

Memoranda relating to the present
crisis of our Indian Empire.

- C-21/
1. The mutiny being completely crushed, there must, of course, be a limit to executions of the mutineers. Tens of thousands will remain scattered over the country, to rob, murder, plot rebellion and mutiny in every part of India, until they be apprehended, or die out.
 2. It is of vital importance to the peace of India, the stability of our Government, and the prosperity of commerce and agriculture, that all the mutineers be got rid of. A special agency might be at once ^{of the duty be devolved upon the Thuggee Agency} organised for their apprehension, and as the mutineers are apprehended they might be transported, as convicts, to various parts of the world - not too many in one place, and none to Mauritius, where they might do harm through the Hindoo population there.
 3. Transportation, both as a punishment and as an example will be, in the case of the mutineers, ~~quite~~ worse than death. It should be extended to all the escaped prisoners from jails, released by the mutineers.
 4. To prevent the future pernicious influence of Hindoo caste, and Mohammedan

hommedan bigotry, let Brahmmins and Mahommedans, be as far as practicable degraded, by exclusion from all preferment to place or rank. Keep them in the lowest posts.

The Brahmmins and Mahommedans successively elevated themselves into a position in which they became revered, honored and feared, by acting ever on the principle of placing and keeping all others infinitely below them. It was nothing inherent in themselves, but the elevation to place and power that brought eventually the reverence and fear. Nor was it any thing inherent in the Pariahs, that, made them degraded, submissive, and despised; but the relative position in which they were placed and trampled upon. Brahmmins and Mahommedans would come to be despised too, were Pariahs long the more favored Caste: and it were politic to favour these more, as they will make better subjects, in the proportion that their superstitions are weaker, ^{hitherto} more especially, on the Bengal side, concessions to Brahmmins and Mahommedans, have dignified and confirmed Brahmminism and Mahommedanism. These concessions have done more than all other causes, to bring on the late mutiny: and probably, almost certainly, to

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certainly, to prevent the conversion of thousands to Christianity. It is not so much regard for their superstitions as for the opinions of their fellows, that keeps the natives from conversion to Christianity! I have been repeatedly asked by natives of all castes, why the Government, if it wish, do not at once proclaim the conversion of all the people to Christianity: that then all would be in the same case and contented: but that individuals could not embrace Christianity, because in doing so they were expelled from the society of their family and friends (sent to Coventry). It is quite sufficient to account for individuals not becoming Christians: when they see the Government encouraging their fellows to persecute them if they do. For special concessions recognizing their claims to superiority amount practically to encouragement.

7. In the newly organised native forces: Let Christians, Jews, Perses (if they will) and men of low caste and no-caste fill the places above privates, as far as practicable. Let the same classes compose the rest of the force as far as practicable. Let all be enlisted, to go where ordered and when; and to do whatever they may be ordered, every thing that a European soldier is expected to do. Let the same principle be extended to the civil administration.

inhabitation of the country, as far as practicable. To effect this educate and employ the lower castes, and Christians, and parsees. The Brahmins and Mahomedans when becoming a degraded people will expand their consciences, and qualify themselves for office. The rising generation will furnish honest converts, and the passing generation, good servants, often, though their motives for qualification may be equivocal.

Let the whole population be deprived of all firearms: and let no other weapon be possessed but by special permission, for self defence, when seen to be necessary.

Let it be a criminal offence to possess more than a certain quantity of arms or other destructive weapons or materials, without a special licence.

Let servants of individual European Officers be selected from the classes of Christians, Parsees, and Pariahs or outcasts. The Madras districts, the capitals, and the Portuguese, and other foreign settlements will supply Christians enough.

Let pilgrimages be prohibited if practicable, as I think it is. At all events let every obstacle be thrown in their way. None to travel without passes; and no passes to be granted to Fakirs or other

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11. - Keens, or other similar devotees. This will undermine Hindooism & Mahomedanism, by drying up the great central fountains, in stopping the sources by which these fountains are fed and perpetuated.

12. Let the legions of vagrants - gipsies, mountebanks, &c. that swarm, be compelled to settle. These rogues and vagabonds are spies and agents of sedition and other villanies. Ever ready to cooperate to injure one Govt; and to receive, fraternize, with, and aid its ill wishers. A stringent vagrant act is required.

13. Let all periodical contributions to support Hindoo or Mahomedan institutions directly or indirectly, cease. Let all liabilities of Government therefore, be at once brought off, by such one payment as the Govt may think suitable.

14. Let the native press be under a strict censorship, and used only to propagate the views and wishes of the Government. Let it be made an engine of Education; and it can be made one of the most powerful of all, recommending its educational subjects to attention by connecting with them interesting news.

15. Let none be excluded from our educational institutions, on account of caste or religion - least of all the Pariahs, whom it should

whom it should be a principal object
to elevate from the degradation that Brah-
minical tyranny imposes. Every Christian
and every Mahomedan is essentially an
outcast from Brahminism, as much as a
Pariah. The Brahmins ^{tolerate} these because they
know they must. They tolerate Pariahs in the
Bombay and Madras services, for the same
reason. So exclude Pariahs were little less
than insane. It were to dignify and per-
petuate Brahminism, by the sanction and
support of our Government: and in the same
proportion to perpetuate the degradation of the
Pariahs. Brahmins who minister in hospi-
tals and manipulate in dissecting rooms,
are not likely to hesitate long to enter the
same general schools with Pariahs; and
if they do, Brahminism alone will suffer
eventually; and this is a consequence not
to be deprecated.

Let the Koran and the 16.
Shastres cease to be statute books for the
guidance of our courts of justice. While
this continues and the Hindoo and Ma-
hommedan priests, are made the inter-
preters of these books to direct the British
judges' judgement, the priests ~~are~~ virtually
~~the~~ administrators of the laws; and, therefore
they are in the place of the Supreme power.
The priests, and in them Mahomedanism
and Brahminism are dignified, and
perpetuated.

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perpetuated: while the sanction of the British Government is given to whatever anomalous absurdity or injustice their books direct or allow, and to whatever dishonesty (and it is great and common) which the priests exercise in their interpretations. If they want Koran and Shaste law, let them settle their disputes according thereto amongst themselves; but let not our Government meddle with administering Koran and Shaste law, any more than they would meddle with the ministrations in the mosques and temples. Sanction and support through the courts of justice contribute far more to the vigour and perpetuity of Mahomedanism and Brahminism, than, sanction and support through mosques and temples do.

17. Let no support or countenance be given to the study of the Arabic or Sanscrit language. These languages, as the vehicles of Mahomedanism and Brahminism, feed and perpetuate both: and by supporting them, our Government indirectly, but very powerfully, supports and perpetuates Mahomedanism and Brahminism. Let the English and the Vernacular languages alone have the support of our Government. Let the English especially be more extended; and, by degrees, let a knowledge of it more or less perfect, according to the advancement of the servant, be made a necessary condition to.

condition to preferment. A competent knowledge of the English language will be the most powerful of all means, of undermining and eventually overthrowing Mahomedanism and Brahminism; and in the same time, of diminishing hostility against our Government.

Let European Officers 18? be subjected to longer probation. Let them have more experience; and let their judgment be more matured, before exercising power. Especially let a very competent knowledge of the Vernacular language of the people with whom these duties connect them, be exacted: and let this be extended to the medical and ecclesiastical departments &c.

Let luxurious habits, more 19 especially of show and table indulgence at messes be discouraged; and let regimental libraries and manly sports be encouraged.

Let the native civilians be 20. better paid. Let the object be to keep them loyal and honest by making it worth their while to be so; and by paying them in proportion to the temptations to disloyalty and dishonesty with which they become surrounded, by our promoting them. They have been disloyal and dishonest from traditional examples under a system of native governments, challenging disloyalty and dishonesty. We have not yet taken the proper course.

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3.
20. the proper course & fully to remunerate for service, and integrity under temptation. This course will eventually succeed as it did with our countrymen in India. Let there be, of course, ample checks of supervision and appeal to Europeans.

21. Let not our Government dandle Mahomedanism and Brahminism into strength and importance, by defending their ^{absurd} ~~absurd~~ claims, multiplying and increasing with our conceptions to them. I have, myself, been welcomed into all parts of the temples, and courted to reside in one of the outbuildings, at one of the most sacred of Hindoo Shrines — the top of the Gumar Mountain in Kathawar — by the Brahmins of the place; together with my Christian & pariah servants; and I did reside there, eating and drinking and cooking for several months. But the temple was remote, in foreign territory, not under the direct influence of our Government and its acts, which affect the Natives within our own territories. At Palitana a celebrated Hindoo Shrine, on a mountain, ~~close on~~ ^{also in} Kathawar, in foreign territory at the earnest request of the Rajpoot Chief in whose territory the mountain is, and after due enquiry regarding the feelings of the Brahmins

of the Brahmins of the temples. I put
up on a cooking place contiguous to one of
the temples. The Brahmins of the place
welcomed me, cleaned out the place, spread
a carpet for me, and were most civil and
pleased at my visit: but the affairs of the tem-
ples were under the control of Bombay agents;
and these (not Brahmins) hearing of my visit,
ascended the mountain and demanded that
I should immediately depart. Though night
was falling and no means of transport was
available for myself and family. Next mor-
ning I encamped on a spur of the moun-
tain about eight hundred yards from the
temples. But the Bombay ^{agents} pursued me
to this spot: and calculating upon my
previous concession, demanded that I
could at once leave the mountain altogether.
This was simply the conveyance of perni-
cious concessions of the ^{our} Government to Brah-
minism.

Let there be a less servitude & d.
dread of missionaries, and of counterman-
-cing and supporting them. It would pos-
-sible be well if there were a Missionary at
every station, where there is a government
Chaplain, and in some way connected with
him. There should, at least, be a good
English Schoolmaster, cooperating with
the Chaplain.

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the chaplain in advancing education. Such Schoolmasters should be qualified to officiate for the chaplain, in his absence according to his qualifications by ordination or otherwise. The chaplains should all be required to take a part in the advancement of the education of the natives. In many outstations they have little else to do. The natives are careless who teaches or what is taught, so that they be not further interfered with in the exercise of their superstitions, and so long as they are not taught to object by having their wishes consulted, and their objections invited, and then whims encouraged, concerning what they really have no wish or idea at all, until it is implanted by ourselves. The great enemies to advancement are the priests. If the faders of superstition and fanaticism be got rid of or paralyzed, Mahomedanism and Brahminism must die out. They must wane in proportion as we diminish the priests influence, which should be aimed at by every means.

23. Let Sir John Malcolm's pernicious system of perpetuating native states and giving enormous pensions to deposed chiefs, which has originally failed be eschewed; and let Sir Thomas Munro's successful system of annexing petty native states be followed.

be followed. Sir Thomas Munro's system destroyed the elements of disquiet and sedition: Sir John Malcolm's fostered them. Sir James Mackintosh on his visit to the largest native state, the Nizam, declared that the Govt. seemed to be an experiment how far human iniquity could be carried without perfectly disorganizing society — that the atrocities of the French Revolution were mere child's play compared with those in the Nizam's dominions. Native states are places of refuge for our rogues, vagabonds, deserters, and traitors: the centres of intrigue for disseminating disaffection, and plotting mutiny and rebellion against our Government. Deposed chiefs with enormous ~~fortunes~~ pensions, having nothing to do with their time but to intrigue, and nothing to do with their money but to gratify their enmity to the British Govt. by rewarding its enemies, occupy their time and spend their money to damage us.

24. Let the system of Sabhatput, which, when exposed in Bombay, was universally denounced, cease to be fostered in London; where it is a hundred times more injurious. Practised in Bombay it long made a native chief, the Guichwar, unmanageable in thwarting and embarrassing our Govt. Practised in London, it is calculated so to embarrass the Govt of India as to make its administration impracticable.

The greatest possible impulse and vigour is given to this Sabhatput in London, by the countenance and civilities

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civilities shown by high dignitaries,
from the Majesty downwards, to
Royal warrant grievance-mongers
and the like. It is not enough
to refer these thutput agents to the
Governments of India; it is expedient
for all persons connected with our
Govt in England to decline all
communication whatever with them
except ^{through} these channels.

25. My suggestions I know, may
not be immediately and to the
full extent practicable, but they
indicate principles which should
be acted upon as far as possible.

Henry Aston
Lieutenant Colonel - late Bombay Army
(sixteen years in the Political department)

(Cause of Mutiny - behaviour of European officers towards natives, British & of
Indians)

4
from the monthly expenses
allowed by Govt in feeding
& paying out the different
horses & garrisons will
be considered the best
man & will advance
rapidly. There was a
Sepoy at Meerut who
when on guard on the
Commissariat reported
to Major - C^t Officer,
the cheat of Jotee pertains
in being given left hand
of grain each bag for
the cost of, whereby making
a profit of 20 to 30 Rupees
per day. And why the
Sepoy confined the
high & asked the commis-
sariat officers to have
them whipped to prove
his veracity, the officer
but him in guard for
presumption.

(Tyked)

The Governor General
of India
Allahabad

My Lord,

I presume to lay
the following circumstan-
ces of the cause of Mutiny
in India before your
Lordship. By which
you will find that
the European Authorities
made themselves think
in the eyes of the sharp
sighted natives. The
European officers, both
Military & civil, with
but a few exceptions,
are in the habit of
asking for the names
of the natives &

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and daughters of their
inferiors. To gratify
their base lusts,
which they ^{desire} excite by
stimulating themselves
continually with spiritous
liquors & nitrogenized
food. And those unfor-
tunate individuals that
will not consent to
these terms, will never
advance in rank &
appointment, though
they be as true & loyal
to their Master on Earth
as the Angels are to their
heavenly Father. They
must live & die in the
Rank they enlist. If
any of these individuals
ever do advance, it

dictating as he called,
his business ^{to his hands} as he had
already pronounced
the best to continue the
correct allowance of
eye sight. His dis-
barment the report
of the sworn never to
make another complaint
or at least, report, of
much better, unless
I may come into question
of the matter & I hear
supplies the expenses of
that officers & tell of
out officers at his own
cost. Much is the inter-
nal affairs of India.
All natives who are to
learn the work of faithful

-ness & godliness from
the Europeans, are taught
on the contrary the works
of hatred & ingratitude
towards their ^{White} masters.
They say if those ^{White} Lords
Lords over them are not
faithful to their Masters,
why should they that are
strangers ^{loyal} worth before
the ^{loyal} some Sepoys
on guard answered to
my question, Sir, what
was the rule of his creed?
He said, the example
of his Master, the Captain.
If my Captain will
lead me to hell He will
follow ^{me} ^{there}. He will
be the Saint if he will
be one of the Rogues.

if he will much. The
poor bookkeepers are
obliged to call the
wines of the Sepoys
that visit the Officers
Banglows, sisters in
order to have their
names favorably spoke
of before the Captains
to enable them to retain
posts or advance ^{their} still
further in life. The
poor Europeans are also
obliged to hand their
wines to the adjutants
or Captains banglows
to advance their prospects.
While the wife will be
with the gentleman in
bed, the husband will
keep having the Venereal
disease & enjoying
himself.

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himself with the prof
bottle until she comes
out of the escort her.
back. There are many
more items, which I
differ to mention at
present. But will lay
them before you ^{sooner} ~~soon~~
time to time, as I will
have leisure to do so.

Jan.
My Friend
Gardner
North Street
Frisco
from the Field
of Battle.

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(Cause of Mutiny - behaviour of European officers towards natives, British etc of natives)

Copy

4
from the monthly expenses allowed by Govt in feeding & paying out the different horses & garrisons will be considered the best way of giving advance rapidly. There was a Sepoy at present who when on guard on the Commissariat reports to Major - C. Officer, the chief of Police persons in Kaniggam left part of ground each day for the cattle, whereby making profit of 20 to 30 Rupees per day. And when the country confined the high & asked the commissariat officers to have them whipped to bring the vine etc, the officers

(Tyked)

The Governor General of India.

My Lord,

I presume to lay the following circumstances of the cause of Mutiny in India before you Lordship. By which you will find that the European Authorities made themselves think in the eyes of the despised natives. The European officers, both Military & Civil, with a few exceptions are in the habit of asking for the natives

and daughters of their
inferiors. To gratify
their base & lusts,
which they ^{desire} excite by
stimulating them selves
continually with spiritous
liquors & Nitrogenized
food. And those infor-
tunate individuals that
will not consent to
these terms, will never
advance in rank &
appointment, though
they be as true & loyal
to their Master On Earth
as the Angels are to their
heavenly Maker. They
must live & die in the
Rank they enlist. If
any of them I divide
into three, it

dictating as he called,
his business to him he was
already pronounced
the best to continue the
course at all times, by
eye sight. His dis-
heartened the people
& he swore never to
make another campaign
or at least, not to
much he attended, where
they were into great
distress and I hear
supplies the whole of
that officers to the
out-officer in the
camp. Much is the inter-
nal affairs of the
all a time and
learn the same.

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6
 - ness & godliness from
 the Europeans, are taught
 on the contrary the works
 of hatred & ingratitude
 towards their instructors.
 They say if those ^{White} ~~Europeans~~
 Lords over them are not
 faithful to their Masters,
 why should they that are
 strangers ^{help} ~~be~~ ^{to} before
 the ~~hatred~~ ^{some} Sepoys
 on guard answered to
 my question, Sir, what
 was the rule of his creed?
 He said, the example
 of his Master, the Captain
 of my battery will
 lead me to help. He will
 call on ^{you} ~~him~~. He will
 be for ^{me} ~~him~~ if he will
 be one of ^{us} ~~them~~

7
 if he is much. The
 poor lookers are
 obliged to call the
 wives of the Sepoys
 that visit the Officers
 Bungalows, sisters, in
 order to have their
 names favourably spoke
 of before the Captain
 to enable them to retain
 posts or advance ^{their} ~~the~~
 further in life. The
 poor Europeans are also
 obliged to hand their
 wives to the Adjutant
 or Captain's bungalows
 to advance ~~the~~ ^{their} ~~prosperity~~
 While the ~~European~~ ^{European}
 with the ~~European~~ ^{European}
 help, the ~~European~~ ^{European}
 keep ~~him~~ ^{him}
~~in~~ ⁱⁿ

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himself with the grog
 bottle until she could
 not get the escort her.
 back. There are many
 more items, which I
 differ to mention at
 present. But will lay
 them before you ^{sooner} from
 time to time, as I will
 have leisure to do so.

Yours,
 My Lord
 York & all
 with the whole
 Service
 from the Field
 of Battle.

W. R. R.
 W. R. R. R.
 W. R. R. R. R.
 W. R. R. R. R. R.

is only by the Providence
 interference by removing
 the bad Master for the
 good & honest. I am
 one of the individuals
 who have suffered in
 this way & the Lord has
 mercifully rewarded me
 for my suffering. The
 punishment of the
 officers by the board
 of the Mutineers are
 just. The cry of the
 broken hearted has just
 been responded. The
 still the Lord is his
 wife. Another can
 of their suffering in
 the King. If the Lord
 will, we will
 profit in

C-2/3

Benares' concurrent income tax

18.11.1860.

1825/19/60

From. F. B. Gubbins Esqre CB.
Commissioner 5th Division Benares.

To L. Bowring Esqre
Private Secretary to His Excellency
the Governor General of India

Dated Benares 19th September 1860.

My dear Bowring.

I take the liberty of enclosing a copy of a report made by me yesterday to the Government and trust that His Excellency the Governor General will approve of the loyal spirit which has been evinced on the occasion reported upon by the leading men of Benares.

Believe me dear
Yrs F. Gubbins.

No 25 of 1860.

From J. B. Gubbins Esq^r C.B.
Commissioner 5th Division Benares.

To George Couper Esq^r C.B.
Secretary to Gov^t of N.W. Provinces
Agra Pal.

Dated Benares the 18th September 1860.

Sir,

I have the honor to report for the information of Government that a deputation of about one hundred persons representing the most wealthy and respectable classes of the City of Benares, headed by the gentlemen whose names are entered in the margin,

have this morning waited upon the Collector and myself to express their entire concurrence with the views of Government, in the necessity of the imposition of the Income Tax. These gentlemen also.

Raja Deonarayenching of Ayodhya Bhittee
Baboo Lutchmunarayan Sing.
Baboo Humuck Chund.
Baboo Gooroodass Mittre
Rae Narayan Dass.
Baboo Hurshunthun Prasad Sing.
Baboo Ramkishan Dass.
Moonshee Choonnee Lall.
Moonshee Bence Lall.
Baboo Gurnna Dass
Baboo Comrao Sing
Rundit Rao Benecrand.

Baboo
Baboo
Baboo
Lutchmee
Silechsee
Gurnna
Gopal
Bheeth
Bharat
Sectara
Uchya
Gorasa
Hursan

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Baboo Dabee Pershad.
 Baboo Birjuttam Dab.
 Baboo Dabee Sing.
 Lukmee Chand Munnecram.
 Tiltsee Ummersee.
 Gummish Dab Kishnaje.
 Gopalraj Bal Kishen.
 Bheeram Chand Unopchand.
 Bharamull Jylkishendab.
 Seetaram Kishceram.
 Ubhyram Chormee Lall.
 Goursahjermull Gurnshandab.
 Ansaahjermull Rannchand.

These names appeared through
 their several representations.

also voluntarily presented
 the Collector with their
 several schedules of property.

2^d. As this movement
 has been a perfectly voluntary
 one and the schedules
 have been entered previous
 to the appointment of any
 assessor, or to the issue of
 any notices, I would

respectfully solicit the recognition by Government of the
 loyalty displayed by the inhabitants of this City in their
 spontaneous acceptance of a measure, which must
 necessarily be a distasteful one.

I have the honor &c.
 J. F. B. Gubbins.
 Commissioner

Tyherd

1854

Anonymous letter.

Lad Canning

Private Sec's. correspondence

No. 1974.

To be most noble the Governor Genl. or

To the Hon^{ble} Members of the Supreme
Council of India

It is with great sur-
prise we perused the Supple-
ment of the Calcutta Gazette of
yesterday proclaiming non
interference of the Gov^t of
India with the Religion
or Castes of Hindus or Mus-
sulmans, but what
caused to publish this
we do not know, save
the mutiny; we all wish
sincerely the cessation of

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of British Power & Rule in this
Region, as the Subjects
are most seriously tortured
& oppressed by the Govt.
in every way, such as
exorbitant taxation, stop
page of musical processions Subjects -
during holidays, unless the
Police Comr. permits, heavy
exportation of Country
Produce, which has
particularly put
the Subjects to starva-
tion - on all these matters
Memorials have been
sent to the Govt. Genl. &
Legislature Council
press of time prevents
our continuing
more on them

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C-5/5

Punishment of mutineers.

361.

It never had been the wish of Govt to avoid meting out to the mutineers the punishment due to their offence, but they wish to discriminate between those men whose conduct was marked by signal atrocity, such as murdering their officers or instigating and abetting attacks on the persons and property of Europeans, and those others whose offence consisted simply in the act of mutiny unattended with aggravating circumstances. Of course according to strict military law every mutineer is liable to undergo capital punishment, but calm reflection will show that to hang or blow away from guns half the Bengal Army would be a difficult matter even were it expedient.

The Govt have invariably inflicted capital punishment on men of the first class alluded to, but for the rest transportation beyond seas has been considered a fitting and adequate punishment.

Such a sentence is no light one. To many natives it is worse than death itself, and to this must be superadded the confiscation of lands and household property, entailing the consequent ruin of the mutineer's family.

The Govt cannot regard this as an exhibition of undue leniency, but on the contrary consider it to be the severest punishment which a powerful but just Govt can inflict upon its rebellious troops.

INDIAN MUTINY AND MASSACRE.

TO

The Vicount Canning

Athenaeum, London, December, 1857.

MY LORD,—Supposing, for a moment, that this Christian land were under a Mahomedan ruler, and that its army, composed of Christian soldiers, were under Mahomedan commanders, I ask what you would think of the commanding officer of such a regiment, who, in defiance of solemn engagements not to interfere with their religion, should order his men to trample on the Cross of Christ, its most sacred emblem; and, should they respectfully remonstrate against such an order, he should repeat it, and on their refusing to obey it, should cause them to be tried by court-martial, and to be sentenced to ten years' hard labour in chains, in the company of the vilest criminals? Would you be surprised at these men and their comrades, and other regiments similarly circumstanced, being under the impression that it was the intention of the government to force them to abjure their religion?—and would you then feel surprised if these soldiers, and not only these, but nearly the whole army, should mutiny?—and ought not the authorities (who by such proceedings, and by a sentence so outrageous to all feelings of justice, of humanity, or of religion, for what would, I think, generally, by all right-minded persons, be considered a venial offence, if not really deserving of commendation) to be held responsible for such deplorable results as would necessarily follow?

Now, an analogous case to that which I have supposed, namely, the too notorious case of the *Troopers* at Meerut, has led to the present sad state of affairs in India, where, as shown in the fifth of the able letters of "Indophilus" to the *Times* (now published in a pamphlet, from which I quote), "the exciting cause" of the mutiny "was the cartridge." "To bite a cartridge greased with cow's or pig's fat, was more to the Hindoos, and Indian-Mahomedans, than eating pork to a Jew, spitting on the Host to a Roman Catholic, or trampling on the Cross to a Protestant;" and, further, "there is no trace, in the evidence which has reached this country, of any conspiracy previously to the issue of the new cartridges;" and, before the atrocious sentence on the troopers at Meerut, there had not been any outbreak, though there was naturally, and not without cause, a great feeling of dissatisfaction at the orders to use the fatal cartridges; but that sentence caused "the pot to boil over," and, of course, "as the rest of the native soldiery intensely sympathised with these troopers, and considered them martyrs to a common cause, this was enough to make any troops mutiny." Whatever other just causes there may have been, the believed attempt of the government to tamper with their religion, was the first cause of the mutiny, and this might, by judicious attention, in the first instance, to the reasonable remonstrances of the natives, and disabusing them of their fears (I will not call them groundless), have been arrested, without the shedding of one drop of blood, whether of Christian, Heathen, or Mahomedan. This, however, does not appear to have been attempted, or if attempted, was too late; and, whether through blindness, ignorance, folly, or recklessness, the erroneous and evil course of the authorities was persisted in.

And I would again ask whether you think that the measures which have subsequently been adopted, have been such, and so judicious, as to tend to allay the excitement, or to quell the mutiny; or whether they have not rather been of a nature to prolong indefinitely the war, rendering it on both sides a war of destruction and of extermination?

I will not ask whether this is a Christian, but, rather, whether it is a wise or a politic proceeding? It is, however, the natural result of the expressed determination (but too well acted on), not to spare the life of a Sepoy, and, in the case of Delhi, not even of a citizen found within the walls; whether he was guilty or innocent does not appear to have occupied a moment's consideration; and there can be no doubt that many of the natives must have been, by irresistible force of circumstances, compelled to join, or been found amongst, the mutineers, who would gladly have profited by an opportunity to leave them, and to submit to a merciful enemy. That a number of citizens in Delhi, trusting to the reported clemency of the English, were unsparingly massacred, I learn from a letter which appeared in most of the London papers, the writer of which adds, with Satanic rather than with Christian feeling, "I am glad to say they were disappointed!" So much does familiarity with the horrors of war, whether directly or indirectly, tend to deaden the moral feelings and to excite the evil passions, as shown not only in this way, but I believe in the recent great increase of murders and other crimes of violence in this country. Some persons even have barbarously advised the indiscriminate massacre of *all* Sepoys, whether they have joined in the mutiny or not: advice which we can scarcely believe can have seriously been given by Christians, and those Christians, Englishmen!—but too readily acted on by an infuriated and excited soldiery, spurred on not only by revenge, whether or not under the false name of justice, but also by lust of plunder. But, does not this indiscriminate slaughter counteract its object, and necessarily and naturally lead those, who, had their lives been granted, might have been long ago rendered comparatively harmless, to sell them as dearly as they can, fighting to the last, and thus adding indefinitely to the slaughter of our own men? A majority of them, however, as certainly has been the case with regard to Delhi, do not wait to be slain, but make their escape, carrying the war, with its accompanying bloodshed and desolation, into the districts over which they have spread themselves, which might otherwise possibly have remained quiet, safe, and untainted. And Delhi, too, might have been ours, weeks, perhaps months, before it fell; and many a mourning family at home would not have had to deplore the untimely loss of those who were near and dear to them; nor this country have been deprived of the services of many a brave and good officer and soldier—not to speak of the minor consideration of the waste of treasure, which would have been saved.

Under such a sanguinary system, who can be surprised at any atrocities being committed, and not so much probably by the misguided and deceived Sepoys (though of course they bear all the blame), as by the licentious rabble of liberated convicts and other dregs of the population, who always, in all countries, will take advantage of such opportunities, and in an uncivilized country especially, will commit atrocities unheard of in other nations in modern times, though, unfortunately, they appear on such occasions to be usual in the east?

Such, I consider have been the causes of this much-to-be-deplored outbreak, and the results of the measures of government which have followed it; which, so far from putting it down (as might, I sincerely believe, easily have been done at the commencement, by the adoption of more Christian, honest, temperate, and judicious measures, and before any blood had been shed), have prolonged and aggravated the war and its attendant horrors.

If what I have stated be correct, the proceedings of the authorities, whether at home or in India, which have brought such calamities on so many millions of our fellow-creatures, call loudly for enquiry. They have much to answer for, being, I believe, much more guilty of the blood that has been shed, than those on whom the blame has been cast, but whom they have misled and misruled! We are now, as a nation, suffering a heavy retribution, the effects of which will be felt by generations yet unborn, whether for our own neglect, or for the folly, blindness, or perverseness of those who have brought these evils on us, I say not; but, being the natural result of such conduct, we are compelled to confess that the retribution is just!—I remain, My Lord, yours faithfully,

W. C. T.

(Parity of remuneration to contributors to
trust)

C-5/6

P. Sec's. Consp. (108)

Bd. 17.
Dec. 1879
(1 item).

3. The Subscribers. ⁹

Should any doubt be entertained
of my competency to submit an opinion on
such a subject I beg respectfully to refer
to Mr. C. H. Lushington & the Hon. E. Drummond
who are well acquainted with my private
& official character.

May I beg the favor of an acknowledgment
of this letter. I remain My dear Sir,
Your Obedient Servant,

J. B. Elliott.

Lord Canning: Private Sec'y. Camp.

No. 1679 (part)

Marking the absurdity of supposing
that they have, voluntarily, come forward
to subscribe such sums is too great to
admit of belief. —

I regret to be obliged to observe that
the character of Govt has been seriously,
injured in the estimation of the people
of this Province by the above operations
for they have been taught to believe
that these exactions have been made
by the orders of Govt which the reported
financial difficulties have rendered

Private. Hon. G. C. Talbot, Private
Sec'y to the Governor Gen. —

Patna March 20th 1857. —

My dear Sir, Mr. Taylor the Comr.
of Revenue for this Division having sub-
mitted to the Right Hon. the Gov. Gen.
a Plan of a grand educational Institution
at Patna & circulated the same at this
Station I take the liberty to submit to that
I have resided in India & chiefly in the
Province of Behar for about half a
century & filled the principal Offices
in the judicial branch of the Service

with the recorded approbation of this
Govt. & of the Court of Directors. I trust
therefore, that it will not be considered
presumptuous in me to submit my views
of the present state of affairs in the Province.
I beg to submit that Mr. Taylor appears
to consider himself especially called
upon to found a grand Industrial
institution for the instruction of the people
of Behar & in furtherance of this object
has taken advantage of his Official visits
to the Districts under his control to levy

heavy contributions from the Hindoo
Rajahs, Baboos & Zameendars, much
above their ordinary means & quite without
their free consent. These sums are
variously estimated at from two to
two & a half Lakhs of Rupees.

As it is probably known to His Lordship
that it is with great difficulty that the
Principal Zameendars are able to meet
the demand of Govt. for the Land Revenue
& that many of them are in debt to the

8
Office of Postmaster Gen. in Calcutta
& the extent of his administrative
ability may be easily estimated from
his ascertained success in that Dept.

To conclude, it cannot have escaped
His Lordship that the above presents
- a transaction in which the sum of about £29,000
has been collected by an Officer of the Govt. without
its express sanction & is held by him unfunded
& consequently liable to be lost should anything
befall him. If I might venture an opinion
it would be that the Collectors of the Districts
be directed to return the amount collected to

2. not improbable. —

5
Further, it is well known that the Zemindars
on the frontier have long had relations with
the Nepal Govt. & that that ambitious State
would not be backward to avail itself of
any temporary discontent on the part of our
Zemindars in order to advance their long
cherished projects. How dangerous then
must it be to give cause for agitation among
the Zemindars & at a time too when the minds
of the Sepoys are known to be in an excited
state.

The Governor Gen^l may find it difficult
to give credence to the mode in which Mr Taylor
was inclined to invest a portion of the sums
collected as above stated. A person
named Kaze Ramzan Ally resides at Chupra,
formerly employed in the Opium Dep^t as
speculator in Indigo & of no great credit
in the Bazar. This man was induced by Mr Taylor
to purchase Stamp Paper to the value of 500 Rs
on the promise of a loan of Rs 50000. at 12 per cent
Interest. This deed was regularly executed
& Registered in the Registry Office at Chupra &
may be obtained on application to Mr Fleming
The Registrar.

I beg further to observe that Mr Taylor
supposing him to have the leisure, does
not possess the administrative ability
requisite to enable him to superintend so
extensive & complicated a system of operations
as he has chalked out in his Scheme.
He does not possess the requisite knowledge
or habits; and to judge from his antecedents,
no proportionate success is to be anticipated
to compensate for this very questionable mode
collecting money from the subjects of
the Gov^t. Mr Taylor formerly held the

Home Department

No 61 of 1860

(Christianisation
in Army)

To
The Right Honorable
Sir Charles Wood Bart. &c. &c. &c.
Secretary of State for India

C-217
Home Department
The 18th June 1860

Sir,

In our Military Despatch No 77
dated the 15th of June 1859 (para: 71) we submitted
a correspondence with the Commander in
Chief on the subject of a letter received from the
Officer Commanding the 24th Punjab Infantry
stating that a strong tendency to embrace
Christianity had manifested itself among some
of the men of his Regiment.

2 The Commanding Officer reported that
four men had been baptized and that a consider-
able number were in the habit of visiting the
Clergyman of the Station. He added that he
had thought it right to ascertain whether any ill
feeling had arisen in the Regiment in consequence
of this movement, and that his inquiries had
satisfied him that the men who took no part in
the movement were profoundly indifferent to it,
and that he had thought it better therefore not to
interfere in the matter.

3 In reply to this communication, the
Commander

Papers on Misc. Subjects No. 659.

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Commander in Chief was informed that it seemed to the Governor General in Council advisable to warn the officers commanding troops at Peshawar against using their authority in any way for the furtherance of conversion.

* Major General
Baker's letter to the
Adjutant General
No 1130, of 23rd May 1859

4 No further correspondence on the subject took place.

5 When the Governor General was at Simla last April he was surprised to learn from the Bishop of Calcutta that the Government was commonly believed by the missionaries to have issued an order prohibiting all communication on religious subjects between officers of the Punjab Regiments and the men who might embrace Christianity, and subsequently the Bishop communicated to His Excellency in writing the tenor of the statements which had been promulgated on the point. They were as follows.

1 That no officer may speak on the subject of Christianity to any native Christian in his Corps, nor visit him when he is sick, nor urge Christian motives as reasons for performing well his earthly duties as a soldier and servant of Government.

2 That no officer may be present when the Church Services read by a Clergyman to native Christians.

3 That no Clergyman may hold any service for native Christians in the lines in which the soldiers live, though it be a native Christian's house with closed doors.

4. That no building may be set apart for Christian worship in the lakes, though mosques and heathen temples may.

5. That soldiers on becoming Christians have not equal privileges with Mahomedans and Hindoes, and therefore Christianity is not tolerated.

6. That all these restrictions have been received from the highest authority.

6 On receiving this information the Governor General considered it necessary to enquire what steps had been taken by the Military Authorities on the receipt of the Government order of May 1859 referred to in the 3^d para: of this letter, and with this object His Excellency instructed his Military Secretary to write to the Officer Commanding the Peshawar Division. Sir Henry Cotton's reply has been received since His Excellency's return to Calcutta, and from the official report by Brig.^{re} Gallaway which it encloses (a copy of which accompanies this Despatch) it will be seen that General Burch's letter of May 1859 to the Adjutant General of the Army was circulated to all officers commanding Native Regiments within the Peshawar District and that on its reaching the Officer Commanding the 24th Punjab Infantry he communicated the instructions which it contained to the European officers of the Regiment verbally, and at the same time gave them an order, also verbally, not to attend any religious meetings with

with the men. Sir Henry Cotton has explained that this order being verbal was not brought before him as regimental orders invariably are and that he hears of it now for the first time from Brigadier Gullaway's letter.

7 If the case had ended here, we might perhaps have been content to leave it to the Bishop of Calcutta, in whose sound sense and moderate views we have full reliance, to correct the singular misapprehension of the Government order which had become current among the missionaries in the Punjab, confining ourselves to pointing out through the proper channel that the officer commanding the 24th Punjab Regiment exceeded the instructions which he received in desiring his officers not to attend religious meetings with the men.

8 But simultaneously with the receipt of the explanation furnished by the officer commanding at Peshawar, our attention has been drawn to a paper stated to have been published by the Church Missionary Society in London, which has led us to think it advisable that we should place the circumstances of this case clearly on record, in order that Her Majesty's Government may be aware of the exact foundation for the statements which have been put forward.

9 The paper to which we refer is dated 'Church Missionary House, March 1860' It has appeared

appeared in this Country in the June number of a Calcutta periodical called the 'Christian Intelligencer' and in the Lahore Chronicle of the 2^d of June, and has likewise been reproduced from the latter paper in the Calcutta Star and News of the 15th June. The publications in the Calcutta periodical and the Lahore paper must have been independent of each other.

10 The following are the chief portions contained in this paper on the subject of the conversions in the 24th Punjab Infantry.

11 The paper commences by saying that it relates to a recent interference on the part of the Supreme Government with officers of the 24th Punjab Regiment in respect of a religious inquiry amongst their Sepoys. It then gives an account of what had taken place in the Regiment, saying that the men had made spontaneous inquiries to which the officers frankly replied as far as they could, referring the men to Christian Missions, that a few baptisms had taken place - that the Sepoys made a little congregation and that the officers admitted them to their own Sunday service, and it then proceeds to state that "at this point the Government steps in and arrests the movement" adding "as soon as the report of these events reached the Viceroy in Council, an order was immediately issued which shut the lips of the Christian Officers from conversing with their men upon religious subjects."

12 The paper next supports these statements

by the evidence of written communications from
two missionaries - the Rev^d R Clark and the
Rev^d Sidore Löwenthal. The first mentioned
gentleman speaks of the order of Government as one
cantonning the officers against taking any part
whatever in the spread of Christianity in the
regiment; as an order forbidding officers to converse
with the native Christians about Christianity,
or to hold a service for them, or to worship God
with them; as an order moreover not only affecting
the officers, but leaving it in doubt whether
a missionary may enter the lines of a regiment,
or, if he may, whether he may hold a service in a
native Christians house - and accordingly the Rev^d
gentleman states that in consequence of the
order it was thought better, when he visited the
regiment, "that our services should be held
away from the lines in one of the officer's quarters."

13 The Rev^d W Löwenthal is even more
specific in his statements. He says that "a Circular
"order was addressed to all Punjab Officers warning
"them against the offence they were committing
"against Government by influencing their subor-
"dinate in favor of Christianity and prohibiting,
"in so many words, their even reading prayers
"with the men or giving them any instruction in
"Christianity whatever, even if the men desired
"it of their own accord."

We

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14 We are not aware whether this paper has been made public in England, but we find that the general assertion which it contains is referred to in the last report of the Church Missionary Society. In the reported proceedings of the Society's annual meeting, published in the Record of May the 2^d, the following passage appears as a portion of the Society's annual report read to the meeting.

"Punjab. x x x. one of the most interesting and encouraging occurrences to which the missionaries refer was their call to give Christian instruction to a body of inquirers amongst the Soldiers of the 24th Punjab N. I. Regt. When the regiment removed from the neighborhood of the mission the Christian officers met their new Christian brethren in social worship and encouraged the inquirers in their study of the scriptures. There was some prospect that the whole regiment would have joined the movement, for these men were a class of Sikhs who had become disconnected with Hinduism and the Sikh religion, and were outcasts from all prevailing religions of India, and they were encouraged by the welcome they were receiving from Christian men, but at this point the Government of India stepped in and issued an order to every Punjab Regiment for every officer to hold himself aloof from Christian intercourse with his men."

15 It is hardly necessary that we should point out how very large a proportion of misrepresentation

is contained in the statements which have thus obtained currency. So far indeed as they refer to any orders issued by the Government, the whole story is entirely and absolutely without foundation, and even the verbal order which is stated to have been given by the Commanding officer of the 24th Regt. affords no ground whatever for such statements as that the Officers are prohibited from conversing with Christian natives, or from visiting them when sick - that Missionaries are not permitted to hold a service in a native Christians house in the lines; and that Christian soldiers have lower privileges than Mohamedan and Hindoo soldiers.

10 Major Avenersen who was the officer in command of the 24th Punjab Regiment last year no longer holds that position, and looking to the time which has elapsed and to the circumstance that his communication to his officers was a verbal one, it would probably be difficult now to obtain any satisfactory assurance as to what the intention of his order really was. That it was misunderstood by the officers, and, in consequence, misrepresented to the Missionaries, seems probable; but admitting this to have been the case, it cannot be held to justify the very specific statements which the latter have not hesitated to build up upon it, one of them, it will have been observed, actually

659.

actually pledging himself to the very words of
an order which never had existence, either as coming
from Government, or from any other source.

17 From the last communication in this
matter which has been received by the Governor
General from the Bishop of Calcutta we are
happy to learn that it was His Lordship's intention
to communicate with the Revd Mr Clark in order
to disabuse his mind of a belief in the existence
of prohibitions for which, as the Bishop remarks,
even Major Rowenden's addition to the Government
order gives no foundation, and likewise to point out
to the Revd Gentleman the great harm which
is done by believing and circulating such tales
without enquiry.

18 It is possible that the general circum-
stances elicited in this case may make it advisable
that Government should issue an order referring
to the broad and obvious distinction between the
case of officers communicating with their men
for the purpose of converting them - in other
words using the influence of their position for the
furtherance of conversion, and the case of officers
conversing with and joining in worship with
those who are already converted. The objections
to the former course we consider to be clear and
strong, and we are glad to know that in this view
we have the concurrence of the Bishop. But
before we determine upon the issue of any fresh

order

order in a matter in regard to which the intentions
of Government are so readily misunderstood and
misrepresented, we shall await the receipt of
information which has been called for from Madras
as to the rules obtaining in the Army of that
Presidency (in which the Christian Element
has long existed) with respect to intercourse for
religious purposes between the officers and their
men.

We have you
of Canning
" H B Esq
" J Wilson

Fort William
The 18th June 1860

No 109

From Brigadier T. J. Hallway
Commanding Peshawar District

To Captain H. C. Fremenger
Offy. Asst. Adjutant General
Peshawar Division.

D/23rd May 1859

Sir,

In reply to your letter No 74 dated 13th Instant I have the honor to state for the information of the Major General Commanding the Division that on the receipt of the copy of Correspondence noted in the margin on

Letter No 1130 of 23rd May from the
Genl of Chini July 1857 with
Adjutant Genl's endorsement of 22nd
of 3rd June 1859.

This office Doctet on same No 805 of 8th June 1859

the 10th June 1859 it was immediately circulated to all officers Commanding Native Regiments within my District - no District orders were issued.

2 In the 24th Punjab Infantry I have ascertained that on receipt of the above noted correspondence, Major Stovenden (then Commanding the Regiment) conveyed the instructions therein contained to the European Officers of the Regiment (verbally) and likewise ordered them not to attend any religious meetings with the men.

I have &c

Yr S. J. Hallway Brig^r
Comd^g Peshawar District

Lord Canning: P. Sec's. corresp.

No. 2066.

(Purpose to convert Natives)

C-2/8(i)

Mr Moncreiff told me some little time ago when I ventured to question the prudence of some remarks he had made in his sermons on its being the work of any one in India to endeavour to convert the natives and that he believed we were in India for no other purpose. I said, all very good and there was a time for all things but at present when the policy of Govt. went so much the contrary - to avoid meddling with their religion or prejudices of the Hindoos it ought to be avoided particularly just now with the army in such a state - He said, that was no matter to him - he believed it to be his duty to do so and he did not care about Govt. or their views and added there was now a large party engaged secretly in spreading the Gospel and converting the natives - I asked next day

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for further information regarding this subject
as I should consider what to do in the matter
unless what he had said was strictly private.
He replied that it was so ~~and told me that it~~
~~was so~~ and said nothing more.

P Secs. copy (108)

Jul. 21.

Dec 2065

(part)

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Lord Canning: Private Sec's. corresp.

No. 3216, (anonymous)

(free pardon on conversion to Christianity)

To

The most Noble Right Honourable Lord Canning
Governor General of India

My Lord,

I take the liberty to address your Lordship on a subject which I have no doubt is in accordance with your Lordship's desire but which for reasons unknown, your Lordship has not yet acted up to it,

I mean to solicit your Lordship to follow in the steps of one who is the just pride of Briton, whom in statesmanship none has yet equalled, in generalship, none surpassed & in piety but a few imitated, on whose pillars after a millennium Briton & Liberty yet stand & will stand for evermore. It is "Alfred the Great," to whose honour it is said, that after reconquering his kingdom from the Danes he offered them as a condition of Peace "to embrace the Christian religion," a noble offer,

Now my Lord, a proclamation of the same character to the rebels of this country, will perpetuate your Lordship's Noble Name as that of the good & wise Alfred the Great,

To the slanderer if there should be any, to ask "what manner of Christians can such persons make?" your Lordship can point to Denmark for an answer,

The reasons for such a proclamation to offer a free pardon to those that are ready to perish in the event of their embracing the Christian religion, are plain enough, God from heaven, commands it, Christendom, calls for it, & the souls of the wretched rebels, yearn for it, & history warrants for its success, moreover the Christian standard lifted up will lower the standards of the false creed.

I may suggest, that those who may avail themselves of the offer to serve the only true & living God & live, should be formed into a separate colony,

I hope that there

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remarks. far from offending your
means to prompt the execution
I beg most respectfully to remain
humble & obedient servant

29 Copally tolls Lane

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Lord Canning: Private Sec's. corresp.

No. 3216, (anonymous)

(free pardon or amnestia to Christianity)

C-2/8(ii)

To

The most Noble Right Honourable Lord Canning
Governor General of India
My Lord,

I take the liberty to address your Lordship on a subject which I have no doubt is in accordance with your Lordship's desire but which for reasons unknown, your Lordship has not yet acted up to it,

I mean to solicit your Lordship to follow in the steps of one who is the just pride of Britain, whom in statesmanship none has yet equalled, in generalship, none surpassed & in piety but a few imitated, on whose pillars after a millennium Britain & liberty yet stand & will stand for evermore. It is "Alfred the Great," to whose honour it is said, that after reconquering his kingdom from the Danes he offered them as a condition of Peace "to embrace the Christian religion," a noble offer,

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means to prompt the execution
I beg most respectfully to remain
humble & obedient servant

29 Copally Collo Lane

On Bundle
Khand
Politics
Suggests
Strategy

Copy of a letter from Jy to the
Honble W. Hastings Esq

Benares 6th Feby 1777

2131/3a

I conclude that the constant employment you must find in your Europe Despatches as well publick as private is the only Cause why I have hitherto been deprived the pleasure of the Letter you promised in your favor of the 23rd Dec^r to write me, and which as you said it should contain Memo^{rs} of such Matters as you wished to recommend to my Attention you may suppose I am the more anxious to receive it least from being Ignorant of your Sentiments I may inadvertently adopt a Conduct not altogether agreeable to your Inclinations - I have reason to think that I have yet steer'd clear of Error, and that I shall continue to do so untill the Arrival of your Instructions, which I hope will be soon accompanied with a Letter to the Rajah, who I believe for want of that necessary Credential from you has treated me with a Distance & reserve bordering upon distrust which I am well convinced he wd no longer observe were he made sensible that I am a person in whom you can confide. This Idea has struck me more forcibly from his never having shewn a wish to make use of my Channell to entreat your good Offices in effecting the Return of Opan Sing altho' he is under the greatest Apprehensions of his appearing in Calcutta - From the perfect knowledge he has of all his family Matters he certainly is a Man in every shape Qualified to thwart his Interests, inasmuch as to have it in his power to call in Question his right of Inheritance - I believe it is a deep laid plot and that Old F. is at the Bottom of it - This seems to me the more probable as just at the Time he took his Departure Intelligence was received here of Opan Sing's being Arrived as low as Moorshedabad - Seeing that he is supported underhand by so bold and able a Conductor the Rajah ought to spare no pains to induce his return - Had he consulted me upon the Occasion I shd long ere now have recommended his pursuing Measures the most promising of bringing about a reconciliation between them but as Matters have been allowed to go on I believe Opan Sing is proceeding with a no-

rooted Enmity and a Mind highly disaffected to the Welfare of his Family - And if as I have above suspected he has connected himself with Old F. and an Interview takes place between them at the City I am afraid it will be a difficult Matter to effect his quiet & peaceable return to Benares. On this Subject I hope to be indulged with your Sentiments. The Rajah has effected a Reconciliation with his Cousin & Munihar Sing, (who you must have heard was a party with Opan Sing in the Family differences) but w^{ch} he did not accomplish without the most submissive Entreaties and agreeing to restore him to the Enjoyment of the Jaghur he formerly possessed.

You must long since have heard of the Death of Rajah Hindooput the principal Zemindar of Bundelcond, and of the Disensions which subsist regarding the Succession. It has struck me that our Government might not only take a useful but advantageous Interest therein. By establishing one party I think a considerable Sum of Money might be obtained and by allying him to our Government we would hold an extensive Influence in a Country which added to our present possessions would complete the Barrier betwixt us and the Maharattas or Dominions. In order that you may be the better able yourself to judge of the practicability of effecting such a Measure I shall here give you what Information I have been able to procure of their rise & present Situation of their Disputes. Hindooput at his Death bequeathed the Zemindary to the youngest of his two Sons, partly thro' the Intercession of the Ranney Matter and partly they say at the Instigation of one Beny Hazoor, a Man Originally of low Birth but who had acquired considerable Influence in his Council, and I understand joined to the Ranney is the only person who supports his pretensions. - On the other hand the elder Son has got in his Interest the Rajahs or Goman Sing & Coman Sing Deendaris of the 2^d or 3^d Generation from Chulter Sall Donga the Father of Hindooput and who next to him have the largest territorial possessions of all the Zemins of Bundelcond he has further they say gained to his party Balaju Govind the Maharattas with whose participation & Assistance he is now preparing

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preparing a Force to Seize upon the Diamond Mines now in possession
 of his Brother - Upon this Statement of Affairs it wd. appear most
 prudent and equitable to promote the pretensions of the eldest Son in
 supporting which if it was found necessary to assist him with Force
 I wd. recommend we being made of the Troops of Rajah Chyter Sing
 whereby the Company wd. incur little or no expense for even if the
 Charges were to exceed what the Rajah now pays for the Maintenance
 of his Troops it wd. only be making him usefully employ a part of that
 Treasure wd. be annually accumulated and thrown lost to the World,
 into his Fort of Breishagur - If the Eldest Son has more powerful
 Opponents than I am yet informed of I wd. at once make a Conquest
 of Mundicon for him upon his engaging to make himself tributary
 to our Govt. and we on our Part wd. engage to render the other "Sons" of
 Mundicon Tributary to him - This might be done upon the plea of his
 being the Eldest Son in lineal Descent from Chyter Sal Durgah who
 enjoyed the Superiority of the whole Province of Mundicon, but on
 whose Death a Division of the Zem. took place -

It is not improbable my Information as to the
 Relationship of the Families is erroneous and my Ideas on the Subject
 may be more Chimerical than sound, but if we do not take some
 part in those Commotions I shd. not be at all surprized if Nijiph
 Cawn were to take upon himself to arbitrate their Differences by making
 a Conquest of the Country for his own behoof whereby he would get
 immense Riches an Acquisition wd. doubtless render him
 formidable & in his present turn of mind might also induce him
 to become a troublesome Neighbour to us -

I have never had an Opportunity of Studying the
 Politicks of Hindostan and am therefore but ill Qualified to pass an
 Opinion on what I have above suggested, as I know not how far
 such an undertaking would affect the Interests of the other powers
 - I therefore with Diffidence submit the whole to your Maternal
 Judgement, hoping that if I have been guilty of an Impropriety
 in intruding upon you my Ideas you will attribute it to a
 want

want of knowing better, and not to impertinent forwardness or a Desire of appearing Opinionated.

In passing the Receipts for the Rajahs Tribute I observe M^r. Powke has always made use of his own Seal, as it is a publick Transaction I should imagine that one in the Name of the Company wd. be more properly applied not only as becoming their Dignity but would be a kind of Additional attestation of their Sovereignty over the Country. Upon the Strength of this Opinion I have had one cut wherof I enclose you the Impression that you may determine whether it is rightly worded, and whether it will be proper I should make use of it - Which I shall not do untill I receive your answer.

I need not observe to you that if you approve my hint regarding Bundelcond there is no time to be lost in opening some Negotiations otherwise it wd. appear the Mahrattas will acquire that very Influence which I think wd. be more safely lodged in the Hands of our Gov^t.

Copy of a L^r from L^d. to the
Honble W^m Hastings Esq^r

Bencares 21st Feby 1777

In a Letter I did myself the pleasure of addressing you under Date the 16th Instant I troubled you with a few Thoughts regarding the present State of Affairs in Bundelcond, but as upon further Enquiry I find the Apprehension I therein expressd, of my being Misinformd with respect to the Genealogy of the Family of Chuttersale, were not without foundation, I beg leave to give you a more perfect relation thereof.

In the first place you will receive enclosed a very awkward Drawing of a genealogical Tree containing the Names of the Offspring of Chuttersale Dunga down to the present Period.

Chuttersale had two sons Viz Heerdah Saw & Suggit Ray. To the former he bequeathed 10 Acres of his Land.

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Lemindary and to the latter six Anas - Heerdah saw had one son by
Name Sobah Sing - Juggat Ray had three sons The Names of the
eldest & youngest I have not been able to learn the Name of the 2nd
was Pahr Sing - The eldest & youngest had each a son the former had
Goman Sing & the latter Coman Sing, both now living, and who
conduct the Proportions allotted them of their Fathers Lemny, conjunct-
ly - The 2nd Pahr Sing had one son now living by Name Gudge Sing

Sobah Sing, grandson of Chutturah, had three sons - viz Aman Sing,
Hindooput & Khed Sing -

The eldest Aman Sing enjoyed his Fathers Lemindary undisturbed &
undisturbed for several years untill his Brother Hindooput being a
Man of an active & enterprising Disposition stir'd up a Faction in the
Lemny, and having gain'd over to his Interest Many powerful Adhe-
rents waged war against him, whereby having effected his (Aman
Sing's) Death, who had Issue, he got possession of the Rajahship & Lemin-
dary without Further Opposition - He died about three Months ago
and left behind him two Sons Sunate Sing & Anoreh Sing the now
contending Parties -

Before I enter into a detail of the pretensions upon
which each grounds his Claim to the Lemindary it may be necessary
to inform you that the Hindoo Rajahs enjoy a privilege not allowed
to people of inferior Rank, that of Marrying any number of wives -

Sunate Sing now about 22 Years old is son from
the wife of the 2nd Marriage and Anoreh Sing now about 9 years old
is son from the wife of the 1st Marriage - The former builds his Right
of Succession to the Lemindary upon prior Birth and the latter upon
his being the son of the first wife and upon his Fathers having before
his Death nominated him to the Succession - I have enquired of
several Intelligent Hindoos in this place whether in such cases there
was any certain Rule to go by, but they could tell me nothing more
Decisive or Satisfactory than that the person nominated during the
Life of the incumbent was esteem'd the Successor and generally as-
sum'd the Right of inheritance that however there was no Law for it,
neither was it customary to set the eldest son aside but when it so
happend

happened the right of succession had usually been decided by fighting
 and consequently fell to the lot of the strongest party. Besides the above
 pleas made on behalf of the younger son it is argued against the
 succession of the Elder, that His Father long before his Death allotted to
 him for his subsistence a Jaghire amounting to about 2¹/₂ Lacks of
 Annual Revenue, and which it is alleged ought to exclude him
 from all Title to the Simindary whilst his Brother Anoret Sing
 lives or has heirs of his own body. The Ceremony of Installation
 amongst the Rajahs of Bundelcond and the other Chutternary Rajahs, in
 disputed Cases such as the present, is looked upon as a Matter of the highest
 Importance, each strive who shall be first in obtaining what they term
 the Seeka, which is a Mark made by one of their Priests on the fore-
 head exactly between the Eye brows with a particular sort of ^{clay} or
 paint, and which is first consecrated by an Assemblage of the Bra-
 mins in presence of the friends and Relations of the person who is to
 be installed, and who all having acknowledged his Right and declared
 their Allegiance, the Bramins chose from amongst themselves one to
 administer the Seeka, and to place him upon a Seat which by the
 Hindoos & in the Shaster is called Singastun which is in fact a
 wooden Throne, and whereon they also place the Images of their
 Gods.

The Guardians & Adherents of Anoret Sing, of
 whom the principals are Bsing Hazoori Ram Roy Chobay &c &c
 Kibary Sing Moonshy Servants in the Family, fixed upon a Day
 for his Installation of which Sunate Sing having got Intelligence &c
 assembled his Friend and had himself proclaimed Rajah, the Day
 preceding. And Anoret Sing was as agreed upon proclaimed the Day
 following. An Occurrence of this kind is with them an open De-
 claration of War, in proof of which they have already come to blows
 and had one Engagement in which Sunate Sing has been defeated but
 not so completely as to prevent all further Contention. This
 Victory may appear rather strange to you after telling you in
 my last that Sunate Sing had the most powerfull Support. The
 Rajahs Goman & Coman Sing and Balajee Govind the Mahrattas, or
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by fighting. Besides the above against the W. Socks & exclude him from Anoret Sing's collation & Rajahs, in the highest what may term on the fore-^{day} of the Bra- son who is to and declared- selves one to which by the Sach a & pages of their ch Sing, of Chobby & upon a Day Intelligence in the Day re- claimed the Day an Open De- come to blows on defeated but tion. This & ling you in Support. The Mahratlo, or wish

wish him to succeed but not choosing to embroil themselves in the Quarrell they stood neuter and I understand intend continuing so as it cannot affect their Interests which becomes Rajah, and as they are resolved to acknowledge whoever gets the better. At the same time I learn they are mediating for an Accommodation and seem now to think that Bindoo's Will ought to be complied with, and that Anoret Sing should rest contented with his Jaghire. If this change of Sentiments is to be viewed in an Interested light we may suppose as Anoret Sing is in possession of the Family Riches that they have been bribed to it and if it is to be ascribed to political Motives they are probably apprehensive least a foreign Power should come to decide their Quarrells and thereby enslave both themselves and the contending Parties. Which soever of these may be the Case they are undoubtedly both calculated to preclude our Interference however I still think that by merely showing a good will towards the party whom the Majority seem now disposed to favor some Advantage might be derived to the Company if not pecuniary, in extending their political Interests. If you are of the same Opinion and will grant me your Permission I will enter into such a Literary Correspondence with Anoret Sing's party as, if not productive of good, I will venture to assure you shall never be the Means of drawing the Company into Trouble. And in case there should be any prospect of success it will then be time enough for to give what Negotiations may appear practicable your own sanction as well as to obtain them the Authority of the Board.

Bencares 22nd Febr'y 1777.

The Honble W. H. Esq^r

I have just had a Visit from a Dependant of Kaim Ray Chobby who has pointed out to me a Mistake in the genealogical Detail sent you in my Letter of Yesterday. Bindoo'sud was the

the youngest Son of Saubah Sing and not the Second Khed Sing was the
 Second and was kept in close confinement by Hindooput from the time
 since he seized upon the Rajahship untill his Death. Since then
 he has been set at Liberty but in order to obviate every Change
 of his becoming a Rival in the Semship he is only permitted to
 ride in a Palankeen and to have a few Attendant Servants.

Anoret Sing has made an offer to divide the
 Semindary with Senate Sing but he has Declined it as the half
 he proposes giving him is mostly waste & uncultivated Land
 and because he will not also divide the Family Riches with him
 - It is expected that there will be another Battle between them in
 a few Days as both Sides are making very formidable preparations.

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