English Government, but the superstitions of the perfidious natives were, on the contrary, respected and encouraged. The consequence is, that these very people rebelled; that if the foregoing measures are adopted, there will be no fear of any disturbance for a thousand years to come."

Oh! men of Hindustan, see now these Christians. How great is their enmity against you. You have been told of the future schemes of the English, as related above. Now you must wash your hands, and try your best to save your religion and lives, by murdering all Europeans; make your resolution firm, and by the blessing of God you will succeed.

I, the writer of this Proclamation, give you a short account of facts as follows. Hear it attentively, and act up to it. Before the rebellion broke out I had gone to Mecca, and on my return, when I arrived a Bombay, having been informed of the wretched condition of these ill-disposed Christians, I thanked God; and as I am by nature a believer in Islam, and a lover of justice, and a hater of oppression, when I left Bombay on my way back to this part of India, I persuaded the people on the road as far as Gwalior to make a Jihad, and to kill all Christians, and to this effect I took pledges from a great number of native chieftains and warriors. A small force accompanied me from Gwalior, and I had intended to fight as soon as I had matured my plans; but the religious fervour of my troops became so great, that they paid no attention to discipline. They consequently

unadvisedly advanced on Agra, and commenced fighting with the ill-starred infidels at that place;\* and notwithstanding that they were inferior in numbers to the enemy, they fought well and bravely, and though they were apparently defeated, yet, in reality, having killed about a thousand of the kafirs, they obtained a victory; my property was lost, and my relatives and friends were dispersed.

From that day to this my time has been employed in preparing to fight again, and for three or four months I have been very successful in inducing several princes and other natives of rank, and warriors of every part of the country, to join with me in extirpating the wicked kafirs, and by the grace of God I have been able to collect 150,000 tried soldiers and recruits, and they have taken solemn oaths not to desert the cause; and, therefore, in a very short time we shall be able to clear the country from the presence of the kafirs. Every where ammunition is stored, and money is collected. The only thing which remains to be done is for me to commence operations.

The object in view is purely of a religious nature, therefore it is made known to all Hindoos and Mussulmans, that whoever is so fortunate as to possess the grace of God he will join us in this religious war. After the receipt of this proclamation it is expected that all will join in the "Juhad."

The weak and old can join by their prayers for our success; the wealthy and old should assist us with their wealth; whilst those who are strong and in good health should exert themselves in the field of battle.

On joining the "Juhad" every one must remember the following points.

Those who are servants of the races of Lucknow, our young kinsman, Mirza Burjees Qudur Bahadoor, and those who are servants of the Nawab Khan Bahadoor, Khan of Bareilly, will not join in this war, without obtaining first the consent of those chiefs; for those chiefs are ready to expel the kafirs. Deserting those chiefs is, in fact, therefore adding strength to the infidels.

2nd—All should join in this religious war, not for the sake of this world's goods, but in hopes of reaping the fruits of eternity.

After retaining ascendancy and power by the blessing of God, they will also get high situations in this world.

3rd—The delay that has occurred hitherto in expelling the English has been caused by the will and order of Providence, for the army mercilessly murdered women and children in violation of the orders of their sirdars, and gave themselves up so much to plunder that they turned victory into defeat. They likewise oppressed the people, and did not mind the orders of their leaders.

Now having relinquished all these sinful acts, and formed your mind for doing good, you should join in the "Juhad," and you will obtain complete victory.

4th—The people of all grades should regard themselves as equals for religious matters; all Brothers should equally defend the faith. It is not my object to wage this war for wordly gain, and therefore

\* An allusion to the battle on the Agra Parade, on the 10th October, 1857.

having placed reliance in the precepts of religion I gird myself with bravery and enthusiasm, and having wrapped around my head the cerements of the grave (kaffen), and having armed myself with the sword of "Juhad," I rise, repeating the holy "Bismillah," and, relying on the blessing of God, I am sure of obtaining victory.

I do hereby call you again and again to come and join me for the sake of God. I will inform you of the date and day in which I march out of the city. Those who are anxious to join are requested to do so without delay.

"Sacrifice your life for your beloved, for death will some day take it from you." "Oh! Hafiz, do you decide which is the better of these two courses."

Printed at the *Bahadoor Press* in Bareilly, by the order of the Nawab, the Ruler of Kuthbairt, under the superintendence of Moolvee Qootub Shah, by Daregoh Shaikh-Nenaz Allee, dated the 3rd Rujab 274 Higeree.