

Vol xvii

ILLUSTRATIONS OF INDIAN NON-  
COOPERATION WITH OPPRESSION  
AND MIS-RULE: c. 1700-1850

Compiled by  
**Dharampal**

Ashram Pratishtan, Sevagram - 442102  
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Note: The underlining done throughout the document (marked by \*) is the emphasis added by the Editor-Compiler.

## 1. CASTES OPPOSE BRITISH ACTS IN TOWN OF MADRAS: c.1707

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MADRAS PUBLIC CONSULTATIONS: PRINTED :

*Survey of Street Ordered By Governor Thomas Pitt*

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June 26, 1707 (Thursday)

(p.3) There having been lately a dispute between the Right and Left hand cast that live in the Patta about passing some street on occasion of their weddings in so much that the Governor was obliged to order guards to lye out to keep the peace to prevent further disturbance it is agreed that Mr. Raworth, Paymster takes with him the Gunner, and Serapa and Narrain heads for the right hand cast, and Colleway and Vincaty Chitty heads for the Left hand cast, and that they survey the Pattas and consider what method may be taken to prevent any further disputes of the like nature and report the same to the Governor and Council.

Thursday, July 17, 1707.

Mr. Raworth and the Gunner as also the head of the Right and Left hand casts report that they surveyed the Patta according to an order of consultation of the 26th past month and produced a draught of all the streets and buildings in the Patta which showed us what streets were chiefly inhabited by the Left hand cast, being Bridge Gate street and that which is commonly called the chief peons street wherein lives but few of the Right hand cast **so to preserve the peace between the two aforesaid casts for the future, we hereby order that those few of the Right hand cast in the afore-mentined streets sell their houses and go and live in the streets among their own casts\*** and that those two streets are peculiarly appropriated for the left hand cast to pass in at their making their weddings and festivals and that none of the Right hand cast give them the least disturbance in that precinct at their utmost peril and, it is further hereby ordered that neither cast may pretend ignorance of their limits that the Paymaster sets up four stones at the cost of the Left hand cast according as we have directed him in the draught and inscribe thereon in English and Gentue the purport of this our order.

Thursday, 14 August 1707

The Governor acquaints the Council that on the 12th at night some disaffected persons to the Government had pasted papers on the stones set up in the Patta which strited the boundary of the Left hand cast as per consultation the 17<sup>th</sup> past month which papers were wrote in the Mallabarr language and now produced the translate of which is as entered after the consultation, they also layd at the foot of the stone a sort of an enchantment as is esteemed in this country, pieces of scull with rice and other mixture. From translate of the paper is easily to be inferred that some Europeans have had a hand in it there being expressions that these people are wholly strangers to, of which we having considered we are come to the following result, that a paper be fixed on each stone, in all languages as also on the gates in the English and Black town that if any person or persons shall come into and inform us of person or persons (who) have fixed the afore-mentioned paper on these pillars they shall have one hundred pagodas reward and his pardon if concerned there in. The heads of the Right

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\* Emphasis added by Editor-Compiler

hand cast were sent for before us who being charged with having a hand in writing those papers, which they denied, agreed that a month's time be given them to find out the person or persons who wrote this and if they don't they are to find such a sum of money as the Governor and Council think fit and this they were acquainted with.

The following paper was put on the stones in the street given to the Left hand cast:

**Since the foundation of the city no such thing has been known, by the authority of the Government and prevalence of money this pillar was erected in contempt and derision of the Right hand cast who will forfeit the right of their cast if they do not destroy the others like dogs and tumble them down, and if it be demanded by whose orders this was written it is by the will of the king of England and the Company who will not fail to bring these things to pass and this is by way of caution.\***

July 15, 1715

The disputes between the casts at Fort St David as related in their letter of the 7th instant is taken into consideration, and the President acquaints the Board with the opinions of several of our ancient and experienced inhabitants here, that no innovations ought to be permitted.

Agreed that the customs of the casts do remain as they were formerly settled by Mr. Hatsell and Council, when we first possessed the place, and that all aggressors to disturbances be severely punished.

**MADRAS GOVERNOR THOMAS PITT ON CASTES CHALLENGE TO THOS COOKE:  
Dec 15, 1707**

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B.L. Thomas Pitt's Papers: ADD MS

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Hon'ble Sir

The foregoing is a copy of what I wrote to you by the Danes ship since we have little to add but what you will be fully informed of in the General Letter; where you will read the unspeakable trouble we have had about the casts, who are bitterer one against another, than ever I have heard or seen of Wigg and Tory, for whereas some trades are peculiar to one cast and (not) other, they will not work for one another, nor speak to one another in the streets; and I can't in my conscience but think, but Fraser drawn in by Timmapa and his Dubash, has chiefly contributed to it (ff 81 a) for the reasons you will read in our consultations and charge against him; in the latter there is a material instance omitted which is that the deserters refused the accepting the pardon, unless it was signed by Fraser and he reinstated. Besides (there is) a general saying amongst the poor people when they are threatened with punishment for what they had done they answered that the second was of their side, and since their return I find that Timmapa drew, not only the pardon, but all the scandalous papers that were sent us and thrown about in which are expressions, that I have often heard from Fraser; I have him now in prison, on account of debt, and Surapa has been lately very sick, who in few days shall be in jayle and Sunca Rama shan't escape. These three I find to be at the bottom of this

villany, and the chief promoters of it and, the latter I am informed has paid the charge. But I will take care he shall not be reimbursed in my time, **and I resolve to make these three such examples, as shall deter others from ever doing the like, and I did propose, the Dutch method, when it first broke out, which was to have cut their heads off in the fort, at night, and have put their bodies into chests, and have sent them off to sea, but your weak council, all of which God knows deserves that character except Raworth, have exhibited a notion, destructive to (81 b) Government in these parts; which is, that no native is to be cutt off, let his crime be what it will, but by a formal tryal, in which time a Government may be undone,\*** and had we taken course, we had quelled them in four and twenty hours; and prevented them attempting the same again, we had not given out a pardon so soon as we did, only that we expected the Nath....up the beginning of September, and wanted the beasts to load her, or otherwise she would have been lost in the monsoon. **But I took care to mention in it that everything was to go according to custom, and none so old as them paying obedience to the Governor and Council's order\*.** Besides they have made it invalid, by not returning upon the receipt of it, after which too they committed several insolences, for which by degrees they shall be rewarded, and yet hope in two or three months to work them into such a temper as that there shall be a firm friendship between them as ever, and the source of this feud has been from that altering the method of investments by which you have shed out the Right hand cast, who never can nor will make any, but by advancing money, which must never be done again, if you can possibly avoid it.

## 2. SURVEY OF CHENGALPATTU JAGHIRE, AND EXPRESSIONS OF PEASANTS NON-COOPERATION IN IT: Letter from Thomas Barnard, Nov. 1774

India Office Records: Range 274/17: 20 Dec. 1774

(203)

A letter having been received from Mr. Thomas Barnard, dated the 10th ultimo relating to His Survey of the Company's Inaam lands, the same was sent round to the Council for their perusal and is as follows:-

To

The Hon'ble Alexander Wynch, Esq.  
President and Governor in Council of Fort St. George

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

I have the pleasure to deliver to you in the accompanying sheets, the survey of the Hon'ble Company's Inaam lands, situated round Madras. Having endeavoured to give it all the perfection, a work of this kind, executed by a single person could well receive, I am willing to flatter myself it will have the good fortune to be approved by you.

The accompanying paper No.1 contains the instructions I received from Col. Call, the Chief Engineer, at the time when this Survey was ordered. As they would afford grounds to expect a very different manner of performance from that which I pursued, it will be proper to explain the cause of my deviation from them. It will scarcely, I presume, be expected on a perusal of these instructions that they could in any shape be executed through an extent of country 110 miles in length and 50 in breadth, by any one person; even tho' he had not the extremities of an Eastern climate to contend with. (204) To ascertain the improvements of which lands are capable, requires a very precise and minute knowledge of their situation and soil tho' first only to be acquired by observations which have been the result of a long residence on the spot, or by a process of experiments in different parts to get the respective levels. The latter only from those who have long cultivated the ground and are thoroughly acquainted with its different qualities. When the heavy business in this country especially of surveying is joined to the above description, no doubts will remain. I hope, that the task was much above the powers of a single man to accomplish. My sense of this matter induced me very soon after I began the survey to represent the difficulty to Col. Call. At the same time I delivered in a copy of the work I had done in the course of two months, as a specimen of the manner in which I proposed to continue it. His letter to me on the subject expressed an entire approbation. The above specimen may be seen in that part of the survey north of Pulliacat and I have the letter still in my possession. As I endeavoured to make the above small piece as perfect as I could so I can truly say that it has been a constant object of my attention to improve and surpass it, in every subsequent part.

Having thus attempted to explain the reason of the deviation from my first instructions, I proceed to show the manner in which (205) I endeavoured to accomplish the end of them. What relates to the surveying branch of my employ shall be first exhibited. The country is

laid down from angles and measurements performed with the Theodolite and Chain from Madras to Tripassoor Westward and from that line to the extremity of the Company's territory Northward. The country is quite level excepting only Madriattshes Pollam, a woody uneven tract of some miles in circumference. Having in all this part no elevated situations to afford the means of correcting such errors as are unavoidably and indeed insensibly contracted in surveys of any extent, I judged it to be the best way to divide the whole into circuits of 12 or 14 miles. These circuits were contrived so as to afford the most convenience for getting the situation of the remarkable objects within them, and to give the greatest possible length to the lines which formed them. The fewer stations there were in each circuit, the more correct the work became by diminishing the number of angles to be taken in which the danger of error is greatest. The finishing of each circuit corrected the mistakes of the preceding one as there must always among the adjoining circuits be some common points belonging to both, and of course if the work should be perfect they must coincide. From the lines which formed these circuits the angles were taken to the villages as I measured along. In those villages where no conspicuous object presented itself, the want was supplied by a flag on the top of some high (206) tree. In this manner, the exact position of some point in every village was obtained. The plan of the villages, the situation and shape of the Yaries were determined, by their bearings to the above point. I had previously ascertained the Yary being commonly near the town, the bearing of it was taken, and the distance measured then the direction of its banks and their respective lengths. I did not in general attempt to ascertain the situation of more than one Yary in each village. Where there happened to be another, or even more of any consequence, they had the same attention. The disposition of the grounds is so dependent on the situation of the tanks, the paddy fields being almost always contiguous to them, that the same work which gave me the place of one, afforded likewise the place of the other. Thus much with respect to the minute things. When the whole of the above mentioned tract north of Madras came to be closed and the circuits brought together, I found a considerable error had accumulated the extremities of the work which ought to have joined did not meet within a mile. This I have been forced to accommodate by diffusing it in small portion over the whole, so that each part shall be as nearly in its proper place as possible and none be put much out. I have only to offer in excuse for this error, that no pains were omitted to avoid it. It must have happened by errors in the angles or lengths tho' with respect (207) to the latter I was not above the task of holding the chain myself and in the course of all the above work my health enabled me, and a desire to do my duty, thoroughly prompted me to it. With regard to that part of the Survey, containing the Inaum lands south of the above western line from Madras, I give that up to the strictest inspection. The many hills in it afforded me the means, and I made use of them to correct all the incidental errors. I have accompanied with the Charts, the angles taken from the several stations on those hills as affording an easy opportunity of reference upon any occasion that may occur. The interior part of this southern side of the Inaum lands is finished in the same manner. I have described in treating of the northern. I have now only a few words to add concerning Boundaries. The different Districts are so blended not only amongst themselves, but in their subdivisions, that I believe I affirm a truth in saying there is not a single district, which can be brought within one line without including many villages of another. In one or two instances, a tract of one district is detached in the heart of another, and whilst within two miles of Madras, a single village is to be found belonging to the Wandewash Jaghire, there are in the neighbourhood of Arcot and Gingee three or four belonging to the Inaum lands of Madras. All that could be done, therefore, in this case, was to arrange the villages where

many of one district (208) were found together under their proper title and where they were scattered, to show by annexing to their names the initial letters to what district they belonged. I finish in this place all that I have to say of my performance in the view of a survey.

To accomplish what was required of me, in reporting the state of the country, and the improvements which might be made, **I had recourse to the records which are kept in every village of the transactions, which relate to revenue, cultivation and trade. The existence of any such materials was I believe unknown, when Col. Call sent me out. The insight I obtained of this matter, was furnished me by the interpreter appointed by Col. Call and I mention it to do justice to the merits of a person, who with a pay only equal to a bare subsistence has shared in many of the fatigue of my employ, in hopes it may point him out hereafter as a useful and deserving man, to be employed in any business relative to the Madras territory where a native is to be entrusted\***. The extract I caused to be made from the records, contain the quantity (of) disposal, and appropriation of the grounds in every village. The number of the inhabitants with their possessions, and privileges, where they are entitled to any, also the total of cattle in every village. The revenue account consists of the neat produce of each village adjusted according to a standrad fixed in the time of Doast Ally for ascertaining the rights of the cultivators (209). This produce is shown for five succeeding years from 1761. In some places I have obtained a similar account under the administration of Doab and Subder Ally. But it has not happened often. The duties paid in the country are recorded in every district, but not in each village so that there is only one calculate of them at the end of the other accounts. The accompanying paper No.2 are instructions addressed to the Chief Inhabitants, Conicoplys, and other Land Holders of every village to direct their experience in considering the improvements which could be made in their respective countries. The repairs wanted for the Yaries to put them into durable condition, have been measured by the proper Artist, and the particulars are stated. All these accounts will be delivered in a short time. They now only wait to be transcribed under the care of Mr. Jewel Call, whose capacity and attention since he has been employed under me merit every recommendation I can give him.

It will probably be expected from so long a residence in the country and intercourse with the inhabitants, I must have derived some lights, which may be of use to promote the future welfare of it. In reply, to this, I must observe that such lights could only flow from particular attentions, and views of things and that having had nothing of this kind pointed out to me, and having my (210) time in general laboriously occupied, it very much incapacitated me for observation or reflection. With this apology for any inaccuracies in what I have to offer of this kind, I submit the few following particulars to your consideration, as containing matter not unworthy of future attention. **In the beginning of 1767, during my stay at Ponery, the whole of that district was deserted by the nautwars or Chief Inhabitants. The renter of that country having farmed it at a rate much beyond its real value insisted on such a share of the produce from the cultivators as would have indemnified him. One of the Nautwars opposed this arbitrary proceeding, and to avoid any violence he might have expected from the renter, withdrew from his home. This example was soon followed by all the Nautwars of the district and their influence was so prevalent, that the renter by standing a long time to his own terms, lost the greatest part of the revenue for that year. The Nautwars had interest enough with the other cultivators to engage them to unite in a common resolution not to cut the ripe grain; and when the renter yielded the much greater**



**part was spoiled. The mention of this particular leads me to take notice of a singular privilege which the natives of these parts enjoy\***. In all transactions relative to the cultivation of the country it softens much the effects of their despotick principles of Government. In any disputes (211) between the renter and the cultivators if a signal injury be intended the suffering party finds a secure asylum in any place out of the district the seat of this dispute. I presume the Government have a persuasion that in general, their officers are in fault, that the people will not for a slight grievance have recourse to a method of redressing themselves so severe in its first operations, and of course that the protection which every district affords to the inhabitants of another on such occasions, is beneficial to the country. Various instances occur to my memory where I have seen this matter exemplified, the renter soliciting the return of the cultivators, and manufacturers to their homes. Even the Sibendy peons of the district, the Talliards, the Toties and other servants of a village, have recourse to the same measure, when much aggrieved by their respective superiors. Many instances occur of disputes concerning the Yaries or reservoirs of water as they generally terminate to the great detriment of the country, I shall mention a few of the principal causes. A single Yary often supplies many villages. Their proportions if sufficiently ascertained, and not sufficiently secured to the parties, they dispute, and justice being seldom the umpire upon these occasions, the injured party often redress themselves, by secretly destroying or cutting the Banks of the Yary. The Yary of one village often includes the ground of another. The latter claim (212) a share of the water and are denied another opening for mischief. The Yaries are supplied in the monsoon time from one to another. I recollect one instance where the course of the waters has been diverted into another channel and many where by letting off the water thro' the flood gates without occasion the supplies which would have come to adjacent yaries have been cut off. A perfect remedy for the above disorders cannot perhaps be devised but rights may be more precisely ascertained, and punishment inflicted on offenders. **I believe the impunity of such practices, is the great promoter and cause of them. The Boundary of some few villages are in litigation at present and the right of the land property in some few more. These must be settled, or the rents must certainly be hurt by them.\***

With respect to the administration of Justice there does not appear the least trace of any commonly known forms for that purpose. The renter is the Despot throughout his district, checked indeed by the privilege, I have already mentioned in affairs, which relate to the cultivation and produce of the country. But as he most commonly attaches the Nautwars to his interest and the inferior inhabitants from the habits of the country are in a manner subjected to these Nautwars, he effects his purpose thro' them, without much control, from the fear of depopulating the country. In all revenue transactions the business is determined by the pleasure (213) of the renter. It now and then happens that he consults the Dewan at Madras. With respect to the other branches of justice, it may be said in general that if some little attention be granted to decide disputes of **property**, the most criminal actions often escape unpunished. I shall finish this scattered matter with the mention of the Pollams. The neighbourhood of the Hill Pollans, to the Inaum lands and the existence of those within the Jaghire, South of Chingleput, Woolivauc and Nellumbaucum, both west of Covelong, Beemnaik's West of Madras, Molrawse's North west of it and Rajah Pollam a Growing one, on the borders of the Pullicat lake, in their present independent condition is of great prejudice. All the villages bordering on them, without exemption almost, bear the marks of poverty and decay. The Poligars oppress on the one hand, the renter on the other. It seems indeed a

kind of policy among them to increase the extent of their Pollams. A village depopulated is a great addition to their domain. The ground is soon covered with the low copse wood of the pollam, and every trace of a town is lost. In almost all the pollams upon the Inaum Lands encroachments of this kind have been made. The homes of the villages so lost, will be mentioned in the report of the country, as often as they occur. With respect to the Hill poligars in 1767, at the time when the Jaghire Pollams were taken from the owners for misbehaviour, they not only afforded them a shelter (214) but assisted them with an armed force by the help of which the above dispossessed poligars collected their dues in the Inaum lands as rigorously as they had ever done. At the same time the renters under the Nabob received them on his account.

I beg leave to add a word concerning the time this work has taken, and with that I shall conclude. It commenced in February 1767. In the course of that and the two succeeding years, I was kept from it near a year superintending the repairs of Ponamlee Fort, the war not permitting me to continue it. In 1770 and 1771 another year was lost when I was ordered to attend Mr. Dawson, on the enquiry into the lossess in the Inaum Lands by the war with Hyder Ally. In 1772, I had finished the surveying part, but not the fair drawings of them. At that time I began to collect the reports from the records, and Mr. Call was then appointed Assistant for that purpose. They might have been obtained sooner, if I had found a ready compliance from the different officers of Government.

My health having been very much injured in the course of the above applications, and having suffered under it for near a year, with little or no material relief from medicine I am advised by Mr. Paseley to go to England, which in his opinion is the only chance I have left for the recovery of my health. A French ship being very shortly to leave the Coast, I am to request Your Honour, will permit me to embrace (215) the opportunity etc. As it is my intention to return as speedily as I can to my station, you will permit me to solicit your favourable mention to the Hon'ble Court of Directors that I may do it without prejudice to my rank.

I remain, with respect

Fort St. George  
10th Nov. 1774

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,  
Your most obedient humble servant  
Thomas Barnard

**Instructions from Col. Call, the Chief Engineer to Mr. Barnard.**

1st. You will survey as exactly as possible, on a scale of two inches to a mile at least, the whole extent of country, comprehended within the limits of the Jaghire, lately granted to the Company by the Nabob, beginning on the north of Madras and so continuing along the sea side till you reach the northern extremity, and that you may be the more certain what districts and villages compose this Jaghire, a List of them is annexed hereto. You have also a person sent with you to serve as an interpreter, and orders from the Nabob (now renter of this Jaghire) to his Ameeldars to assist you as far as depends on them in making the enquiries as hereafter directed.

2nd. In the course of your survey, you are to be particularly careful to note the nature of the country adjacent to and between each village, whether it be fit for the cultivation of Beetle, paddy or dry grains, such as Varragoo, Comboo(216) Nutchuny Cholum, etc. or whether it be pasture land, woody or sandy.

3rd. You must carefully trace all rivers or water courses, and mark the places where water courses are or may be opened out of rivers so as to water the adjacent grounds and render them proper for the cultivation of paddy.

4th. You must exactly survey all tanks, remarking the water courses that lead from them and how they are supplied with water, whether by rain or from any river.

5th. As the collection and preservation of water is the grand object of cultivation, you are minutely to enquire into the state of each tank or reservoir, report how it may be repaired or improved and at what expence, and you must also note what countries or grounds are watered thereby that the advantage arising from such repairs or additions may be considered. You are moreover to enquire whether any new tanks can conveniently be dug, in what part, at what expence, and what would be the advantage of such new tanks. These enquiries being as important as any you have to make, you will be particularly attentive thereto.

6th. You are to remark on all hills, rivers, woods and waste grounds, and trace with exactness all roads, observing at the same time the nature of them, whether good or bad.

7th. You must enquire of the Ameeldars of the several (217) countries, what improvements can be made in general, for the mutual benefit of the inhabitants and the Company, and obtain the best account you can of the Conigos or inhabitants of every village of the yearly produce of such village, both within these last five years, and in the time of Doab Ally or Subder Ally Cawn. These different produces you will note opposite the names of each village in your list of villages, which you will arrange alphabetically.

8th. It will not be an useless enquiry to obtain information concerning the number of inhabitants in each town or considerable village, whether they are increasing or diminishing and the cause; also what manufactures are made there.

### **Instructions to the Chief Inhabitants, etc. in the Jaghire**

To the Chief Inhabitants, and others residing in all the several villages, situated in those districts which compose the Company's Jaghire.

You are hereby required to communicate to the bearer all the possible information in your power, concerning the present state of every Yary, Tongel, Tank or well in your respective villages, which do in any shape, contribute to the cultivation of paddy fields or any other grounds, that he may thereby (218) be enabled to form a just and accurate valuation of the expence attending such repairs as are necessary to put them into a lasting and durable condition. For your further instructions herein, and that you may the more perfectly execute the above orders, the following particulars are pointed out, which having very carefully and attentively considered, you are to report upon each of them to the best of your knowledge.

1st. You are exactly to estimate the expence of such repairs as are necessary to put every Yary, Tongel, Tank or Well made use of to water the paddy fields and other grounds in order for their cultivation in each of your respective villages into the best condition.

2nd. You are to write down the quantity of lands which is now left uncultivated entirely because of the want of water. You are also to mention the nature of the soil of that ground, whether paddy or combe, etc., how many crops when well supplied with water it will yield in the year and what additional sum of money the village will produce after the repairs are completed.

3rd. As there are some villages in which notwithstanding the ill state of the tanks no grounds are left uncultivated, tho' it is done to less advantage than it might be, in all the additional number of crops that will be produced after the repairs of the Yary etc. (219) is to be noted down as well as the increase of its value in money.

4th. A separate account of the expence attending, and the advantage arising from these repairs in every village, is to be made for all the Yarys together, for the Tongels together, in like manner for the Tanks, and the same for the wells, and all these different accounts are then to be added up to form one total of profit and loss.

5th. If any channels or water courses can be brought from the adjacent rivers, whereby the grounds may be watered more conveniently, or by rendering of the Yarys or Tongels of such places useless, will afford an opportunity of cultivating them, and thence a considerable profit is likely to accrue, on account of the expence of such channels or watercourses is to be delivered in, and all the advantages or disadvantages arising from them to be very minutely explained.

6th. These accounts when finished are to be delivered to the bearer, being previously signed by the Chief Inhabitants of the village, and two or three more, who are in a capacity to judge a proper judgement of these things.

### 3. PEASANTS REVOLT AT RANGPUR: BENGAL: 1779-85

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*Bengal District Records : Rangpur, Vol. 4 (1779-85)*

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#### **Ryots of the Talooks of Carzihaut in Rungpore to the Ryots of Sircar Faryerah in Dinajpore.**

We have here made an insurrection. We hear that in your country the revenue is still collecting. Rajah Davy Sing has made Rajewarrah and Couchwarrah in Dinajpore and Rungpore one zillah in our carjehaut. Gour Mohum Chowdry has lost his life in this disturbance. All Couchwarrah Rungpore are come forth; so you do the same and join us; we have surrounded the Rajah at Rungpore with the Razier's people. The rest is left to chance. So you pay no more revenue.

In this letter we give you information. If you come it is well; if not you will repent it, after which you must not blame us. People are therefore sent to you, you will give them victuals.

(signed) Hurry Doss,

Dewan wrote on the back: sent by a pyke belonging to Ding Jeid Isaul Cawn.

(N.B. Ding is the provincial word for insurrection)

True Copy (signed) J.W.H, secy

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No.2.(No.188;p;138)

We the Ryots of Cargeehaut, Futtypore, Kanknea and Tepah, Malguzardars, are ruined by the annual assessment of one anna, and half an anna Durrivillah, we have given all we have towards paying our Revenue, and have only our Lives left, upon this for these two Years have been levied on us 5, Annas Durrivillah and setting aside the Narainy Currency have imposed 3, Annas Batta on French Arcot Rupees. By these two Articles Hur Ram Baboo last year not being able to complete his engagements notwithstanding the manner in which he collected from the Zemindars and Ryots, is now in confinement. **We then sold our Cattle and the Trenchets belonging to our Woman, we have since sold our Children and have nought left but our Lives\***, upon that two annas encrease has been put on the Jumma of this Year, and Sezawuls and Tasildars were sent throughout the Mofussil, who coming into the Country, **tied us into Bamboes, beat us with Corahs, with Fists and put us to every possible inconvenience, our Beards were not left\***. By this we have sold and paid in every thing we had to eat there are no further assets for the Revenue; the Malguzarry of our Coachwrrah in Rungpore is only from the Tobacco Crop, which is not ready till the month of Bysack, we have therefore come forth with our Lives to live on the plains, At this time you sent a Tasseleynammah and a Paun with Lollah Manick Chund and Najir Gomany, we thought they came to seize us, we therefore fled, and on hearing that at Gour Mohun Chowderrey was at Dimlah we resolved to go to him and getting him to protect us inquire the reason why those People had come. With this intention we went to Dimlah, the said Chowderrey had collected 250 Sepoys and Burcundasses and 3 Horsemen, one Body of us went before the other followed, those who went before received a fire by which four Ryots were killed and five wounded, by this means a great uproar took place, and it was not know what man struck another, we

afterwards heard the Chowderry was killed, we come from Dimlah to Calpanny when Lollah Manick Chund and the Najir gave us Paun and Delassah. **We are Ryots you are Chief if the Durrivillah for two Years is excused us, the Narainy Currency established and the collections stopped for the two next months we may return with satisfaction to our Houses You are head of one Country, we have a thousand Countries to go to, You are Chief we are Ryotts, you will therefore order us Justice.\***

### 3a. LIST OF CHARGES OF TORTURE AT RANGPUR

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British Museum: ADD MS. 9793: Examination of the charges of torture: No. 1 to 6 are listed on folio 251 onwards; No. 7 on folio 256-257, No. 8 on folio 258-259 and No. 9 on folio 259 onwards.

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#### Charges:

1. Tying fingers together and driving wedges between the joints.
2. Flogging with Buhattee: a violent caustic and inflammatory kind of nettle.
3. Flogging with branches of Bale tree with its thorns on.
4. Tying father and son together belly to belly and flogging them in this posture.
5. Bastinadoing on the soles of the feet till the nails came off.
6. Flogging children to extort payments from the parents.
7. Burning down the houses of Ryots and giving the unripe corn to elephants.
8. Exposing Hindoos to forfeiture of cast by putting them upon bullocks and asses and making them ride publicly in this manner by beat of drum.
9. Exposing women to dishonour, flogging them, putting the nipples of their breasts between cleft bamboo, applying lighted Mushaul to their privities.

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#### **Extract Report of Committee of Revenue dated 27.1.1784** (Bengal Revenue Consultations 31.3.1784)

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Add MS 9790 folioes 4a-5,13,39a respectively. A detailed account of the enquiry is contained in Add F 9790-5 in the British Museum. Final Government decision is taken in Dec 1788 and reported to England in General Letter dated 9.1.1789

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On the 6th of February 1763 being, the second year and near the close of the farmer's lease, we received a letter from the Collector of Rangpore dated the 27th of January communicating the first information of an alarming disturbance which had arisen in the province which he supposed to have originated in the pergunnah Carjeekaut, Conkneah and Toppah and had become general; that the insurgents had murdered one of the mofussil Gomastahs named Gouramphun; that the insurrection had begun without the least notions or even the smallest complaint; and by a subsequent letter dated the 6th of February we were informed that the ryots had chosen a Nabob or chief of the insurrection and compelled others to join them; that a military force had been employed against them and that the disturbance was not suppressed without great opposition and the loss of many lives. It appearing to us a very uncommon and extraordinary disturbance we deemed it our indispensable duty to order a particular investigation of the causes and nature of it; for this purpose we invested Mr. Paterson with a special commission and deputed him to Rungpore; at the same time the next positive

directions were sent to the Collector and Fawer to cooperate and assist him in his enquiries.

...so find that hostilities continued until the 22nd February, when a decisive battle was fought, in which 60 ryots were left dead upon the plain, and several taken prisoners, which put an end to the disturbance.



#### 4. ANTI-BRITISH POSTER AT MADRAS, 1807 - MAROODAN PAUNDEYEN'S ADDRESS

Edinburgh: Scottish Record Office: G.D. 51/3/129 [Note: This could possibly be of around 1800]

Whoever sees this paper, read it with attention.

To the Castes (nations) Birmahs, Chittarahs, Byce, Sooderers, and Musselmans, that are in the Island (kingdom) of Semboo - This notice is given.

His Highness the Nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn having foolishly given the Europeans place amongst you, is become like a widow. The Europeans violating their faith have deceitfully made the kingdom their own, and considering the inhabitants as dogs accordingly exercise authority over them, there existing no unity of friendship among you the above casts, who, not aware of the duplicity of these Europeans, not only Calumnisted each other but have absolutely surrendered the kingdom to them. In these countries (482 v) now governed by these low wretches, the inhabitants are become poor, and the rice become vellum, and although they manifestly suffer they are still without understanding to discern it. **It is certain that a man must die although he may live a thousand years, and it is as certain that his fame will survive him as long as the sun and moon;**\* therefore it is desired and determined, that in future each shall enjoy his hereditary rights, viz.; Arcot Subah, His Highness the Nabob; Carnatic Vesuhkommarah Trimul Naick, the son of Vesvanada Naick, and their off spring. Tanjore the first place; all to be given to their rightful sovereigns, without any violation of faith, and national customs. then we shall enjoy, as in the service of the nabob, constant happiness without tears, as the authority of the Europeans will be destroyed. **It is therefore recommended, (483 r) that every man in his place and pollam fly to arms, and unite together in order to make even the name of the low wretches such should be (karoo) or cut off to the fetus in the womb, as all know with what subtility these low wretches, always in unity with each other have subdued this country**\*. Therefore you Birmahs, Chitterahs, Byco, Soodorahs, and Mussulmen, all who wear whiskers whether civil or military, serving in the field or elsewhere, and you subedars, jemedars, havildars, neigues, and sepoy, in the service of these low wretches, and all capable of bearing arms; let them in the first instance display their bravery. that is to say, wherever you find (483v) any of the low wretches destroy them. whoever serves the low wretches will never enjoy eternal bliss after death. Know this, consider and deliberate on it. And he who does not subscribe to this; may be his whiskers be like the hair of my secret parts, and his food be tasteless, and without nourishment, and may his wife and children belong to another, and be considered as the offering of the low wretches to whom he had prostituted her. Therefore all whose blood is not contaminated by Europeans will begin to unite; whoever reads this or hears of it contents let him make it as public as possible, by writing it, and, sending it to his friends who, in like manner must publish it to this to theirs. **Every one who shall not write it and circulate it, as before mentioned, let him be held as guilty of the enormous crime of having killed a black cow on the banks of the Ganges, and suffer all the various (484r) punishments of hell. the Musselman, who does not confirm to this, let him be considered as having (eat) drank the blood of a pig.**\*

Whoever takes this off the wall where it is posted, let him be held as guilty of the five greatest sins. Let every one read and take a copy of this address.

**Thus Maroodah Paundeyen, the servant of the great Rajahs, but the implacable enemy of the European low wretches.\***

To all living at Seringham the priests and great people, Maroodah Paundeyen often prostrates himself at their feet. The sovereigns of the south made and kept forts, mudbastions, churches and chapels. The above great Rajahs' descendants, Polygars and other Rajahs and people, by the injustice of the low wretches are now reduced to (484v) poverty. **So great a people as you are reduced to this state, grant me your blessings.\***

Marodah Paundeyen's Address

## 5. BUNDS BY RAMMOOSSEES AGAINST THE BRITISH AT POORUNDER, MAHARASHTRA: c.1826

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IOR : Board's Collections : No. 51555 (Vol 1284) for 1831-2: Suppression of the Poorundhur Bund consisting chiefly of Rammoossees (Nos 51555-60: vols 1284-6 : 1904 pages; 6 vols)

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### **Judicial Letter from Bombay : 18 Oct 1828**

23. We have the honour to bring to the notice to your hon'ble court the proceedings connected with the Poorunder Bund, a set of outlaws and robbers consisting chiefly of Romoossees, and occupying the hills, and fastnesses to the south of the river Nura, who, commencing their career of guilt by gang robbery, and other acts of violence have begun to assume a more formidable character.

(Margin Note: Bom Jud Cons 10 Nov: No. 15 1826)

24. The attention of the Government were first directed (p.2) towards them in consequence of a representation made by the assistant magistrate of Poona Mr. Arbuthnot to our late president when in the Deccan in October 1826, stating that the district of Poorundhur bordering on the Punt Sucheev's country had been for the last two years the scene of robberies, and sometimes bloodshed, and that all attempts to apprehend the principal persons had been ineffectual, owing to the facility of evading the police by returning into a foreign country.

25. The assistant magistrate found it necessary to require the assistance of a party of infantry, and a part of Captain Spiller's Horse, and (p.3) he received an authority to issue proclamations for apprehending the persons concerned, declaring those who refused to surrender their arms, enemies; we also confirmed the instructions issued to Lt Bell, commanding the detachment of infantry offering by proclamation rewards for the apprehension and subsequent conviction of offenders, and the disbursement of small sums for procuring good information. Lt Bell was authorised to pursue the banditti into the country of the Punt Sucheev, and the Rajah of Sattarah was requested to use every means to obtain the cooperation of the Punt Sucheev.

(Margin Note: Bom Jud Cons 22 Nov 1826, Nos 16-7)

26. On the 21st November 1826, we confirmed a proclamation (p.4) by the magistrate of Poona, banishing for life from the zillah 25 of the gang, and on appearing, making them liable to perpetual imprisonment. The Punt Sucheev was requested to occupy the hills to the south of the Neera with troops, and to direct his villagers to assist them with information and supplies, and 100 additional men were placed with those already employed under the command of Capt Spiller, who was ordered to retain the command of the whole.

(Margin Note: Bom Jud Cons, 10 June No. 2-3, 13 June (5-6) 27 June (38-41))

27. This officer in the interval between the months of December and May, succeeded in capturing eleven (p.5) of the gang, but in June, in consequence of the Coolies having been

taken into the pay of the Government for the apprehension of Ramoossees one hundred of the latter attacked the Cooly village of Byroobaw, and killed, and wounded many people.

(Margin Note: Bom Jud Cons 30 August (7-8))

28. The magistrate reported his having tried and acquitted *Ramoo Ramoossee*, who had been charged by Capt Spiller with conniving at the Bund's excesses; he also noticed the capture of Luxman Potel Annajee Naik, and the mothers and daughters of three of the heads of the gang.

(Margin Note: Bom Jud Cons 12 Sept (44-5))

29. In Sept, (p.6) the magistrate reported the murder of his mamlutdar at Wye, and that a large number of Capt Spiller's Horse had proceeded to Colapore where it was thought the Bund had gone.

30. In consequence of a report from *Bulwunstrow Naik* chief of the Poorundhur Coolies in the employ of Government, stating that on arriving at Secundra with his division, in pursuit of the Bund, **he was evidently discountenanced by the villagers who refused him food, and that on reaching *Prelsor* (?), after maintaining a retreating fight with difficulty, on taking possession of a pagoda the villagers at the instigation of the (p.7) Ramoossees endeavoured to turn them out of it, but could not accomplish their purpose; the magistrate's attention was called to the increased audacity and activity of the Bund, and the bad effect which its continuance must have on our reputation, and he was desired to employ a sufficient force for its effectual suppression, and to lay before Government a plan for that purpose.\***

(Margin Note: Bom Jud Cons 1 Nov 1827 (51-3))

31. We declined a proposal made by the Rajah of Sattarah through our resident, to put down the Bund on the hon'ble Company's agreeing to his stipulations, and confirmed the magistrate's proceedings in the month of (p.8) October, soliciting further military aid from Col Fitzgerald, and giving Bulmunstrow unlimited power to enlist peons; we also desired Rummoossee and Cooly Enams to be sequestered.

(Margin Note: Bom Jud Cons 24 Oct 1827 (53-4) 31 Oct (44-7))

32. The magistrate having put himself in communication with Sir Lionel Smith, that officer placed at his disposal 300 rank and file under the command of Capt Davis who received instructions from the magistrate for his guidance.

(Margin Note: Bom Pol Cons 5 Dec 1827 (61-3) 19 Dec (19-30,54-6))

33. **A proclamation was issued in November last, declaring that all villages who shall be found to assist the Bund in any (p.9) way will be punished, and that no remission will be allowed on account of payment said to have been made to the Bund, and the magistrate forwarded reports from Captain Davis noticing the increasing audacity of the Bund, and instancing that on the occasion of a great meeting of the Bund *Omia* openly prohibited people from paying revenue to the British Government, and one individual was evidently**

**beaten for having done so; Omia was also described as having assumed the appearance of an independent chief.\***

34. About this time the proceedings of the Bund were transferred in the Political (p 10) Department as appearing to be materially connected with the affairs of Colapore, the conduct of the Rajah of that state having rendered it necessary to move a force to his capital. These proceedings have been fully reported to your hon'ble court from the Political Department.

(Margin Note: Bom Jud ? Cons 16 Jan 1828 (31))

**35. It was currently reported about this period that the discharged troops of the Rajah of Colapore had joined the Bund for the purpose of plundering, and that Omia the principal leader was acting in the part of the Rajah but we are happy to say that there was not the slightest ground to believe that\*** (p.11) His Highness had maintained any intercourse either with the Bund, or with his own disbanded levies.

36. Our president having proceeded to Poona in December became sensible of the necessity of adopting more effectual measures for the suppression of the Bund, and accordingly authorised the simultaneous movement of detachments from Poona, Sattarah &c, for the complete occupation of the country frequented by the Ramoossees. The whole were placed under the command of Captain Spiller of the auxiliary Horse, an officer distinguished for great personal gallantry and possessed of qualifications particularly suited for a service of this nature.

(Margin Note: Bom Pol Cons 31 Dec 1827 Nos 45-6)

37. Our president (p.12) at the same time issued a proclamation notifying that an amnesty would be granted to such of the Ramoossee Bund (not being principals) subjects of the hon'ble Company who should within a period of twenty days, abandon their pursuits of plunder, and give security to the magistrate for their future good behaviour, and that should they have any grievance to complain of either as respects claims upon Government, or on individuals the same would be enquired into, and settled according to justice in the same manner as the rights and claims of other subjects of the hon'ble Company but that, if not taking advantage of this pardon within the (p.13) specified term, they should continue their present conduct no plea of ignorance of the delinquency of it would be admitted in palliation of the punishment they might by the laws be awarded to receive.

38. And that as it would be attended with considerable delay to discover and to distinguish those persons, who from having acted as robbers for a longer period than others were not entitled to that consideration which it was the chief design of the proclamation to extend to the less guilty, and hardened in crime, yet in order to prevent the chance of clemency from reaching any one (p.14) of less delinquency the proclamation made no exclusion whatsoever in respect of the offers held out excepting the following persons for the apprehension of any of whom at any time, and by any person the following rewards would be paid vizt:

For Bhoojea bin	Rs. 5,000
For Pandia bin	5,000

For Omia bin	5,000
For Essajee bin	5,000

39. **It was further proclaimed that any person discovered in correspondence with the insurgents or who shall aid them in any way though he may not have joined in their actual depredations should be punished in the same manner (p.15) as one of the party.\***

40. In consequence of the complete occupation of the country by our detachments it became impossible for the Bund to shew themselves without falling in with some of our troops, and a complete cessation seemed to have been put to their excesses, though there was every reason to apprehend they would (be) renewed as soon as our detachments should be withdrawn on the approach of the monsoon. **The period fixed in this proclamation having expired without any one taking advantage of the pardon held out, we authorised an extension of that pardon to such as might come (p.16) in within a reasonable period.\***

41. In the meantime the Rajah of Sattarah cooperated most heartily in the measures adopted for the suppression of the Bund, and in addition to detaching a party of his troops on this service, engaged a body of Ramoossees who were to communicate with those in rebellion, and promised through their influence to induce the latter to submit. Although these measures were not attended with any decisive results yet they tended materially to the general success of the plans in operation for the restoration of tranquility. The Rajah had received various offers to surrender from (p.17) Omia, but it was doubtful for a time what dependence could be placed on them as similar overtures had been made to Captain Spiller.

(Margin Note: Bom Pol Cons, 1828: Apr 16 (16-21), Apr 28 (8- 10, 104-8), May 21 (20-7, -8), June 11 (32-4, 65))

42. Fortunately however **the latter intelligent officer**, having communicated with some of the Bund to whom he had given cowl for a few days to enable them to visit his camp, laid before us a variety of depositions implicating the conduct of some of the principal native officers in the magistrate's department at Poona who were charged with having instigated the proceedings of the Ramoossees, and been throughout the participators in their plunder. These depositions finally led to (p.18) the prosecution and conviction of parties criminated, as will be more fully noticed hereafter. In the meantime the conviction of these persons rendered Omia more desirous of giving himself up, provided he was sure of life and liberty, and conceiving that the conduct of the native officers who had been convicted of aiding and instigating the excesses of the Bund, not only mitigated in some degree the conduct of Omia but made it very desirable that evidence should be obtained to promote further the discoveries of an association in guilt that had so much tended to disturb the public peace, **we (p.19) authorised the grant of a pardon to Omia, and any of his associates or followers (except the actual murderers of some sepoy whose heads had been sent to Capt Davis whilst in pursuit of the Bund in December) who might surrender themselves within a week.\***

(Margin Note: Bom Pol Cons June 18, 1828 (82-4))

43. We are happy to state that this measure led to the immediate surrender of Omia, and all his adherents, and consequently to the complete termination of those excesses by which the peace and tranquility of our territories, as well as those of the Rajah of Sattarah had so long been disturbed. All the troops were (p.20) also consequently withdrawn.

(Margin Note: Bom Pol ? Cons, 1878: Mar 12 (13-5), Mar 19 (48-53), Apr 19 (57-63), June 18 (84))

44. It was not without great regret that in the course of these proceedings we had occasion to notice in terms of animadversion the conduct of Captain Spiller, who had appeared to assume a more direct and arbitrary control over the officers of the Sattarah Government, employed in the same duty with himself, than either his instructions or the circumstances connected with the alliance between the two Governments warranted. In the explanations which he subsequently offered many circumstances were stated in mitigation of his conduct, but we nevertheless thought it advisable in deference (p.21) to the Rajah's feelings to withdraw Captain Spiller from the command, and to place the whole operation against the Bund, under the control and direction of Lt Col Robertson, the resident at the Sattarah court. The submission of Omia and his adherents at this period prevented the prosecution of this arrangement, and it is only an act of justice to Captain Spiller that we now notice to your court that Omia's surrender, and the conviction of the principal native servants in the Poona collectorate (both events of importance connected with the peace of the country) are chiefly to be attributed to his activity, (p.22) intelligence, and energy, and to that confidence which the natives are disposed to place in his character.

45. Since the first commencement of the proceedings reported in the dispatch a considerable degree of acrimonious correspondence passed between Captain Spiller and the collector, Captain Robertson regarding the motives by which the Bund were instigated. Captain Spiller urged that it was not without the influence and collusion of native officers, acting under the collector's orders, whilst the latter warmly rebutted the charge. The subsequent conviction of these persons seems strongly to confirm the impressions entertained throughout by Captain Spiller but as Captain Robertson during (p.23) the latter part of these proceedings has been absent on the Neilgurry Hills for the benefit of his health, we consider it due to that officer to state our conviction that no vigilance on his part could have prevented such conduct in his native agents. The very intelligence, those he employed were enabled by their connection and intercourse with the Bund to give him was calculated to raise his opinion at the moment of their activity and fidelity, and as such persons make their market (?) by playing false to both parties, we had no doubt they would be able to bring in their defence (p.24) instances on which they had proved themselves to the collector the enemies of the very freebooters whose excesses they were at other periods instigating, in order to create and maintain a disturbance in the country from which they, and their dependents derived benefit.

(Bom Jud Cons 1828, June 11 (nos 28-37))

46. Having thus brought to conclusion the report of our proceedings connected with the suppression of the Bund, it remains for us to lay before your hon'ble court the result of the trial of the principal native servants in the Poona collectorate already noticed in a previous part of this dispatch viz, (p.25):

*First* Dhondos Anunt was convicted of instigating and aiding in treason in the following instances :

Of receiving 500 Rs from Omia, and his followers, by the hands of Seedjee Patell, and Futteh Tambole to purchase his assistance,

Of encouraging Omia and his followers with promises of assistance and protection by messages sent through Anajee Naik and Darkoo, and Bapoo Mamas on condition of his receiving certain sums of money in consequence of which there is every reason to believe two sums of 1000 Rs. each were paid to (p. 26) him Dhoondos Annunt,

Of causing intelligence to be communicated to the Bund of the march of a detachment under Captain Mansfield to surprise some of their followers near the Hurlee Ghaut.

*Second* Bappo Kallee was convicted of instigating and aiding in treason, by receiving from Omia and his followers by the hands of Ballagee Patell, and Undoo Patell, the sum of 500 Rs to purchase his countenance and protection.

*Third* Malba Madhoo Ghare was convicted of aiding in treason, by aiding as the medium of communication between Dhondoo Anunt, and his other agents.

47. Sentences of death (p.27) and confiscation of property were pronounced on all of them by the session judge of Poona, but we commuted the sentence on Dhondoo Anunt into transportation beyond seas for life, on Bapoo Kallee to imprisonment for seven years with hard labour, and on Mhadba or Madhoo Ghare to imprisonment for three years with hard labour.

48. In consideration however of the recommendation of the sessions judge of Poona we have commuted the sentence of death passed on Dhondoo Anunt to imprisonment for life instead of banishment.

**Political Letter from Bombay:** 13.3.1830

**6. The Deccan is free from any extensive disorders, but the Rumoosees are in an unsettled condition, and several state trials have just been concluded at Ahmednuggur, the results of the excesses of a band of freebooters, who had infested for some time the Ahmednuggur and Poona collectorates. We trust that the warning which will be afforded by the fate of the convicts will operate, together with the natural effects of a steady administration, to prevent the (p.30) recurrence of similar events.\***

**Judicial Letter from Bombay:** 15.4.1831 (No 3 of 1831) (Coll 51559: pp 1-62; 53 paras)  
(Amongst others stipend of over Rs. 1000 per month to Omia)

**NOTE:** Approximate periods covered in each of the collection 51555-60

51555 :	428 pp :	Jud & Pol	: to Sept 1827 (4)
51556 :	391 pp :		: (4) Oct 27-Dec 27
51557 :	371 pp :	Pol	: (3) Jan-June 1828
51558 :	243 pp :		: (1) June-July 1828
51559 :	283 pp :		: Nov 1830-Mar 1831
51560 :	188 pp :		: June-Dec 1829



## 6. PEASANT CIVIL-DISOBEDIENCE IN CANARA 1830-31

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IOR: Board's consultations Vol 1415 (No.55844 A) on pages 158-161 along with the letter of the Principal Collector dated 18th January 1831 addressed to the Board of Revenue and submitted by the Board to the Madras Government with its letter of 24th January 1831. The narration of subsequent events, the report of the special Commander Stokes of 17th January 1833 and correspondence with England covers some 2500 manuscript pages and continue in the whole of volumes 1416 and 1417.

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1. Letter to Principal Collector & Magistrate, 130, 8th Feb 1831.
  2. Mr. Stokes, Commissioner, to the Board of Revenue. 12th Jan 1833.
  3. Also page 165.
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1. **Extract from a letter from Mr Sparkes, Assistant to the Principal Collector of Canara to the Collector** (as reproduced in records of Madras Government; dated the 17th January 1831).

**...Things are here getting worse. The people were quiet till within a few days, but the assemblies have been daily increasing in number. Nearly 11,000 persons met yesterday at Yenoor. About an hour ago 300 ryots came here, entered the Tahsildars Cutcherry, and avowed their determination not to give a single pice, and that they would be contented with nothing but a total remission. The Tahsildar told them that the jumabundy was light and their crops good. They said they complained of neither of those, but of the government generally. That they were oppressed by the Court, Stamp Regulations, Salt and Tobacco monopolies, and that they must be taken off. The Tahsildar came to me to ask what answer he should give; I said that the best thing was to disperse them, if possible, telling them that any representations of their circumstances that they might have to make, would, if made in a proper manner be enquired into and their grievances redressed. I have also told him, to issue instructions to all persons, & c, to prevent by all means in their power the assemblies which are taking place daily, and if possible to intercept the inflammatory letters which are at present being despatched to the different Talooks. The ryots say that they can not all be "punished", and the conspirators have as it were excommunicated one Mogany, who commenced paring their kists. The ferment has got as far as Barcoor and will soon reach Cundapoor. As the dissatisfaction seems to be against the Government generally and not against the heaviness of the jumabundy, speedy measures should I think be taken to quench the flame at once. But in this district not a cooly can be procured. The Tahsildar arrived here yesterday with the greatest difficulty.\***

**(A true extract) Signed H. Dickinson, Principal Collector.**

## 2. Letter from Principal Collector Canara to Government, Madras: 24.2.1831

To  
The Secretary to Government,  
in the Revenue Department,  
Fort St. George,

Sir,

By my letter of the 22nd instant I did myself the honour of reporting for the information of the Right Hon'ble the governor in council the measures which I had until that time adopted for the suppressions of the dangerous mobs assembled in the province, and also of the course which it was my intention to pursue in order effectually to subdue them. I reported that I had called for further military aid in order to disperse two mobs of a most dangerous nature which had assembled, and that it was my intention to require the military to use every measure in their power in order to effect this purpose. I regret however that as the officer commanding Mangalore has only furnished me with 50 more sepoy I am unable to adopt any measure of coercion until a reinforcement shall have arrived from Cannanore.-

2. Enclosed I beg to submit copy of a letter from the officer commanding Mangalore which I have just received. The apprehension therein expressed that he would not be able to defend the town of Mangalore if I were to commence severe measures in any part of the district is quite sufficient to deter me from acting against the insurgents until Col Olivier shall feel himself to be possessed of sufficient military force to cooperate with me efficiently.

3. With my letter of the 19th instant I submitted a copy of a letter which I had addressed to the officer commanding the provinces representing the necessity for a further force being sent into Canara. Enclosed I beg to forward copy of a letter this day received from that officer as well as of a second despatch which I have in consequence thought it necessary by express to forward him. Colonel Clapham must entertain very inadequate notions of the extent of the ferment at present existing in Canara if he suppose that it (could) be put down by 100 sepoy. Such a detachment is next to useless, as even after its arrival I shall not consider it advisable to require any coercive measure to be adopted until a very strong reinforcement shall have reached Mangalore.

**4. The loss of time in putting a stop to the rebellion (for rebellion in every sense of the word prevails throughout the province) is much to be deplored since each day's delay will but tend to increase the difficulty which will ultimately be experienced in putting its down. It is now my opinion that nothing but the military proceeding to the utmost extremities and destroying several of the persons in the mobs can induce them to disperse, and the longer we may delay in having recourse to those measures the more blood will it be necessary to spill before they can be reduced, I possess authentic information that several thousands of persons having armed themselves with spears, guns, bows and arrows and clubs have declared that they will to the utmost of their power resist the authority of the Circar, and that they will not allow any other of their number to be seized so long as by force they can prevent it. These bodies increase in number daily, and as they find that they are not attacked and put down their daring and insolence is each moment**

**augmented. The promptest measures ought to be adopted against them, and I lament that the force in this province should be so inadequate to the attempt of putting them down.\***

5. I lament to say that I have discovered an instance of what must I would think be considered treason against the Government among the natives of my catchery. It has been proved before me and acknowledged by the delinquent, that the head moonshee harboured in his house for several days one of the most violent members of one of the seditious mobs, for the purposes, of course, of informing him of my proceedings and of sending advice to the mob as to what they ought to do. I have placed the moonshee in close confinement and I hope to obtain further evidence to prove the part he has borne in the insurrection. Such a miscreant is I think deserving the severest penalties that the government could inflict against him.

6. I would beg to recommend that the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council should make known to the military authorities of the province that my proceedings in being determined by force to put down the rebellion are in complete accordance with his wishes and orders. I have reason to believe that but very imperfect ideas of the real state in which the district is entertained, the ryots being considered to be an aggrieved race and it being thought that I ought to concede to all their demands. I am as desirous as any others could be to afford the ryots relief but to yield to the demands at present made by them would be to abandon my duty. I trust the Government will not think me unworthy of being thus publicly supported by them. I am placed in a situation of most painful anxiety and difficulty. Fifteen Lacs of rupees are at the mercy of the insurgents and all public authorities ought to be stimulated to cooperate in one united effort to restore order, by which alone can any part of this revenue be hoped to be saved.

Canara Magistrate's Office,  
on circuit, Oodipy,  
24th February 1831

I have the Honour to be  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant  
H.Dickinson,  
Magistrate.

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**Letter from Principal Collector Canara to Government Madras: 28.2.1831.**

To  
The Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department,  
Fort St George

Sir,

It is with much satisfaction that I have to report for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council that a very decided improvement has taken place in the state of the district within the last few days. Many of the disaffected ryots have quitted the assemblies and have returned to their homes, and it has been intimated to me that all of the others have declared that they will appear before me for the settlement if I will promise that I will not seize and punish them. I have in consequence of this very favourable change published

proclamations inviting the people once more to come to me, and declaring that if they will do so, I will neither seize them nor in any way molest them.

I therefore trust that in the course of a few days I shall be enabled to report that the whole of the ryots have peaceably dispersed and that perfect tranquility reigns throughout the province. Most desirous indeed am I that these hopes should to the fullest extent be realised, for my situation is one of the most painful anxiety.

2. I trust that my thus taking upon myself to declare that I will not use violent measures against the ryots if they will but come to me will meet with the approbation of the Right Hon'ble the Governor.

3. I am of opinion that this change is mainly to be attributed to the knowledge that people possess that troops have been called for from Cannanore, but that a disinclination to remain longer away from their families has had a great effect in inducing them to disperse.

4. It is a source of great consolation that no blood should have been shed in these troubles, though I sadly feared that I should have been compelled to resort to the dreadful measure of calling upon the military to fire.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir, Your most obedient servant,  
H.Dickinson,  
magistrate.

Canara Magistrate's Office, on circuit  
Moolki, 28th February 1831.

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**As told in Gazetteer of North Kanara** (Vol XV part II of Bombay presidency, published 1883, page 152)

In 1817 the two divisions were reunited into one Collectorate under the hon'ble Mr. Harris, and remained as one charge till the transfer of North Kanara to Bombay Presidency in 1862. About the beginning of 1831 there were some riots termed **Kuts**, to suppress which it was necessary to call in military aid. The season had been unfavourable and the collection of the government demands was resisted. Government were of opinion that the riots were due, not to so temporary a cause as the failure of crops, but to the rate of the assessment which was said to be on some estates a pepper-corn, and on others oppressively high. Subsequent enquiry showed that the riots had been got up by the intrigues of some Brahmans on the Collectors's establishment to throw the district into confusion, bring discredit on the administration of Mr. Dickinson, and procure the removal of native christians from the Revenue Department. The riots were easily suppressed and no great injury was done.

**As told in Manual of South Canara** (on pages 83, 104, 105 of volume I by J. Sturrock, published 1894. pages 232)

For some years after 1820 low prices led to difficulties being experienced in certain cases in collecting the land revenue, and in 1831 there were a number of riotous assemblages or "kuts", in which the ryots met together and declined to pay their kists. On an enquiry being held, it was found that the trouble was not really due to the heaviness of the land assessment, but to the intrigues of the head sheristadar and other Brahmin officials, with the view of discrediting the Collectors' administration, and bringing about the dismissal of the naib sheristadar and other native christians employed in the Collector's office. Quiet was restored without any difficulty, special means being adopted to meet hard cases, and a rise in prices soon led to a general improvement in the prosperity of the district.

Successive Collectors represented the prosperity of the district as on the decline owing to the highness of the assessment, and as these statements seemed to be borne out by riotous assemblages or kuts in the year 1831 in which the ryots met together and tumultuously declined to pay their kists, the Government deputed Mr. Stokes, the third member of the Board of Revenue, to enquire into the state of the district.

Mr Stokes found ? had not been caused by the state of the assessment, but had been suggested, fomented and sustained by the intrigues of the head sheristadar and other Brahmins for the purpose of throwing discredit on the administration of the Collector, and effecting the removal of the naib sheristadar and other native christians employed in the department. In addition to the direct evidence on this point, he drew attention to the punctuality with which the revenue had been realised since the disturbance, and expressed a opinion that all unfavourable inferences regarding the assessment deduced from the occurrence of 1831 might therefore be discarded.

## 7. PEOPLE'S ANGER AT ENHANCEMENT OF TAX ON SALT, c.1844

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IOR: Board's Collection: 95508-13 (6 vols.) Vol. 2072 (08-09), Vol. 2073 (95510-13, to 95585)

*Political letter from Bombay, No. 73 of 1844 (28.9.1844) pp.9-22*

95508 (pp.83), 95509 (p.282), 95510 (p.189), 95511 (p.597), 95512 (p.36), 95513 (p. 4),

Proceedings connected with the increase of the tax on salt and the abolition of the Town Duties at Bombay.

*Riots at Surat in consequence of the enhanced price of salt* (India Separate Revenue Department dated 2/45 p.c. 4629)

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3. We much regret to inform your Honourable Court that in a letter dated the 29th ultimo Mr. Remington acting judge and session judge at Surat reported that the greatest excitement had during the whole of that day prevailed throughout that city in consequence of the promulgation of the above act and although no outbreak had yet occurred with the exception of a collision between the police and some persons who had evinced a disposition to raise disturbances, and an attack which had on the morning of that day been made by a large mob upon the adawlut, still he greatly feared from the general dissatisfaction which the promulgation of the new act had clearly occasioned, and from the clamour which had been raised against the levy of the increased duty (on salt) that considerable difficulty would be experienced in restraining the inhabitants of Surat from acts of open violence.

4. In a further letter dated the 31st ultimo Mr. Remington reported that during the whole of the preceding day, the city of Surat had continued in a disturbed and discontented state, that large mobs had assembled in different parts of the town and had pelted with stones and missiles the European and native officers and sepoy, who were on duty at the castle, and that on being routed by the police they had made use of sticks and bludgens with which they had struck several of the officers and had wounded on the head, Lt. Anderson, the staff officer.

5. In the same letter, Mr. Remington stated that himself and Sir Robert Arbuthnot the collector and magistrate of Surat had agreed in opinion that the best efforts of the police, aided by the whole military force at command together with the local police corps under the Collector were quite inadequate to keep the disorderly in check, and as the irritation and excitement among the classes of the community were hourly gaining ground, to such an extent that it became evident they would shortly proceed to extremities, Sir Robert Arbuthnot and himself had deemed it expedient to convene a meeting of the principal inhabitants of Surat for the purpose of discussing matters and ascertaining their opinion of the real feelings, of the people. After this conference, in the course of which Sir R. Arbuthnot and Mr. Remington became satisfied that nothing but the suspension of the Act (XVI of 1844) until the orders of Government could be received would restore tranquility and being impressed with a conviction that it was absolutely necessary to yield to the wishes of the people, those officers in communication with Mr. Jones, the acting Dy. Collector of continental customs issued a proclamation declaring that the operation of this act was suspended, pending a reference to Government, after which the inhabitants dispersed.

6. About the time that the above report from Mr. Remington reached our Hon'ble President at Poona, Mr. Willoughby, our chief secretary received by express a demi-official letter from Sir Robert Arbuthnot dated the 31st August containing intelligence to the same effect, as that which had been forwarded by Mr. Remington, and promising that he would immediately

submit an official (this report dated the 3rd reached Government on the afternoon of the 5th instant a copy of this report forms enclosure No.3 to this dispatch) report detailing all the circumstances of this outbreak. Sir Robert Arbuthnot at the same time stated that he had endeavoured through the assistance of some of the most influential native inhabitants of Surat to induce the people "quietly to return to their houses and resume their respective occupations;" but that the people had refused in the most determined manner to listen to any arrangement, but the immediate suspension of the new Salt Act pending a reference to Government with which demand as we have already stated, the European authorities at Surat felt themselves with the inadequate military force then at their command, compelled to comply.

7. The above intelligence reached our Hon'ble President at Dapooree, on the 3rd instant, and his honour without delay proceeded to Bombay, for the purpose of deciding..

10. In a letter dated the 12th instant, Sir Robert Arbuthnot reported that immediately on the arrival at Surat, two days before, of the reinforcement sent from Bombay he had issued a proclamation announcing that the Town Duties and other cesses before alluded to had been abolished by Government, subject to the confirmation of the Government of India with the view of affording relief to the Ryots, and that the provisions of the new Salt Act would be enforced from the same date; we are gratified in being enabled to state that in the above letter, and also in a further communication dated the 14th instant Sir Robert Arbuthnot has reported that no feelings of disaffection amongst the people of Surat had manifested itself in consequence of the above announcement, and that he has reason to believe that there will not be any further demonstration of discontent on account of the enforcement of the provisions of the new Salt Act; Sir Robert Arbuthnot at the same time stated that he is of opinion that **the reinforcements lately sent to Surat can with safety be withdrawn whenever Government may deem it advisable, since in consequence of the expedition with which these troops were conveyed to Surat the people have become satisfied that Government is resolved to enforce the provision of the new Salt Act and are in consequence convinced that it is their wisest plan quietly to submit to the payment of the increased duty.\***

**Arbuthnot to Government** : 3.9.1844 (pp.39-76)  
(Vol.2073 No.95510 (p.189 - extract)

7. The mob having been thus dispersed and the disturbance appearing to be confined chiefly to the Hindoos and a few Parsees of indifferent looking character, no further apprehension were entertained.

10. **In our progress through town we found almost all the shops closed, the people in a great state of excitement but as far as we could judge not disposed to assemble in large bodies.**

12. **Till this time the real character of the disturbances was not understood. They were generally supposed to be occasioned by the lowest classes of the Hindoos, who as they did not seem disposed to arm or resort to violence it was hoped that if they were not roused by too much interference on the part of the Police would soon get over their feeling of discontent and return to their ordinary occupations. It is true we could not help observing that, there was a disinclination on the part of the Sawkars, and other influential persons to**

**come forward, and aid the authorities by their presence in the measures they might adopt, as is usual in ordinary rioting, and that the shops in parts of the town even where there was no assemblage of the people, were kept shut, still as we had heard and seen nothing ourselves during our progress in the town, to indicate a general feeling of resistance and the Kotewal or the head of the native police had obtained no information on the subject we had reason to believe, that, this was the case.**

**13. Circumstances however soon transpired which gave rise to the belief that the disturbances were of a more serious nature not alone confined to one class of persons but that the feeling of discontent was universal from the biggest to the lowest, and that instead of a common riot we were on the verge of insurrection.\***

15. Musalmans also join (Syed Aidrorops letter). Bohrar also.



## 8. ON LIMITLESS ENGLISH TRICKERY DECEIT AND PERSISTENCE (FROM THE POORUSCHOUDDROY, A BENGALI JOURNAL PUBLISHED IN CALCUTTA: 1849)

Lord Canning: Private Sec' Corresp. No.3635 (part) Bengal 18-08-1849

### BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

From a correspondent

**It is well known to all who are acquainted with public affairs that a little while since, great apprehension prevailed among the remnants of the Indian princes who existed a hundred years ago, lest in consequence of their helplessness through having fallen into the terrible grasp of the English, they and their subjects should be called to experience the intolerable calamities which the wicked Mahommedans formerly inflicted upon this country,\*** the more especially as the Punjab then hung in the balance and the powerful ruler of Cashmere, Golab Singh, although existing was very involved in the folds of the serpent(?) and the English merchant princes were still lusting for more dominion. Yet amidst these fears we were told for our consolation, and facts seemed to corroborate the assertion, that the English above all people in the world ruled their subjects well, for instance that when an unfortunate potentate fell by their power, like the liberal gods they supported him by handsome yearly pensions; that they did not propagate their religion by force, on the contrary it was their custom to allow people of different races to observe without obstruction their respective modes of worship, that they administered strict justice in their courts, that in this respect instead of following the practices of England excellent as they may be, they conformed themselves to the native laws and customs of their subjects. **But this satisfaction with the rule of the English gentlemen and consequent hope in the future is altogether groundless and arises only from the lamentable ignorance of the people of Bengal of the real circumstances of their country and too exaggerated ideas of the greatness, power and resources of their present rulers.\*** If our countrymen would but take the trouble to compare with their own real greatness, resources, strength and valour, their present wretched condition, a condition which they bear with all sweetness **they would be convinced on the clearest evidence that there is no people in the world so oppressed as we are** with such means of relief at our command. **Ten years ago, our rulers were accustomed to visit the houses of our most noble families on the recurrence of our religious festivals and to amuse themselves with the songs and dances common on those occasions; but now far from this for some reason or other they actually forbid the procession of the idols through the streets of the city as has been all along the custom.\*** Last year only, on the occasion of the Dole Jatra, the Maharaja Duleep Singh engaged with all zest with the crowd in the play of throwing red dust, but this year he is full of wrath against idol worship and of zeal for his own Christian faith. Only a little while ago he gives all due respect to the people of this land, now he treats them as beneath his notice. What is the meaning of all this? Well it is necessary to look a little more particularly into these things. We have only to examine a little and a number of points will strike us as worthy of all attention. I trust my countrymen and brethren will give due heed to the following remarks.

**The politic and talented Lord Clive on obtaining the country from Sahear Jung writes thus in a secret despatch to his masters, that so long as we do not destroy the remaining independent princes and possess ourselves, whether by force or by fraud of the whole of**

**India, we cannot remain free from apprehension; and therefore in accordance with this most reasonable counsel, these rulers of other people's possessions did in a very little time extend their dominions to the utmost, and expelled many a native prince with his family from his inheritance.\*** The particular Lords Wellesley and Cornwallis although strongly forbidden by the mandates of the authorities in England to extend the Company's territories in this country, did engage in the most terrible wars and overthrew Tippu Sultan, Daulatrao Sindhia, ----- Rao Holkar, Janoki Rao Scindia, Mohadebrao Scindia, the Peshwa and other powerful sovereigns. This they did by degrees and by various kinds of devices, some they deposed, some they involved in inextricable labyrinths and some they banished, thus their dominion grew apace. **At these doings, the kings of Nepal and Burma naturally became alarmed and were therefore induced to declare war against the English for the safety of their own dominions.\*** But although while carrying on these fearful struggles the English had to submit to numerous defeats, especially from the Goorkha chiefs. Nevertheless at length by the help of those horrid treaties by which they have so successfully accomplished their purpose in India, they got the better of the sovereigns of Nepaul and Burmah, and took from them immense treasures and large portions of their empires. Afterwards the illustrious chiefs of the kingdom of Scinde and of the western parts of India and also Ranjeet Singh universally renowned for his power and majesty, these also seeing their universal conquests and wishing to appropriate them sent messengers with large presents to secure their amity and thus for a time were permitted to remain in peace. At the courts with whom the English remain in amity they place ambassadors called Residents who look with a keen eye on all that is passing around them and having made themselves acquainted with the policy and conditions of these courts do not fail to give information to their masters on all important matters. Then taking occasion from favourable circumstances they enter upon a line of conduct which seldom fails to bring about the destruction of such kingdoms and their princes. Our readers therefore will now well understand that these merchant princes have had from the very beginning an intention of subduing the whole of this country to their authority. This being the case the policy of their wild government becomes evident, for a person who has planted in his heart the tree of desire of dominion will certainly invest himself with a garment of benevolence while he earnestly seeks the accomplishment of his purpose.

Moreover it is to be observed in respect to the force which they employ in carrying on the government of India for certain weighty reasons they are afraid to place their entire confidence hence also they are deterred from exercising any very palpable tyranny over their subjects, the more especially as out of 300,000 troops which they maintain 250,000 or natives of this country. Surely if we think a little on the methods adopted by our English rulers we can but be overwhelmed in a sea of astonishment. **Alas! Alas! They push the sword into our hands and then by its means seize our wealth, deprive us of honour and rule the country.\*** How lamentable is this! Is it right for any person to seize upon the wealth, the honour and the dominion of his countrymen? None but wild beasts destroy their own kind. We may justly compare the people of India in two particulars to elephants. These beasts adventure their lives in obedience to the commands of their masters to seize and bind other elephants. Just in the same way **many in this country in order to enhance the power and the glory of the English destroy their fellow countrymen and promote their own sorrow and disgrace.\*** It is said further of this wonderful and matchless quadruped that because of the smallness of its eye it is incapable of seeing its own immense bulk or knowing its own vast strength. In like manner the people of this land, although the worshippers of the most excellent and holy Brahma, have but a small eye

of knowledge and consequently they are altogether unconscious of their own grandeur, their power, and war like resources. **What can be the motive or what are the expectations of our valiant countrymen, soldiers, in thus subjecting themselves to a despicable race and in exposing their lives in battle against their own countrymen.\*** Is it that they hope for a kingdom or to gain some honourable position that they thus serve this polluted race and help to destroy their own brethren? Oh intelligent sirs and well wishers of your country alas the very mention of it fills us with shame. **Is it common cruelty and common folly that our countrymen coveting the paltry monthly wages of five rupees should thus engage in sending thousands of their brethren to destruction?\*** From history we learn that the honourable men and women of the ancient kingdoms of Rome, Greece and Carthage submitted as patriots to the loss of their wealth, their possessions and even their lives yet they were never found to lift their swords against their own country. Our own noble ancestors exhibited similar patriotism nay even greater, and at the present time we find that the people of the West, the South and the North viz. Nepaul, Bootan, Keral, Scinde, Oudh, Oujain and many others manifest like devotion to their native land. **It is further cause for lamentation that our countrymen although they risk their lives in promoting the prosperity and glory of the white-faced merchants, get nothing in return besides abuse. We are called ungrateful, faithless, feeble and wicked and deserving of all kinds of misery and punishments.\*** Well after all it must be confessed that those who by means of ourselves trample us under their feet and fill the world with the praises of their prosperity are worthy of praise. Happy is their knowledge and skill yea surprisingly excellent surprisingly great! Wherefore long live this wonderful people possessed of qualities like the gods themselves!

But further, the effectual government of this country cannot be carried on by means of 300,000 soldiers. It is a fact that the countries which by degrees the English have subjected to themselves maintained in the time of their independence not less than 2,500,000 or 3,000,000 soldiers. Runjeet Singh, the ruler of Punjab maintained 350,000 of the well-trained Khalsa warriors and if we restore(?) up the forces of Nepaul we shall find that they amount to not less than 500,000 or 600,000 men. But let it be observed that the English attempt with 10,000 men to keep in subjection the warlike people the Sikhs, for which purpose Runjeet Singh thought it necessary to employ 350,000. **Well with this small force our rulers will establish shops for the selling of beef, they will cut down the holy Pipal and Banyan trees, they will allow polluted races to bathe in the sacred tanks, they will eject the people of the land from public offices as they have the people of Bengal, and all things will prosper - (well we shall see.)**

**Again the white soldiers of the English are few in Bengal, and it is impossible to increase their number lest the beggarly natives of Scotland and Ireland, tempted by the riches, the fertility and the prosperity of this land should rise like the Americans against their officers and seize upon the government. Those people are known all over the world for their poverty and wretchedness. Often do the crops in their countries fail and then they are obliged to beg of the inhabitants of more fortunate lands in order to sustain life, nay every year hundreds of thousands of these poor wretches die from their starvation wherefore it is very probable that should their numbers and strength increase in this country they will in some future time turn their arms against their English masters.\*** When this shall happen the people of this country will first lend their assistance and then afterwards summoning courage they will fall upon them and deal out due retribution.

Again let it be observed that the people in this country are in number countless. Indeed politicians in England as well as **many in high positions in this country have confessed that our number is so great that if each individual were to take up only one stone and cast it into Fort Willaim on the banks of the Bhagaruthy, not only would the place be filled but the heap of stones would be so great as to become a veritable mountain. For this reason although we always live tremblingly, yet who can tell what will happen?\***

Well, these English people that have possessed themselves, by means of treaties and cunning devices of nearly the whole of India, have promised it ----- to promote the happiness of their new subjects. They will if it is said protect them from their enemies, they will preserve to them their religious and national customs intact, they will employ natives in the service of the government, they will throw no obstacle in the way of trade and the princes whom they have dispossessed of their territories they will treat them and their descendants honourably and support them liberally. When a European and a native meet in a court of justice, they will shew no partiality and they will respect the honour and social position of the people generally. All these things by oath and promises they have bound themselves to perform. For a little while they kept their promises and governed well, but when they had thereby gained the confidence of the people and had induced them to commit their wealth and honour, nay their all into their hands, and this confidence was the more strengthened by their being regarded as the followers of a pure faith and moreover seen that we were an upright and an innocent and loyal people, **they threw off the mask and drawing their sword they plunged them into the throats of us poor Indians and consigned us without remorse to the shades below.\*** We are not trifling. Those who are read in the recent history of this country and know the intellect, the craft, the power, the treaties, and the fighting of these English will not doubt for a moment the truth of anything we have said. There is therefore no occasion to offer further evidence on the subject; a comparison of the former and present state of our country is all that is necessary. With these statements before them let our intelligent readers now consider what have been the real motives of the English in all their friendship and moderation hitherto. But should any one object that they have had the power to do us harm and yet have not done it, and that their civilization and religion forbid them to do so; to this we answer, - first that these merchant princes have not the power to do us all the ill they wish - and secondly, that were they to attempt it we should presently put them on board ship and banish them across the sea to their native isle or send them at once to the custody of the regent of death - and thirdly, that all the injury they have done and are doing, and all the unrighteous laws which they have enacted and are enacting, is done by our pusillanimous consents. I refer more especially to the duty levied upon salt, upon opium and ardent spirits, the introduction of the Stamp Act by which in all law matters we are compelled to use costly stamps, also our expulsion from all share in the government, the indignities which they are constantly heaping upon respectable people, the confiscation of lands devoted to the gods and Brahmins, the sending across the sea poor people for field labour in the Mauritius, the permitting English people to settle in our country, the giving permission to preach the Christian faith, and the establishment of its professors amongst us, the levying of taxes, upon carriages and horses, &c. &c. Such are their evil doings. I say all this comes to pass through ourselves. **These intolerable burdens are laid upon us in consequence of our ignorance and cowardice and they are increasing everyday.\*** If then we do not continually expose this despicable cowardice, and if we do not remonstrate against these exactions of our rulers, it will

come to pass that our very Gods will go out of the windows, and as in the time of the Mussulmans taxes will be imposed upon them and their worship, nay a poll tax upon every person and finally when we have nothing more to pay, they will seize us as they do the poor Africans and American Indians and sell us for slaves to work with chains on our necks in the gold mines of California and then they will bring the Irish and Scotch beggars and re-people this country. Now my countrymen know for a certainty that this horrible destiny will soon overtake us, even us as a fogspreads over the land. Still we are not without an excellent remedy, by degrees I shall unfold it which if you embrace, your salvation is certain.

August 18th, 1849