

Dhananjayrao Gadgil Library



GIPE-PUNE-014297

EAST INDIA (GOVERNMENT OF OUDE).

15

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,  
dated 5 February 1857:—*for*,

A COPY \* of a LETTER addressed by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-General of India in Council, on the 10th day of December 1856, relative to the Assumption of the Government of Oude and the Introduction into that Country of a System of Administration superintended by British Officers.

India Board,  
5 February 1857.]

HENRY DANBY SEYMOUR.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

V2:1:8

(No. 47 of 1856.)

The Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-General of India in Council.

London, 10 December 1856.

Para. 1. We have read with deep interest the important papers noted in the margin,\* relative to your assumption of the Government of Oude, and the introduction into that country of a system of administration superintended by British officers.

2. An expanse of territory embracing an area of nearly 25,000 square miles, and containing 5,000,000 of inhabitants, has passed from its native prince to the Queen of England without the expenditure of a drop of blood, and almost without a murmur.

3. The peaceable manner in which this great change has been accomplished, and the tranquillity which has since prevailed in all parts of the country, are circumstances which could not fail to excite in us the liveliest emotions of thankfulness and pleasure.

4. In our despatch under date the 21st of November (No. 33) 1855, we informed your Government that we were fully prepared to take upon ourselves the responsibility of enjoining you to assume authoritatively the powers necessary to the permanent establishment of good government throughout the country. Reposing the utmost confidence in the judgment and sagacity of the distinguished statesman, who, during a period of eight years, had so successfully administered the affairs of the British empire in India, we did not hesitate to entrust him with a wide discretion as to the mode of carrying out this important measure; being assured that he would act in the manner best calculated to secure its peaceful accomplishment, "with every proper and humane consideration for all persons whose feelings had a just claim to be consulted."

5. We need not now discuss the question whether the measure at first proposed by the Marquis of Dalhousie, of withdrawing from Lucknow the British Resident and our troops, would or would not have induced the calamities predicted by his colleagues. In deference to the opinions of the other members of the Government the Governor-general ceased to recommend the withdrawal, and it

\* India foreign letters: 22 February (No. 23) 1856; 8 March (No. 29) 1856; 22 March (No. 31) 1856; 8 April (No. 35) 1856; 2 April (No. 44) 1856; 22 April (No. 45) 1856; 3 May (No. 51) 1856.

## LETTER RELATIVE TO THE ASSUMPTION

It was resolved that, after the military dispositions necessary to secure the success of our political measures had been completed, the Resident should be instructed to declare null and void the treaty of 1801; the stipulations of which, in defiance of repeated warnings, had been for so many years set at nought by the Kings of Oude; and to offer a new treaty for the King's acceptance, announcing at the same time that, whether the treaty were accepted or not, the government of the territories of Oude would be thenceforth vested exclusively and for ever in the East India Company.

6. The treaty which was offered for the King's acceptance differed from that which had been previously sketched in Lord Dalhousie's Minute of the 18th of June, rather in form than in substance. In the treaty first proposed it was set forth, that the British Government and the King of Oude respectively should "retain the sovereignty of all the territories of which they are now in possession." But, as the whole civil and military administration of Oude and the disposal of its revenues were to pass into the hands of the British Government, we prefer the more direct language of the treaty actually proposed to the King, by which the administration of the country is, in the first article, assumed by the British Government; and, in a subsequent one, the "sovereign title" only is allowed to remain with the King and his descendants. It might have been preferable that no stipulations had been made regarding the hereditary descent of the titular honours retained by the King, but in order to obtain his Majesty's assent to the terms of the treaty, we should have been content to submit to the inconvenience rather than, by withholding such a concession, oppose an obstacle to the acceptance of the proposed conditions.

7. The letter of the Governor-general to the King, which accompanied the draft treaty, while sufficiently decided in its tone, evinced every just consideration for the feelings of the King, and every possible desire to secure his future dignity and comfort. But it entirely failed to produce the desired effect. Neither the exhortations of the Governor-general nor those of the Resident could induce him to accept the treaty. He spoke of proceeding to England, and actually commenced his march to Calcutta. In this state of affairs the proceedings which you adopted were equally prudent in themselves, and considerate as regards the King. You very properly caused it to be intimated to him, that, while every facility would be afforded for the prosecution of his journey to the presidency, as a private individual, accompanied by a moderate escort, he would, on his arrival at Calcutta, not be received by the Governor-general.

8. With respect to the future provision to be made for the King, you have rightly, under these altered circumstances, caused it to be intimated to his Majesty that his annual stipend has been fixed at an amount of 12 lakhs of rupees. We are not disposed to dissent from the considerations which induced you to withhold the additional three lakhs (for the payment of the Palace Guards); the guarantee of which was one of the stipulations of the proposed treaty. Upon this point there appears to have been no difference of opinion between the members of your Government.

9. They are also unanimous in their opinion, that it is not advisable to perpetuate or to prolong the tenure of the royal title. Half a century ago, our new and critical position among the Mahomedans of North Western India compelled us to respect the titular dignity of the Kings of Delhi. But the experiences of that half century have abundantly demonstrated the inconveniences of suffering an empty nominal sovereignty to descend from generation to generation, and the continuance of such a phantom of power must be productive of inconvenience to our Government, and we believe of more mortification than gratification to the royal pensioners themselves. It fosters humiliating recollections; it engenders delusive hopes; it is the fruitful source of intrigues that end in disappointment and disgrace; the evil is not limited to the effect produced upon the members of the royal house; prone to intrigue themselves, they become also a centre for the intrigues of others. It is natural, also, that the younger members of such a family should feel a greater repugnance than they otherwise would to mix with the community and become industrious and useful subjects.

10. Strongly

## OF THE GOVERNMENT OF OUDE.

10. Strongly impressed with these convictions, we, therefore, observe with satisfaction that no pledge or promise of any kind with regard to the recognition by our Government of the kingly title after the death of the present titular sovereign, Wajid Ali Shah, has been made to him or to his heirs.

11. The objections above urged against the perpetuation of the royal title do not apply with equal cogency to the guaranteed continuance of a fixed stipend to the descendants of the present titular King. Upon this point we observe, the members of your Government were divided in opinion. The Governor-general, Lord Dalhousie, observed,\* that "the stipend which should be allotted to the King's heirs after his Majesty's decease ought, like the kingly title, to be reserved for consideration by the Government on the occurrence of this event." In this opinion, General Anson, Mr. Dorn, and Mr. Grant, concurred. But the other hand, General Low strongly recommended that the amount of stipend to descend to the heirs of the present titular king should be fixed by the Indian authorities in England; and that it should, not, under any circumstances, be less than ten lakhs of rupees per annum. "I should much prefer it," he added, "12 lakhs were allotted to the heirs."

12. The views of the Governor-general, and of the members of council who concurred with him, were enforced by the statement, that it was "distinctly and repeatedly explained to the King, that the advantage which he would gain by entering into the new arrangement which was offered to him, would be security for rank and title for himself and his descendants, and security also for the royal stipends which had been allotted to him and to his heirs respectively; while his refusal to sign the treaty would leave him without any security whatever either for the kingly title, or for the stipend which, in other circumstances, would be permanently settled upon him." On the other hand, it was contended by General Low, that the sons of the present King were "so young that they could not, in any degree, be blamed for his blunder, in not signing the proposed treaty, and, therefore, they ought not to be made to suffer by it." The King, it was added, "is sufficiently punished for the blunder, and as he issued all the orders and proclamations which we could desire, and did his utmost to prevent, all risk of life at the capital, by dismounting his guns, &c., I think it would be harsh and not creditable to a great paramount state, which will gain immense profit from the possession of the Oude territories, if, in addition to the loss that we made the King sustain, we were also to injure the interests of his heirs by curtailing the income at first intended for them; that is to say, twelve lakhs of rupees per annum for the heirs of the present King; not heirs according to Mahomedan usages, but only those persons who may be direct male descendants of the present King, born in lawful wedlock."

13. We have given to these several views and arguments our most deliberate consideration. It is true that the King was sufficiently warned of the probable consequences of refusing to sign the treaty offered to him; and that, having refused to sign it, he "has placed himself in entire dependence upon the pleasure of the British Government;" yet, adverted to the short period necessarily allowed to him for reflection on so momentous a subject as the abdication of his sovereign power, and the evil counsel to which he was exposed, and his own understanding, enfeebled by debauchery, we are still willing to concede to him a part of the boon which was offered to him, in the event of his signing the treaty. By the withdrawal of the additional grant of three lakhs of rupees for the maintenance of the palace-guards, and by the limitation of the titular sovereignty to the present King, the warnings of your Government will be sufficiently vindicated; while, by confining to these forfeitures the threatened consequences of his Majesty's ill-advised refusal, we shall relieve the minds of the royal family of all anxiety with respect to their future provision. We shall also make manifest, that, in achieving a great object in the interests of good government, and the happiness of a large population, we have fulfilled our determination to act with every proper and humane consideration for all persons whose feelings have a just claim to be consulted. We desire, therefore, that, in the arrangements which may be made for the endowment of the royal family of Oude, the twelve lakhs of rupees set apart for the annual provision of the present titular

\* Minute, 13 February 1856.

## LETTER RELATIVE TO THE ASSUMPTION

ar King, be considered an hereditary grant to descend, without diminution, to his heirs; that is, to his direct male descendants born in lawful wedlock. We refer it to your Government, with reference to Article VI. of the proposed treaty, to decide what members of the royal family shall be supported out of this hereditary grant of twelve lakhs per annum, and what members shall be brought under the provisions of the above-mentioned article.

4. We think also that some stipulations should be made as to the education and conduct of the young princes, and a proper superintendence of them, in our hope, which we trust is not visionary, of their becoming hereafter useful citizens.

5. We desire, also, that you will take into your consideration whether, as an arrangement which, if it will admit of a practical solution, may be a source of much gratification to the titular King of Oude and his descendants, a part of this allowance of twelve lakhs of rupees per annum may not advantageously be computed for an hereditary jagheer, not exceeding five lakhs per annum, in amount. We do not wish that any powers of administration should be vested in the family, in which they would probably be as ill qualified as they have proved to be for the government of the country. But, when the rights of all classes connected with the soil have been properly secured by our settlement officers, means being so provided either by the ordinary, or what would be safer perhaps, by special tribunals, whereby redress may be easily obtained for all injuries, we do not conceive that any serious inconvenience would be incurred by maintaining the family in the condition of wealthy jagheerdars, while the duties and occupations naturally belonging to that position might possibly save them from sinking into the degraded habits of life, of which we have unfortunately so many examples in the families of deposed princes.

16. From the conduct of the King, and the claims of the family, we turn to the behaviour of the chiefs, and the great body of the people, whose ready acquiescence in the great change to which they have been subjected we have noticed with extreme satisfaction. Apart from the considerations of humanity suggested by such a result, we regard it as an additional and conclusive evidence of the fact, that no attachment to the old government of Oude existed among the people of the country.

17. Respecting, indeed, the peaceable demeanour, in this crisis, of the great bulk of the people, we entertained no doubts or misgivings; but there were two influential classes whose behaviour in such a conjuncture might have proved a source of considerable inconvenience; namely, the great zemindars and the soldiers. Regarding the former, we find little positive information in the papers before us. From incidental allusions, it is, however, to be gathered that, up to the date of our last advices, the principal landholders had exhibited a disposition rather to aid than to embarrass the new Government; and we see no reason to apprehend that the measures recommended by your Government, for the realization of the revenue due to the State, will provoke any opposition. The justice of the demand cannot be questioned. The revenue has, in most cases, as stated by Mr. Gubbins, been already paid by the ryot, and ought to have been paid into the public Treasury. The expediency of the demand is, however, questioned by the Chief Commissioner, who says that it would, in some instances, place our officers in a disagreeable position, inasmuch as they had announced that we had no concern with the balance due to the King. But, on the other hand, to excuse defaulters the payment of their dues, is to do a constructive injustice to those zeminders who are not defaulters, and who may, not unreasonably, complain that they will have been largely mulcted for their honesty. We approve, therefore, of the determination of your Government, as announced in your letter to the Chief Commissioner of the 28th of March, to some parts of which we shall have occasion to refer in a future communication.

18. The probable temper of the army, a force computed on paper at some 60,000 men of all arms, on the announcement of a measure which threw a large proportion of them out of employment, and transferred the remainder to a new master, was naturally a source of some anxiety to us. In your scheme for the future government and administration of the Oude provinces, communicated to Major-general Outram in Mr. Edmonstone's letter of the 4th of February,

you

## OF THE GOVERNMENT OF OUDE

you proposed the organisation of an Oude irregular force, into which suggested the absorption of as large a number of the disbanded soldiers as could be employed in such a corps, whilst others were to be put in the military and district police; but you observed at the same time that such arrangements would not absorb one-half of the disbanded remainder you determined to grant pensions and gratuities, according to length of service. There were no better means than these, in the difficulty which could not be avoided. But only partial relief was expected from so partial a measure. As a further precaution the Chief Commissioner deemed it expedient to promise pensions of rupees to the commandants of the regiments of the late King, some 60 in number, on their lending their cordial co-operation to the Government. They provided that their regiments remained quiet and loyal. With the approval of the Chief Commissioner's argument in support of these grants, you adopted his suggestion, that, in the event of any of these regiments, as Tuhseeldars, or other functionaries, under our Government, their pensions should still be paid to them.

19. Another question of great importance was, as to the arrears due from the King to the army.

20. Your instructions affecting this point were, 1st, a letter, dated the 4th of February, directing that a gratuity should be given to every discharged soldier, who had served for 15 years; with greater advantages for longer service. The 23d of February, which said, "It is understood that the King's troops at Lucknow, you (the Chief Commissioner) are to be paid, as a matter of policy and equity, on the principle of the arrears of the troops to arrears of the current Oude year; that is, for five months. The Governor-general in Council is pleased to make good arrears to the troops to the extent above-mentioned for the period."

21. The Chief Commissioner having interpreted the first letter as "no man under fifteen years' service was to receive a gratuity and not having received the second letter, had, as a matter of course, guaranteed "to the troops" their "arrears for 1262," that is, more than your letter of the 23d of February authorised.

22. You pointed out to Major-general Outram his mistake, and he properly added, "The Government cannot, with any consistency, reject the claim of the troops to arrears from the beginning of the year. The consequence of the guarantee for that period must be that the arrears must be paid, subject to the condition, of course, of course, of the claim is in each case well founded. And you are authorised to sanction disbursements on account of arrears due to the troops for the 16 or 17 months, extending from the beginning of the year to the date on which we assumed the Government of the Province."

23. On assuming the administration of a country previously governed by a prince, it is always our desire, and it should always be our aim, to make the transition as little productive as possible of temporary inconvenience to all classes of the community. The army, a large number of whose members are necessarily thrown out of employment, and who, consequently, find, if the habits of their past lives fitted them for, in a peculiarly entitled to liberal consideration. It is, doubtless, as stated by the Chief Commissioner, the soldiery of Oude have enriched themselves at the expense of the people. But this was the result of the system under which they lived; nothing better indeed was to be expected from men whose pay, after it had been tardily extracted from the people, was liable to be withheld from them by a fraudulent minister. Whatever had been the past excesses and the illicit gains of the soldiers, it was the duty of the British Government in this conjuncture to investigate their claims, and to satisfy ourselves of the justice of these claims, to discharge them.

## LETTER RELATIVE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF OUDE.

We observe with satisfaction that this has been done, although we are aware that the heavy expenses attending the first occupation of a newly acquired country are a very serious inconvenience, and one which leads to much misapprehension or misrepresentation of measures which cannot be judged by the financial result of the first few years.

24. We concur, moreover, in the very judicious remark made by Viscount Canning in his minute of the 5th of March, "that a few lakhs spent in closing the account, without injustice, and even with liberality, will be well repaid if we can thereby smooth down discontent and escape disturbance." We are glad to observe that your Government and the Chief Commissioner are actuated by similar motives in this respect; and we understand that, in fact, you do intend to pay all the legitimate arrears due from the Government of the King.

25. We have read with attention the very interesting and able letter of instructions which was addressed to the Chief Commissioner of Oude on the 4th of February, wherein the whole system of administration to be introduced into the country is clearly stated in detail. In all its leading features it corresponds to the system under which the affairs of the Punjab have been successfully administered. We approve of the liberal sentiments expressed in the 122d and concluding paragraphs, and we desire that every effort may be made to carry out the benevolent objects glanced at in those passages. A fertile country, peopled by a fine race of men, has suddenly passed under our rule; and as it is our first duty to render the introduction of our Government a blessing to our subjects, so it is our first wish that this duty may be so effectually performed that there shall henceforth be no conflict of opinion regarding the beneficent results of the peaceful revolution by which the kingdom of Oude has been converted into a province of the British empire in the East.

26. We cannot conclude this despatch without expressing our high appreciation of the wisdom and energy which have distinguished the proceedings of our Government throughout the whole of these momentous transactions; and of the judgment and vigour displayed by your agents. The conduct of Major-General Sir James Outram in a crisis demanding not only much firmness and resolution on the one hand, but much delicacy and address on the other, has confirmed our opinion of the high qualities of that distinguished officer; and we desire that you will convey to him our thanks for his able performance of these difficult and trying duties which fell to his share.

We are,  
Your affectionate Friends,

*W. H. Sykes,*  
*R. D. Mangles, &c.*

---

**EAST INDIA (GOVERNMENT OF OUDE).**

---

**COPY of a LETTER addressed by the Court of  
Directors of the East India Company to  
the Governor-General of *India* in Council,  
10 December 1856, relative to the Assump-  
tion of the Government of *Oude*, &c.**

*(Mr. Seymour.)*

---

*Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,  
5 February 1857.*

---



EAST INDIA (KING OF OUDE);

RETURN to Two Orders of the Honourable The House of Commons,  
dated 20 July and 30 July 1857;—for,

(ORDER, 20 July 1857.)

COPIES "of any MINUTE by the Right Honourable Lord *Auckland*  
Governor-General of India, on the Signature of the Treaty of 1837  
Mohummud Allie Shah, the then King of *Oude*:"

"Of the DESPATCH from the Right Honourable the Governor-Gen  
announcing the Negotiation of such Treaty:"

"Of any ORDERS from the Secret Committee or from the Court of Dir  
of the East India Company to the Governor-General of India, abrog  
or disallowing such Treaty, or any Part thereof:"

"Of any MINUTE recorded by the Governor-General in Council, on  
Receipt of such Orders:"

"Of a LETTER written in the Month of January 1839 by the Right Honour  
Lord *Auckland* to the King of *Oude*, on the subject of such Treaty:"

"And, of a LETTER written in November 1847, by the Right Honourable L  
*Hardinge*, the Governor-General of India, to the King of *Oude*."

(*Sir FitzRoy Kelly*.)

(ORDER, 30 July 1857.)

COPIES "of a DESPATCH from the Governor-General of India in Council  
dated the 4th day of September 1854, together with its Enclosures, and o  
the Reply from the Court of Directors of the East India Company, relating  
to *Oude*."

(*Earl of Gifford*.)

East India House, }  
26 August 1857. }

JAMES C. MELVILL.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,  
15 March 1858.

## L I S T.

	PAGE
Extract Letter from the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, dated 5 August (No. 8) 1837	3
Extract Letter from the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, dated 9 September (No. 11) 1837	3
Letter from the Resident at Lucknow to the Political Secretary to the Government of India, dated 8 July 1837	4
Letter from the Resident at Lucknow to the Political Secretary to the Government of India, dated 9 July 1837	4
Letter from the Resident at Lucknow to the Political Secretary to the Government of India, dated 10 July 1837	5
Letter from the Resident at Lucknow to the Political Secretary to the Government of India, dated 12 July 1837	7
Minute by the Governor-General, dated July 1837	7
Letter from the Secretary to the Government of India to Resident at Lucknow, dated 19 July 1837	8
Letter from Secretary to the Government of India to Resident at Lucknow, dated 20 July 1837	10
Draft of a Treaty	11
Letter from Resident at Lucknow to the Secretary to Government of India, dated 28 July 1837	12
Letter from Resident at Lucknow to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated 28 July 1837	15
Letter from the Resident at Lucknow to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated 30 July 1837	16
Revised Draft of Treaty with the King of Oude	21
Letter from Secretary to the Government of India to the Resident at Lucknow, dated 7 August 1837	22
Letter from the Secretary to Government of India to the Resident at Lucknow, dated 7 August 1837	23
Minute by the Honourable Mr. Ross, dated 10 August 1837	27
Minute by the Honourable Mr. Shakespear, dated 10 August 1837	28
Minute by the Governor-General, dated 11 August 1837	28
Minute by the Honourable Mr. Ross, dated 12 August 1837	29
Minute by the Honourable Mr. Shakespear, dated 12 August 1837	30
Letter from the Governor-General to Secret Committee, dated 2 October (No. 13) 1837	30
Letter from the Resident at Lucknow to the Political Secretary to the Government of India, dated 11 September 1837	31
Treaty between the Honourable East India Company and the King of Oude	32
Minute by Mr. Shakespear, dated 20 September 1837	34
Minute by the Governor-General, dated 23 September 1837	34
Minute by Mr. Ross, dated 28 September 1837	35
Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General of India, dated 11 April (No. 27) 1838	36
Letter from the Secret Committee to the Governor-General of India, dated 10 April 1838	37
Letter from the Governor-General to the Honourable the Secret Committee, dated 5 July 1838	39
Minute by the Governor-General, dated 2 July 1838	39
Extract Secret Committee to the Governor-General, dated 5 November 1838	40
Letter from the Governor-General to the Honourable the Secret Committee, dated 14 December (No. 30) 1838	41
Letter from the President in Council to the Secret Committee, dated 9 February (No. 2) 1839	41
Minute by the Governor-General, dated 13 December 1838	43
Minute by the Honourable Mr. Robertson, dated 9 January 1839	52
Minute by the President of the Council, dated 28 January 1839	53
Extract Letter Secret Committee to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated 19 February 1839	57
Extract Letter Secret Committee to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated 16 April (No. 44) 1839	57
Letter from the Governor-General to the Honourable the Secret Committee, dated 2 May (No. 9) 1839	58
Minute by the Governor-General (Secret Department), dated 2 May 1839	58
Extract Letter Secret Committee to the Governor-General, dated 11 July 1839	60
Letter from the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, dated 15 July (No. 21) 1839	60
Letter from the Governor-General of India to the King of Oude, dated 8 July 1839	60
Letter from the Deputy Secretary to the Government of India to the Officiating Resident at Lucknow, dated 8 July 1839	61
Memorandum by the Governor-General, addressed to the King of Oude	61
Letter from the Governor-General to the Court of Directors, dated 4 September (No. 85) 1854	65
Minute by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India, dated 14 August 1854	66
Minute by the Honourable J. Dorin, dated 17 August 1854	67
Minute by the Honourable Major-General J. Low, G.B., dated 22 August 1854	67
Minute by the Honourable J. P. Grant, dated 22 August 1854	68
Letter from the Court of Directors to the Government of India, dated 10 January 1855	68

## PAPERS RELATING TO THE KING OF OUDE.

EXTRACT Letter from the Governor-General of India in Council to the S  
Committee, dated 5th August (No. 8) 1837.

1. We have now the honour to communicate, for the information of your honourable Committee, the important intelligence of the death of his Majesty Nusseeroodeen Hyder, king of Lucknow.

3. In a letter of the 9th ultimo, the Resident reported having taken an additional agreement from the new king prior to his accession, binding him to abide by the will of the British Government. We entertained doubts, with some difference of opinion, upon the expediency of this proceeding, with the exception of this single point, we had every reason to applaud this feeling we confidently anticipate the concurrence of your honourable Committee the admirable judgment, temper, and firmness displayed by Colonel throughout the arduous and delicate crisis referred to.

4. Your honourable Committee will observe that we have deemed this an opportunity for proposing a modification of the existing treaty with the State. That treaty contains no provision for the direct interference of the British Government in the event of gross and continued maladministration, which requiring the instant presence of a portion of the British troops in Oude, it is to be feared that much facility may have been afforded to oppression. A proposition has, as your honourable Committee will observe, been made, that a portion of the present numerous and disorderly Oude troops shall be disciplined by British officers. We can as yet form no judgment of the manner in which these positions will be received by the king, but we trust that you will agree with us in thinking that, with reference to past transactions and occurrences, the proposals we have now proposed are not unreasonable. We entertain a sanguine expectation that, joined to the personal character of the present king, they will produce (what it has long been a stranger to) a creditable administration of affairs in Oude.

EXTRACT Letter from the Governor-General of India in Council to the S  
Committee, dated 9th September (No. 11) 1837.

7. In paragraph 3 of our despatch No. 8 (5th August) of the current year we referred to the doubt expressed by us to the Resident, of the expediency of his conduct in having taken from his present majesty on his accession, an unconditional agreement to abide by the will of the British Government. Colonel Low addressed us at considerable length in explanation of his motives of action, and solicited a reconsideration of the opinion expressed by us upon this subject. A direct reply on this point was rendered unnecessary, by our being called upon to address the Resident on another reference made by him with respect to the proposed modifications of the existing treaty with Oude, alluded to in paragraph 4 of our despatch above specified.

8. We beg to refer your honourable Committee to our letter to the Resident, numbered as in the margin, for a full exposition of our views in modifying, as proposed, the existing treaty, wherein we explained to Colonel Low that, so far from desiring to coerce his majesty to the adoption of our suggestions, it was our wish that "in the consideration of the question, the formal instrument of unconditional submissiveness which has been signed by the king be wholly set aside;" and we further pointed out, that, situated as Oude now is, the object to be desired would be "such an arrangement, advantageous to both States, as shall be consistent with the principles of the treaty of 1801, and at the same time free from the inconveniences which have been shown by the past experience to attach to particular provisions of that enactment." We at the same time expressed our

4 PAPERS RELATING TO THE KING OF OUDE.

approbation of the honourable impulse which induced the Resident to submit his unreserved opinions upon the treaty, with its proposed modifications, and informed him that we should consent to the reduction, as proposed by him, of one regiment of cavalry and one of infantry from the disciplined force proposed to be maintained under British officers.

9. Copies of minutes recorded by Messrs. Ross and Shakespear, dated the 10th ultimo, of a minute by our Resident, dated the 11th ultimo, and of further minutes by Messrs. Ross and Shakespear, dated the 12th ultimo, are sent herewith.

---

From Lieutenant-Colonel Low, Resident at Lucknow, to *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Political Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir,

I WRITE this in haste, and shall send it by express, to announce to the Government of India the death yesterday, near midnight, of Nusurooddeen Hyder, the king of Oude, and the elevation to the throne of this kingdom of Nusurooddowlah, the next heir, from whom, as a condition of his advancement to the throne of his ancestors, I, previously to inviting him to the palace, obtained a written agreement as to a new treaty, the tenor of which will, I trust, be satisfactory to the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council. I shall not fail to forward a translation of that document by to-morrow's post; at present this is not in my power, for during 12 hours the whole of my time, till within the last few minutes, has been occupied in matters which could scarcely be postponed for a moment. This has been chiefly owing to a daring attempt before daylight this morning on the part of the Padshah Begum to seize by a *coup de main* the throne for her grandson (by adoption) Moonna Jaun, in which she so far succeeded that the boy was actually seated on the principal throne of this government, and in the barradurus of the palace, about three hours and a half, part of that time being before the arrival of the British troops from cantonments, and part after their arrival. I made four attempts, one in person, and three through vakeels, to persuade the Begum to depart in peace, and at last, seeing those attempts utterly fruitless, and that her followers were increasing in numbers and in insolence, I ordered an attack upon the building where her durbar was being held, when her followers were speedily expelled, losing between 30 and 40 men, and the Begum, and the young pretender, and the chief ringleader of the rebels, being all three captured. On the British side I have only as yet heard of three men being wounded. I regret to say that Captain Paton is one of the latter; but his wound, which was (I am told) by a blow on the face from a matchlock, is not of a dangerous nature, though causing considerable pain; and he also was otherwise bruised and maltreated in the crowd. I find it impossible to give a more detailed account of this extraordinary affair at present, because there is still much confusion in the palace (where I now am), but I feel confident that before evening the general tranquillity of both the palace and the city will be fully restored.

Lucknow Residency,  
8 July 1837.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *J. Low*, Resident.

---

From Lieutenant-Colonel Low, Resident at Lucknow, to *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Political Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir,

WITH reference to the first paragraph of my yesterday's letter by express, I have herewith the honour to enclose a copy and translation of the paper to which I obtained the signature of Nawab Nusurooddowlah previous to inviting him to the palace. It was written in great haste at midnight, after my return from the bedroom of the late king. There was not a moment to lose, for a report had just reached me that the Begum's people were preparing to march, and I had also many other things to attend to; but, although the paper is short, I trust its tenor will be satisfactory to the Government, since it must give the Governor-General of India a full right to include every detail that may be desirable

PAPERS RELATING TO THE KING OF OUDE.

desirable in the projected new treaty. After a short conversation with Lieutenant Shakespear, the head moonshee of this office, and Mouljee Gh Yaheea, the durbar vakeel, the present king consented, without hesitating the proposal made to him, and he then wrote a few words, expressive consent, on the document, and sealed it.

2. I have still so much to do personally at various places, and have subsequent references made to me on many subjects, from both natives and Europeans (I have detained for the present a regiment of native infantry a palace), that I still find it impossible to give a full account of the late extraordinary events here; but Lieutenant Shakespear is now occupied in drawing a memorandum on the subject, and I thus hope to be able to address you fully by this evening's dawn. In the meantime, I think it right to send it by express, chiefly for the purpose, first, of announcing to the Government the great mass of the population here, after the funeral of the king was (about sunset) last evening, returned to their usual habits and occupations, the exception of a portion of the shopkeepers, who shut up their shops till morning; next, that this day the public tranquillity seems fully restored in parts of the city; and, lastly, that as proclamations were issued and despatches to the several districts in the country early yesterday, announcing the access to the throne of the present king, and confirming all the local functionaries to their respective offices, I have every reason to believe that the general peace of the country will not be disturbed by the short-lived usurpation of the Begum.

3. As I think it prudent not to let it be known here at present, that a change in the treaty is in contemplation, I have written this letter in the Secret Department.

Lucknow Residency,  
9 July 1837.

I have, &c.  
(signed) J. Low, Resident.

From Lieutenant-Colonel Low, Resident at Lucknow, to W. H. Macnaghten, Esq. Political Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir,

I MENTIONED in my report of yesterday that Lieutenant Shakespear was then occupied in writing a memorandum respecting the strange events which occurred here on the 8th instant. My object, when I desired that officer to commit to paper his recollection of what had occurred, was chiefly to aid my own memory as to any details that might have escaped me in regard to what occurred during the first two hours after the entrance of the insurgents into the palace. In short, I looked only for a little aid in forming my own report, when I should find time to write one.

2. But when Lieutenant Shakespear brought me his paper this morning, I found that he had commenced his statement, and proceeded with it in a connected and detailed manner, from the hour when I first heard of the late king's danger, and brought it up to the coronation of the present one; and that, upon the whole, his paper is so very complete, and so thoroughly accurate throughout, that (especially as my own time is still much occupied) I desired him to sign it officially, resolving to countersign it myself, and to enclose it in this letter, trusting that the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council will do me the favour to accept the report as from myself. I feel, indeed, that it would be an unnecessary loss of time were I now to write a separate account of the affair, because, although I do remember some very few details which Mr. Shakespear has omitted, yet they are not of a nature that are material to record, and I repeat the fact, that all the details written by Lieutenant Shakespear (who was close to myself the whole of the morning after the present king's arrival in the palace) are stated with entire accuracy. I have therefore thought it quite sufficient to write a few very short remarks in the margin of his paper.

3. It must be superfluous to say, that, but for the presence of the British troops, any exertions of individual political officers must have been useless towards quelling such a revolt; but the excellent conduct of those troops, and the cordial support that I personally received from Brigadier Johnston and other military officers, shall be made the subject of a separate despatch.

4. I now beg to say, that I feel it at once to be a gratifying and an imperative public duty to bring particularly to the notice of the Government of India the prominent zeal and highly useful exertions in their public duties which were displayed during the late events here by my assistants, Captain Paton and Lieutenant Shakespear. I shall never cease to remember with pride and pleasure not only the activity and anxiety which they both evinced to aid me in every possible way, but their coolness, under frequent personal danger, in endeavouring to pacify the violent passions of the furious madmen with whom they were in communication, and the exertion of those qualities were of very great public utility, because the least deviation from coolness of manner or command of temper would assuredly have brought on scenes of bloodshed, which it was of the utmost importance to prevent, until the arrival of our own troops, and until I should have an opportunity of joining them, and of communicating with the brigadier commanding them.

5. If shots had been once fired in earnest, or if any persons had been cut down by swords previous to the arrival of our troops, it is impossible to say how far such acts might have extended. It is not merely that my assistants and myself should probably have lost our lives, but the present king must, in all human probability, have been murdered, and the treasures of the State plundered, along with those of the Begum's in Tenanas. If the death of the king had occurred in such a manner, it would have been a most deplorable event, and would probably have been followed by a general state of anarchy in the Oude territories.

6. Captain Paton, indeed, did actually suffer from great personal violence; but I feel convinced that it was entirely owing to his own coolness and presence of mind that the insurgents did not murder him, instead of contenting themselves with beating him with sticks and sheathed swords. It was quite evident to me, indeed, on several occasions during the uproar, that many of the insurgents were very anxious, by using all sorts of abusive language and violent gestures (such as presenting their loaded and cocked muskets at our bodies, and holding drawn swords close to our faces), to excite us to some act or speech that might give them a plausible excuse for proceeding to extremities. I beg here to add, that Iltifant Hoosain Khann Bahadoor, the head moonshee of this office, was with me and Lieutenant Shakespear the whole of the morning, and displayed in a striking manner similar qualities to those which were evinced by Captain Paton and Lieutenant Shakespear, and I feel under great obligations to that very respectable native gentleman.

7. Dr. Stevenson, the Residency Surgeon, rendered me much active assistance. He had returned to his own house at midnight, after inspecting along with me the corpse of the late king, but he was one of the first persons I saw next morning when I got out of the hands of the insurgents. From that time he attached himself to me as a sort of aide-de-camp throughout the morning, and was very useful to me in conveying messages, and in examining and reporting upon places where troops might penetrate into the interior, and it was he who first suggested the expediency of searching for ladders for the use of the troops in the intended escalade of the barradara building.

8. I also received such assistance from Mr. Hare, the head writer of this office, that it would be unjust not to notice his services: they were not indeed of the same important character as those afforded to me by the assistants of this office and the head moonshee, because it so happened that just before the arrival of the Begum's troops I had sent Mr. Hare back from the palace to the Residency to bring a letter-book that I required, so that from that time till I got out of the palace again, he was separated from me, and thus he was not involved in our difficulties; but before Mr. Hare left me, for the purpose above mentioned, he had been zealous in aiding me in many ways, and he was particularly useful to me again from the time I joined the troops (where I found him in waiting for me) in conveying orders from me to parties of the king's forces in writing notes, at my hasty dictation of their substance, and also in procuring ladders for the use of our troops, which measure had been suggested to me by Dr. Stevenson, as above described. I should, under all these circumstances, be neglecting a public duty were I to omit to notice the aid I received from Mr. Hare on the occasion, more especially as he is in all respects a valuable public servant, who,  
from

PAPERS RELATING TO THE KING OF OUDE.

from his superior knowledge of native languages, and his general efficient the current detail business of this office, has gained the approbation of all Residents at Lucknow during the last 22 years.

Lucknow Residency, 10 July 1837. I have, &c.  
(signed) J. Low, Secy

Resident at Lucknow to W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., Political Secretary  
Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

THE King of Oude having, the day before yesterday, requested my sanction representative of the British Government, to assume the following title Aboul Futteeh Moeenooddeen, Sooltani Gaman Monsherwani Agha, Mohu Ali Shah, Padshahi Oudh, I have the honour to report that, after referring records of this office on similar subjects, I have this day informed his majesty that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the proposed titles are unobjectionable and a seal is accordingly now being prepared, but it is not to be used till reply shall be received to this letter.

2. If the titles be confirmed by his Lordship in Council, I would suggest the Governor-General should at once address his majesty by these titles.

3. His majesty is, I regret to say, suffering much from rheumatism in his limbs, from which cause he is at present unable to walk without assistance, his mental faculties appear to me to be, not at all impaired. His manners very unaffected, and his conversation is that of a man of sense and good feeling. He is personally attending to business every day, is diminishing a great variety of useless expenses, and he has also issued orders for the payment, to within 6 months of what is due, of all arrears of pay to the troops and establishments. His majesty begged me to present his most respectful compliments to the Governor-General, professed his firm determination to follow the advice of the British Government in all state affairs, and said that he was most anxious to commence holding direct correspondence with the Right Honourable the Governor-General, and was only restrained from addressing his Lordship by the etiquette which required that he (as a subordinate ally) should wait for an announcement that he is acknowledged by the paramount State as sovereign of the Oude dominions.

Lucknow Residency, 12 July 1837. I have, &c.  
(signed) J. Low, Resident.

MINUTE by the Governor-General.

Affairs of Oude.—I would not without further consideration, and on the very brief notices which we at present possess, venture to express any final opinion on the important events which have taken place at Lucknow; but I am prepared at once to approve and sanction the general policy which Colonel Low has followed in admitting the claims of Nussurood Dowlah to the throne of Oude. The title of that prince to the sovereignty appears, according to the most established rules of succession in the Mahomedan law, to be indisputable, and by those rules it is most fitting that we should in the present instance be guided.

I will take an early opportunity of submitting to the Council the ulterior measures which, in my opinion, should be adopted. For any criticism in detail on the measures adopted by Colonel Low, we must wait for further accounts, but I may now say, that I should undoubtedly have been better pleased if he had not, in this moment of exigency, accepted the unconditional engagement of submissiveness which the new king has signed. This document may be liable to misconstruction, and it was not warranted by anything contained in the instructions issued to Colonel Low. The views of his Government, as but recently expressed to that officer, are defined and moderate, and from this circumstance, as well as from the new king's character and position, there could in any case have been little doubt of his willingness to adapt his conduct to those views.

It will be matter for our consideration in what manner some modification of the existing treaty shall be framed, under which the British Government might have more power to prevent or remedy maladministration, and, by withdrawing from the obligation still existing in terms, although it has long ceased to be recognised as binding in practice, of exercising a complete and minute interference by means of its own troops in defence of the Oude government, be less liable to responsibility for all its acts, and the ordinary course of its internal policy, and this with increase of advantage, rather than injury, in rendering disposable our own military means, and without admitting, on the other hand, the formidable growth of an armed and unchecked independence.

The occasion for some modification of the existing treaty is most favourable. The late treaty has been too constantly disregarded by the sovereigns of Oude in their continued and most embarrassing rejection or evasion of all our advice for the good government of their country, not to justify us, if it should seem expedient, in insisting upon our placing the right of acquitting ourselves of our responsibility upon a clear and admitted basis, and we may well avail ourselves of the opportunity offered without reproach or suspicion, provided that our efforts are faithfully directed only to objects of security, and tranquillity, and good government, and are without the taint which schemes of acquisition in money and in land would give them, schemes as repugnant to my own designs and feelings as they have been ever disavowed by the Honourable Court, and by each successive Governor-General, in discussing the grave question of the position in which events have placed us, both towards the Oude ruler and people.

July 1837.

(signed) *Auckland.*

I do not feel prepared to give a decided opinion as to the policy of placing Nussurood Dowlah on the throne of Oude: if, being the paramount power in India, we are responsible for protecting the people of Oude from the evils of bad government, the policy of the measure may be very questionable.

(signed) *A Ross.*

I concur with the Right Honourable the Governor-General in the views stated in the foregoing minute, with exception of that part of it which disapproves of Lieutenant-colonel Low having taken the agreement (of which he has sent a copy) from the new King of Oude. The moderation which it will, I have no doubt, be the object of Government to observe on any new arrangement with that State, will only be the more conspicuous after this occurrence, which I think calculated to prevent much intrigue, and perhaps painful discussion. It is also in my mind a matter deserving of high praise that the Resident at such a moment should have shown himself so fully alive to the public interests. Besides, Colonel Low seems to have followed the rule similar to that which was ordered by Government on a former occasion. See Colonel Bailie's despatch of the 12th July 1814, announcing the demise of the Vizir.

(signed) *W. Morison.*

I concur in the sentiments expressed by Colonel Morison. Every allowance must be made for the hurry and confusion which prevented any deliberation as to the nature of the engagement required for the king. The more general the terms, the more was left for the Government to deal with the question according to its own views, which any specific conditions might have led to.

(signed) *W. Shakespear.*

---

From *W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to Lieutenant-Colonel Low, Resident at Lucknow.*

Sir,

I AM directed by the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters, dated the 8th, 9th, and 10th instant, with their respective enclosures, detailing the occurrences which have taken place in connection with the death of his majesty Nusseer Oodeen Hyder, and the succession of his uncle, Nusser Oodawla.

2. In



PAPERS RELATING TO THE KING OF OUDE.

2. In reply, I am desired to acquaint you that the Governor-General in Council has no hesitation in recording his urgent sense of the judgment and promptitude displayed by you on this occasion; and while he regrets the loss of life which has been sustained among the infatuated adherents of the Beg, he feels satisfied that nothing short of the most vigorous and decisive measures would have put a stop to the disaffection and anarchy which was rapidly spreading throughout the city.

3. His Lordship in Council has therefore much satisfaction in conveying to you his entire approbation of all your proceedings, so far as he has already made acquainted with them.

4. To your assistants, Captain Paton and Lieutenant Shakespear, Dr. Stevenson, and to Illifaut Hossein Khan Bahadour, the thanks of Government are eminently due for the credit and active co-operation which they afforded you during the late eventful period; and you are requested to apprise them that their meritorious conduct has been fully appreciated by Government. His Majesty also has entitled himself to commendation, and you will be pleased to acquaint him that his merits and services on this occasion have not been overlooked.

5. On the day following the receipt of your letter announcing the demise of the late king, an order was issued that the event should be generally notified by firing minute guns, corresponding in number with the years of the deceased king's reign.

6. The salute in honour of the new king's accession has been postponed in expectation of receiving from you a description of the letters issued by His Majesty; but as this has not yet been received, no further delay will take place in the public announcement of the new king's accession.

7. His Lordship in Council would not qualify, even by an expression of doubt, the high approbation which he is ready to express of your conduct on this trying occasion. The expediency of obtaining from His Majesty's signature, in previous agreement, binding himself to absolute submission, is the only point on which he feels that difference of opinion may be entertained; and if, on the one hand, it may appear to secure the objects of Government and to be justified by precedent, on the other, it seems open to misrepresentation and from the reliance which might be placed on the character and position of His Majesty, superfluous. In a day or two His Lordship in Council will furnish you with a draft of such modifications as he deems it desirable to introduce into the existing treaty.

8. In the meantime, as you describe the king as being in a very infirm state of health, and as it is desirable to be prepared against the contingency of another demise of the crown, I am directed to request that you will furnish, at the earliest practicable period, your opinion as to the character, disposition, and qualification of the persons or person who may appear to you to have the best claim to the succession.

Fort William,  
19 July 1837.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,  
Secretary to the Government of India.

*P.S.*—Since the above was written, your two letters, one in the Secret, and the other in the Political Department, of the 12th instant, have been received. They will hereafter be acknowledged more in detail, but in the meantime I am desired to acquaint you that the titles assumed by the king have been sanctioned.

From *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to  
Lieutenant Colonel *Low*, Resident at Lucknow.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter of yesterday's date, I am now desired by the Right Honourable the Governor-general in Council to forward to you the accompanying draft of a modified treaty which you will be pleased to take an early opportunity of tendering to the acceptance of his Majesty, after you shall have delivered the letter of congratulation from the Governor-General which (together with a copy from your own \* ) is sent herewith.

2. You will observe that the most important point of modification is that which would admit of the withdrawal of the British troops from the interior of Oude, their place to be supplied by an auxiliary force under the command of British officers, and that which provides for the † of the † of the Oude territories in case of gross misgovernment. His Lordship in Council does not apprehend that any objection will be raised against either of these provisions, which, with reference to past transactions and occurrences, cannot but be regarded as moderate and reasonable.

3. With regard to the second point, nothing need be said at present beyond the expression of a hope, which is sincerely entertained by his Lordship in Council, that no state of things will ever arise such as to call for the enforcement of that provision.

4. With regard to the first point, it will be your chief care to ensure some regular provision for the punctual payment of the auxiliary force on a rough estimate of the cost of such force. The total expense of the force, however, ought to be so calculated as not to exceed, at present, 20 lacks of rupees annually, to which amount ‡ it may fairly be expected that a reduction may ere long be effected if the Irregular troops were in the employ of the Oude Government. Within this amount the force should be provided in the most efficient manner, both as regards the numerical complement of officers and men, and in point of equipment. A statement of the expense of a force upon the scale proposed by the draft of treaty is annexed, and you will in this or in other parts of the draft consider yourself authorised to introduce slight modifications, in case of stronger difference of opinion to make a further reference to his Lordship in Council.

5. It is the wish of his Lordship in Council that the infantry and the artillery arms of the auxiliary force should resemble as nearly as possible the regular native corps; as regards cavalry, it will be sufficient if they are placed on a footing with the irregular horse in the Company's service.

6. It will remain for future determination whether the price is to be || out of the troops, which will be disbursed from the Oude service, or raised in the Company's provinces, or supplied from both sources; and on your apprising me that the negotiation has been successfully concluded, his Lordship in Council will be prepared to nominate an adequate number of British officers to be placed under your orders, with a view to the organisation of the new auxiliary force.

7. His Lordship in Council conceives that, in point of allowances and all other advantages, the British officers employed with this force should be on the same footing as those employed in the Mysore army.

8. With regard to your two letters of the 12th instant in the Political and Secret Departments already acknowledged in the postscript to my letter of yesterday's date, I am desired to observe on the subject of the former, that the accession of the new king was yesterday notified with the usual honours under his new titles; and on the subject of the latter, that his Lordship in Council does not deem it advisable that you should, for the present at least, agitate the question of a § . The present minister is represented by you as now performing his duty in a praiseworthy manner; and had the reverse been the case even, sufficient leisure should be allowed his Majesty to enable him to determine whether any immediate change is necessary, and, if so, to deliberate on the choice of a successor. But you will not fail, in your confidential communications with his Majesty, to notice to him any relaxation of exertion or inattention to his duty on the part of the minister.

9. The

PAPERS RELATING TO THE KING OF OUDE.

9. The treaty is sent in English only with a view to save time, but you will of course cause it to be carefully translated for the consideration of his Majesty. In the event of no objection being urged by the king, you will submit a fair copy to this office; when completed will be immediately forwarded to you for signature of the Governor-General in Council.

Fort William,  
20 July 1837.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,  
Secretary to Government of India.

DRAFT OF A TREATY.

WHEREAS, since the formation of the existing alliance between the Honourable the East India Company and the Oude State, the security of the territories of both Governments has been established on a firm and durable basis, and is no longer necessary to maintain the particular engagements of the existing treaty, which were framed on the principle of guarding against common danger from foreign aggression; and whereas it is notorious that while the British Government has faithfully and scrupulously fulfilled the obligation incurred by Article 3 of the treaty of 1801, of defending the Oude territories against foreign and domestic enemies, the rulers of Oude have, on the contrary, habitually infringed that provision of the same article, which requires that they should retain in their pay only a specified number of troops, and have employed a numerous and disorderly force, subject to no discipline, constantly engaged in meetings, and entailing, by the expense of their maintenance, perpetual financial embarrassment on the Oude Government; and whereas it appears desirable to adopt an arrangement, which, while it will leave it optional with the British Government to station its troops within or without the Oude territories, as may be judged most conducive to the general interests of the Indian empire, will uphold the dignity and safety of the king, and will provide at a reduced cost, an efficient national force, to be employed on important occasions, and for the suppression of any internal insurrection seriously affecting the general tranquillity, or having for its object the subversion of his Majesty's established and lawful supremacy; and whereas Article 6 of the treaty of 1801 requires that the sovereign of Oude, always advising with and acting in conformity to the counsel of the officers of the Honourable Company, shall establish in his reserved dominions "such a system of administration (to be carried into effect by his own officers) as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects; and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants," but provides no remedy for the neglect of that solemn and paramount obligation; and whereas the infraction of this essential engagement of the treaty and inattention to the first duty of sovereigns, on the part of several successive rulers of Oude, have been continued and notorious, and have exposed the British Government to the reproach of imperfectly fulfilling its obligations to the Oude people, and it is therefore just and proper that the defect alluded to in Article 6 of the treaty aforesaid should be supplied, the following provisions have accordingly been arranged and concluded on the one part by Colonel J. Low, Resident at the Court of Lucknow, in the name and on behalf of the Right Honourable Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India in Council, and on the other by Abdool-Futteh Moveenodeen Sultan-i-Zuman Nowsheerwan Audit Mohomed Ally Shah, King of Oude.

1. Articles 3 and 4 of the treaty, dated the 10th of November 1801, are hereby cancelled; and it will be optional with the British Government to station its troops within or without the Oude territories, as may seem most conducive to the interests of the kingdom of Oude, and of the Indian empire at large.

2. The Honourable the East India Company engages, however, as before, to defend the Oude Government against all foreign, and in the event of emergency against all domestic enemies; but it will be the duty of the Oude Government to organise, in lieu of a portion of its existing troops, a military force adequate to the duties of the palace, and the ordinary maintenance of tranquillity and order within its dominions.

3. The King of Oude agrees that the portion of his troops to be organised for the last-mentioned purpose, shall consist of not less than three regiments of cavalry, six regiments of infantry, and two companies of galunduzes, for whose regular payment a suitable arrangement will be made.

4. The British Government hereby engages to supply, and the King of Oude engages to take into his service an adequate number of British officers to be constantly employed with such force, for the purpose of maintaining its due discipline and securing its permanent efficiency.

5. The auxiliary force will ordinarily be fixed at such stations within the Oude territory as the resident may deem most convenient, and will be employed on all occasions on which its services may be deemed necessary by the King of Oude and the British resident; but it is to be clearly understood that such force is not to be employed in the ordinary collections of revenue, for which purpose, and for the duties of police, an establishment, not however more than sufficient, will be maintained.

6. In modification of Article 6 of the treaty above referred to, it is hereby provided that the King of Oude will take into his immediate and earnest consideration, in concert with the British resident, the best means of remedying the existing defects in the police, and in the judicial and revenue administration of his dominions; and that if his Majesty should neglect to attend to the advice and counsel of the British Government or its local representative, and if (which God forbid!) gross and systematic oppression, anarchy, and misrule should hereafter at any time prevail within the Oude dominions, such as seriously to endanger the public tranquillity, the British Government reserves to itself the right of appointing its own officers to the management of the whole or any part of those dominions for so long a period as it may deem necessary; the surplus receipts in such case, after defraying all charges to be paid into the king's treasury, and a true and faithful account rendered to his Majesty of the receipts and expenditure of the territories so assumed.

7. And it is hereby further agreed that in case the Governor-General of India in Council should be compelled to resort to the exercise of the authority vested in him by Article 6 of this treaty, he will endeavour as far as possible to maintain (with such improvements as they may admit of) the native institutions and forms of administration within the assumed territories, so as to facilitate the restoration of those territories to the sovereign of Oude when the proper period for such restoration shall arrive.

8. All the other provisions and conditions of former treaties between the British Government and the Oude state, which are not affected by the above convention, are to remain in full force and effect.

---

From Resident at Lucknow to *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to  
Government of India.

Sir,

I HAVE been duly favoured with the receipt of your despatch dated the 19th instant, and I beg in my own name, and in that of the several officers of this residency therein mentioned, to express our sincere acknowledgments for the honour conferred upon us by the commendations of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council, for our conduct during the late revolt at Lucknow.

2. I have next to advert to a very different subject, in which I am happy to think none of the able and zealous officers under me are in any way concerned, viz., the mortifying, and, to me, the totally unexpected circumstance of the Government of India not being satisfied with my having obtained the present king's consent and seal to the paper which I caused to be presented to him on the night of the 7th instant.

3. The Government being dissatisfied with my proceeding in that particular, I feel highly sensible of the kindness evinced towards me by his Lordship in  
Council,

Council, in the very delicate manner in which that dissatisfaction is expressed in the 7th paragraph of your despatch; but, as it is observed at the close of that paragraph, that my obtaining a previous agreement from his Majesty is deemed by the Government to be "superfluous," it is only due to myself to enter into some explanation of those considerations which led me at the time to think it was not superfluous, and to endeavour to show that, on the contrary, it would have been a great dereliction of duty in me at such a moment to neglect so favourable an opportunity, not merely of securing the accomplishment of such objects as my own Government might have in view for its general convenience or interests, but, what I confess weighed more distinctly on my mind at the moment, the securing, as far as my limited power could do so, the future good government of the Oude territory, and the comfort of its numerous inhabitants.

4. I beg here to request that the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council will do me the favour to re-peruse the 4th para. of my letter to you of the 24th instant, written when I had not the slightest anticipation of a doubt being entertained by my superiors of the expediency of obtaining such an agreement. The paragraph alluded to is in itself such an explanation as to my motives, as will, I trust, be satisfactory on that point; but I beg now to bring some other circumstances to notice.

5. I had reason to believe that Nusseeroodowlah was a man of a highly respectable character, but he might at the same time, for anything I could know, be, as his father was (to our great inconvenience), an obstinate man; he might also be surrounded after his accession to the throne by unwise advisers, and his education under his father might have given him notions as to the dignity of his station as King of Oude, which would have made him strongly adverse to enter, after his confirmation on the throne through his own right of inheritance, into some of those very stipulations in a new treaty, about which the British Government might be most solicitous; and I felt that it would be equally wrong in me either to neglect the opportunity of taking any agreement from Nusseeroodowlah, or to run the risk of subsequently hampering my own Government by not wording the agreement in the most general terms; because, if I had entered into details without specific instructions, I might very likely have omitted some points which might be deemed essential by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council.

6. Such were my notions on the night of the 7th instant, and indeed ever since, as to the very great expediency of my paving the way for the Government of India being enabled to a certainty to place our future relations with Oude on a more satisfactory footing than they have hitherto been. I venture respectfully to ask whether my former notions as to the expediency of obtaining that agreement from Nusseeroodowlah must not naturally be most deeply and fully confirmed in my mind, now that I have received your despatch by express of the 21st instant, which reached me yesterday just as I was about to commence this letter.

7. In adverting to this new and strong confirmation of my previous notions I am alluding to the draft of a treaty enclosed in the above-mentioned despatch. That draft shows quite unexpectedly to me that it is the intention of the Government to demand concessions of a nature that would be very grating to the feelings of any native sovereign of respectable character, and which must be peculiarly painful to the mind of the present king, who wishes to be very economical in his expenses; and who, to the best of my belief at least, knows by experience how to manage a country properly, and really wishes to govern his people with moderation and justice. In stating, however, that the proposed treaty will afflict the present king, I am alluding, in an especial degree, to that part of it which calls upon him to pay a very large sum of money annually for the maintenance of an army which is not to be under his own command, or even at his own disposal; a heavy payment, in fact, which he must clearly perceive is more for our own purposes and interests than for his, or for the direct advantage of his subjects. In respect to the other parts of the proposed treaty; I have already somewhat prepared the mind of the king, in answer to some questions which he put to me on the subject; but for the payment of an army

under our control I had no means of preparing him, though I cautiously told him that there might be other points required by Government of which I was then ignorant, besides those which I did mention as being necessary "to secure justice to the people of Oude in future times."

eng.  
cons.  
dis-

8. I here beg leave to relate a part of a confidential conversation which the king held with me on the 22d instant (and of which I took notes), before I had received any letter from Government on the subject of the late events at this place. His Majesty informed me that to pay up the arrears due to the troops and establishments of the late king, and to clear off all just debts, he found that the whole of the remaining treasures of his father\* would be expended; that the present rains have been hitherto sadly deficient in quantity, and that he therefore anticipated serious difficulties for some years to come, and especially for the first 18 months; but that he was determined to encounter and overcome them, and in such a manner as should not oppress his subjects in any way. On the contrary, he said, and justly so, that he had commenced by benefiting the people at his own cost, by abolishing all duties on grain coming into the capital, which has already lowered the prices of food very considerably to the great joy of the inhabitants of this city. The king proceeded to say, that although he had already paid up and discharged many utterly useless servants, male and female, and ordered large reductions in cattle, yet that he did not intend to make any important reduction of troops till the close of the revenue year, which will take place early in September next. His Majesty said that by that time he hoped to have new assessments arranged with the zemindars, on such moderate terms that they would readily pay their revenue, and that, therefore, a small army would be sufficient to collect it; that he was determined to begin next month, and then gradually to go on, so that in the course of six months he would pay off more than half of the present army, paying every man fully up to the day of his discharge; that he must also discharge the great body of the Europeans in the late king's service; that "he must do this without delay; and that, with all these reductions, this season has been so bad, that he apprehended much difficulty in carrying on the Government with regular payments to all establishments every four months during the approaching year, but that he hoped with my countenance and support to overcome all his difficulties." I need scarcely say that I approved of all the above-mentioned intentions; but it would be unsuitable in this letter to detail more of my conferences with the king in the affairs of the state, and I beg to observe that I have only related the above small portions of his Majesty's conversation of his present finances and pecuniary prospects, and hence to endeavour to convince the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council that the now desired objects of the Indian Government could never have been gained without some forcible and most unpleasant exercise of our power, if I had not previously warned Nusseeroodowlah that a new treaty had been long in contemplation; that it was necessary (as the head moonshee explained to the king on the night of the 7th instant) to have a new treaty in order "to secure the good Government of Oude in future times;" and, in short, I mean to affirm that the objects of Government could not well have been effected, if I had not previously obtained Nusseeroodowlah's consent to the very paper which has given rise to this appeal, which I respectfully make for an indulgent reconsideration of the opinion which has been passed upon the measure I adopted in preparing it. The opinion alluded to (although I gratefully admit that it is expressed with much delicacy and kindness) has been the cause of painful disappointment to me, for I had along flattered myself that the act in question was precisely the one of my various proceedings connected with the death of the late King, and the events which followed it, that would afford the greatest degree of satisfaction to the Government of India; since it gave (as I imagined at least) to that high authority, the means which nothing else could give, of enabling it to secure in  
future

\* That assertion is positively true; all that remained of the old treasures, on the 6th instant, was about 53 lacs, most of which was left by the late Koodsea Begum, and I know that the debts were on that day upwards of 50 lacs.

(signed) J. Low,  
Resident.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE KING OF OUDE.

future times, to millions of people in Oude, a degree of justice and good government, far beyond what they have experienced at any any time during the last 70 years.

Lucknow Residency,  
28 July 1837.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *J. Low*, Resident.

*P.S.*—In the event of the present king's death occurring before the ratification of the new treaty, may I beg to be informed whether I am to abstain from taking any agreement from his eldest son? On the other hand, if it be deemed right that some agreement should be taken, I should feel much satisfied if the Government would have the goodness to furnish me with a complete draft of such a paper, so that I might thus avoid all possibility of error. Most sincerely and anxiously do I hope that no such misfortune may occur for many years, as the death of this very respectable old man would be; but his life is evidently a precarious one, and the residency surgeon, who attended his Majesty during the first week after his coronation, is decidedly of opinion that any extra bodily exertion, or any unusual excitement or vexation of mind, would be likely to bring on apoplexy. It is therefore highly desirable and proper that I should in all respects be as prepared as possible for the lamentable risk of another demise of the crown.

Lucknow Residency,  
28 July 1837.

(signed) *J. Low*, Resident.

Resident at Lucknow to *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, in the Political Department, Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report for the information of Government that I have just returned from a visit to the king, at which I delivered the letter of congratulation from the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India to his Majesty, on his accession to the throne of Oude.

2. I announced yesterday evening the arrival of this anxiously looked-for letter from his Lordship; and the king this morning, although he had just passed a restless and painful night from rheumatism, summoned all his relations and chiefs, and other persons of distinction about the court, to attend at the baradaree, where they are all now assembled, and whence they are to be introduced into the King's private apartments, in such separate parties as the small size of the rooms will admit of, to give their nuzzurs, and offer their respective congratulations.

3. His Majesty, after expressing his thanks to the Governor-General for the many kind expressions in his Lordship's letter, assured me that its arrival, and the public announcement of so happy an event, would greatly strengthen his Majesty's hands in the exercise of his public duties; more especially as, during the last few days, some slanderous reports had been circulated by evil-disposed persons in the city, to the effect that a delay had taken place in dispatching any letter from the Governor-General, owing to discussions among the members of the Government in Calcutta as to the amount of money to be taken from the new King of Oude, as the price of his sudden elevation! and that no letter was to be presented by the resident until the money was either paid, or some security was given for its payment. They had even invented various details in their calumnies; some stating that the Governor-General himself wanted two crores; that some counsellors were satisfied with a crore and a half, and others with one crore, provided it was paid forthwith. His Majesty, in relating this story (which I heard some days ago, though not so fully), observed that "he knew the justice and honour of the Company too well to give even the very slightest credit to any such scandal, more especially as nothing of the kind had been done on the accession of either of the two last kings, who were rich, whereas he is the reverse," but that nothing but the arrival of this letter confirming him on the throne, could convince many men of the falsehood of this

wicked rumours. And he added, that "many poor people (ghureeb log) who had been silly enough to believe the rumour, would be much relieved when they heard the salutes (which are now being fired), for they had imagined that they might themselves be severe sufferers, by being compelled to contribute a part of their own property, in order to enable him (the king) to make up the peishcush" for the British Government.

4. The king received me sitting up, but on his bed, and *en dishabille*, but he appeared in good spirits, and begged that I would not fail to present his respectful compliments and grateful thanks to the Governor-General. As the king seemed likely from his state of health, and his want of sleep last night, to pass a fatiguing forenoon, in receiving the nuzzurs of the numerous persons who were assembled in the baradaree, I made no allusion to the new treaty, excepting that I imagined I should soon be able to show him the instructions of Government on that subject.

Lucknow Residency,  
28 July 1837.

I have, &c.  
(signed) J. Low, Resident.

From Resident at Lucknow to W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, in the Political Department, Fort William.

Sir,

After mature deliberation, my mind is deeply impressed with the belief that it is an imperative public duty incumbent on me to avail myself of the option left to me by the 4th paragraph of your despatch of the 20th instant, to make a further reference to Government before presenting the draft of the new treaty to the King of Oude. I feel sure that this will ultimately prove more satisfactory to the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, than if I had ventured to make any of those modifications which your letter authorised me to introduce, but which might not perhaps have been approved of by Government. It seems far better, after I shall have stated my opinions fully, and furnished all the information in my power, that the treaty should be made out completely in English and Persian, under the eye of the Governor-General of India.

2. I beg here also to observe, that in my judgment the public interests can sustain no injury by the short delay that will be caused by this reference, while there would really be many local inconveniences here, by the instant production and discussion in this durbar of such a treaty. The king is only commencing (it is but four days ago since he could attach his own seal to orders sent into the interior) on the full exercise of his authority. Men's minds have not been yet well settled under the new order of things, and above all the troops of this state have not yet been paid up, and detached to their respective stations. The discussion of a treaty so infinitely more severe in its provisions towards the native sovereign than anything that ever occurred to either of the two last kings on their accession to the throne, would cause great excitement and uneasiness, not only to the king, but to all those officers under him who are engaged in bringing the government into order, and would undoubtedly lead more or less to a neglect of current duties, besides its causing extensive discontent amongst the many thousand men of the king's army, who would thus know at once that they are doomed to lose their bread; for there are very few indeed of those men that would be admitted into the ranks of an auxiliary force by British recruiting officers. Many other good reasons could be adduced to show that the new treaty, which under any shape will be a very unpalatable one at the durbar, had better be brought forward some weeks hence than now; but as this address must necessarily be a long one at all events, I will not dwell any more on points of that nature.

3. Having said above that this treaty must in any shape be unpalatable, I may as well before proceeding further, mention a remarkable proof of that circumstance. In a short conversation which I had with the king on the subject of the treaty on the 18th instant, I stated (in answer to a question from him) that in my opinion the Governor-General would naturally have great confidence in him, yet that the paramount state must, as a public duty, and in conformity with



with orders from England, look forward to possible future times, when there might not be so experienced or wise a man on the throne, and that therefore, "to secure comfort and justice to the people of Oude," my Government would, I thought, insist upon the right of sending our own European officers to superintend districts, if the people should unhappily be oppressed; and that there might be other objects also provided for in the new treaty of which I was ignorant. The idea of such new rights being ordered in his time, so hurt the old man's feelings, that it had an immediate effect on his disease, by producing an instant attack of spasms in the toes of both his feet, which put him to much pain at the time, and from which he did not entirely recover for 24 hours. I left him soon on that day in consequence of the pain he was suffering, after having soothed him to the best of my power, by saying that I felt every confidence that he would manage so well, that we should never have a desire to carry any harsh measures into effect in his reign. He said he would act up to our advice in every particular, "So help him God." I then took my leave, and visited him again on the 22d instant, when he communicated to me in a more cheerful manner many of his plans about reductions of troops, and revenue assessment, &c. He expressed his anxious hope and trust that he would always be treated with kindness in his old age by the Governor-General, and again declared that the country should be managed in every respect according to his Lordship's wishes.

4. It is with many painful feelings that I have resolved to write this letter; some of those feelings are of a nature personal to myself. I have just been praised for my late conduct—I may now be censured; but my conscience tells me that my motives are laudable; for I solemnly declare that one of the chief causes of my venturing now to intrude upon the time of the Government is my great anxiety for the honour and good faith of the East India Company, and to the continued high reputation amongst the natives of Hindostan of the present Governor-General of India, and the members of his administration.

5. If this new treaty had been ordered 12 months ago, no man would have more fully approved of the measure than I should. Half measures would have been useless (as I fully reported) with the late king; but this a measure completely establishing our entire and direct control, and he would have fully deserved it for his profligate conduct, and his habitual failure in those important articles of the treaty, the keeping a larger army than he was entitled to do, the utter neglect of our advice, and the total neglect of justice to his subjects. Such having been the conduct of one king, we have a clear right, nay, it is our duty, to form such a treaty as shall prevent the possibility of a repetition of such conduct on the part of his successors; but especially after having looked on quietly without doing anything to remedy the evils arising from the crimes of the late king, I do conscientiously think it would be unworthy of the Indian Government to commence forthwith to compel the present king to pay a large sum of money annually for our purposes, in addition to securing, by new powers on our part, the good government of his subjects.

6. The main object, therefore, of this address is to point out, in the most respectful but earnest manner, the extreme inexpediency, in my humble opinion, especially as an immediate measure, of the articles in the draft of the treaty which relate to the formation of an auxiliary force, to be maintained at an expense of 20 lacs of rupees annually to the Oude Government. I shall venture to be both explicit and frank in my communications on this important matter, because I think it highly probable that in the midst of the great variety of public affairs which always occupy the Government at Calcutta, and in the haste with which this new treaty was drafted out, there was not time to make full references to all the former correspondence of Government so far back as 1801, connected with the last treaty of that year between the Oude and the British Governments, and because in the new treaty the article for the creation of an auxiliary force, if carried into effect, will, in my conscientious opinion, be considered by this Government as distinctly breaking our national faith and recorded stipulations in the former treaty with Saadut Ali Khan, as I shall proceed to show.

7. In the first place, it is deeply important to advert to the fact that the Nawab Saadut Ali Khan, the father of the present king, when ruler of Oude, was compelled by the British Government, against the most urgent remonstrances on his part, to surrender nearly two-thirds of his kingdom, expressly for the purpose of

our keeping up a sufficient army for the protection of the kings and kingdom of Oude against external and internal foes; and accordingly Oude territory, yielding as the yearly estimated revenue (as stated in the 1st article of the treaty of 1801) no less than one crore and thirty-five lacs of rupees, was taken possession of in perpetual sovereignty by the British Government. That treaty solemnly and distinctly declares, in Article the 2d, that "his Excellency the Vizier of Oude is released from the obligation of defraying the expenses of any additional troops which at any time may be required for the protection of Oude and its dependencies, whether of the countries ceded to the Company, or the territories which shall remain in the possession of the Vizier."

8. The extreme measure of the British Government thus compelling an ally, who owed them at the time no tribute or subsidy, to surrender to them in perpetual sovereignty nearly two-thirds of his kingdom, caused much discussion and much censure even among the European part of the public. Now, if in addition to that extreme act, and that enormous acquisition of territory yielding now to the Company a revenue of upwards of two crores of rupees, and if, notwithstanding our solemn treaty then made, "releasing" the "ruler of Oude" from the obligation of "defraying the expenses of any additional troops which at any time may be required for the protection of Oude," we still should call upon him for a further subsidy, by the annual payment of twenty lacs of rupees for more troops, I do really and seriously conceive that the confidence of our native allies in the sacredness of British adherence to treaties would be much shaken, and that what would be gained in money or military strength would be greatly overbalanced by the loss of much of that high national reputation which the British power in India so happily enjoys; unless, indeed, the Government of India will pause a little, and wait till there shall be either some necessity, or, at least, some more manifest expediency for the adoption of such a measure than exists at the present moment.

9. I beg here that my meaning may not be misunderstood. I would desire that the power of doing anything and everything that may be necessary or expedient, should be distinctly allotted to us in this very treaty now to be concluded; but I would earnestly recommend that we should show to the world that the power in question is not to be exercised till it be necessary or proper to do so; and I feel convinced, from the well-known and just intentions of the Right Honourable the Governor-General, that his Lordship requires only to have the former correspondence and treaty laid before him, and to read its distinct stipulations, to induce his Lordship in Council to modify the proposed new treaty more or less, which is to be presented to an ally who hitherto has given no cause of displeasure to the paramount state.

10. In the next place, in the whole of the correspondence both from the Home authorities and in this country, all parties seemed formerly to have agreed that not one rupee of the revenues of Oude ought to be appropriated by the British Government beyond the expenses of managing the territory, if we should conceive it necessary to undertake its management by British officers. When that time comes, as come it will ere long, I have no doubt, especially as to partial portions of it, where oppression may exist, then an auxiliary force will naturally and properly be required, and demanded, and obtained from the king of Oude; but I do think that we ought to give his present majesty a trial. If he shall fail in his attempts to govern well, let him be punished for the failure; but for the sake of common justice, and for our own good name, I would earnestly advise that he should not be punished before trial. The king has already announced his intention of disbanding the chief part of his own army, and I am confident that he will do so; indeed, the impoverished state of his treasury and two successive bad seasons render this absolutely necessary. By the existing treaties he is entitled to the support of our troops in emergencies. Hence he requires no more of such troops, as the obligation is already upon us to supply all that are needed; the twenty lacs of additional subsidy would thus be a clear loss to him, whilst the additional troops to be raised from that money would be no gain to him; for we could never allow British troops, as these would be, under British officers and under orders of his Lordship's representative, to be available for the king's purposes at his bidding, any more than we allow to the king the use of our present force here, which is only used on extreme occasions, when the

the British Government require to take for the time the control of events out of the king's hands.

11. Hence the king, notwithstanding the loss of this 20 lacs of rupees, would still have to keep his own establishment of troops for the collection of his revenue, and the usual support of his government.

12. I am fully sensible of the many good arguments that can be brought forward for making all native States which are protected by us contribute in some way or other towards the general strength of the empire. But this State has already contributed to our strength, and wealth also, to a greater extent than any State in all India now in alliance with us, by ceding to us nearly two-thirds of its possessions; and with respect to the direct military support to which the rulers of Oude are entitled from the Company's own army on emergencies, I have often heard the Ministers both of this Administration and a former one express themselves to the following effect, that "Saadut Ali Khan 'purchased' that support for himself and his descendants, and paid such a price for it as no other native ruler ever did," while they as frequently, in discussing their connexion with us, expressed their thankfulness that there never can be any more demands made for tribute, or for the payment of troops, from the king of Oude. Very often have I heard Hakeem Mendy, when Prime Minister here, talk on this subject, and expatiate upon the excessive vexations caused to both States, in old times, when periodical payments of money were required by the British Government.

13. I have reserved till now the most urgent reason of all against the immediate adoption of the measures under discussion, and I most earnestly solicit his Lordship in Council's serious attention to what I proceed to state. I verily believe that the demand at this peculiar crisis for 20 lacs of rupees annually would certainly bring about most serious distress, and probably disturbances also, in the kingdom of Oude, which would thus be caused by the British Government, whose anxious solicitude has ever been to preserve tranquillity, and to prevent distress. At this moment so large an extra and useless expenditure to the Oude Government would fall most heavily; the payment of enormous arrears due to troops and establishment will swallow up the whole of the remaining treasures of the State, and, as reported to the Government of India in my letter of the 28th instant, the king has personally expressed to me his anticipated difficulties in meeting the expenses of his government, especially for the next 18 months; but he has expressed his hope also, that, with the countenance and support of the British Government, by great economy, and by reductions of troops, he will in time overcome all those financial difficulties.

14. Oppression of the tenantry of Oude was much increased in some districts during these last few months, since the military found themselves plunging into difficulties; for the late king never fully consented to give up his remaining 53 lacs: so that from the unfortunate postponement of the present rains, and adventing to the bad season which is universally anticipated, it is most desirable that some diminution of revenue demand should be allowed to the cultivators and people of Oude. Whereas, if 20 lacs of rupees yearly, in addition to the present expenditure, be demanded by the British Government, new burthens may be certainly expected to be instantly laid upon the unhappy people of this kingdom, while the king himself would naturally hasten the disbandment of his troops in a manner that would be cruel upon them, and add greatly and suddenly to that portion of the community who must, at all events, be in difficulties in consequence of this unusual postponement of the rains; and all this extra distress and misfortune would, I repeat it, be caused by our precipitancy in forcing on a measure now, which I have no doubt, if ultimately deemed by Government to be necessary, may be accomplished in a comparatively amicable and easy manner some 16 or 18 months hence, when, if this king shall live to that time, I feel convinced that his subjects will quietly be settled, and his treasury in a far better condition to afford a new and heavy drain upon it than it is at present.

15. If my opinion be approved, that we ought not to demand the payment of an auxiliary force till (after a trial of this king's capacity and conduct) it may be found necessary to send our own officers to take charge of districts, a provision for our right to demand such troops ultimately might be introduced

into the 6th paragraph of the treaty, somewhat in the following manner, viz. "And in the event of its becoming necessary for the British Government to appoint its own officers to take charge of any portions of the Oude territory the king of Oude binds himself and his successors to pay for the organisation and maintenance of such bodies of troops\* commanded by British officers (who will be supplied by the Government of India) as may be deemed necessary by the Governor-General in Council for the due maintenance of tranquillity in Oude; and further, that such troops shall not be employed in the ordinary collections of revenue, but only used on emergent occasions, with the advice and consent of the British Resident at the Court of Lucknow."

16. Such an article as that above sketched would not hamper the British Government as to the amount of any auxiliary force, and it would have the immense advantage to our reputation for justice and kindness to our subordinate ally, of showing that the measure was not to be adopted at all, unless misgovernment in Oude shall actually occur after a fair trial shall be given to the new sovereign, who hitherto has not given us the slightest cause of offence.

17. Again, if an auxiliary force be deemed to be justifiable and indispensable at all events, and without giving any trial to the present king in the management of his country, I would most earnestly recommend that it shall be distinctly stated that no payment will be required on this account (that the force shall not be demanded, in fact) for at least 14 months from the date of the treaty so as to let the revenue of next year be realised. I solicit this for the sake of the mass of the poor landholders and cultivators of this country, who would be the chief sufferers if this heavy money payment were now demanded from the revenues of the Oude government.

18. I would also suggest, in the case supposed in the preceding paragraph that the auxiliary force should be considerably smaller. Cavalry are very little required in this kingdom, because, unlike Malwa and Rajpootana, there is no cavalry to oppose. I conceive that four regiments of infantry, two companies of artillery, and 1,000 horse, would be very ample for all the duties to be performed, besides being less costly to the Oude Government. This would provide for two bodies of troops, each consisting of two regiments of infantry, one company of artillery, and 500 horse; and either of such brigades could march from one end of Oude to the other with certain success against any rebels that could be opposed to them in ordinary times.

19. I think it right here also to mention my opinion that, even with an auxiliary force, it will always be advisable (especially now that we are looking to the probability of taking the management of Oude into our hands), to keep at least two regiments of infantry and a company of artillery of our own army at this capital. There is a degree of awe, and a belief of great superiority, connected in the minds of natives with the Company's regular army, far beyond what exists in respect to any auxiliary force, such as that in the Nizam's service; but, on the other hand, with regard to our obtaining the use of our own troops elsewhere, which are now locked up (as may be said) in Oude, I feel positively certain that the Government of India might remove forthwith and for ever the two regiments now at Seetapore and Sooltanpore. They are not wanted even by the native government; and the ministers of the durbar have several times fully admitted to me that the removal, in 1835, of the two regiments from Secrora and Putaubghur, has never been of the least detriment to the interests or advantages of the native government, but rather the reverse. I need scarcely add, that neither has the removal of those regiments been injurious to the people of Oude, for our troops were never used to assist them; on the contrary, when they were used at all (many years have passed, I am glad to say since they were so employed), it was in support of the native government, and against the people.

20. I have

\* N.B.—If the Government should think it advisable, some general expression might also be added as to the probable cost per annum of such troops.

(signed) J. Low, Resident.

20. I have now only to solicit the favour of an attentive consideration of this too long despatch, and particularly so of the 9th, 10th, 13th, 14th, 16th, and 17th paragraphs (which, for the sake of speedy reference, I will mark with a marginal line); and, in conclusion, I beg to assure the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, which I do with entire sincerity, that, having given my sentiments fully and freely on this peculiar and important occasion, I conceive that my duty on the subject is finished, and that the duty in question being now performed, I shall be as ready as any servant of the Company can be to carry the orders of the Government of India into effect, whether they may chance to be according to my own preconceived notions or not. It is my duty, I conceive, to communicate information, and to state my opinions; indeed, your despatch now under reply sanctions this; but that duty once performed, it is for my official superiors to judge and to pass their orders, and it will then become my bounden duty to carry those orders into execution with the utmost promptitude and efficiency in my power.

I have, &c.  
(signed) J. Low,  
Resident.

Lucknow Residency, 30 July 1837.

REVISED Draft of Treaty with the King of Oude.

WHEREAS by the subsisting alliance between the Honourable East India Company and the Oude State, the British Government is bound to defend the Oude territories against foreign and domestic enemies, the sovereign of Oude engaging to retain in his service only a small specified number of troops: and whereas, while the British Government has faithfully and scrupulously performed the obligations so imposed on it, the engagement on the part of the Oude State has been habitually infringed, there being now in the employment of his majesty the king of Oude a large and expensive military force: and whereas experience has shown that the execution of all the provisions of the present treaty is attended with serious difficulty, and it is desirable and proper that a modified arrangement, consistent with the principles of that treaty, and conducive to the prosperity and advantage of both States, should be introduced: and whereas the restriction as to the amount of military force to be employed by his majesty the king of Oude may with propriety be relaxed, on an adequate portion of the increased force being placed under British discipline and control, so as at once to promote the general interests of the Indian Empire, and the dignity and safety of the king, providing at a reduced cost for the efficiency of his national military establishment: and whereas Article 6 of the treaty of 1801 requires that the sovereign of Oude, always advising with and acting in conformity to the counsel of the officers of the Honourable Company, shall "establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration (to be carried into effect by his own officers) as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants," but provides no remedy for the neglect of that solemn and paramount obligation: and whereas the infraction of this essential engagement of the treaty, and inattention to the first duty of a sovereign, on the part of several successive rulers of Oude, have been continued and notorious, and have even exposed the British Government to the reproach of imperfectly fulfilling its obligations to the Oude people, and it is therefore just and proper that the defect alluded to in Article 6 of the treaty aforesaid should be supplied; the following provisions have accordingly been arranged and concluded on the one part by Colonel J. Low, Resident at the Court of Lucknow, in the name and on the behalf of the Right Honourable Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India, in Council, and on the other by Abdool Futteh Moeen Oodeen Sultan Izuman Nousheerwun Audil Mahomed Ally Shah, king of Oude:

1. Article 3 of the treaty, dated the 10th November 1801, is hereby cancelled, and his majesty the king of Oude may employ such a military establishment as he may deem necessary for the government of his dominions; his majesty engages, however, to make a suitable reduction of this establishment, when it may appear to the British Government, from its pressure on the finances of the country, or other causes, to be obviously excessive.

2. The Honourable East India Company engages, as before, to defend the Oude State against all foreign, and, in the event of emergency, against all domestic enemies; but it will be the duty of his majesty the king of Oude to organise, as a part of his augmented military establishment, a disciplined force, for the general support of his authority within his dominions.

3. The king of Oude agrees that the portion of his troops to be organised as stipulated in the preceding Article, shall consist of not less than two regiments of cavalry, five regiments of infantry, and two companies of Golundauze, for whose regular payment a suitable arrangement will be made.

4. The British Government hereby engages to supply, and the king of Oude engages to take into his service, an adequate number of British officers, to be constantly employed with such force, for the purpose of maintaining its due discipline, and securing its permanent efficiency.

5. The auxiliary force will ordinarily be fixed at such stations within the Oude territory as may from time to time seem most convenient, and will be employed on all occasions, on which its service may be deemed necessary, by the king of Oude, with the concurrence of the British Resident; but it is to be clearly understood that such force is not to be employed in the ordinary collections of revenue.

6. In modification of Article 6 of the treaty above referred to, it is hereby provided, that the king of Oude will take into his immediate and earnest consideration, in concert with the British Resident, the best means of remedying the existing defects in the police, and in the judicial and revenue administration of his dominions; and that if his majesty should neglect to attend to the advice and counsel of the British Government, or its local representatives, and if (which God forbid) gross and systematic oppression, anarchy, and misrule should hereafter at any time prevail within the Oude dominions, such as seriously to endanger the public tranquillity, the British Government reserves to itself the right of appointing its own officers to the management of the whole or any part of those dominions for so long a period as it may deem necessary; the surplus receipts in such case, after defraying all charges, to be paid into the king's treasury, and a true and faithful account rendered to his majesty of the receipts and expenditure of the territories so assumed.

7. And it is hereby further agreed, that in case the Governor-General of India in Council should be compelled to resort to the exercise of the authority vested in him by Article 6 of this treaty, he will endeavour, as far as possible, to maintain (with such improvements as they may admit of) the native institutions and forms of administration within the assumed territories, so as to facilitate the restoration of those territories to the sovereign of Oude, when the proper period for such restoration shall arrive.

8. All the other provisions and conditions of former treaties between the British Government and the Oude State which are not affected by the above convention are to remain in full force and effect.

To the Resident at Lucknow, Lieutenant-Colonel *Low*.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter in the Secret Department dated the 28th ultimo.

2. The Governor-General in Council is much concerned at finding that the doubt which was expressed, without meaning to convey any implication of blame as to one portion of your proceedings, should have excited painful feelings in your mind. It was far from the wish of his Lordship in Council to detract from the credit to which you have so unquestionably entitled yourself by the whole tenor of your conduct during the late difficult crisis, or to diminish the satisfaction you must desire from a consciousness of having earned the high approbation of Government by a faithful and able discharge of your duties. The subject need not, however, be pursued further on this occasion. The sentiments

PAPERS RELATING TO THE KING OF OUDE.

83

of his Lordship in Council in respect to the document of unconditional submission to the will of the British Government, which you obtained from the present king of Oude previously to his accession, are, you will observe, alluded to in my separate letter of this date, in reply to your secret despatch of the 30th ultimo. But the Governor-General in Council desires me at the same time to add that he highly appreciates and applauds the admirable spirit of regard for the welfare of the Oude people by which all your proceedings have been actuated.

3. With reference to the postscript of your letter now acknowledged, I am desired to state that, in the event of another demise of the Crown before the ratification of a new treaty (an event which his Lordship in Council trusts may be regarded as highly improbable), it will be proper that you fully inform the next heir of the throne of the pending negotiations, apprising him that the Governor-General in Council has proposed those provisions, deeming them well calculated to augment the welfare and prosperity of both Governments. I am desired to add, however, that under no circumstances should the throne be left vacant, and the next heir, even though he should hesitate as to expressing any assent to the terms proposed, should be recognised by you as King of Oude, subject to the confirmation of the British Government.

Fort William,  
7 August 1837.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,  
Secretary to the Government of India.

From the Secretary to the Government of India to the Resident at Lucknow.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge your secret despatch, dated the 30th ultimo, received by express on the 6th instant, and to communicate the following observations and orders in reply.

2. The Governor-General in Council has readily received and attentively considered this full exposition of your views on the rights and policy of your Government in respect to the Oude sovereign and people. He entirely approves the honourable impulse which induced you to lay before him the unreserved statement of your opinions.

3. This statement shows that you have misapprehended, in some very important particulars, the motives with which the projected articles of a new treaty were drawn, and the spirit in which it was desired that you should tender them for the acceptance of the king.

4. To allude, first, to the latter of these points, I am desired to remark, that the instructions to you of the 20th ultimo by no means contemplated the proposed draft as one which the king is to be led to execute by any exercise of coercion. It contains provisions which are thought, after full experience of the operation of the existing treaty, the best calculated to secure and reconcile the rights and interests both of the British and Oude Governments. It is deemed expedient and just to bring forward, on the part of the British Government, those provisions for discussion in the most distinct manner. It is hoped that the king will be satisfied of their propriety and advantage, and will give his assent to them. The statement of them will, in any event, place the king in full possession of the views of his Lordship in Council, and will also be an emphatic warning to him, in the commencement of his administration, of the measures for which the British Government is prepared, in the event of a continuance of misgovernment. This warning the Governor-General in Council would not be justified in withholding, in reliance only on the fair hopes which may be entertained of the king's disposition and character. It is right that his majesty should be enabled to form the most clear understanding of the claims and intentions of the paramount power, and of his position in respect to it. The Governor-General in Council would at the same time set wholly aside, in the consideration of the question, the formal instrument of unconditional submission which has been signed by the king; for it is on reason and right,

and not upon demand and submission, that he would desire the present negotiation to be based.

5. You have misapprehended the motives under which the draft has been prepared, in supposing it not to have been directed to the common and fair advantage of both States; in omitting from your consideration that it is the undoubted right and most just policy of the British Government to require that there should be no extensive military organisation in the Oude territory independent of British control; in believing that the measure was not designed as one of real economy to the Oude Government, that it was sought to introduce it with abrupt and injurious precipitation, or that the effect of establishing a reformed force would be viewed in its benefit to the British power, without adverting to its influence on the permanent condition of the people; and, lastly, in regarding the provision respecting that force as meant to impose a penalty for misgovernment, instead of as affording a security which it is fitting that, at all times and with all rulers, the Government of India should possess against the inconvenient and, even under possible circumstances, hazardous growth of independent military power in the heart of its dominions.

6. The most careful reference was made to the stipulations of the existing treaty with Oude, and to the history of the past transactions with that country before the draft of additional articles, now under discussion, was forwarded to you.

7. It may be convenient here to recapitulate briefly the views in regard to the stipulations and transactions by which the Governor-General in Council has been influenced in his proceedings.

8. It is the essential spirit and object of the treaty of 1801 that the internal administration of the Oude country should, in its ordinary course and operation, be conducted in conformity to the counsels of the British Government, and that there should be an entire extinction of the military power of the Oude sovereign. The most positive right of interference is established by the express terms of the treaty, and it is obvious that the British Government could not engage to be solely capable and bound to suppress all internal insurrection, without exercising an effectual and complete superintendence and direction over the acts of the native administration. The military force to be maintained by the Oude State is most narrowly limited to an amount wholly insufficient for the independent preservation of tranquillity and the ordinary government of the country. Thus, in a strict execution of the treaty, the King of Oude would be placed in a situation of real dependence, little consistent with his dignity and comfort.

9. That what has been stated is the true spirit and interest of the engagement of 1801, and was so at the time avowed and understood, is placed beyond doubt by the explicit declarations of the statesman by whom the treaty was framed, his comments on it both to the Home Government and to the Nuwaub Wuzer himself. Extracts\* from the documents alluded to are cited, for the convenience

\* Para. 4. Letter of Marquis Wellesley to Secret Committee, November 14, 1801:

"The treaty effectually secures the reduction of the Nuwaub Wuzer's military establishment within such limits as may be deemed sufficiently contracted to effect the entire extinction of military power."

Para. 13. Letter of Marquis Wellesley to Secret Committee, November 14, 1801:

"Your Honourable Court will further remark that, by the operation of the 6th Article of the Treaty, the Company's Government has reserved the positive right of interference in the internal management of that part of the country retained by the Nuwaub Wuzer, and you may be assured of my unremitting endeavours to exercise this right to such an extent as shall afford every practicable degree of security for the lives and properties of the Wuzer's remaining subjects."

Extract from memorandum delivered to the Nuwaub Saadut Alee Khan at the conferences of February 1802, intended to state "the general principles by which the connexion and intercourse between the two States" was to be regulated thenceforth:

"His Excellency has also engaged always to advise with, and to act in conformity to, the counsels of the officers of the Honourable Company."

"In the establishment, therefore, of an improved system of administration within the reserved dominions, and also in all affairs connected with the ordinary government of those dominions, with the usual exercise of his Excellency's established authority, the Wuzer has engaged with the British Government to advise with it, and conform to its counsels."



of immediate reference, in the margin, and the same conclusion is established by the whole tenor of the correspondence of the period.

10. Such, then, is the theory of the alliance by which the present relations between the two Governments are regulated. In practice the British Government has relaxed much in its right and duty of interference. It was natural that a position so anomalous and irksome should be maintained, under the most favourable circumstances, with great difficulty. In consequence of this laxity, the most serious abuses arose. British troops were called out to support exaction and oppression, and the British reputation was exposed to the most injurious reproaches. At length the aid of the British troops was refused, where satisfactory evidence could not be furnished of the justice of the object for which they were required. The most essential provisions of the treaty have since been violated by successive rulers of Oude, in their perseverance, notwithstanding the most urgent and repeated general remonstrances, in a course of reckless misgovernment, and in the employment of a disorderly and excessive army, above 50,000 in number, burthensome to the people, and ruinous to the finances of the country. Against all these vital infractions of the treaty, the British Government had an unquestionable right to seek a remedy by an immediate exercise of its power. It tolerated these evils for a time, and refrained from the adoption of any minor arrangement for the assertion of its rights, only because it had given solemn warning that, were a reform not introduced by the late Sovereign of Oude, it would resort to an extreme measure, which would subject the future course of the Government to its own implicit and unrestricted control.

11. Now what is desired at the present time, when a new and better ruler has succeeded, and violent proceedings are no longer requisite, is the conclusion of such an arrangement advantageous to both States, as shall be consistent with the principles of the treaty of 1801, and at the same time free from the inconveniences which have been shown by past experience to attach to particular provisions of that engagement.

12. The principles of the treaty of 1801 are the securing of good internal government to the Oude country, and the prevention of any extensive and formidable military power being required by the Oude sovereign.

13. The inconveniences of the particular provisions of the treaty are, that only so small a military force is permitted to the king, as, were the limit specified not to be exceeded, would throw him constantly on the support of British troops, which could not be afforded without the exercise of constant and minute interference in the civil administration. This interference the treaty indeed contemplates and requires; but although, in the case supposed, it would be unavoidable, it must be, in a high degree, galling and offensive to any prince. With a good prince it would be useless; with a bad one it could scarcely be effectually enforced without a frequent collision and confusion, dangerous to all government whatever. The object of acquitting the British Government of its responsibility to the Oude people could equally be secured, if, other interests admitting of such a proceeding, the king were left with means which would enable him to conduct his administration with much real independence, aided only on fitting occasions by friendly advice from the Resident, and under the general check of a declared purpose on the part of that Government to assume the management of the country in the event of its inhabitants being subjected to oppression.

14. The interest which precludes at present the adoption of an arrangement in

---

Then, after enjoining on the Resident conciliation and attention, and the utmost cordiality, in carrying into effect, "exclusively under his Excellency's authority, and through his Excellency's officers, those measures which shall be determined upon in conformity to the counsels of the British Government," the paper concludes thus:—

"Under these regulations the Governor-general expects that the Nuwab Wuzer will act in conformity to the advice and representations of the Resident; and as no question of difficulty remains between the British Government and his Excellency, the Governor-general entertains a confident hope that no future vexation can occur in the transaction of affairs."

in other respects so proper and desirable, is that of the British supremacy, which cannot in any degree be compromised, and which forbids the growth of unchecked military means within the Oude territory.

15. This interest can only be preserved by accompanying the relaxation of the article of the treaty of 1801, which limits the amount of the king's force, by provisions which shall afford satisfactory security to the British Government: such security can only be given by placing an efficient part of that force under direct British control.

16. The king might then retain, exclusively under his own orders, and subject to British interference in the event only of his levies being carried to obviously improper excess, a body of troops adequate to the ordinary maintenance of his government. The reformed force would remain available for employment on occasions of peculiar importance; as for the suppression of any formidable bands of plunderers, or of any unjustifiable resistance of powerful subjects to the king's lawful authority.

17. The measure would be one of undoubted economy to the king, in furnishing him with a much smaller yet infinitely more effective force, for important emergencies, on any supposition other than that of his being willing to revert to a strict observance of the engagements of 1801, when, of course, his military expenses would be on the most contracted scale.

18. The British Government, on the other hand, could then consent, with propriety, to the continuance under the king of a considerable independent force.

19. There would thus be to both parties ease and advantage in such a state of things. The treaty would be maintained in its essential spirit, and would, in fact, by the terms of the draft proposed, have a greatly better guarantee for its faithful performance than has heretofore been possessed.

20. It is upon these considerations that it is desired that you should recommend it, with the modifications contained in the revised draft annexed, to the King's acceptance. But it need scarcely be repeated that the king should have the fullest leisure and opportunity to consider its provisions and objects, and that he should exercise his perfect option as to yielding his assent to it.

21. The Governor-General in Council is very far, I am here desired to observe, from concurring in your view of the political effect of the force under British officers in the Nizam's dominions. The Resident at the court of Hyderabad has recently been at the Presidency, and in the full and confidential communications which have been held with him, he has never expressed the idea that the maintenance of that force is the source of oppression to the people. The defects in the administration of that country proceed from very different causes, and the existence of the force operates, as has been lately within the immediate experience of his Lordship in Council, as an important aid to good government. The lawless are repressed by the knowledge that an irresistible force is ready to be employed against them, and the Government does not embark in measures likely to occasion formidable resistance, because it is aware that it will not be supported unless where justice is on its side.

22. After what has been said, it is scarcely necessary to notice your observations on a supposed departure from the treaty of 1801. To that treaty the Governor-General in Council is prepared most strictly to adhere. But if it be relaxed in favour of the king, the indulgence must be made consistent with the preservation of essential British interests.

23. You will also distinctly understand that the provisions in the draft respecting a reformed force are not brought forward, in any sense, as a penalty for misgovernment. They are preferred on the simple ground that either the treaty of 1801 must be observed, or such modified arrangements made as shall be equitable and beneficial to both parties.

24. If, after the full discussions with him, in which it will be your duty to explain and enforce the views of your Government, the king should still decidedly prefer to revert to an exact performance of the stipulations of 1801, his  
Lordship

PAPERS RELATING TO THE KING OF OUDE.

Lordship in Council, without reserve, admits his right to do so. In that case it will be proper to propose to expunge all the articles of the draft, excepting the 6th, 7th, and 8th, which do but provide a declared remedy for the infraction, on the part of the king, of an essential part of those stipulations; and to add a further article, binding the king, after a definite reasonable period, say 12 months, to reduce his military establishment to the limit specified in Article 8 of the treaty of 1801; and in the event of his at any time desiring, with the consent of the British Government, to increase his military establishment beyond that standard, then to have such a portion of them raised, and commanded by British officers, with effectual security for their pay, as the British Government shall deem proper.

25. In this case you will also not hesitate to state to the king that it will be the sincere desire of the British Government to render the fulfilment of the treaty of 1801 as little burthensome to him as possible. The advice of its Resident will not be obtruded upon him in ordinary affairs, while he conducts the government with justice and efficiency. But as, without sufficient troops of his own, he probably must, for the usual support of his government, have frequent occasions to call in the aid of British troops, it will, in all such instances, be unavoidable that the Resident should offer authoritative counsel, and exercise an effectual interposition; and the reduction of his own troops, within the time fixed, to the limit stated in the treaty, must be regarded as indispensable.

26. If, on the other hand, the king should see fit to meet the views of the Governor-General in Council by assenting to the new articles proposed, you are authorised to make any reasonable agreement, as to the time and mode of introducing the arrangement, which you may deem called for by financial considerations or the actual circumstances of the country. You will observe that the terms of the first draft, as to stationing the regular British troops within or without the Oude territory, at the option of the British Government, are withdrawn in the present draft, as being in a great measure superfluous, and liable, perhaps, to possible misconstruction. There is nothing in the existing treaty which binds the British Government to retain in the Oude dominions any force beyond a detachment\* of the "British troops, with a proportion of artillery, to be at all times attached to his Excellency's person;" and this arrangement, his Lordship in Council is disposed to concur with you in thinking, ought always to be maintained.

\* Article 4  
Treaty 1801

27. In this event the Governor-General in Council, though unwilling to reduce the proportion of cavalry, considering the necessity of that arm for rapid movements in Upper India, which is proposed in the draft articles, will nevertheless so far yield to your representations as to consent to the reduction of one regiment of cavalry and one of infantry from the force originally proposed; and his Lordship in Council cannot consider this force as of exorbitant amount for a country of the importance, fertility, and known capabilities of Oude.

28. The observations which you have recorded as to the practicability, with advantage, of removing the regiments now at Sultanpore and Seetapore from the Oude territory, will be carefully borne in mind.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten,*

Fort William, 7 August 1837.

Secretary to the Government of India.

MINUTE by the Honourable Mr. Ross.

It being declared in this draft of letter to the king of Oude that the treaty of 1801 with the Oude State is considered to be in full force, I cannot bring myself to assent to the justice or to the necessity of requiring the present king to accede to a modification of that treaty.

The five articles of the proposed modified treaty provide that the king shall maintain a body of disciplined troops for the support of his authority within his dominions, consisting of not less than three regiments of cavalry, six regiments

Draft of letter of the Resident at Lucknow, and revised draft of modified treaty proposed to be tendered to the acceptance of the King of Oude.

of infantry, and two companies of golundauze; that he shall take into his service British officers, to be constantly employed with such body of troops; and that he shall make a suitable arrangement for securing the regular payment, both of the officers and men composing it.

The justice of these provisions appear to me to be at least very questionable; and I fear they will be considered absolutely unjust by all who know that we are bound by the treaty of 1801, for the large and valuable extent of territory which was ceded to us in that year by the ruler of Oude, to furnish to him and his successors a body of regular troops for the very purpose for which these articles stipulate, that such a body of troops shall hereafter be maintained by the king at his own charge.

The sixth and seventh articles of the proposed treaty appear to be unnecessary, as in the event of the present king or his successors violating the conditions of the treaty of 1801, we shall have the right, under that treaty, of assuming the management of the Oude dominions, and of managing them in such manner as may be deemed most conducive to the welfare of their inhabitants.

10 August 1837.

(signed) *A. Ross.*

---

MINUTE by the Honourable Mr. *Shakespear.*

Oude affairs.

I UNDERSTOOD it to have been determined, in consequence of the strong remonstrances of the Resident, not to insist in the articles of the first draft treaty in regard to the organisation of an auxiliary force, and that a proposition was to be made to the effect stated in paragraph\* of the letter to the Resident.

\* *Sic orig.*

It does not appear to me to be practicable to require the king to entertain additional troops without cancelling the second article of the treaty of 1801, which specifically declares that "His Excellency is relieved from the obligation of defraying the expenses of any additional troops which at any time may be required for the protection of Oude."

It is almost equally necessary to cancel the fifth article, which engages that no demand whatever shall be made upon the territory of his Excellency, on account of expenses which the Honourable Company may incur for the suppression of disorders within his territories.

It was evidently intended by that treaty to put the Oude districts on the same footing as our own as to the collection of the revenue and management of the police; that the king should be allowed a strong guard of honour; and that our troops should be called in to act whenever serious disturbance or rebellion might occur. This is the state of things to which I should like to see the country brought, and this, I conceive, may be done without insisting on the auxiliary force, at all events at present, until it is seen whether the new king is able to bring about the reforms he contemplates without the aid of a standing army.

10 August 1837.

(signed) *H. Shakespear.*

---

MINUTE by the Governor-General.

Minutes of  
Mr. Ross and  
Mr. Shakespear  
upon the drafts of  
treaty with Oude,  
and of instructions  
to the Resident.

I HAVE read with the utmost attention the Minutes of Mr. Ross and Mr. Shakespear on the draft of instructions that I have proposed to send to the Resident at Lucknow, but after the fullest consideration of the subject, I am unable to alter my views as to the justice and policy of the course which the drafts enjoin.

Nothing is to be insisted on or required from the king but an adherence to the provisions of the treaty of 1801; and even this demand is to be made with every possible consideration for his present circumstances and difficulties. All else is to be matter of fair discussion and voluntary negotiation. I had attempted to state this strongly in the draft, and I have now again carefully revised its expressions, so as to avoid all semblance of compulsion in the tenor of the communication prescribed to Colonel Low.

Surely,

Surely, in offering to relax the restrictions imposed by the treaty of 1801 in a point so essential as that of the king's military establishment, we have the clearest right, and it is indeed a duty incumbent on us to provide for the essential maintenance of British supremacy.

The condition of our troops, being employed for the ordinary support of the King's authority within his dominions, cannot be considered separately from the counterpart obligation of our advice being followed in the general conduct of the civil administration. If it be impracticable to secure the performance of this obligation,—and as well the nature of things as the unvarying experience of thirty-six years shows how nearly it must be pronounced impracticable,—the aid of our troops cannot be called for, and it is this difficulty which compels me to endeavour to devise some other arrangement consistent with the spirit of the existing treaty, and equitable and advantageous to both parties.

This arrangement, it seems certain to my mind, can be no other than the grant to the sovereign of Oude of an avowed latitude of action, under a declared responsibility, upon terms that shall be safer for us.

But the perfect option remains to the king of reverting to the attempt to perform exactly the stipulations of the treaty of 1801. That attempt Mr. Shakespear is of opinion may be made with success. It is, on the other hand, my persuasion that it would be attended with endless collisions and embarrassment, and that its probable issue would be in temporary anarchy and misery to the people, and an early reduction of the sovereigns of Oude to the condition only of titular and pensioned princes, such as the Nazim of Bengal and the Nawab of the Carnatic.

Failing the assent of the King to the modified treaty, it will still be right to tender for his acceptance an engagement of the nature specified in para. 24 of the Draft of Instructions. It appears to me both just and necessary to endeavour to place our right of resorting to the extreme measure of assuming the management of Oude, in the event of misgovernment, on the most distinct and avowed footing. Such an engagement by treaty would be a real benefit, in being also the most solemn warning to the rulers of Oude; and we cannot but be conscious how long maladministration has been tolerated mainly from the absence of such a specific declaration. It will be right also to obtain a positive engagement for the reduction, within a limited period, of the king's military force, in the event of his being anxious to revert to the precise engagements of 1801.

I would not object, upon the representations of Colonel Low, to a reduction of one regiment of cavalry and one of infantry from the proposed amount of the reformed force, and I have altered the Draft accordingly.

11 August 1837.

(signed) *Auckland.*

MINUTE by the Honourable Mr. Ross.

My objection to the instructions to the Resident at Lucknow, and to the proposed modified treaty with Oude, is that they declare the treaty of 1801 to be in full force.

Had that treaty been declared cancelled, as I conceive it might have been, in consequence of its infraction by the Oude Government, one of two courses would have been open to us. We might have assumed the Government of the Oude territories, and given to the people the benefit of an administration conducted by British officers; or we might have required Nussurood Dowlah, as a condition of his accession to the throne being recognised, to agree to a new treaty, the terms of which might have been those of the modified treaty now proposed.

The former of those courses would have been in my opinion most conducive to the welfare of the people of Oude; but the latter, if deemed equally conducive to that end, and prepared in deference to the supposed feelings and wishes of the Mohamedan portion of the population, might have been adopted without being open to the objection of being inconsistent with the stipulations of a treaty admitted to be in full force.

12 August 1837.

(signed) *A. Ross.*

MINUTE by the Honourable Mr. *Shakespeare*.

Oude: Governor-  
General's Minute,  
11th August.

It appears to me quite impossible to expect that the King will voluntarily consent to that part of the modified treaty which provides for the maintenance of the auxiliary force, nor do I perceive of what advantage that force will be to the good government of Oude, on which ground alone its maintenance could be fairly insisted upon. If the Resident should fail to persuade the king to adopt the proposed plan, the king will commence his reign under the disadvantage of feeling that he has disoblged the paramount power, and he will be embarrassed by doubts of the cordial support of the British Government in the extensive reforms which he is expected to introduce.

In the necessity of insisting upon the reforms of the civil administration, and on the employment of European officers in case of the king's failing to introduce them, I fully concur.

If in carrying them into effect disorders should occur we are bound to suppress them, and ought to do so by the troops we already have in Oude; but the apprehension of such opposition does not appear to me to justify our proposing to the king to establish and maintain the force contemplated, especially so long as the positive engagements of the old treaty not to make such demands remain in force.

I would beg leave to suggest that the Resident be directed to take the opportunity which these discussions will afford, to ascertain the number of armed peons, horsemen, and nujeebs, kept up by each of the amils, under the third article of the treaty of 1801, and the principles upon which those establishments are regulated.

Like the Sehundeas and Burkundaues in our own districts, they ought to be sufficiently strong to put down any common commotions; while those of a more serious character must be guided by the king's own troops, which he is allowed to maintain, only calling in the aid of the British.

*Sic orig.*

12 August 1837.

(signed) *W. Shakespeare*.

The Governor-General of India to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated 2 October (No. 13) 1837.

Honourable Sirs,

In continuation of our letter, under date the 9th September, No. 11, of 1837, we now forward the documents enumerated in the margin,\* which will put your Honourable Committee in possession of a full report of the discussions held by the Resident at Lucknow with the Court of Oude, under our instructions of the 7th August, regarding the new treaty with that State, as well as a further exposition of our views and intentions in connexion with that subject.

2. The objections urged by the king and the durbar to the projected establishment of an auxiliary force in the Oude territory, and also to the tenor of the 6th and 7th articles of the new treaty, were met by Lieutenant-Colonel Low, in the spirit of our instructions above referred to, and we are happy in being able to state that these negotiations were brought to a successful close by the execution of an engagement nearly similar to the draft which had been forwarded to the Resident in our secretary's despatch of the 7th August.

3. A copy of the treaty which has now been concluded and ratified by us, forms No. 11 of the packet.

4. By this instrument, your Honourable Committee will perceive that an assignment of 16 lacs of rupees per annum has been made by the Government of Oude for the maintenance of the proposed auxiliary force, a sum which is considered to be so ample as to secure at all times the complete efficiency and respectability of this new body of troops.

5. We considered it due to the Resident to repeat the expression of the high sense

\* Secret, 1837:—Cons., 11th September, No. 1 to 4. From Resident, Lucknow, dated 5th September.—Cons., 18th September. No. . From Resident, Lucknow, dated 6th September. From Resident, Lucknow, dated 7th September. From Resident, Lucknow, dated 10th September. From Resident, Lucknow, dated 11th September. To Resident, Lucknow, dated 18th September.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE KING OF OUDE.

sense entertained by us of his valuable services on this occasion, and our unqualified approbation of the judgment and temper displayed by him throughout the discussion.

6. We did not object to any of the concessions which the Resident deemed it right to make in compliance with the wishes of the king, nor did the period of 18 months, which it is stipulated shall elapse before any payment is required for the auxiliary troops, appear to us unreasonable. It occurred to us, however, that the formation of the force might with advantage be much sooner, if not immediately, partially commenced upon, with a view to the gradual introduction of the system; the British Government advancing the requisite funds in the first instance, but refraining, until the sum advanced shall be realised, from raising the force to its full complement. Previously, however, to a final determination of this question, we have desired the Resident to furnish us with his opinion as to its expediency, and with any suggestions he might have to offer as to the best means of giving effect thereto.

7. No provision has been made as to the periods at which the payments from the Oude Government are to be required, but it is concluded that these disbursements will be by monthly instalments. The Resident's attention has been called to this point, and to the propriety of his obtaining the best possible security against any failure of the funds appropriated for the support of the auxiliary force.

8. Transcripts of the Minutes recorded by the Members of Government on this occasion, are noted in the margin.\*

We have, &c.  
(signed) *Auckland.*  
*A. Ross.*  
*W. Morison.*  
*H. Shakespear*

Fort William, 2 October 1837.

From Resident at Lucknow to *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Political Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

With reference to my letter of yesterday's date, in the Secret Department, I have now the honour to enclose the new treaty which was signed and sealed this forenoon.

2. The King of Oude announced to me that he means to write a letter to the Right Honourable the Governor-General, on the subject of the treaty. The King requested me at the same time to present his respectful compliments to the Governor-General, and to assure his Lordship that the treaty being now concluded, his majesty will no longer allude to any unpleasant feelings which some of its provisions had caused to his mind. The letter in question is, I believe, chiefly to relate to the possible complaints of the Sepoys of the auxiliary force in regard to their village dispute.

3. During the several weeks that have been occupied in the negotiations for this treaty, of course there has been much extra labour in translating and copying papers on the part of all the members of this office; but as I derived a peculiar degree of assistance from the zeal and intelligence of the head moonshee, *Utifaub Hossain Khan Behadoor*, in the latter conferences with the ministers, and in arranging various modifications in the construction of Persian sentences in the treaty, so as to meet the wishes of the king, as far as possible, without losing sight of the interests or rights of my own Government, I think it my duty to bring the head moonshee's useful services on this occasion to the notice of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council.

Lucknow Residency,  
11 September 1837.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *J. Low*, Resident.

\* Secret, 1837:—Minute by Mr. Shakespear, dated 20th September: Minute by the Governor-General, dated 23d September. Minute by Mr. Ross, dated 28th September.

TREATY between the Honourable East India Company and His Majesty Abool Futteh Moenooddeen Nowsherewan-i-Audil Sultani Zaman Mohummud Allee Shah, King of Oude.

WHEREAS, by the subsisting alliance between the Honourable East India Company and the Oude state, the British Government is bound to defend the Oude territories against foreign and domestic enemies, the sovereign of Oude engaging to retain in his service only a small specified number of troops: And whereas, while the British Government has faithfully and scrupulously performed the obligations so imposed on it, the engagement on the part of the Oude State has been habitually infringed, there being now in the employment of his majesty the King of Oude a large and expensive military force: And whereas, experience has shown that the execution of all the provisions of the Treaty of 1801 is attended with serious difficulty, and 'it is desirable and proper that a modified arrangement consistent with the principles of that treaty, and conducing to the prosperity and advantage of both States, should be introduced: And whereas, the restrictions as to the amount of military force to be employed by his majesty the King of Oude may with propriety be relaxed, on condition that an adequate portion of the increased force shall be placed under British discipline and control, so as at once to promote the general interests of the Indian empire, and in particular the dignity and safety of the king, providing at a reduced cost for the efficiency of his national military establishment: And whereas, Article 6 of the Treaty of 1801, requires that the Sovereign of Oude always advising with, and acting in conformity to the counsel of the officers of the Honourable Company, shall establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration (to be carried into effect by his own officers), as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants, but provides no remedy for the neglect of that solemn and paramount obligation: And whereas, the infraction of this essential engagement of the treaty, and inattention to the first duty of a sovereign on the part of several successive rulers of Oude, have been continued and notorious, and have even exposed the British Government to the reproach of imperfectly fulfilling its obligations towards the Oude people, and it is therefore just and proper that the defect alluded to in Article 6 of the treaty aforesaid should be rectified; the following provisions have accordingly been arranged and concluded, on the one part by Lieutenant-Colonel John Low, Resident at the court of Lucknow, in the name and on behalf of the Right Honourable Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India in Council, and on the other by Abool Futteh Moenooddeen Sultanni Zaman Nowsherewan-i-Audil Mohummud Ally Shah, King of Oude, for himself and his heirs, and this agreement is to hold good from generation to generation to the end of time.

Art. 1. Article third (3d) of the Treaty dated the 10th November One thousand Eight hundred and One is hereby cancelled, and his majesty the King of Oude may employ such a military establishment as he may deem necessary for the government of his dominions. His majesty engages, however, to make a suitable reduction of this establishment when it may appear to the British Government from its pressure on the finances of the country, or other causes, to be obviously excessive.

Art. 2. The Honourable East India Company engages as before to defend the Oude State against all foreign and domestic enemies, but it will be proper and advisable that his majesty the King of Oude shall organise as a part of his augmented military establishment, a disciplined force for the general support of his authority within his dominions.

Art. 3. The King of Oude agrees that the portion of his troops to be organised as stipulated in the preceding article, shall consist of not less than two regiments of cavalry, five of infantry, and two companies of golundauze, for whose regular payment a suitable arrangement will be made.

Art. 4. The Government of Oude will for the sum of sixteen (16) lacs of rupees per annum for the expenses of the force stipulated to be maintained in the third (3d) article of this treaty, including their pay, arms, equipments, and public buildings of the cantonments, &c., and as this force is so to be organised as to ensure its efficiency for all descriptions of service, it will be open to future decision



decision whether it may be advisable (with the consent of both governments), to have a small party of horse artillery instead of a few of the horsemen, and a small body of pioneers instead of a few infantry sepoys; but it is a settled compact between the two States, that the expenditure on account of this new force, whatever may be its organisation, shall not exceed sixteen (16) lacs of rupees, including every description of expense connected with it. And also in consequence of this year being one of great scarcity, and the expenditure of the Oude government being very great, owing to its having to pay up a large amount of arrears due to troops and establishments greater than usual, it is on these accounts hereby settled, that for a period of eighteen (18) months, reckoning from the first of September one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, the organisation of the new force shall not be commenced, and accordingly that no demands shall be made upon the Oude government for money to pay the above-mentioned troops until the first of March eighteen hundred and thirty-nine.

Art. 5. The British Government hereby engages to supply, and the King of Oude to take into his service an adequate number of British officers to be constantly employed with such force, for the purpose of maintaining its due discipline, and securing its permanent efficiency.

Art. 6. This auxiliary force will ordinarily be fixed at such stations within the Oude territory as may, with the consent of both governments from time to time, to both seem most convenient, and will be employed on all occasions on which its services may be deemed necessary by the King of Oude, with the concurrence of the British Resident; but it is to be clearly understood that such force is not to be employed in the ordinary collections of revenue.

Art. 7. In modification of article 6 of the treaty above referred to, it is hereby provided that the King of Oude will take into his immediate and earnest consideration, in concert with the British Resident, the best means of remedying the existing defects in the police and in the judicial and revenue administrations of his dominions; and that if his majesty should neglect to attend to the advice and counsel of the British Government or its local representative, and if (which God forbid) gross and systematic oppression, anarchy, and misrule should hereafter at any time prevail within the Oude dominions, such as seriously to endanger the public tranquillity, the British Government reserves to itself the right of appointing its own officers to the management of whatsoever portions of the Oude territory, either to a small or to a great extent, in which such misrule as that above alluded to may have occurred, for so long a period as it may deem necessary, the surplus receipts in such case, after defraying all charges, to be paid into the king's treasury, and a true and faithful account rendered to his majesty of the receipts and expenditure of the territories so assumed.

Art. 8. And it is hereby further agreed, that in case the Governor-General of India in Council should be compelled to resort to the exercise of the authority vested in him by article 7 of this treaty, he will endeavour, as far as possible, to maintain (with such improvements as they may admit of) the native institutions and forms of administration within the assumed territories, so as to facilitate the restoration of those territories to the Sovereign of Oude when the proper period for such restoration shall arrive.

Art. 9. All the other provisions and conditions of former treaties between the British Government and the Oude State which are not affected by the above convention, are to remain in full force and effect.

The above treaty, consisting of nine articles, is executed at Lucknow, this eleventh day of September, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, corresponding with the tenth day of Jamadoossanee, twelve hundred and fifty-three Hijree.

(signed) *J. Low*, Lt.-Colonel,  
Resident at Lucknow.

## MINUTE by Mr. Shakespear.

THE new treaty with the King of Oude having been concluded to the satisfaction of the Government, I have, of course, no wish to revert to the objection which I thought it my duty to state to the original object.

The clause fixing a distant period for the commencement of its operation is, I think, a judicious amendment. If acted up to in its true spirit, which, under Colonel Low's notice and address, I have no doubt it will be, it will allow of the military change being gradually introduced by the disbanding of the most inefficient portion of the existing troops, and by a complete reorganisation of the armed establishment kept up for the management of the police and the collection of the revenue. It occurs to me that there would be manifold advantage in carrying on the two measures of reduction and organisation simultaneously. The plan would be less likely to create jealousy in the mind of the king and of those who might possess the power of thwarting our object, or of exciting dissatisfaction amongst the troops. The new army might be formed, in a great degree, by draft from the old, and the armed establishment reformed in the same way. I do not feel competent to judge whether such an arrangement would be favourable, or in what manner it could be best carried into effect; but I am confident that, if practicable, it would soften a great deal of heart-burning amongst those who will be affected by it, while it would go far to neutralise the opposition of those who may be expected to be inimically disposed to the measure in contemplation.

The great defect in article 6 of the treaty of 1801, viz., that the system of administration should be carried into effect by the officers of the Oude government, having been remedied, the qualification of the original draft introduced by the Resident at the urgent solicitation of the king is of secondary importance.

The Resident will, I conclude, be instructed to enter at an early period upon the reform of the civil administration in all its branches. The king must not be allowed to suppose that we are not in earnest in this important matter. When once commenced upon it must be followed up steadily, and with a fixed determination not to relax till the foundation of a better order of things is firmly laid. The endeavours of the Marquis Wellesley, and subsequently of Lord Minto's government, appear to have equally failed in the attainment of this object; but as we are no longer shackled by the restriction which prevented the accomplishment of it in those days, we shall be able to proceed with more confidence, and, it may be expected, with better success.

At a late period it would seem that the king himself proposed to enact regulations for the management of the revenue administration, and that he consented to the substitution of the aumnee for the farming system in some of the disturbed districts, though to what extent the change was carried does not appear.

In regard to civil and criminal justice, it was stated by a former Resident, Mr. Maddock, so late as 1831, that no system whatever was in force. Better prosperity is even now opening on the country. The present Resident has an arduous task before him; fortunately it could not be confided to an officer of better temper, judgment and decision, than Colonel Low.

(signed) H. Shakespear.

20 September 1837.

## MINUTE by the Governor-General.

I AM glad to have anticipated the first suggestion of Mr. Shakespear by having already requested Colonel Low to consider whether it might not be well, very shortly, if not immediately, to commence the organisation of the proposed corps at the expense of the British Government, allowing a longer period than 18 months for its completion, so that the money which shall be so spent may be reimbursed. This will have the effect of diminishing the inconvenience to be expected from the number of troops whom it will be necessary to disband, and may enable us deliberately and with better effect to embody the new regiments,

Mr. Shakespear's  
minute on the  
Oude treaty.

ments, and it will be unnecessary to dwell further upon this point until Colonel Low's answer shall have been received.

I entirely agree with Mr. Shakespear in feeling that the most watchful attention of our Government is due to the reform of the civil administration of Oude in all its branches.

The British power has for very many years been trifled with and set at defiance on this subject. It has now obtained a distinct admission of the power and the means of effective reforms. We must be understood to be in earnest, and not to have obtained these admissions with any other intention than that of strictly acting upon them, if the necessity for doing so should unfortunately arrive.

Happily, I am willing to believe that the king himself is sincerely in earnest in his declared wishes that all practicable reforms shall be effected, and I concur in opinion with Mr. Shakespear that the king can have no better adviser, nor the British Government a better representative than Colonel Low. That officer, I think, may well be instructed to report to us, at his early convenience, the changes, either in men or measures, which the King of Oude, in concert with himself, proposes to adopt for the general improvement of the internal administration of his kingdom. The vulgar remark that good government depends upon good administration, and upon persons rather than upon system, is, perhaps, less exaggerated when applied to the native States of India in their present condition than to other countries. The rooted habits of the population, its religious differences, its habitual passiveness under accustomed oppression, and its impatience of any innovation, are almost insuperable obstacles to the early introduction of any extensive improvement in the system of rule, and particularly in such a country as Oude. We must at present look almost exclusively to the attributes of the controlling powers, to their integrity of purpose, and promptitude and wants of action, and to the selection of efficient instruments under them; and we should wish, I think, rather to see rules framed which may ensure responsibility than extensive changes of system introduced.

It will, perhaps, be the most judicious course with the Resident, and that which will be most consistent with the spirit and purpose of the new arrangements, that he should abstain from detailed interference, and from any particular regulation of the ordinary measures and forms of proceeding of the government. But he must be in earnest in his endeavours to retain the unreserved confidence of the king, and to strengthen him in the firm execution of plans of amelioration, and he should be further prepared, if ever it should become necessary, as with the present king is little likely to be the case, to give the most decided warnings of the result of a continued course of oppression and maladministration in that assumption of the government which is now our avowed and admitted right, and prepared also, if imperfectly attended to, to act upon those warnings. I am persuaded that, as stated in the instructions on which the present treaty has been founded, our permanent and real security for the good government of Oude consists in "the general check of our declared purpose to assume the management of the country in the event of its inhabitants being subjected to oppression, and under this check," with the aid always of general advice and support, that "the king should be left to conduct his administration with much real independence."

(signed) *Auckland.*

23 September 1837.

MINUTE by Mr. Ross.

I THINK with the Governor-General that, under the modified treaty which has been concluded with the King of Oude, he (the king) should be left to conduct the administration of the country by his own officers. We can only hope that the advice of the Resident, and the fear of our assuming the management of the country, in the event of its inhabitants continuing to be subjected to oppression, will induce him to carry into effect salutary measures of reform.

(signed) *A. Ross.*

28 September 1837.

The Court of Directors to the Governor-General of India, dated 11 April,  
No. 27, of 1838. (Political Department.)

Para. 1. We now proceed to fulfil the intention announced to you in our letter of the 11th instant (No. 26), to notice such of your proceedings in relation to Oude as are connected with the treaty recently concluded with that State, a copy of which is enclosed in your letter to the Secret Committee of the 2d October (No. 13) 1837, which has been communicated to us.

2. The death of the late King of Oude renders it unnecessary for us to reply to such of your letters as relate to the misconduct of that sovereign, and to the policy which it might have been advisable to adopt with reference to him. We shall confine ourselves to remarking upon the events which have occurred subsequently to his death.

3. We approve of the courage, decision, and prudence displayed by Lieutenant-colonel Low in putting down the attempt made by the Padshaw Begum to place the boy Moona Jaun upon the throne, and we are also pleased with the arrangements made for the safe custody of that ambitious princess.

4. The elevation to the throne of the legitimate heir, Nusseer-ood-Dowlah, uncle of the late king, must be ascribed solely to the intrepidity of the Resident; and we heartily concur in the praises which you have bestowed upon him for that important service. But we are also compelled to agree with you in the disapproval of the execution of the written promise by which Nusseer-ood-Dowlah bound himself to sign any new treaty the Governor-General might dictate; such promise being in the nature of a preliminary condition, extorted from a prince from whom we had no right to demand any condition upon ascending his lawful throne.

5. Your letter of the 2d October (No. 13) of 1837, informs us that, after considerable difficulties, and with great reluctance on the part of the King of Oude, that prince has been induced to conclude a new treaty with your government, the effect of which, if ratified by us, would be to subject the State of Oude to a dependence upon your government, much more manifest and direct than that which was contemplated by the framers of the treaty of 1801.

6. The assent of the King of Oude to this engagement, somewhat less stringent, as it appears, than that which was originally proposed to him by you, can be considered only as compulsory; and we perceive, in the correspondence of Lieutenant-colonel Low, repeated proofs that the new sovereign regarded the principal articles of the compact as inflicting not only a pecuniary penalty upon his subjects, but a disgrace upon his crown and personal dignity.

7. The objections made by the king to the treaty apply, first, to the reduction of the former military force, to the declared right of reorganising the civil government whenever and wherever found defective, and to the formation of an auxiliary force under the command of British officers, at an annual expense of 16 lacs of rupees chargeable upon the Oude revenues.

8. In our opinion, the two first of these objects might have been attained under the treaty of 1801. That treaty gave to your government a right to diminish the native army within reasonable limits, and not only gave a right, but imposed a duty of interfering in the civil administration of the State when required for the purposes of good government and for the protection of the people. A re-assertion of those rights and duties, followed up by some decisive act of interference, might have been necessary if the late king had lived; but it appears to us that the good disposition of the present sovereign rendered such declared and positive recognition of your authority superfluous.

9. As to the auxiliary force, and the consequent increase of pecuniary burdens upon the State of Oude for the avowed object of maintaining British authority, we consider that it is sufficient for the present occasion to say that we are happy to find the payments for the support of the auxiliary force are not to commence until after the expiration of 18 months from the 1st of September 1837.

10. This

10. This will afford an opportunity of considering seriously the propriety of giving the sanction of the Home Government to that part of the treaty; but on this point you will probably receive a communication from the Secret Committee. In the meantime, we direct that the preliminary measures which it seems have been adopted for the organisation of the new force be immediately discontinued.

11. We feel ourselves bound in addition to convey to you on this occasion positive orders that no new treaty with any native power, stipulating for the employment of British officers in the service of such power, shall be concluded without our previous sanction.

We are, &c.  
(signed) *J. R. Carnac.*  
*J. L. Lushington.*  
&c. &c.

London, 11 April 1838.

The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors to the Governor-General of India.

Your Lordship in Council will receive from the Court of Directors a letter in the Political Department, in which their opinion is expressed on the subject of the treaty concluded with the King of Oude, on the 11th of September 1837. It is therein intimated that you may also receive a communication from us in reference to that treaty.

2. We entirely concur in the opinion expressed by the Court, that the provisions of the new treaty were not required for the purpose of securing good government to Oude, inasmuch as, under the stipulations of the treaty of the 10th of November 1801, you were enabled, and indeed intended, to carry into effect a course of measures for the accomplishment of that object, which were rendered unnecessary by the death of the late king. From the disposition which the present King has manifested to reduce the expenditure of the State, and to reform the administration, he should, in our opinion, have been allowed a fair trial, without being called upon to subscribe to stipulations of a humiliating character, and which, in effect, conferred no additional powers, in the correction of abuses, beyond those which you were entitled to exercise under the treaty of 10th November 1801.

We also entirely concur in the view which the Court have taken in respect to the auxiliary force. The payment of that force would constitute a demand upon the resources of Oude which we are not entitled to make; for we are already bound by the treaty of 1801 to defend, at our own expense, that country against internal and external enemies, and a large cession of territory was made to us for that express purpose.

The late king had doubtless acted in breach of an article of the treaty of the 10th November 1801, by maintaining a military force beyond the amount he was permitted to retain; but this was a consequence of your proper refusal to enforce the arbitrary and oppressive acts of the former governments, and the reduction of the military establishment of Oude to the amount fixed by treaty you were at any time authorised to insist upon.

According to the views above expressed, your Lordship in Council will infer that, as we have before declared, we should have been well satisfied if you had allowed the present king a fair trial, under the provisions of the treaty in force at the time of his accession to the throne. If the reform of the civil administration of the country and the reduction of unnecessary and unauthorised establishments had been accomplished by him, with the able advice and assistance of the present Resident, the result would have been far more satisfactory to us than if it were to be brought about by the means which the new treaty had placed at your disposal, viewing, as we do, the stipulations of that engagement as of a very questionable character.

Our wish, therefore, is, that the king of Oude should be exonerated from the obligations of the treaty of the 11th September 1837, to which his assent was most reluctantly given.

Although we thus convey to you our directions for the abrogation of the treaty, we leave it discretionary with your Lordship in Council to adapt your measures

to the state of circumstances as they may be found to exist when you receive this letter: and we are of opinion that it would be advantageous to the public interests that such communication as you may make to the King of Odaï, under the authority conveyed to you by the present despatch, should rather proceed as an act of grace from your Lordship in Council, than as the consequence of the receipt of a public and unconditional intimation from England.

Your Lordship in Council, therefore, is authorized to exercise the largest discretion in regard to the mode of carrying our wishes into effect in respect to the treaty: but the order of the Court of Directors is positive, and strictly to be observed, to discontinue the preparations which may have been made for the organization of the auxiliary force, and to recall every British officer who may have been appointed to that duty with least available delay.

From what we have already stated, your Lordship in Council will judge that the provisions of the treaty of 18th of November 1811 are sufficient to enable you to secure good government to the people of Odaï, if properly carried into effect, as we hope they will be, with the concurrence of the king, and the judicious advice and assistance of the Resident.

If the reform should proceed satisfactorily, there will be no necessity for any other interference than that of the ordinary advice of the Resident, which must generally be efficacious in the precise degree in which he has previously impressed the king with the conviction that it is entirely directed to the advantage of himself and of his subjects, and, indeed, that the means at his disposal will increase in proportion to the prosperity and happiness of his people. We are aware that this is a state of things of difficult attainment, but not the less desirable on that account.

We are not without a hope, from such of the proceedings of the present Resident as have come under our observation, that all the essential reforms in the administration of Odaï may be quietly and satisfactorily accomplished, without any other interference on your part than such as is implied in a careful superintendance and revision of his proceedings.

If this should fail, your authority must be vigorously and decisively exercised in support of the Resident, and the king be solemnly warned of the consequence he may entail upon himself by a systematic neglect of the Resident's advice, to which he is bound by treaty to conform.

We can hardly suppose that a sovereign thus advised and solemnly warned would fail in his duty: but in such a case we should give the preference to measures of a character calculated to effect the least possible change in the native institutions of the country to those which are founded on the introduction of European agency, under any circumstances, if the purposes of good government could thereby be secured.

The preservation of the existing States in India is a duty imposed upon us by the exigencies of public faith, as well as the dictates of interest: for we agree in the opinion expressed by Lieutenant-General Law, in his letter of the 20th September 1804, that the continued existence of such States will afford the means of employment to respectable natives, which they cannot at present obtain in our service, and until such means could be provided in our own provinces, the downfall of any of the native States under our protection might, by depriving numerous influential natives of their accustomed employment, be attended with consequences most injurious to our interests.

Our policy, therefore, should be to preserve, as long as may be practicable, the existing native dynasties, and should the fall of them, or any one of them, from circumstances beyond our control, become inevitable, then to introduce such a system of government as may interfere in the least possible way with the institutions of the people, and with the employment of natives of rank, under proper superintendance, in the administration of the country.

We are, &c.

(Signed) J. R. Carnar.  
J. L. Lubington.

East India House, London.  
16 April 1826.

(No. 13.)

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

Secret Department, Simla, 5 July 1838.

Honourable Sirs,

I HAVE the honour to forward copy of a minute recorded by me on the receipt of your Honourable Committee's communication of the 10th April, and of the despatch from the Honourable Court, No. 27, dated the 11th April 1838.

2. The despatch received from your Honourable Committee has happily allowed me some latitude of action, and it will not, I am satisfied, be thought unreasonable that, in the present posture of affairs, I should ask for time before I pledge myself to an opinion upon the full probable effect of the orders conveyed to me, or come to a resolution on the course which may best be pursued.

I have, &c.  
(signed) Auckland.

---

MINUTE by the Governor-General.

THE despatches on the Oude treaty should be communicated without delay for the information of the Honourable the President in Council, and I would not seek to conceal from his Honor, or from the Home Government, the extreme sorrow and disappointment which a perusal of the instructions conveyed in them has occasioned to me. Responsible as I am for the maintenance of the integrity and tranquillity of the British empire in India, it has been to me a source of the deepest pain to trace in these despatches the prevalence among the highest authorities in England of views of policy so different from those which I would enforce, and of conceptions which are, in my opinion, opposed to the security of the British Government, and of the native States dependent on it.

I am taught by them to look for disapprobation where I had most confidently assured to myself a cordial sanction and support, and I find myself fettered with prohibition in a course in which I had looked for nothing but encouragement.

I, equally with the Court of Directors, would scrupulously regard the obligations of justice, and the advantage of moderation, and I shall upon another occasion record a full statement of my opinions as to the manner in which, consistently with these considerations, the security and internal peace of India may best be preserved, and on the fatal error which would be committed should a false measure be taken of what is just and moderate. But I cannot forbear noticing the actual situation in which these orders find us. We are, on the one hand, positively interdicted from forming, without previous reference to England, any new treaty with any native power, stipulating for the employment of British officers in the service of such power. On the other, we are anxiously engaged in concerting defensive arrangements against hostile combination from without, and the outbreak of restless and disorderly feeling in the heart of India. On the day before these orders reached me, I have felt myself compelled, as well upon my own review of existing circumstances as upon the opinion of some of the highest Indian authorities, to direct a considerable augmentation of our armies. I was about to act upon a treaty lately signed with Kota, and to gain a step towards restoring tranquillity on the disturbed frontiers of Malwa and Rajpootana. I had contemplated the progressive improvement of our means for repressing hostile or predatory violence in the territories of Gwalior, Joudpore, and other States, where our control is as yet most imperfectly established. I was looking to the object of forming in Sind a strong barrier to western aggression. I was considering under what friendly conditions the Protected States on this side of the Sutlej might be so organised, as in time of danger best to contribute to their own defence. In such a state of things it is that I learn that the powers of the Government in this respect are to be rigidly shackled by new and special prohibitions. Our authority is to be paralysed, and we are to be deprived of all power to use opportunities which, once lost, are too often lost for ever, for bringing

under our control and influence the loose and turbulent retainers of the native chieftains, and this while hostile influences, under the guidance of our powerful and vigilant European rival, are predominant along the whole of the western border of India, while the means of injury and offence possessed by our Sikh neighbours are daily growing, and their future prospects are full of the presage of division and disturbance, while the formidable resources of Nepal are ready to be thrown into the scale against us, and the leaders of that State are almost openly seeking the occasion of arraying themselves in opposition to our supremacy; while in the centre of our power we have to guard against the revival of old habits of license among a people prone to disorder, and impatient of their long and only partial subjection, and while on the eastern extremity of our possessions, we have before us the impending hazard of a costly war.

I would not exaggerate these dangers, and we have, I trust, as it is, wherewithal to cope with them. But we are bound to look seriously to our present position, and to the necessities which are rapidly accumulating upon us, and I have said, I trust, sufficient to justify me in pausing before I pronounce any opinion on the course which, on a consideration of these despatches, it will be for my own honour, for the honour of the Government, and for the good of the empire, most becoming to adopt.

We are happily authorised to use the largest discretion in regard to the mode of carrying the wishes of the Court into effect, and for this mark of courtesy and consideration I would now, in frankly stating the painful difficulties in which their orders have placed me, desire to record my grateful acknowledgments.

I need scarcely repeat that, by the spirit of the orders in question, our recent arrangements with the State of Kota will be directly affected, as well as those which were concluded with Oude, and that the principle of extending generally such means of military check over the native States must be held in suspense. What we have to consider, therefore, is not an isolated measure in a single State, but a great principle of policy; and to this view of the subject, with a full reference of course to the circumstances and rights of particular cases, I shall apply myself at an early opportunity, and shall offer my sentiments on it at large for discussion with the Honourable the President in Council, and for submission to the Honourable Court.

I have to beg that a copy of this minute be transmitted with the despatches to the Honourable the President in Council, and that a copy may also be sent in acknowledging the receipt of the despatches for the information of the Secret Committee, and I have to request, as will naturally occur to the Honourable the President in Council, that both the despatches may be recorded only in the Secret Department, and that all proceedings connected with them be regarded for the present as strictly secret and confidential.

Simla, 2 July 1838.

(signed) Auckland.

---

EXTRACT Secret Committee to the Governor-General of India in Council,  
dated 5 November 1838.

Para. 8. In reference to the minute of the Governor-general of the 2d July last, relative to our letter of 10 April 1838, we have to inform you that our sentiments in respect to your treaty with Oude remain unchanged, and we must desire you to abide by the instructions contained in that letter.

9. At the same time, it is by no means our intention to prohibit you from employing, with the consent of the King of Oude, any force which you may have raised in the Oude territory, under British officers, as a contingent, for the operations which may be required in the present emergency.

10. But the expense of such contingent must be charged to the Indian revenues, and not defrayed by the State of Oude.

---



(No. 30.)

SECRET Department, Camp at Umritsir, 14 December 1838.

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Honourable Committee, in continuation of my despatch under date the 5th July, No. 13 of 1838, the enclosed copy of a Minute recorded by me on the 13th instant, with reference to the despatch from your Honourable Committee, under date 10th April, on the affairs of Oude.

I have, &c.  
(signed) Auckland.

The President in Council to the Secret Committee, dated 9 February  
(No. 3) 1839.

THE Right Honourable the Governor-General has already twice addressed your Honourable Committee on the subject of your despatch, and that of the Honourable Court of Directors, dated respectively 10th and 11th of April last, disapproving of the measures adopted by our Government upon the occasion of the late succession to the throne of Oude, and of the treaty then entered into with his present majesty.

2. As the Right Honourable the Governor-General expressed freely and forcibly to your Honourable Committee in his first letter, dated the 5th July, No. 13 of 1838; the feelings with which he received these orders, we did not deem it necessary separately to address your Honourable Committee until we should be prepared to state our opinions upon the broad questions of policy involved in this discussion. Your Honourable Committee will observe that the Governor-General refrained from entering upon this part of the case in his first minute, reserving the consideration of these questions and their discussion with us until he should have had time to mature his opinions.

3. The Minute of his Lordship entering fully upon these questions, bears date the 13th of December last, and was separately forwarded to your Honourable Committee by his Lordship, in a letter dated the 14th of the same month. We proceeded immediately on its receipt to give our most attentive consideration to the subject, and we enclose copies of the minutes recorded by us individually upon this occasion.

4. While the matter was still before us, and after the President and first member of the Council had recorded their minutes, we received from the Governor-General copy of your Honourable Committee's despatch, dated 5th November, in which you state your adherence to the opinions before expressed by you, but gave us a somewhat wider discretion as to the manner and time of carrying your previous orders into effect.

5. The Honourable Court of Directors and your Honourable Committee appear to regard it as unfair towards the present sovereign of Oude, that he should have been compelled to enter into new engagements changing materially his civil relations and responsibility, and introducing modifications into his military establishments, without having first had a trial under the former system. As he is a man of sense and good dispositions, it is thought that that system might, under his administration, aided by an able Resident, have proved successful. The reply to this objection to the course taken in 1837 will be found in the minutes of the Governor-General and of our President, who were the members of your present Government, who alone were parties to those measures.

6. The state of things produced in Oude by the treaty and arrangements of 1801, was regarded by them as affording evidence of the failure of that attempt to provide a beneficial Government for that territory. The scheme of administration thereby established seemed to them to be one that left insufficient powers in the hands of the prince, on one hand, for vigorous government upon

native principles, and insufficient and very ill defined powers of advice and control in the British Resident, on the other, so as to unfit that officer to be an instrument of reform as intended according to the sounder views of policy his intelligence might dictate. That system had had trial for five and thirty years under various princes and with many Residents, but had never in any hands given satisfaction either to the Honourable Court or to the Government and authorities in India.

7. Your Government of 1837, after such an experience, could not think itself warranted in making further experiment of the same system, and more especially, with reference to the strong orders already received from the Honourable Court, and still unexecuted, which would have warranted a temporary occupation of the country by British officers for correction of the crying abuses which existed. It seemed to be obligatory on the Government having these instructions to guide them, to determine on some new measures when the occasion of a new succession offered.

8. The measures adopted under the sense of this obligation were considered at the time to be much less violent than the course indicated in the instructions referred to. They presented themselves to the Government as a mitigated measure of reform calculated to save entire the state of Oude; but, as before observed, we refer your Honourable Committee to the minutes of the Governor-General and President of the Council for further arguments on this point.

9. Your Honourable Committee will observe that we are unanimous in our concurrence with the Right Honourable the Governor-General, as to the wisdom of the policy of making it our aim to obtain as far as possible the command or control of the real military resources of states circumstanced like Oude, and depending upon us for protection against internal as well as external enemies.

10. We concur also in thinking that the Government of India was warranted in considering this course as that prescribed for its adoption in a despatch from your Committee of June 1830, the instructions and views contained in which were still unrecalled, when the decease of the late king of Oude gave the opportunity for applying them.

11. Our President has pointed out that the extension of the system of military reform which had been applied with so much success to the Nizam's government, was recommended by himself in minutes recorded proximately to the decease of the late king of Oude; that, therefore, he shares in the responsibility of the measures disapproved of by your Honourable Committee and by the Honourable Court of Directors, and, as the first proposer, must take upon himself a large share of your censure.

12. Notwithstanding, however, the strong opinions expressed by your Honourable Committee, and by the Honourable Court against those measures, and our desire to conform our opinions as far as possible to the views thus indicated to us, we have found it impossible, especially at this particular juncture, to retrace our steps, and recommended to the Governor-General to recall the British officers from the corps already organised, and brought into a state of discipline in Oude, and which form at this time a part of the military means at our command.

13. We have in consequence thought it our duty, besides placing our sentiments individually on record, to address your Honourable Committee once more upon the subject, in the hope of obtaining some modification, if not a recall of the orders referred to.

14. We should have hesitated to take this step after receipt of your second letter, dated 5th November last, if the instructions contained in that letter had followed upon such representations as are now submitted in the minute of the Governor-General of December last, above adverted to; and in our separate minutes annexed to this despatch; but the representation before your Honourable Committee when the orders of 5th November were issued, was confined to his Lordship's first minute of July last, which expressly reserved the questions of policy upon which only we could have a right to address to your Honourable Committee a remonstrance against orders bearing on our proceedings towards native States.

15. After

15. After consideration of the arguments and observations contained in the minutes now forwarded, we think your Honourable Committee will not consider us unreasonable or presumptuous in determining still to submit this representation; and in regarding it as due no less to your Honourable Committee than to ourselves to place before you the strong light in which we view the importance, especially at this juncture, of maintaining and strengthening our military relations with all the native States of India.

16. Having resolved to address your Honourable Committee again upon the subject of the treaty concluded with Oude in 1837, we have stated to the Right Honourable the Governor-General our opinion that, intermediately, matters should be allowed to remain, in regard to the state of Oude, on the present footing precisely; no alteration being made in the constitution or strength of the corps raised, and no communication being made to his majesty the king of Oude of there being any intention to withdraw from any of the stipulations of the treaty concluded with him.

17. We have therefore made no communication to the Resident on the subject, and intend to keep the papers as private as possible till the receipt of your orders on the present reference.

We have, &c.

(signed) *W. Morison.*  
*T. C. Robertson.*  
*W. W. Bird.*

Fort William, 9 February 1839.

MINUTE by the Governor-General.

In my Minute, dated the 2d of July, I promised to apply myself at an early opportunity to a further consideration of the despatches of the Honourable Court, and of the Secret Committee, upon the subject of the late treaty with Oude, with a view not only to the single case of that treaty, or to that of the recent arrangement with the State of Kotah, but for the purpose also of examining the principle of policy by which we should be guided, in reference to any future attempt to impose a military check upon the several native States.

Secret Department.  
Despatches on  
Treaty with O

2. I have unhappily allowed some months to elapse without fulfilling this intention, and I cannot otherwise defend myself from censure on account of this delay, than by referring to the rapid and unusual succession of intricate and important affairs, by which, in addition to the current details of business, my time has been occupied, and my mind engrossed. Practically, however, I have felt the loss of time to be but of little consequence, for on the present posture of affairs, no one would have advised that the regiments which have been lately raised in Oude should be disbanded; and as under the different arrangements which have been made with him, the king of Oude need not be called upon for any payment upon their account before the 1st of July, the treaty will, until that period, be really dormant, and a considerable interval is therefore allowed us to determine in what manner deference may be paid to the orders which we have received, so as least to impair the security of the empire, and best to preserve the authority and consideration which are due to the local Government.

3. I will proceed to examine first, for our vindication, the treaty of September 1837, and the grounds on which it is condemned; secondly, the principles upon which this and similar treaties have been founded; and, lastly, the course which under present circumstances we should resolve upon pursuing.

4. The treaty which I negotiated with the king of Oude, was, as I thought at the time of its conclusion, and still think, founded on the clearest principles of equity. I had, before the death of the late king, recorded my opinion of the treaty of 1801, and of the difficulty which existed under it of enforcing its conditions, and of securing that good government in Oude which was its prominent object. The personal character of the late king precluded all hope

of benefit from any arrangement short of the extreme one of setting him aside, and either selecting a more worthy member of his family in his room, or managing the country in his name by means of British officers. Had his death not occurred when it did, we should probably have been compelled to adopt some measure of this nature, however undesirable, as the old hoards being exhausted, he would have possessed no other means of feeding his prodigality than by undue exactions, and forestalling the revenues of the country. But the Government had long painfully felt how embarrassed it was on the application of such an effectual and necessary remedy, by the absence of any distinct declaration of the right to resort to it in the terms of the subsisting engagements, and the exceeding difficulty in acting in real accordance with the stipulations of those engagements, in respect to the military force of Oude, and to the ordinary conduct of the administration, had been manifested by a protracted, and, as it must, I fear, be admitted, not very creditable experience. Under these circumstances, the accession of a new sovereign seemed to me to be obviously a fitting opportunity for tendering to him terms, by which either the more strict and just observance of the stipulations of the existing treaty should at least be attempted, or new stipulations formed for the purpose of supplying the defects of that treaty, and of fixing a check upon the inconveniences to which its lax observance exposed our Indian empire; I wished the choice of these alternatives to be freely left to the king. I rejected all bonds of submissiveness; it was my expectation that he would abide by the treaty of 1801, and it was my intention to indulge him with time to adapt his institutions to that treaty; but he did not strongly object to a specification of the former, in which British interference in case of misgovernment should be exercised, and he preferred, although with reluctance (for he would have been glad, of course, could he have had it in his power, to have obtained all the convenience of a retention of the treaty in his own favour, without giving any equivalent benefit in return), to place at his own expense a portion of his numerous and ill-organised army under British officers, to the extensive reduction which might be demanded from him.

5. I think that he was right. Indeed, it does not appear possible that the system of revenue management, as it exists in the native States, can be carried on in any independence without a large military force. The country is divided into large districts; the amil or farmer of each district has extensive local powers; many of the zemindars have strong fortresses; the Government, even where well administered, is often set at defiance; and it is only by direct force that its dues can be recovered; and where the administration is bad, resistance is more frequent. Under the late king the number of troops in regular employment hardly fell short of 70,000 men, and even the present king does not foresee the possibility of being able to enforce his right with fewer than 40,000.

6. But no one can look forward to the possibility of critical times in India, and to the position of Oude, and not feel how serious an instrument of injury a force of this magnitude may become. With a king lax in all his habits as was the last, the force must be numerous for the control of his subjects; with one like the present king, of shrewdness and exactness, it will be well paid and fairly regulated; with one of military ambition, it might become truly formidable. I need not say how far removed is such a state of things from that which was contemplated by Lord Wellesley when he signed the treaty of 1801. That treaty, as is stated in Lord Wellesley's letter to the Court, dated 14 November 1801, was by him considered to have effected the entire extinction of the military power of Oude, and was intended to afford perpetual security against the revival of the army which had existed in that country. The employment of British troops in the collection of the revenue at the mere discretion of the Oude sovereign, has very properly been refused; the army has in consequence revived, and I have seen no other permanent security against the mischief which is to be apprehended from its revival, no other method of at once securing and reconciling the rights and interests both of the British and Oude Governments, than that a portion of the national force should be placed under the control of British officers.

7. The question was simply whether the treaty should be relaxed towards Oude, to the hazard of injury to British interests without the demand of adequate

adequate security on the part of the British Government. To cite the words of the instructions to Colonel Low, "the Governor-General in Council is prepared most strictly to adhere to the treaty of 1801; but if it be relaxed in favour of the king, the indulgence must be made consistent with the preservation of essential British interests;" and "if, after full discussion, the king should still decidedly prefer to revert to an exact performance of the stipulations of 1801, his Lordship in Council without reserve admits his right to do so."

8. I have thus endeavoured to state the case, as it respects, the military arrangements of the recent treaty, with all fairness. If I felt that I had erred in endeavouring too eagerly to gain a great public object, I think that I should have the candour to avow my error; but after repeated deliberation, and with all deference to the opinion of the Honourable Court, I cannot perceive that the stipulation in question is open to objection on the score of harshness or injustice.

9. The stipulation, secondly, objected to is that which engaged for the introduction of management by British agents in any district of Oude, in which maladministration shall have grossly prevailed, it being at the same time provided that the system of native management shall be as much as possible upheld.

10. Lord Wellesley, in his letter upon the treaty of 1801, uses the following words: "Your Honourable Committee will further remark that, by the operation of the 6th Article of the treaty, the Company's Government has reserved the positive right of interference in the internal management of that part of the country retained by the Nuwaub Vizier, and you may be assured of my unremitting endeavours to exercise this right to such an extent as shall afford every practicable degree of security for the lives and properties of the Vizier's remaining subjects, and shall preclude any disturbance of the peace and good order of our dominions from the vicinity of his Excellency's administration." And in their letter of the 10th April 1838 the Secret Committee seem to think that all that could be required had been effected by this part of the treaty of 1801, and say that "the provisions of the new treaty were not required for the purpose of securing good government to Oude, inasmuch as, under the stipulations of the treaty of 10th November 1801, you were enabled, and indeed intended, to carry into effect a course of measures for the accomplishment of that object, which were rendered unnecessary by the death of the late king." The stipulation, too, is criticised as being of a humiliating character, as well as conferring no additional power.

11. In defence of the introduction of the article in question, I would say that, from the year of its conclusion down to 1837, the treaty of 1801 had signally and wholly failed to have the beneficial effect which might have been expected from it; that the assertion of a right, without a definition of the means of enforcing it, has been found to be practically of very little value, and that the state of things which has been in consequence induced, has been a subject of frequent regret, and even of serious reproach to the British administration.

12. The reform of the internal administration of Oude was urged upon Saadut Allee Khan by Major Baillie for four years, from 1808 to 1813, and many successive plans proposed in vain. These plans were rejected, because, in the event of their failure, as was said by the Government of that day, Government might be reproached with the loss of revenue which might ensue, and Major Baillie was instructed to relinquish the introduction of any particular system, but to urge the Vizier to reform in his own way. In the end, the idea of effecting any permanent reform was given up, the result of the negotiation having convinced the Government that, with a prince of Saadut Allee's temper and talents, there was no medium course. He must either be left to conduct the government himself, according to his own system, or the Government must, through its Residents, and by the appointment of its own officers, conduct the entire administration for him.

13. After the death of Saadut Allee Khan, and when the government had fallen into the hands of his weak successor, the state of the police of Oude, and indeed every branch of its administration, became even worse than before. Still, having the example of the previous discussions in recollection, the Supreme Government for some years did not go beyond addressing letters to

the king, recommending in general terms moderation and good faith, and periodical settlements, instead of the ruinous system of farming the collection of large divisions of the country. This advice was of course given in vain, no reform being attempted, and disturbances taking place annually as heretofore.

14. The condition of inquiry by the Resident into the justice of each demand of revenue was at length imposed before the aid of the British troops to enforce collection was granted, and a discretion was left with the commanding officer of adjusting revenue claims. But again, the employment of British troops, and the destruction by them of the forts of the zemindars, so as to prevent all successful resistance to oppression, were stated to be amongst the causes of misgovernment; and the inquiry into the equity of a demand, though admitted to be better than no investigation at all, was stated to be of bad effect, because it made the British officers judges between the ruler of Oude and his subjects.

15. Amidst these doubts and difficulties, misgovernment and anarchy continued to prevail; and in repeated despatches the Court have united with the Government in deploring a state of things which was admitted to be one of unmingled evil, both to Oude and to our border territory. Still, when the remedy came to be considered, the Court and the Government, year after year, alike hesitated to point out any operative means of reform, or to sanction any strong measure directed to that end, and every attempt at interposition was of the most vague and ineffectual description. For instance, Lord Amherst's government addressed a letter to the king, urging reform, and hinting, as the alternative, that the Government would adopt ulterior measures. The Court's despatch of 1825 says, "We have the alternative doubtless of withdrawing from the alliance, or of enforcing reform and the treaty with Oude." Yet paragraph 165 of the same despatch rejected the notion of introducing British officers to make settlements and to control police, the Government being reminded that the treaty would not warrant such a proceeding.

16. I need not pursue this history further down to the date at which other doctrines were avowed from England, although great hesitation was felt as to giving effect to the change in India; but assuredly all the attention which I had given to events in Oude had satisfied me, that, as regards the check of maladministration, the treaty of 1801 had not fulfilled its purpose, and that its defect lay in the omission of any specification of the mode in which interference could be effectually applied to the correction of rank abuse. I endeavoured in the late treaty to supply this omission in the manner which might most strengthen the hands of the British Government, and be least grating to the national feelings of the subjects of the king of Oude, while I, at the same time, hoped that the express declaration of the remedy would operate as a preventive of the disorders to which it was designed to apply. As stated in my minute of 11 August 1837, it appeared to me "both just and necessary to endeavour to place our right of resorting to the extreme measure of assuming the management of Oude, in the event of misgovernment, on the most distinct and avowed footing. Such an engagement by treaty would be a real benefit, in being also the most solemn warning to the rulers of Oude; and we cannot but be conscious how long maladministration has been tolerated, mainly from the absence of such a specific declaration."

17. I pressed for the condition with every desire to do justice to the excellent character and disposition of the king of Oude; but I wished for security beyond his life. I believed myself to have accomplished a great public object; it was matter of bitter disappointment to me to find how contrary to mine upon the subject was the opinion entertained in England; and I trust that I have not gone too far in thus endeavouring, for my own satisfaction, to place upon record, and again to urge upon attention the motives and the reasoning which led me into the course which has been disapproved. I would not omit to notice the fact which will, I am persuaded, have its just and great weight with the home authorities, that the part of the treaty to which I have last referred, had the very decided cordial support of the Resident, Colonel Low, on whose intimate knowledge of the state of circumstances in Oude, and approved character for disinterestedness and moderation, I need not expatiate.

18. I would,

18. I would, in the second place, examine the principles of policy by which we should be guided upon any future opportunity of imposing a military check upon the native States. The Court would in all such cases have a reference previously made to the authorities at home; but I would say, with all deference, that such an obligation would have the effect of absolutely paralyzing the Government in nearly all negotiations carried on for such an object. The imposition of a check of this nature can scarcely ever be abstractedly and permanently welcome; the opportunity of effecting it must be watched, and before many months can elapse, the sense of reciprocal obligation will have become cold, the feeling of embarrassment or of danger will have passed, or the strength will have been dispersed, which may have led to the acceptance of the new conditions. Take the instance of a State, the internal peace of which is disturbed by disorderly retainers; it is agreed upon as a just equivalent, that for an undisciplined rabble, or for a portion of it, a well-ordered contingent shall be substituted; it is necessary for the peace of the country, that the dissolution of the one and the entertainment of the other shall be simultaneous. Yet the necessity for a reference home may render such an operation absolutely impossible. There may, on the other hand, be cases in which the reference may be easily admitted by the circumstances of the case, and when, for the sake of all parties, it would be satisfactory; but it is clearly desirable, for the strength and the confidence of the Indian Government, that a broad and well-understood principle should be laid down by which we may be guided in emergency and in the general direction of any proceedings, and that an end should be pointed out to the attainment of which the endeavours of the Government should upon reasonable occasions be with all fairness directed.

19. The arguments against military reform are forcibly stated in a despatch of the Honourable Court of the 21st January 1824, and it is there laid down that it should no longer be our object to make the troops of our allies efficient, because we have no longer need of their service to assist us in war, and that we should rather seek to discourage the entertainment of any troops, so as to save expense to our allies, and enable them to remit revenue. The objections to the introduction of British officers were that to the ally there was humiliation, and that an inroad was made on the independence of the prince, that the natives and nobles of the State were excluded from high command; and that there was a drain from the measure being looked upon as an indication of further design. It was remarked that, when the system is introduced, the military power is with the nation which provides the officers, and if the civil power remains with the native prince, the division is a source of weakness; that the efficiency of the native administration must necessarily cease with the loss of a native military available for its own purposes, and that the abstraction of officers from the army was a source of public weakness, and it was further assumed that the officers in these corps are young and uncontrolled, and that they bring disrepute on the general Government. Upon the two last objections I would only remark that the abstraction of a few officers is much less a source of weakness than is the detention of regiments as a check upon independent armies, and that experience of late years has proved how admirable and how discreet, under the present system of selection and control, is the general conduct of our officers when placed in this position; the appointments are given to officers of merit and acquirement, they become objects of emulation and of laudable ambition, and tend greatly to the general improvement of the army.

20. In some of the other observations contained in the despatch referred to, there is assuredly much of substantial objection, and I would not deny that such military reform as that to which I now allude, is unpalatable, and that it is hard to reconcile any military dependence with an independence in civil government; but I yet think that it is very far better to face this inconvenience than those which would accompany a laxer system. We know, by the painful experience of the present moment, how small a portion of our regular army is available for foreign service, and we know, too, how little of military assistance we could in difficulty expect, even if there should be good will from our native allies: for a ruler, though sufficiently able, by means of his own troops, to manage the affairs of his own country, may be quite unable to protect himself from external enemies, or to render, for this purpose, the slightest service to the supreme power, and in such a cluster of independent

States, as is, for instance, to be found in Rajpootana, where, from want of unity of authority, there is a general disposition to lawlessness and disturbance, and but little power of control, it seems to be for the clear good of all, that a portion of the force maintained by each State should be under one direction and one organisation, available at the will of the paramount power to the preservation of the general security and peace.

21. But, in deviation from the former opinion of the Honourable Court, the arguments in favour of military reform under British officers were very strongly laid down in the despatch of the Secret Committee, dated 9th June 1838, upon the reduction of the Contingent Force which has been maintained by the State of Nagpore. That reduction was strongly disapproved, and after stating the objections to which it seems liable, the despatch proceeds: "We cannot, therefore, think that even were you to receive regularly the tribute for which you stipulated, you would in any degree be indemnified for the loss of real military strength, which seems to be the necessary consequence of the treaty you intend to conclude, and you must bear in mind that, from the gross receipt of tribute whatever it may be, must be at all times deducted the increased charge upon your finances by the return to their regiments of the officers now employed with the auxiliary troops.

"There are some expressions in the papers before us, which lead us to apprehend that your views of the general policy, which it has become our interest and our duty to pursue towards the remaining native States of India, may not be such as would meet with our concurrence.

"Whilst there existed in India many native States of various strength, accustomed to independent action, and all naturally jealous of our increasing power, it was our interest that each should be a substantive State, disposed freely of its own army and administering its own territory, but since the first darree war, our power has been predominant in India, and no native State has possessed a substantive existence.

"We may not have desired this result, but it has taken place, and we cannot without incurring all the dangers from which we have escaped, and exposing all India to the appalling calamity of general war, loosen the hold we now have upon its princes.

"We may permit them to administer their own territories, not only because we should take from them only what is required for our own security, but because a native administration, when good, is necessarily better than any we can establish. It is cheaper, and it is more congenial to the habits of the people. From a good native administration, such as we have seen in Mysore and Bhopal, we have yet much to learn.

"Where our interference in the internal administration of a State is neither directly nor indirectly the result of our engagements with it, nothing but a just and reasonable apprehension that its maladministration may endanger the general peace, can justify our authoritative intervention in its affairs. The benefits which, in a particular case, might attend our intervention would more than counterbalanced by the danger of violating a principle of national law.

"Whether the civil administration of India be conducted by Englishmen or by natives, is to us a matter of indifference, provided that everywhere that mode of administration be adopted which may seem best calculated to secure the welfare of the people, but for the safety of our power and for the maintenance of peace, it is essential that the whole military force of India should remain in our hands."

*Sic orig.*

22. The conclusions of these paragraphs would seem to justify the views of policy which I was desirous of accomplishing when I concluded the late treaty with Oude, and I have already stated upon what grounds I believe the course pursued by me to have been neither harsh nor unjust. I need scarcely add that my own opinions are much more in accordance with the despatch of 1838 than with that of 1824. Yet I am no friend to abrupt and indiscriminate interference with either the civil or military administration of any of the native States, and every case of interference in civil affairs should rather be viewed as an exception from general principle than as coming within a rule upon every occasion to be followed.



23. We should not interfere with civil government unless the management is such as to threaten a disturbance of the general tranquillity, or unless our relations with the disturbed State are such as to prevent the subject from redressing his own grievances. In the former case, the security and peace of our own possessions form a motive sufficient to justify our interference. In the latter case, our right to interfere between the sovereign and his subjects is not so clear without an express stipulation, and such a stipulation it would seem our duty strictly to impose (as was done in the treaty with Oude now under discussion), where, by guaranteeing the sovereign against all internal as well as external enemies, we leave him without any effectual check to the exercise of his rapacity. But the principle of securing to ourselves as much as possible the military strength of India is of more general application, and we should with this view, in my deliberate judgment, extend our subsidiary and auxiliary arrangements as just opportunities may serve. The recent arrangements with Lucknow and with Kotah are in point. In the former case it was optional to the king of Oude to accept a new, or adhere to the old treaty. In the latter we conferred an equivalent benefit. The worst effect of these arrangements is, that where the civil government is ill administered, we are in a manner forced more rapidly to interfere, and are gradually led on step by step to take too great a share in the administration; but we have only in the present state of India a choice of evils. I am, as I have said, very far from desirous to be forward in engrossing the administration of native States under the British Government: I may add, too, that in my opinion the native administration ought rarely in any event to be greatly disturbed. The system to which the people have been accustomed may generally be preserved in all its more important parts, whilst British supervision may only be required to give to it a good and efficient direction.

24. The principle, however, of consolidating by every fair means the effective military power in our own hands is of such vital importance as wholly to supersede all minor considerations. For the security and improvement of India, as well as for the highest interests of our own country, it is essential that our own dominion in the East should be maintained in paramount strength and influence, while it ought not to be concealed from the home authorities that under exigencies, such as we cannot now exclude from our contemplation, our present military position is in fact one of hazardous weakness.

25. The possibility of the overthrow of our power is an idea which, after the events of this year, will, I fear, not be strange to the minds of the native population in any part of India. I would not exaggerate the extent or the effect of such feelings, but their existence has been proved to us by reports from our officers in all parts of our territories. The progress of the siege of Herat excited a keen interest, which could not be mistaken, alike at Delhi, at Gwalior, and in Mysore. The effect of any accidental reverse in totally destroying the confidence of the monied classes in the stability of our Government, and so depriving us of the means of raising funds in any difficulty by loans, has been a subject of serious reflection at Madras. The opinion of our fixed supremacy once shaken, and we shall find that, as we are now situated, the great employment of our forces in serious emergency will be to check the irregular armies of the native princes, and the undisciplined bands of persons ripe for a life of military adventure and licence, with whom India yet swarms, instead of their being available for great movements of precaution or defence on or beyond our frontier. If we desire to present a really strong and deterring point to any powerful external enemy, we must remove or neutralise the causes of distraction and mischief by which we are everywhere surrounded at home. It was with eminent wisdom and justice that the Secret Committee pointed out this important truth to the Government in their despatch of June 1830, having reference to the particular case of Nagpore. "Under the treaty of 1826," they remark, "you could have moved a large portion of that (the subsidiary) force beyond the frontier of Berar, and have added to it some regiments of the auxiliary troops. Now you will, in the event of war, be obliged to retain the whole of that force at Nagpore, to watch the army of the Bhoorsia, and probably to bring forward in support of it troops from Jaulna and Hyderabad."

26. It is ever to be remembered, in considering the equity of our proceedings on this subject, that the States of India which enjoy peace and protection under

our auspices are bound by treaties to render us auxiliary service or subordinate cooperation. Are we not to be at liberty to amend a state of things by which the intention of those engagements is wholly defeated, when we have allies not only impotent for good, but in themselves the sources of embarrassment and danger?

27. I hesitate not, upon these grounds, to say that, in my firm conviction, it is indispensably required, not for the prosperity only, but for the safety and existence of our Indian empire, that we should adopt it as a fundamental principle of our Government to bring the military power of our native States, as suitable and unobjectionable opportunities present themselves, under our efficient control and check. Where an increase is permitted, as in Oude, of the independent military means of a native State, an adequate local check should at the same time be carefully provided. Where a State is specially bound, as is the case with Kotah, to afford subordinate cooperation, arrangements should be formed (as was done in the recent settlement for the reinstatement of the Maha Rao) to make, wherever circumstances render the disposition of the ruler favourable, that cooperation real and valuable. I would not push to extreme the sentiment of the despatch of 1830; in which it is stated to be essential "that the whole military force of India should remain in our hands." For a force, such as is sufficient for the ordinary management of their internal affairs, should remain with the native powers, and all that is required is, that a portion of the native force should be fixed in the country under British discipline and command. Indeed, the existence of a disciplined force strong enough to be an effective balance to the irregular native army, yet leaving that army with the ability to carry on all ordinary affairs without the interference of the disciplined force, is perhaps the best form in which our relations can be placed, with a view to the double objects of preserving the independence of the native State in its civil government, and of maintaining the interests of British supremacy, without entangling us in a constant responsibility for the conduct of internal affairs.

28. I would but add, that the disciplining a portion of their troops under British officers will generally in the end be a measure of real economy to a native government. Thus, we were a short time ago informed that, should we raise the contingent, for which provision is included in the late treaty with Kotah, the Maha Rao would immediately be disposed, as he would be enabled, to dispense with a large portion of his undisciplined army.

29. I will not further protract these observations; but I would submit them with my most earnest recommendation that the principles which they would uphold, and the circumstances under which I am now guided in the assertion of those principles, may receive the very attentive and serious consideration of the home Government. I repeat, that I firmly believe the question raised by them to be one materially affecting the stability of our Indian empire.

30. Upon the third point to which I have proposed to advert in this minute, viz., the course to be at present followed respecting the treaty with Oude, I have great difficulty in writing. It must be painful and disadvantageous to myself and to the Government to have to recede from an ostensible measure of importance and interest, and particularly from one, the beneficial result of which, as regards our political and military position, no one can, I think, doubt, though doubts have been entertained upon the manner in which it was effected. It may be said of it, too, that it has been accomplished and acquiesced in with respect to native, as well as to European opinion in India, with the most perfect tranquillity, and assuredly our retreat at present, and the sacrifice required from us, will not be otherwise viewed than as a proof of the weakness of the Government, and of the growing transfer of power from the local authorities in India to the influence which reigns in England. I need not argue upon the effects, good or evil, of such a transfer. The Court has disapproved the treaty; we are ordered to exonerate the king of Oude from its obligations, though at the same time it is left to us to adapt our measures to the state of circumstances as they might be found to exist upon the receipt of the letter of the Secret Committee, and the largest discretion is allowed to us in regard to the mode of carrying the wishes of the Court into effect. I had entertained the hope that explanation and representation on our part might have led to a change

change of opinion on the part of the Court: for I cannot but think that this measure has been much misunderstood, and the evils of its rejection are very greatly undervalued. And if the question rested only between ourselves and the Court, I might have framed such a statement as is made in the early part of this paper, for the special end of obtaining a revocation of the late order, but I find the view taken by the Court to be publicly declared. I find pledges upon the non-ratification of the treaty given to Parliament, and I feel that we are placed in a situation of much difficulty, and must at least now refrain from making any demand upon the king of Oude for whatever is burdensome in the conditions which have been agreed to by him.

31. This might seem to imply the immediate reduction of that part of the contingent which was raised in the firm confidence which I at least entertained, that the treaty of 1837 could only meet with approbation; but in the present state of public affairs I cannot advise the reduction of this force. We have been, up to a late period, speculating with anxiety upon the probability of a hostile descent from the Nepalese Hills upon our plains, and all have felt in how defenceless a condition those plains are exposed to aggressions. In no other positions for the protection and tranquillity of Oude itself, for aid to Goruckpore on one side, and to Rohilcund on the other, could stations be better chosen than those of Sulapore and Sultanpore, and if not occupied by this contingent, it would be necessary to protect them and the adjoining provinces, either by an addition of regular or of irregular troops; but I need not point out to the Council how many regiments have already been drawn from those provinces, how hardly equal to our present exigencies are the military resources at our command, and how utterly inconsistent with prudence it would be to reduce a single soldier whose services can at this moment be available to us. I propose, therefore, that Colonel Caulfield, upon taking charge of the Residency of Lucknow, be instructed to inform the king, in terms which may best mark reliance upon the excellence of his character, that, guided by the opinions which have been declared in his favour in England, the Government of India has determined upon refraining for the present from making any demand upon his majesty, and upon defraying, until further orders, from its own treasury the expenses of the Oude contingent. The king may further be informed, that he will be thus left, while the Government of India continues to extend to him the favour by which this indulgence is dictated, to the undisturbed prosecution, under that careful expenditure for which he is remarkable, of those measures which may seem to him to be best calculated to promote the improvement of his country. I must fear that the indulgence will rather lead to the accumulation of treasure than to any decided pursuit of the better purposes of government, although it may yet be hoped that the excellence of the king's disposition will, under good counsel, lead him to apply a portion of the very ample means at his disposal to works of acknowledged utility. Perhaps what I have proposed may be considered to be sufficient as a first step; and even if political circumstances were not so entirely opposed, as they are, to the immediate dissolution of the contingent, there would, I may add, be difficulties in the prosecution of such a measure, which, it seems, were not foreseen by the Court. It might, no doubt, be at once effected by an imperative order on the part of Government directing the officers to rejoin their regiments, and paying and disbanding the men; but the commandant of the force held, before his appointment, the office of deputy adjutant-general, and it would be hard because he has preferred, with but little increase of emolument, a military to a civil employment, to send him back to the diminished allowances attached to the command of a regiment. The same remark is applicable to other officers, native as well as European, and in a great degree also to the men; and in the dispersion of such a force, if it is ultimately to take place, care must be taken to inflict as little as possible of personal hardship and injury; for, in my opinion, the little that is to be gained by an unbending strictness of economy in such cases, is often very dearly purchased at the expense of general dissatisfaction and mistrust.

32. I would thus, however strongly I am impressed with the vast importance of the subject which is under discussion, endeavour to render, so far as the actual exigency of affairs will permit, the obedience which is due by the Government to the instructions which have been received from England.

I esteem it highly fortunate that, consistently with the duty of obedience, the opportunity is at the same time afforded for again bringing a question of such extended and vital interest, in all its bearings, under the deliberate review of the home authorities. It will, I am well persuaded, receive the mature consideration which it demands from all who are concerned in the firm maintenance of the connexion between England and India; and I shall consider that a most valuable progress will have been made towards the just enforcement of the principles for which I have contended, if, in the issue of their deliberations, those authorities should yet give their sanction to the continuance, wholly or in part, of the disciplined force in Oude upon the footing contemplated by the treaty, the operation of which it has now been incumbent on us to suspend.

33. Before disposing of a question of this magnitude, I would request the opinion of the members of Council upon the points to which I have adverted in the present paper, and if it should coincide with mine, I will then lose no time in giving the necessary instructions to Lieutenant-colonel Caulfield. In the meantime a copy of this minute will be forwarded to the Honourable the Secret Committee by the present steam despatch.

(signed) *Auckland.*

Umritsur, 13 December 1838.

MINUTE by the Honourable Mr. *Robertson.*

Governor-General's Minute of 13 Dec. 1838, on the Affairs of Oude.

It is impossible to approach the important subject of this paper without glancing at the general question of what is known by the name of the non-interference policy.

Upon this point I must venture to introduce a passage from a minute of my own, recorded on the 17th December 1835, when the measures to be pursued towards Jyepore were under discussion.

In that paper it was observed, that "the tendency of the policy alluded to, seemed to be towards consequences the very reverse of what it professes to aim at.

"Professing a solicitude for the independence of neighbouring powers, it calmly sees them crumble to pieces, or hurry along in a course that must end in total subjugation to our empire.

"States, which timely interference might preserve entire, as unquestionable monuments of our good faith, are, according to this policy, if I understand it right, to be supposed to expunge their own independence, and thus shake the general belief in the sincerity of our professions of moderation."

If there be any truth in the remarks which I have just cited, their applicability to our relations with Oude will readily be admitted.

Our persevering indifference towards the lavish profusion and other extravagancies of the late ruler of that State was, I apprehend, regarded by the native community, more especially the Mahomedan portion, as flowing from any rather than purely disinterested motives, and was even imputed by many to a crafty design of bringing his dominions into a condition to afford a pretext for adding them to our own.

Such being my long since formed opinion as to our dealings with States situated like that of Oude, I can have no hesitation in declaring that I think it was an act of wise and honest policy on the part of our Government to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the demise of its late sovereign to supply what experience had proved to be wanting in our relations with that country, namely, an express provision for the enforcement of that right of interference which was asserted, but not sufficiently secured to us in the pre-existing treaty. No new condition was thus imposed, nor ought that penal article to be accounted very grievous which must for ever remain inoperative, unless called into action by the disregard of the obligations the Court of Lucknow has lain under ever since it acceded to the treaty of 1801. For my own part, I feel assured that if the independence of Oude remain much longer, it will be mainly in consequence of this very provision.

The

The articles which provide for the maintenance of a new levy, at an annual cost of 16 lacs of rupees, lose much of their apparent harshness when contemplated with reference to the treaty of 1801, and to the option afforded to the present king of standing by the provisions of that compact, if he preferred a literal adherence to its conditions to an acceptance of the terms of the proposed modification. Unless it is maintained that the exception in favour of "such number of armed peons as shall be deemed necessary for the purpose of the collections," was meant to apply to a force, however undisciplined, of from 40 to 60,000 men, it can hardly be denied that the rigid enforcement of the 3d article of the treaty of 1801 would have cramped and crippled the power of the ruler of Oude far beyond what is to be apprehended from the operation of the recently concluded arrangement so severely condemned by the Honourable Court. Still it is worthy of consideration whether it will not be better to retain the power of demanding, without immediately proceeding to enforce, the complete fulfilment of this particular stipulation.

Supposing a force, the expense of supporting which will not exceed ten lacs of rupees, to be for the present maintained, then the remission or exaction of the remaining six lacs may be rendered instrumental towards encouraging a good and checking a bad administration in future.

I am disposed also to hope that, by such a relaxation of the terms of the existing treaty with Oude, the authorities in England may be reconciled to a measure which cannot now be cancelled without the most serious inconvenience, and, with reference to our relations with Nepal, I may even say danger.

9 January 1839.

(signed) *T. C. Robertson.*

Since writing what precedes, I have read Colonel Morrison's minute of this date, and add these lines to record my entire concurrence in his opinion as to the inexpediency of making any immediate communication to the king of Oude on the subject under discussion.

28 January 1839.

(signed) *T. C. Robertson.*

---

MINUTE by the President of the Council.

THE despatch of the Honourable the Court of Directors, No. 27 of 1838, in the Political Department, dated 11th April last, with that of the Secret Committee of the 10th April, on the subject of the arrangements made upon the accession of the present king of Oude, and expressing disapprobation at the treaty concluded with him on the 11th September 1837, reached the Right Honourable the Governor-General in July last, and his Lordship communicated to us a minute, in which he dwelt upon the pain and disappointment those despatches had occasioned to him. Availing himself, however, of the discretion left to the Government as to the mode of carrying these orders into effect, his Lordship declared the intention of discussing with us and of submitting a reference to your Honourable Court, upon the broad question of policy involved in the measures prescribed in order to procure a specific determination whether or not it is expedient to extend the control of the Government over the military establishments of the native States under British influence and protection.

In the meantime his Lordship forwarded his minute to the Secret Committee, and requested of us to keep the papers as secret as possible.

If this minute of the Governor-General had not been forwarded to England direct from his Lordship's camp, I should have thought it my duty to support his Lordship in his first observations upon the spirit and tenor of the despatches in question, by recording my entire concurrence in his Lordship's sentiments on that point. But as the feelings excited by the first perusal of these orders were thus already made known to the Secret Committee, I have thought I should best fulfil my duty as a member of the Government which arranged and ratified the treaty of September 1837, and should best conform to the wishes of the head of that Government, if I refrained from further agitating the matter until the great questions which his Lordship declared the intention of bringing forward, should be ripe for discussion. In the meantime, the despatches of the

Honourable Court, and of the Secret Committee, have, I believe, been withheld from record, and kept as private as was possible in the Secretary's hands.

The second minute of the Governor-General, dated the 13th December last, and received in Calcutta on the 31st ultimo, contains the mature opinion of the Governor-General on the great question of policy referred to, and concluded by stating the course his Lordship recommends to be followed in the special case of Oude. We are requested to state our sentiments on all points discussed by his Lordship, and I feel the obligation to be stronger upon myself than upon my colleagues, because I alone of the present Council of India was party to all the measures disapproved by the Honourable Court in the despatches before us, and because I think it probable that, in determining to seek, at the last accession to the throne of Oude, a control over the military establishments of that country, the Governor-General was not altogether uninfluenced by the opinions which I had before submitted as to the policy of maintaining the existing auxiliary forces officered from the regular army, and as to the expediency of extending the system, whenever the opportunity of doing so might offer.

In order, therefore, to explain more fully the grounds upon which I take upon myself so much of the merit, and of the responsibility of the Oude military arrangements, I may be allowed to refer to a minute recorded by me in March 1837, when the question whether the management of Oude should be taken into our own hands for a time, was under the consideration of Government. I proposed, "If at any time a crisis should occur to render the assumption unavoidable, the event, however much to be regretted, would confer benefits on the people of Oude not likely to be otherwise realised. But in the event of any new treaty with that State, I would strongly recommend the expediency of forming its army on the same model as that of Hyderabad. The distribution of the British officers in the country which this measure would occasion, would operate as some check on further misrule, and thereby prove beneficial to the people; and whilst it would at once secure the tranquillity of Oude, it would add materially to our military resources, by rendering the Bengal army more generally disposable, and by tending to prevent any ruler of Oude from joining in any measures hostile to our interests."

On another occasion, in discussing the affairs of Hyderabad, when his Lordship did me the honour to desire to receive my sentiments with respect to the mode of providing officers for the Nizam's army, I adverted, in a minute, dated in June 1837, to the advantages of this auxiliary system, and after showing that such officers should, in my judgment, be supplied exclusively from the Company's army, I added, generally, as follows:

"It will be kept in mind that the Nizam's regular troops are not the only troops belonging to States for which we have to provide officers. The late reform of Scindiah's contingent, and the formation of the Joudpoor legion, have created a new demand. A few more officers will probably be required with the Mysore troops; and it appears to me not only probable, but politic, that this system should be somewhat further extended. I am also of opinion that it is most consistent with our own and the general interests of India, that all the officers so provided should belong to the Company's army; and if this cannot be allowed to the extent which may hereafter be required, consistently with the efficiency of that army, I conceive that there ought to be maintained a body of supernumerary officers of every army to meet the extra demand, or to replace the officers hereafter required to serve with the regular troops of native States. So long as these troops are thus provided with our own officers, and their pay secured to them in all emergencies, they must be viewed as virtually forming a part of our own army, and they become of extreme importance by rendering that army more disposable. The system, in short, involves an important extension of our military resources at little expense, but accompanied, I conceive, by an equal degree of advantage to the native States, from the tranquillity and internal security it brings along with it."

Such were the views which I entertained and recorded before the death of the late king of Oude, specifically with regard to the army of that State, and generally with regard to the other States under our protection; and when I saw that similar views were taken by the Governor-General in proposing measures for the reform of the military establishments of Oude, I gave, of course, my cordial assent to the same, and now willingly take upon myself any portion of the

the censure conveyed in the despatches under discussion, which, as the first proposer of a reform of the army of Oude, I ought individually to bear.

Having premised that much in explanation of the part taken by me on imposing upon the new king of Oude the obligation to reform his troops upon the model of the Nizam's force, it is not necessary that I should enter into the particular circumstances which attended the negotiation of the treaty stipulating for that object, concurring as I do entirely in all that the Governor-General has stated in justification of the measures adopted in Oude, and which would ere this, have been complete and effective for their great object had not the orders from home arrested their progress.

The treaty and arrangements of 1801 had manifestly failed, not recently only, but consecutively from the date of their conclusion to that of the late king's decease in 1837, in affording to the population in Oude a scheme of internal government, such as it was contemplated to introduce. They had failed equally when Oude was governed by Sadut Alee Khan, an acknowledged able man, as when that country fell into the hands of his indolent and vicious successors. The utmost that could be expected from the present ruler under the same arrangements was a greater degree of vigour in the administration than had been displayed by his two immediate predecessors, a system similar to that of his able father; but with that the Government and the home authorities would have been alike dissatisfied; for during the whole remainder of Sadut Alee's life, subsequent to the treaty, all these authorities were constantly urging its reform without effect. That very scheme, which is rightly described as a farming of the whole powers of administration, a licensing of extortion to the highest bidder, degenerated under the successors of Sadut Alee into an organised system of plunder, supported by a rabble army of nearly 70,000 men. The existence of this army was the prominent evil to be reformed on the death of the late king, and no scheme for its reform seemed to me likely to be effective that did not provide a safe and suitable force at the disposal of the ruling power equal to the support of the Oude government in all proper measures, and promising to be an instrument of good government in any hands; and with respect to the advantages of such a force, we had full experience in that of Hyderabad, and formerly in that of Nagpoor.

The Honourable Court and Secret Committee declare that it was unjust to the sovereign of Oude to impose on him the new scheme of military establishment until he had been fully tried upon the principle of the treaty and arrangements of 1801; but I conceive that the Government was fully warranted in considering that the power of advice in the Resident had proved to be no security whatever for good government; and it must of necessity be so if the entire executive authority remain in other hands. To impose, however, on the sovereign of Oude the obligation to consult before issuing any order, and to require him to conform to the advice given after consultation, would obviously be a transfer of the entire sovereignty to the Resident without responsibility, which surely we could never approve. I conceive it also to have been established by past experience that the restrictions to the number of local troops imposed by the treaty of 1801 had created, if I may so express myself, an impossible government, unless indeed we freely lent the British troops to execute administrative details. But this we could never consent to do without judging of the propriety of the measures to be enforced, which was so unpalatable to the ruler of Oude, that hence arose the local army already mentioned, in contravention of the treaty, and destruction of the welfare of the country.

I joined, therefore, in the Governor-General's propositions for a change in the arrangements of 1801, under the conviction that Government had no alternative left, under the state of things produced by those arrangements, but sanctioning, on one hand, perpetual disorganisation, or taking, on the other, the entire administration of the territory of Oude into its own hands; and I had before strongly objected to any temporary assumption of the country as eventually sanctioned by the Honourable Court. In the inability to reconcile to myself the adoption of either of these extremes, I regarded the proposition to take at present only the management of the effective military power, and to leave the civil administration to the hereditary ruler, with the stipulation of final occupation of the territory, if its government was not conducted by him on beneficial principles, as a happy middle course, fully warranted by the circumstances, and far short of the measure of temporary assumption which had

*Sic orig.*

been authorised by the Honourable Court with reference to the known condition of things in Oude.

And with regard to the expediency of first securing the military power, I must say that I think the Government were warranted in considering that this course was specifically that enjoined for their observance by the home authorities. The Right Honourable the Governor-General has referred to the despatch of the Secret Committee, dated 9th June 1830, upon the subject of the military force of Nagpore, which had been organised on precisely the same principles as that of Hyderabad, which was suddenly, and I think unfortunately, given up in 1829\* for a money tribute in commutation. I therefore entirely concur in the sentiments of the passage extracted by his Lordship from that despatch, and I have been much struck with the penetration and forecast displayed in those instructions.

Until the present despatches the Government of India has received no communication, that I am aware of, from the home authorities, altering in any respect the instructions contained in those paragraphs quoted by the Governor-General; and I cannot but hope that when the attention of the Secret Committee is again drawn to its despatch of June 1830, that the orders contained in the letter of the 10th April last, which are founded on such opposite views, may not be repeated. I refrain from adverting at present to the arguments against the system of military reform which were stated at length in a despatch of the Honourable Court, dated 21st January 1824, not because I admit their force, but because I consider the subsequent orders of 1830 as containing an admission of their fallacy, and an abandonment of the conclusions which the Honourable Court had previously come to on this important subject. The Governor-General has, I perceive, referred to some of those arguments. I therefore beg leave to express my concurrence on the grounds upon which he has replied to the principal objections to the system, as well as in the conclusion at which his Lordship has arrived, that it is for the good of all of our allies, as well as of ourselves, that a proportion of the force maintained by each State should be under one direction and one organisation, available for the maintenance of the general security and peace.

In the present circumstances of our empire in India, I am confident that no one fully acquainted with those circumstances would desire to weaken the military strength of the Government, however it might have been acquired. Every well-wisher of the Government must be anxious to see its military power extended by every fair means, and I feel that so much is at stake at this juncture, that, instead of recalling the British officers from Oude, and releasing the king from the obligation of maintaining a force so essentially British as the auxiliary force would be, that, notwithstanding the public avowal made in England of dissatisfaction with the treaty of September 1837, I would yet maintain its provisions, in the hope that the orders for abandoning the treaty may be revoked, or so modified as to admit of the completion of that force to the extent already settled, and forming an essential part of our military strength, with equal benefit to our ally and to ourselves.

The Government of India has always in great affairs, where it has taken a different view of a question from the home authorities, exercised the privilege of representation before carrying into effect orders which it deems calculated to do extensive mischief; and on such an occasion as the present I would on no account relinquish the privilege, nor deprive the home authorities of the opportunity of reconsidering these orders.

The case seems to me to be so much strengthened by the measures of a similar kind recently adopted, in conformity with the principles of the despatch of 1830 towards Kota, and so much changed by the military operations in which the Government is now engaged, as well as by the dangers with which we are threatened in other quarters, that I entertain great hopes that, under the strong representation we are prepared to address to the Secret Committee and to the Honourable Court on the subject, we may yet procure the suspension, or some modification, if not the entire revocation, of the order to recall the British officers

---

\* Note.—I am well aware of many powerful arguments against the establishment of such forces without the territories of our allies; but I still state that the substantive power of the country ought to be kept as much as possible in our own hands.



officers from the Oude force; and having this hope, I think it would be injudicious to make any communication on the subject to the king, or in other respects to act upon the instructions received, until we shall have received further orders, which we may perhaps receive in less than six months. At all events, I would certainly not inform the king that he will not be called upon to bear the stipulated charge, as, whether anything be paid by him or not under the new treaty, the after adjustment of the account between the two Governments, according to the final orders that may be passed upon the representation we are about to make, will be a matter of easy arrangement.

If, therefore, we agree to make this representation, I would submit the propriety of letting things remain precisely as they are, until we receive the further orders upon our proposed reference, and I have no doubt that the Honourable Court and the Secret Committee will themselves approve of our adopting this course.

(signed) *W. Morison.*

Calcutta, 28 January 1839.

---

EXTRACT Secret Committee to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated 19th February 1839.

Para. 3. ANY observation from us on his Lordship's despatch, No. 30, relating to Oude is not at present necessary, as, in our letter of the 5th November last, you were informed that it was not our intention to prohibit you from employing, with the consent of the king of Oude, the force which has been raised under British officers as a contingent for the operations which may be required in the present emergency, the expense of such contingent being a charge upon the Indian revenues, and not defrayed by the State of Oude.

4. On the larger questions discussed in his Lordship's minute of the 13th December, we await the receipt of the expected minutes of the members of Council on the points to which he has called their attention, and the matured opinion which may be submitted to us by his Lordship when he has discussed the subject with his Council.

---

EXTRACT Secret Committee of the Court of Directors to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated 15th April 1839, No. 44.

Para. 6. WE cannot consent to any further modification of our orders in respect to the treaty with the king of Oude, beyond those announced to you in our letter of the 5th November 1838, in regard to the temporary retention of the Oude auxiliary force at the expense of the British Government, and not as a charge upon the State of Oude.

7. Our objection to the king of Oude being called upon to defray the expense of these troops was founded upon the fact that we were already bound by treaty to defend the State of Oude against internal and external enemies, in consideration of the cession to us of a large portion of territory; and though we do not object to the retention of the auxiliary troops as a portion of the British army, especially in the present crisis of affairs, when the demands upon your military resources have so much increased, we are decidedly of opinion that no delay should take place in announcing, in such manner as the Governor-General may think fit, to the king of Oude the disallowance of the treaty of 11th September 1837, and the restoration of our relations with the State of Oude to the footing on which they previously stood.

8. You will receive every support from us in the measures that may be necessary in securing good government to the people of Oude, under the stipulations of the treaty of 1801, but we are disposed to place considerable reliance on the favourable disposition manifested by the king, and the judicious advice which will be tendered to him by the Resident under your orders.

(No. 9.)

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs,

Secret Department, Simla, 2 May 1839.

I do myself the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Honourable Committee's despatch, dated the 19th February last, relative to the Oude treaty, and to forward to you the accompanying copy of a further minute this day recorded by me on the subject.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Auckland.*

MINUTE by the Governor-General (Secret Department).

Minute on the  
Oude Treaty.

THE Honourable the Secret Committee have on this subject, in their despatch of February 19th, expressed an expectation of receiving from me a statement of my matured opinion, in reference to that submitted in my minute of the 13th of December, founded on such minutes as might be recorded by the members of Council. I have, in consequence, most attentively reperused the minutes of my colleagues in the Government of India, and will write such few observations as suggest themselves to me upon them. It will not be necessary that I should again dwell at any length upon the arguments by which my sentiments upon the questions under notice have been decided. It will be sufficient to say that those sentiments remain without reserve such as they were avowed by me in the paper of the 13th December, and I cannot indeed but have been much fortified in them by the general concurrence of the high authority of the President in Council. I have thought and felt anxiously on these questions, and I regard them of the greatest importance. At the same time it is my painful impression that I could not revert to the discussion of them with satisfaction and advantage. The views of the President in Council have been directly communicated to the home authorities, and the whole case is now before those authorities for their final orders. I cannot fully express how deeply I must regret that a measure admitted to be so well timed and beneficial by the great majority of judges in this country, a measure which, after years of uncertainty and disorder, promised, as it appeared to me, to place our relations with Oude on a stable and practicable footing, just and useful alike to the British Government, to the king, and to his people, should have been so unequivocally condemned and rejected in England, without permitting to the Government in India even the opportunity of one explanatory representation. This condemnation has not only been announced to us, but it has been declared publicly, and it remains for me only to act as best becomes the obligations of my duty in the difficult circumstances in which I am situated. On the one hand, I well know the vital importance of the matters under consideration; on the other, we owe a cheerful obedience to the commands which have been issued to us with such strong proofs of an entire conviction of their wisdom and necessity. I had in this difficulty proposed to myself the course of making such an immediate communication to the king of Oude as is stated in para. 31 of the minute of December 13th. The President in Council is, however, unanimously opposed to the proceeding at present, and deference is due from me to his opinion. The point is particularly of comparatively little consequence, as it would not, in any event, be necessary to call for any money payment from the king until after ample time shall have been afforded for our receipt of the definitive instructions of the Honourable Court. I shall not, accordingly, press the adoption of my proposal in this respect at the present moment, but shall leave the case, unless new circumstances should arise, for the further directions of the Home Government.

2. I may here remark that two valuable statements of facts, connected with the present state of the internal administration of the Oude territories, have been

been recently received in reports from Captain Paton, when in temporary charge of the Lucknow Residency, and from Lieutenant-colonel Caulfield, the present officiating Resident, and I beg that copies of these papers may be forwarded to the home authorities, as well as of the letter upon them written by my directions to Colonel Caulfield, together with this minute. They show with how great irregularity, injustice and violence the conduct of the most important affairs of his country removed from the king's personal observation is still attended; how his love of accumulation may be abused to evil ends; how wholly defective and corrupt is his system of intelligence respecting events passing in the interior; and how indisputably true it is, as stated in my minute of December 13th, para. 5, that it does not appear possible that the system of revenue management as it exists in the native States can be carried on in any independence without a large military force. My instructions to the officiating Resident will renew my anxiety to rectify the errors of the Government by the exercise only of a friendly and unobtrusive influence, and the whole tenor of the proceedings of the British representative has been, and will be (unless such a course should unhappily be proved to be unavailing), to confirm all, with the conviction that the king acts for himself in the guidance of his administration, with the support of our cordial confidence and regard. But it will, I think, be granted, upon a perusal of these reports alone, that the civil disorders and military turbulence, against which the treaty of 1837 was intended to provide, are such as, even with the best native administration for which we can hope in Oude, must demand the most serious attention on the part of the British Government in India.

3. There is a larger view of the question of the military force maintained in Oude and in other native States, on which I have entered so fully in paragraphs 23 to 29 of my former minute, that I will not expatiate on the subject here; I will only again record my serious and intimate persuasion of the correctness of the opinion which I stated in these words, "I hesitate not upon these grounds to say that in my firm conviction it is indispensably required, not for the prosperity only, but for the safety and existence of our Indian empire, that we should adopt it as a fundamental principle of our Government to bring the military power of the native States, as suitable and unobjectionable opportunities present themselves, under our efficient control and check." Our power in India has been raised and upheld by a constant energy and vigilance, rising in proportion to the perils which have assailed it, and it is by those qualities alone that, through human means, we may hope to preserve it for our posterity; and let it be remembered that this power, now so vast and so respected, can in no quarter be dangerously impaired without the most serious hazard of convulsions, which may everywhere threaten its entire extinction.

4. I will conclude, then, with professing my unaltered adherence to the principles on which the treaty of September 1837 was originally negotiated, principles which were at that time stated in the instructions issued to the Resident, and which have been reargued and enlarged upon in my minute of December last. I am grateful to Colonel Morison for the frankness with which he has avowed and supported his participation with me in the formation of that treaty, and to all the members of the Council for the manner in which their opinions have been stated. My attention has been particularly struck by the forcible observation of Mr. Robertson in regard to the second branch of the treaty, namely, that which provides for the assumption of the administration as a remedy for gross misrule. Mr. Robertson has said, "For my own part, I feel assured that if the independence of Oude endure much longer, it will be mainly in consequence of this very provision." This statement is founded on the solemn, recorded, and effectual warning contained in the treaty, and is in entire consonance with my own convictions.

Simla, 2 May 1839.

(signed) *Auckland.*

EXTRACT Secret Committee to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated 11 July 1839.

Para. 4. WE have only to remark on the Governor-General's letter, No. 9, that we adhere to our former instructions relating to the treaty concluded with the king of Oude, and direct that they may be forthwith carried into effect.

---

The Governor-General of India to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated 15 July (No. 21) 1839.

Honourable Sirs,

IN reply to the 6th and 7th paras. of your Honourable Committee's despatch of the 15th April last, I have the honour to forward copy of a letter addressed to his majesty the king of Oude, a reply to which has not yet reached me.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Auckland.*

---

From the Governor-General of India to his Majesty the King of Oude.

After Compliments,

I HAVE been for many months in correspondence with the Directors of the Honourable Company upon the subject of the treaty which I concluded with your majesty, and of the embarrassments which might be occasioned to the State of Oude by the annual payment of sixteen lakhs to the support of the military force, which has been partly raised under that treaty.

The British authorities would willingly distinguish between the anxiety for good government which has been exhibited by your majesty, and the mal-administration and the reckless extravagance of which in former times they have had so much painful reason to complain; and I have been empowered in consequence to relieve the State of Oude from all that is onerous in the conditions respecting this force, and to defray the expense of the portion of it already organised from the British treasury.

I cordially share in the liberal feelings which have been entertained by the Honourable Court in conveying to me this authority. I have sometimes feared that the apprehension of having to raise this sum of 16 lakhs may have led to heavier exactions on the people of Oude than they were well able, in the present state of the country, to bear; and I would express my strong hope that your majesty will see in the relaxation of this demand a means either of giving ease by some relief from taxation to your subjects, or of promoting their interests, and extending their resources by useful public works. I am confirmed in this hope by the conviction that the good of your people is of all objects that which is the nearest to your majesty's heart, and I am also in the assurance that the measure which I am now announcing will be looked upon as a fresh proof of the friendship with which your majesty is regarded by me and by the British nation.

I shall derive the highest gratification from being informed that, by a careful moderation in the demands of revenue, by the selection of just, and the removal of the tyrannical and corrupt, managers of districts, and by an efficient acquaintance with the measures which are adopted by your servants in all parts of your extensive kingdom, the welfare and happiness of your subjects are, under the enlightened and humane government of your majesty, from day to day augmented.

In conclusion, &c.  
(signed) *Auckland.*

Simla, 8 July 1839.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE KING OF OUDE. 61

From the Deputy Secretary to Government of India with the Governor-General to Colonel *J. Caulfield*, c. B., Officiating Resident at Lucknow.

Sir,

I AM directed to forward to you herewith a Khurreetah, of which a translation is enclosed, together with a Persian copy of the original, and to request that you will take occasion to present it to his majesty on a fitting opportunity.

2. His Lordship is desirous that you abstain from encouraging discussion as to the treaty of 1837, further than to enlarge upon the reasons (should discussion be forced upon you) which, as noted in the enclosed, have induced his Lordship, under the option of time and manner allowed him by the Home Government, immediately to relieve his majesty from the cost of maintaining the Oude auxiliary force.

I have, &c.

(signed) *H. Torrens*,  
Deputy Secretary to Government of India  
with the Governor-General.

Simla, 8 July 1839.

EXTRACT India Political Consultations, 11 December 1847.

MEMORANDUM by the Governor-General, addressed to the King of Oude.

IN accordance with the stipulations of the treaty of 1801, it is the duty of the Governor-General, or of the officer of the Honourable Company who may be his representative at your majesty's court, to advise with the rulers of the kingdom of Oude, who on their part have engaged to act in conformity to the counsel which may be given by the Governor-General from time to time.

No. 200.

2. It is my wish to perform this duty in the manner the most likely to convince your majesty of the friendly intentions of the Honourable Company towards a prince whose ancestors have, during the last 46 years, been in close alliance with the British Government, and that it is now, as at the former periods, the desire of the Honourable Company that the king of Oude should continue to enjoy his high and exalted station, without any diminution of his dignity and honours.

3. Your majesty will find, in recent transactions with native States on the north-east frontiers, ample proof of the moderation and good faith by which the paramount powers of British India is actuated in its transactions with the princes of Hindoostan. Your majesty will, however, at the same time perceive that in all our engagements the utmost care has been taken not only to uphold the power of native rulers, but also to secure the just rights of the people. I declined last year, on the part of the British Government; to carry on the administration of the Punjab, unless the British Resident at Lahore should have full power to carry on such a system of administration as would protect the people from oppression.

4. The same principle is contained in the treaty of 1801, made with your majesty's ancestor; in the 6th para. of that treaty, the engagement is entered into for the establishment of such a system of government as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his Excellency's (the vizier's) subjects, and at the same time be calculated to secure the lives and properties of the inhabitants; and it is stipulated that his Excellency will always advise and act in conformity with the counsels of the officers of the Honourable Company.

5. In the memorandum of 1802, signed by the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, the vizier engages that judicial tribunals shall be established for the free and pure administration of justice to all your majesty's subjects, and it is recorded in the vizier's own words in that document, "Let the Company's officers assist in enforcing obedience to them."

6. It is therefore evident that in all these stipulations, made 46 years ago, the same principle prevailed, namely, that whilst we engaged to maintain the prince in the full exercise of his powers, we also provided for the protection of his people.

7. In the more recent treaty of 1837, it is stipulated that the solemn and paramount obligation provided by treaty for the prosperity of your majesty's subjects, and the security of the lives and property of the inhabitants, has been notoriously neglected by several successive rulers in Oude, thereby exposing "the British Government to the reproach of imperfectly fulfilling its obligations towards the Oude people." And, accordingly, his majesty the king of Oude was bound to "take into his immediate and earnest consideration, in concert with the Resident, the best means of remedying the existing defects in the police, and in the judicial and revenue administration, and that if his majesty should neglect to attend to the advice and counsel of the British Government, or its local representative, and if (which God forbid) gross and systematic oppression, anarchy and misrule should hereafter at any time prevail within the Oude dominions, such as seriously to endanger the public tranquillity, the British Government reserves to itself the right of appointing its own officers to manage whatsoever portions of territory, either great or small, in which such misrule may have occurred, for so long a period as it may deem necessary, the surplus receipts to be paid into the king's treasury."

8. I allude to the treaty of 1837, as confirmatory of the original treaty of 1801, which not only gave to the British Government the right to interfere, but declared it to be the intention of the Government to interfere, if necessary, for the purpose of securing good government in Oude.

9. Your majesty, therefore, can have no doubt, after the recital of the 6th para. of the treaty of 1801, that the Governor-General is not only justified, but bound by his duty towards the people of Oude, to take care that the stipulations provided by treaty so far back as in 1801, shall be fairly and substantially carried into effect. If the Governor-General permits the continuance of any flagrant system of misgovernment, which by treaty he is empowered to correct, he becomes the participator in abuses which it is his duty to repress, and in this case no ruler of Oude can expect the Governor-General to incur a responsibility so repugnant to the principles of the British Government, and so odious to the feelings of the British people. It is true that, in the discussion of this important subject, advice and remonstrance have been frequently tried, and have failed. Let me hope that your majesty will exercise a sounder judgment in this matter than those who have preceded you, and that I shall not be compelled to exchange friendly advice for imperative and absolute interference.

10. Lord W. Bentinck, when Governor-General, had a conference with his majesty's ancestor on this subject in this Residency in 1831, on which occasion his Lordship deemed it right frankly to inform the king, that if the warning he then gave was disregarded by his majesty, it was his intention to submit to the home authorities his advice that the British Government should assume the direct management of the Oude dominions. The Court of Directors coincided in his Lordship's views; and, in order that no doubt may remain in your majesty's mind as to the sentiments of the home authorities on this point, I here insert an extract from the despatch of the Court of Directors of the East India Company for your majesty's information, which is as follows:

"We have, after the most anxious consideration, come to the determination of granting to you the discretionary power which you have requested from us for placing the Oude territories under the direct management of officers of the British Government. And you are hereby empowered, if no real and satisfactory improvement shall have taken place in the administration of that country, and if your Government should still adhere to the opinion expressed in the minute of the Governor-General, to carry the proposed measure into effect at such period and in such manner as shall appear to you most desirable."

11. This resolution was communicated to the Resident and to his majesty, and advantage was taken of it to press upon his majesty the necessity of an immediate reform of his administration.

12. These extracts will enable your majesty to form a clear judgment of the position in which the kings of Oude are placed by treaty. The Governor-General is required, when gross and systematic abuses prevail, to apply such a remedy as the exigency of the case may require; he has no option in the performance of this duty.

13. Three-

13. Three years ago I addressed the late king, pointing out to his majesty the serious evils which required very decided measures for their correction. I had then reason to complain that the minister had been forced to resign contrary to the advice of the Resident. Nevertheless, one of the first acts of your majesty's reign has been, not only to force the late minister, approved of by the Resident, to resign, but to appoint another in opposition to his remonstrances.

14. The treaty would have entitled me to insist on a compliance with the advice of the Resident, but I forbear to press the point, and holding you, majesty responsible for the government of the country, I directed the Resident to express my objections to your majesty's proceedings. The Resident, however, will give to the present minister, selected by your majesty, his cordial support in all matters calculated to promote a just system of administration; and your majesty may rely upon the assurance that so long as he pursues an honest course, by exerting his energies to do justice to the king and his subjects, he will receive the Resident's sincere co-operation.

15. It has been with great regret that I have received the Resident's reports of the extensive misrule which prevails in various departments of the State. I was grieved to hear, a few weeks after your majesty's accession to the throne, of the destruction of Hindoo temples by your majesty's orders, irregularly issued on the false reports of persons unworthy of credit. It would be painful to your majesty if I were to recapitulate several other facts, proving the existence of very cruel oppression throughout your majesty's dominions. I can entertain no doubt of the accuracy of the statements I have received, for they are fully confirmed by the unanimous testimony of all the civil officers employed on the frontier.

16. Instead of addressing your majesty by letter when I heard of the proceedings, I determined to pay your majesty a visit on my journey from the upper province, in the hope that I might in person, by friendly advice, impress upon your majesty the great importance of making salutary and decisive changes in your administration at so auspicious a moment as that of your recent accession to the throne. I am desirous that the orders to be given in your majesty's name for the correction of these evils should be received by your majesty's subjects as emanating from your majesty's free-will. By wisely taking timely measures for the reformation of abuses as one of the first acts of your reign, you will, with honour to your own character, rescue your people from their miserable condition; but if your majesty procrastinates, you incur the risk of forcing the British Government to interfere by assuming the government of Oude. The former course will redound to your majesty's credit and dignity—the latter would give the British Government great concern in the case of a prince, whom, as our ally, we sincerely desire to honour and uphold.

17. For these reasons, as well as on account of your majesty's inexperience, I am not disposed to act immediately on the power vested in the Governor-General by the Honourable Court's despatch already quoted. Still less am I disposed to hold your majesty responsible for the misrule of your predecessors, nor do I expect that so inveterate a system of misgovernment can suddenly be eradicated. But the resolution and the preliminary measures to effect this purpose can and ought at once to be taken by your majesty.

18. In any advice offered by me, your majesty may rely on the anxious solicitude of the Government of India not to make any proposals for the reformation of abuses which will really deprive your majesty of any just privilege, or be any encroachment on the rights which, as a native prince, your majesty possesses by treaty. My present proposal will admit of a fair practical trial within a specified time; and, if it be possible, the British Government will perform its obligations to the people without setting the sovereign authority aside, or changing the native institutions of the State. This course has its difficulties; but the success of the experiment must mainly depend on the resolution of your majesty's sincerity to co-operate with your minister and the British Resident.

19. The Nagpore State, after having been restored to order by a British administration of the land revenue, is now carried on under native management,

with due regard to the rights of the prince and the contentment of the people.

20. The first and most important object to be accomplished will be to fix such fair and moderate land assessments as may enable the ryots to pay the demands of the Government; and that each village and individual shall know exactly the rent which is imposed.

21. When once fixed for a period of not less than five years, the assessment shall not be disturbed unless under such regulations as may be determined upon, with the advice and concurrence of the British Resident.

22. In two years, that is, before the beginning of 1258 Fuslee, the new system ought to be substituted for the old in every district throughout Oude. On the expiration of that period, the system acted upon, and the effects produced, would be reviewed and be taken into consideration by a friendly Government anxious to maintain the kingdom of Oude in all its integrity.

23. Reports at the close of each harvest of the progress made would be sent in to the Resident by the minister, and these transactions could be carried on in the strictest confidence, so as to avoid any public embarrassment displeasing to your majesty; the British Government reserving to itself the right to interfere at any intermediate time, if the progress be unsatisfactory.

24. If European agency should be required in the first instance in assisting your majesty's officers in making a just settlement, and in the next for securing the conditions made by frequent visits throughout the district to check abuses by personal inquiries, such assistance will be afforded by the British Government, with your majesty's concurrence. The mode of settling all these details can, after due consideration between your majesty's minister and the Resident, be adjusted by a separate arrangement.

25. If your majesty cordially enters into this plan, you may have the satisfaction, within the period specified of two years, of checking and eradicating the worst abuses, and at the same time of maintaining your own sovereignty and the native institutions of your kingdom unimpaired. If you do not, or if your majesty, by taking a vacillating course, shall fail, by refusing my advice, you are aware of the other alternative, and of the consequences. It must then be manifest to the whole world that, whatever may happen, your majesty has received a friendly and timely warning.

26. The large military force kept up in Oude is in direct contravention of the treaty of 1801, by which four regular battalions of infantry, one battalion of nujeebs and mervatties, and 300 golundauze, are to be maintained, with a proportion of police.

27. The forces now stated to be enrolled in Oude consist of 400 field guns, 5,000 artillery, 4,000 cavalry, and 44,000 infantry. This force, it must be frankly admitted, is only required to coerce your majesty's subjects in the collection of the revenue. If the treaty were fulfilled by the disbandment of the troops, the people would revolt and redress their own wrongs: this, for a prince who has no external dangers to apprehend, is an unfortunate state of affairs. If abuses be reformed at no distant period, your majesty's resources would be greatly increased by the large reduction of the numbers of your army, which the contentment of your majesty's subjects would enable you to carry into effect.

28. The introduction of an improved system of police, and the establishment of courts of justice, are also-objects which should receive your majesty's immediate attention.

29. I also request that you will pay regard to the remonstrances of the Resident against the appointment of other incapable men to public offices of responsibility. It gives me great satisfaction to learn that you have, by his advice, lately dismissed many low individuals who threw discredit on the administration; and I trust that your majesty will maintain your present wise determination of discarding for the future all such characters from your councils.

30. I am



30. I am under the necessity of requesting your majesty to give me a distinct answer in writing to this proposal in the course of a week. I do not expect your majesty, or your minister, to enter into any of the detailed arrangements, which can be more fully explained to your minister by the Resident.

31. I need make no professions to your majesty of the disinterested motives which induce the Government to take this course, but it will afford me unfeigned satisfaction, if your majesty, holding the highest position amongst the native princes of India, should, by a wise and virtuous resolution, adopt the advice now tendered, and in fulfilment of the faith of treaties, become the regenerator of your kingdom and the benefactor of the people committed to your rule.

32. I request your majesty to be assured that I shall ever take a most lively interest in the welfare of a prince, between whose ancestors and the East India Company the most friendly relations have so long subsisted, and which, I trust, will continue to subsist with increasing honour to your majesty as the sovereign of a happy and contented people.

GOVERNOR-General of India to the Court of Directors, dated the 4th September, No. 85, 1854. (Foreign Department.)

We have the honour to transmit, for the adoption of such measures as your Honourable Court may deem expedient, copies of minutes noted on the margin\* respecting the treaty which was entered into with Oude in September 1837, and was subsequently abrogated under instructions from the Secret Committee, but which, by an oversight, was nevertheless inserted in the "compilation" printed by the Government of India in 1845, and now published in the form of a "Return to an order of the House of Lords, dated the 16th June 1853."

2. The Governor-General's minute contains a précis of the correspondence, and of the discussions which took place at the time on the subject of the treaty in question, to which we beg to refer your Honourable Court.

3. By the Governor-General's letter to the address of the Secret Committee, dated 15th July 1839 (No. 21), your Honourable Court was informed of the nature of the communication that was made to the king of Oude, in consequence of your disallowance of the treaty. Its total abrogation was not announced. His majesty was simply advised of the determination of the Government of India to relieve him from "all that is onerous in the conditions respecting the force, and to defray the expense of the portion of it already organized from the British Treasury."

4. Lest, adverting to this circumstance, your Honourable Court should contemplate the revocation of your orders for the abrogation of the treaty of 1837, now that that instrument has been made public in the Parliamentary papers above alluded to as still in force, we think it proper to remind you that the view taken by your Honourable Court was publicly declared at the time, and that "pledges" upon the non-ratification of the treaty were given to Parliament.

Governor-General's minute, dated 13th December 1838. Enclosure in letter to Secret Committee, No. 30 dated 14th December 1838.

5. It may be that, having regard to this fact, and to the practical disavowal of those articles which relate to the Oude auxiliary force, as well as to the lapse of 16 or 17 years from the date of these transactions, your Honourable Court will concur with us in considering it inadvisable on those grounds, as well as on grounds of general policy, to recal the instructions under which the treaty of 1837 was abrogated, and will see fit to take the necessary steps for correcting

\* Governor-General's minute, dated 14th August 1854; minute by the Honourable J. D'Orin, dated 17th August 1854; ditto by the Honourable Major-general J. Low, c. s., dated 23d August 1854; ditto by the Honourable J. P. Grant, dated 23d August 1854.

correcting the misunderstanding which its appearance in papers presented to Parliament will otherwise occasion, and serve to perpetuate.

We have, &c.  
(signed) *Dalhousie,*  
*J. Dorin.*  
*J. Low.*  
*J. P. Grant.*

Fort William, 4 September 1854.

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India.

Publication of  
Treaty with Oude,  
1837.

1. By the last mail, a copy of Parliamentary papers, containing "copies of the treaties and engagements between the East India Company and the native powers in Asia," was received.

These papers were printed by order of the House of Lords, and they appear to have been copied from the compilation published in 1845, under the signature of the Under-Secretary to the Government of India.

Among these papers is entered the treaty concluded between the British Government and the king of Oude in 1837.

It appears to have escaped observation that this treaty was abrogated by the authorities in England immediately after it was concluded, and that it is now null and void.

2. I consider it to be my duty to take the earliest opportunity of pointing out the error. For the treaty is one which, if it were still in operation, would probably exercise a very material influence in any deliberations and discussions which might be had hereafter on the policy to be observed towards the court of Oude. It seems very necessary, therefore, either that the error of inserting the treaty of 1837 in this collection should be corrected, or that, at all events, a tacit recognition should not be given to it by leaving the circumstances unnoticed upon the records at the present time.

3. It is very true that this document was inserted in the compilation made under the authority of the Indian Government in 1845; but it was an oversight at that time for which the present administration is not responsible.

4. In order that the proceedings regarding this treaty may be fully shown, I will refer briefly to the public despatches regarding it.

5. The treaty was signed at Lucknow on the 11th September, and was ratified by the Governor-General in Council on 18th September 1837.

Parliamentary  
Papers, Oude,  
page 94.

On the 10th April 1838 the Secret Committee addressed the Governor-General in Council, and, after remarking upon the treaty, they disallowed, not merely the articles relative to the auxiliary force (as stated in the note to the printed document), but the entire treaty, as it had been concluded.

The Secret Committee said, "Our wish, therefore, is that the king should be exonerated from the obligations of the treaty of 11th September 1837, to which his assent was most reluctantly given." The Committee added, "although we thus convey to you our directions for the abrogation of the treaty, we leave it discretionary with your Lordship to adapt your measures to the state of circumstances as they may be found to exist when you receive this letter."

13th December  
1838.

Para. 30.

P. 30.

In pursuance of the discretion thus left to him, the Governor-General in Council intimated to the king of Oude the abandonment of only a part of the treaty, but in his recorded minute he recognised the full abrogation of the entire instrument. He said, "the Court has disapproved the treaty. We are ordered to exonerate the king of Oude from its obligations." And in the same minute the Governor-General stated that the disallowance of the treaty had been made known to Parliament. He said, "I find the view taken by the Court to be publicly declared. I find pledges upon the non-ratification of the treaty given to Parliament."

6. From these sentiments the Secret Committee did not recede.

In their despatch dated 5th November 1838, they state, "We have to inform you that our sentiments in respect to your treaty with Oude remain unchanged, and we must desire you to abide by the instructions contained in that letter."

In

In their despatch dated 19th February 1839, the Secret Committee acknowledge the receipt of the explanatory minute of the Governor-General dated 13th December 1838, from which I have quoted above; and they intimated that they waited for the minutes of the members of Council, and for the matured opinions of the Governor-General upon the subject.

7. With reference to the despatch of the Secret Committee of 19th February 1839, the Governor-General recorded a minute on 2d May 1839, fully adhering to all his former views regarding the treaty, which he observed were before the Home Authorities "for their final orders."

Before that minute was received, the Secret Committee had addressed the Governor-General in Council, on 15th April 1839. In that despatch the Committee said, "We are decidedly of opinion that no delay should take place in announcing, in such manner as the Governor-General may think fit, to the king of Oude, the disallowance of the treaty of the 18th September 1837; and the restoration of our relations with the State of Oude to the footing on which they previously stood. You will receive every support from us in the measures that may be necessary in securing good government to the people of Oude under the stipulations of the treaty of 1801."

Para. 1.

9. The despatch from the Secret Committee of 11th July 1839 brought their final orders on the treaty with Oude of 1837.

They acknowledged the minute by the Governor-General of 2d May 1839, and added, "We have only to remark on the Governor-General's letter (No. 9), that we adhere to our former instructions relating to the treaty concluded with the king of Oude, and direct that they be forthwith carried into effect."

Those former instructions were, that the treaty of 1837 was disallowed; that the king of Oude should be released from its obligations; and that the relations between the two States should revert to the footing established by the treaty of 1801.

Upon that footing I apprehend our relations now stand, and the treaty of 1837 has no existence.

10. I have thought it right to draw the attention of the Honourable Court to this matter, in order that it may take such measures as it may deem expedient.

14 August 1854.

(signed) *Dalhousie.*MINUTE by the Honourable *J. Dorin.*

THERE can be no doubt of the abrogation of the treaty of September 1837 by the Home Authorities; but it does not appear whether the abrogation was ever communicated in full to the king of Oude.

17 August 1854.

(signed) *J. Dorin.*MINUTE by the Honourable Major-General *J. Low, C.B.*

THE Officiating Resident's despatch to Government, dated the 24th of July 1839, reports that a khureeta, dated the 8th of that month, from the Governor-General, was duly delivered to the king of Oude, informing his majesty that he was permanently relieved from all expenses connected with the auxiliary troops, but he was not informed that any other alteration had been made in the provisions of the treaty of 1837; and no official intimation to that effect has ever been made, up to this day, to any one at Lucknow, European or native. I think it my duty on this occasion to mention these remarkable circumstances, but of course they do not at all alter the fact which the Most Noble the Governor-General has brought to the notice of the Honourable Court of Directors, namely, that the whole treaty of 1837, having been positively abrogated by the Indian authorities in England, that treaty has now no existence.

Publication of the treaty of 1837 with Oude. Governor-General's minute on that subject, dated the 14th of August 1854.

22 August 1854.

(signed) *J. Low.*

MINUTE by the Honourable *J. P. Grant*.

ON the ground that the open and straightforward course is always the expedient course in dealings with native States, I think it is to be regretted that, when the Secret Committee's despatch of the 11th of July 1839, brought out the final determination of the Home Government to adhere to their original orders disallowing the treaty of 1837, the Government of India omitted to acquaint the other party to that document with that fact. I think this is the more to be regretted, because shortly before the receipt of that despatch the king of Oude had been informed that he had been permanently relieved from all charge on account of the auxiliary force stipulated for in that treaty, which would naturally lead him to presume that the reporting of the treaty of 1837 to the Home Government had not in any other point affected the arrangement to which he and the British Government were parties. The omission must be attributed to oversight.

Considering that this omission has been made to assume, by the two publications to which the Governor-General has pointed the attention of the Home Government, something beyond the negative character which a mere omission from oversight in its own nature possesses, I think it is a question worthy of consideration, whether it ought not to be repaired by a simple communication of the real circumstances of the case, even at this late period, to the party concerned.

22 August 1854.

(signed) *J. P. Grant*.

Court of Directors to the Government of India, dated 10 January (No. 2) 1855 (Political Department).

Treaty with Oude  
in 1837.

1. WE have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter in this department of the 4th of September (No. 85 of 1854), with regard to the printing of the treaty entered into with Oude in September 1837.

2. It is to be regretted that the treaty should have been included in the collection of treaties prepared at Calcutta in 1845, and presented to Parliament in 1853.

3. Nevertheless, as it is impossible to recal or cancel the printed copies of these papers which have been issued, it is not obvious how the mistake can be rectified.

4. We apprehend that the best course will be to take no step whatever, and to leave matters as they stand, until some practical question arises, which must be dealt with according to the circumstances of the time.

London, 10 January 1855.

We are, &c.  
(signed) *J. Oliphant,*  
*E. Macnaghten,*  
&c. &c. &c.

(True copies.)

East India House,  
26 August 1857. }

(signed) *J. S. Mill,*  
Examiner of India Correspondence.

EAST INDIA (KING OF OUDE).

COPIES of MINUTES and CORRESPONDENCE  
relating to the Treaty of 1827 with Mohammed  
Allie Shah, the then King of Oude; &c.

(*Sir FitzRoy Kelly.*)

COPY of a DESPATCH from the Governor-General  
of India in Council, dated 4 September 1854,  
with Enclosures; and REPLY from the Court  
of Directors of the East India Company,  
relating to Oude.

(*Earl of Gifford.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,  
15 March 1858.

[*Price 9 d.*]

EAST INDIA (OUDE).

V21

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,  
dated 7 May 1858;—for,

“A COPY of a LETTER from the Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of *Oude*, dated 3d March 1858:”

“A COPY of the PROCLAMATION enclosed therein, and ordered to be published in *Oude*:”

“And, a COPY of a LETTER from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated 19th April 1858, relating to that PROCLAMATION.”

India Board, }  
7 May 1858. }

HENRY J. BAILLIE

From *G. F. Edmonstone*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, to *G. Couper*, Esq., Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh.

Sir,

Allahabad, 3 March 1858.

I AM directed by the Right Honourable the Governor-General to enclose to you a copy of a Proclamation which is to be issued by the Chief Commissioner at Lucknow, so soon as the British troops, under his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, shall have possession or command of the city.

2. This Proclamation is addressed to the chiefs and inhabitants of Oudh only, and not to the Sepoys.

3. The Governor-General has not considered it desirable that this Proclamation should appear until the capital is either actually in our hands, or lying at our mercy. He believes that any proclamation put forth in Oudh in a liberal and forgiving spirit would be open to misconstruction, and capable of perversion, if not preceded by a manifestation of our power; and that this would be especially the case at Lucknow, which, although it has recently been the scene of unparalleled heroism and daring, and of one of the most brilliant and successful feats of arms which British India has ever witnessed, is still sedulously represented by the rebels as being beyond our power to take or to hold.

4. If an exemption almost general, from the penalties of death, transportation, and imprisonment, such as is now about to be offered to men who have been in rebellion, had been publicly proclaimed, before a heavy blow had been struck, it is at least as likely that resistance would have been encouraged by the seeming exhibition of weakness, as that it would have been disarmed by a generous forbearance.

5. Translations of the Proclamation into Hindee and Persian accompany this despatch.

6. It will be for the Chief Commissioner in communication with his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, to determine the moment at which the Proclamation

mation shall be published, and the manner of disseminating it through the province; as also the mode in which those who may surrender themselves under it shall be immediately and for the present dealt with.

7. This last question, considering that we shall not be in firm possession of any large portion of the province when the Proclamation begins to take effect, and that the bulk of our troops, Native as well as European, will be needed for other purposes than to keep guard through its districts, is one of some difficulty. It is clear too that the same treatment will not be applicable to all who may present themselves.

8. Amongst these there may be some who have been continuously in arms against the Government, and have shown inveterate opposition to the last, but who are free from the suspicion of having put to death or injured Europeans who fell in their way.

9. To these men their lives are guaranteed and their honour; that is in native, acceptance, they will neither be transported across sea, nor placed in prison.

10. Probably the most easy and effectual way of disposing of them, in the first instance, will be to require that they shall reside in Lucknow under surveillance and in charge of an officer appointed for that purpose.

11. Their ultimate condition and place of residence may remain to be determined hereafter, when the Chief Commissioner shall be able to report fully to the Governor-General upon the individual character and past conduct of each.

12. There will be others, who, although they have taken up arms against the Government, have done so less heartily, and upon whom, for other causes, the Chief Commissioner may not see reason to put restraint. These, after surrendering their arms, might be allowed to go to their homes, with such security for their peaceable conduct as the Chief Commissioner may think proper to require.

13. One obvious security will be that of making it clearly understood by them, that the amount of favour which they shall hereafter receive, and the condition in which they shall be re-established, will be in part dependent upon their conduct after dismissal.

14. The permission to return to their homes must not be considered as a re-instatement of them in the possession of their lands, for the deliberate disposal of which the Government will preserve itself unfettered.

15. There will probably be a third class, less compromised by acts of past hostility to the Government, in whom the Chief Commissioner may see reason to repose enough of confidence to justify their services being at once enlisted on the side of order, towards the maintenance of which in their respective districts they might be called upon to organise a temporary police.

16. The foregoing remarks apply to the talookdars and chiefs of the province. As regards their followers who may make submission with them, these, from their numbers, must of necessity be dismissed to their homes. But before this is done their names and places of residence should be registered, and they should receive a warning that any disturbance of the peace or resistance of authority which may occur in their neighbourhood, will be visited, not upon the individual offenders alone, but by heavy fines upon the villages.

17. I am to observe that the Governor-General wishes the Chief Commissioner to consider what has been above written as suggestions rather than instructions, and as indicating generally the spirit in which his Lordship desires that the Proclamation should be followed up, without tying down the action of the Chief Commissioner in matters which may have to be judged under circumstances which cannot be foreseen.

18. There remains one more point for notice.

19. The Proclamation is addressed to the chiefs and inhabitants of Oudh, not to mutineers.

20. To the latter, the Governor-General does not intend that any overture should be made at present.

21. But

21. But it is possible that some may surrender themselves, or seek terms, and it is necessary that the Chief Commissioner should be prepared to meet any advances from them.

22. The sole promise which can be given to any mutineer is that his life shall be spared; and this promise must not be made if the man belongs to a regiment which has murdered its officers, or if there be other *prima facie* reason to suppose that he has been implicated in any specially atrocious crime. Beyond the guarantee of life to those who, not coming within the above stated exception, shall surrender themselves, the Governor-General cannot sanction the giving of any specific pledge.

23. Voluntary submission will be counted in mitigation of punishment, but nothing must be said to those who so submit themselves, which shall bar the Government from awarding to each such measure of secondary punishment as in its justice it may deem fitting.

Allahabad,  
3 March 1858.

I have, &c.  
(signed) G. F. Edmonstone.

PROCLAMATION.

THE army of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is in possession of Lucknow, and the city lies at the mercy of the British Government, whose authority it has, for nine months, rebelliously defied and resisted.

This resistance, begun by a mutinous soldiery, has found support from the inhabitants of the city, and of the province of Oude at large. Many who owed their prosperity to the British Government, as well as those who believed themselves aggrieved by it, have joined in this bad cause, and have ranged themselves with the enemies of the State.

They have been guilty of a great crime, and have subjected themselves to a just retribution.

The capital of their country is now once more in the hands of the British troops. From this day it will be held by a force which nothing can withstand, and the authority of the Government will be carried into every corner of the province.

The time, then, has come at which the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India deems it right to make known the mode in which the British Government will deal with the talookdars, chiefs, and landholders of Oude and their followers.

The first care of the Governor-General will be to reward those who have been steadfast in their allegiance at a time when the authority of the Government was partially overborne, and who have proved this by the support and assistance which they have given to British officers.

Therefore the Right Honourable the Governor-General hereby declares that Drigbiggei Singh, raja of Bulrampoor, Koolwunt Singh, raja of Pudnahn, Rao Hurdeo Buksh Singh of Kutiaree, Kashee Pershad, talookdar of Sissindee, Zubr Singh, zemindar of Gopal Khair, and Chundee Lal, zemindar of Moraon (Baiswarah), are henceforward the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands which they held when Oude came under British rule, subject only to such moderate assessment as may be imposed upon them; and that these loyal men will be further rewarded in such manner and to such extent as, upon consideration of their merits and their position, the Governor-General shall determine.

A proportionate measure of reward and honour, according to their deserts, will be conferred upon others, in whose favour like claims may be established to the satisfaction of the Government.

The Governor-General further proclaims to the people of Oude that, with the above-mentioned exceptions, the proprietary right in the soil of the province is confiscated to the British Government, which will dispose of that right in such manner as to it may seem fitting.

To those talookdars, chiefs, and landholders, with their followers, who shall make immediate submission to the Chief Commissioner of Oude, surrendering their arms and obeying his orders, the Right Honourable the Governor-General



promises that their lives and honour shall be safe, provided that their hands are not stained with English blood murderously shed. But as regards any further indulgence which may be extended to them, and the condition in which they may hereafter be placed, they must throw themselves upon the justice and mercy of the British Government.

As participation in the murder of English men or English women will exclude those who are guilty of it from all mercy, so will those who have protected English lives be entitled to consideration and leniency.

The SECRET COMMITTEE of the Court of Directors of the East India Company  
to the Governor-General of India in Council.

19 April 1858.

OUR letter of the 24th of March 1858, will have put you in possession of our general views with respect to the treatment of the people in the event of the evacuation of Lucknow by the enemy.

2. On the 12th instant, we received from you a copy of the letter, dated the 3d of March, addressed by your secretary to the secretary to the Chief Commissioner in Oude, which letter enclosed a copy of the proclamation to be issued by the Chief Commissioner, as soon as the British troops should have command of the city of Lucknow, and conveyed instructions as to the manner in which he was to act with respect to different classes of persons in execution of the views of the Governor-General.

3. The people of Oude will see only the proclamation.

4. That authoritative expression of the will of the Government, informs the people that six persons, who are named as having been steadfast in their allegiance, are henceforward the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands they held when Oude came under British rule, subject only to such moderate assessment as may be imposed upon them; that others, in whose favour like claims may be established, will have conferred upon them a proportionate measure of reward and honour; and that, with these exceptions, the proprietary right in the soil of the province is confiscated to the British Government.

5. We cannot but express to you our apprehension that this decree, pronouncing the disinheritance of a people, will throw difficulties almost insurmountable in the way of the re-establishment of peace.

6. We are under the impression that the war in Oude has derived much of its popular character from the rigorous manner in which, without regard to what the chief landholders had become accustomed to consider as their rights, the summary settlement had in a large portion of the province been carried out by your officers.

7. The landholders of India are as much attached to the soil occupied by their ancestors, and are as sensitive with respect to the rights in the soil they deem themselves to possess, as the occupiers of land in any country of which we have a knowledge.

8. Whatever may be your ultimate and undisclosed intentions, your Proclamation will appear to deprive the great body of the people of all hope upon the subject most dear to them as individuals; while the substitution of our rule, for that of their native sovereign, has naturally excited against us whatever they may have of national feeling.

9. We cannot but in justice consider, that those who resist our authority in Oude, are under very different circumstances from those who have acted against us in provinces which have been long under our government.

10. We dethroned the King of Oude, and took possession of his kingdom, by virtue of a treaty which had been subsequently modified by another treaty, under which, had it been held to be in force, the course we adopted could not have been lawfully pursued; but we held that it was not in force; although the

the fact of its not having been ratified in England, as regarded the provision on which we rely for our justification, had not been previously made known to the King of Oude.

11. That sovereign and his ancestors had been uniformly faithful to their treaty engagements with us, however ill they may have governed their subjects.

12. They had more than once assisted us in our difficulties, and not a suspicion had ever been entertained of any hostile disposition on their part towards our Government.

13. Suddenly the people saw their king taken from amongst them, and our administration substituted for his, which, however bad, was at least native; and this sudden change of government was immediately followed by a summary settlement of the revenue, which, in a very considerable portion of the province, deprived the most influential landholders of what they deemed to be their property; of what certainly had long given wealth, and distinction, and power to their families.

14. We must admit that, under the circumstances, the hostilities which have been carried on in Oude have rather the character of legitimate war than that of rebellion, and that the people of Oude should rather be regarded with indulgent consideration than made the objects of a penalty, exceeding in extent, and in severity, almost any which has been recorded in history as inflicted upon a subdued nation.

15. Other conquerors, when they have succeeded in overcoming resistance, have excepted a few persons as still deserving of punishment, but have, with a generous policy, extended their clemency to the great body of the people.

16. You have acted upon a different principle; you have reserved a few as deserving of special favour, and you have struck, with what they will feel as the severest of punishment, the mass of the inhabitants of the country.

17. We cannot but think that the precedents from which you have departed will appear to have been conceived in a spirit of wisdom superior to that which appears in the precedent you have made.

18. We desire that you will mitigate, in practice, the stringent severity of the decree of confiscation you have issued against the landholders of Oude.

19. We desire to see British authority in India rest upon the willing obedience of a contented people. There cannot be contentment where there is general confiscation.

20. Government cannot long be maintained by any force in a country where the whole people is rendered hostile by a sense of wrong; and if it were possible so to maintain it, it would not be a consummation to be desired.

---

EAST INDIA (OUDE).

COPIES of a Letter from the Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oude, dated 3 March 1858, and of the PROCLAMATION enclosed therein, and ordered to be published in Oude; and, of a Letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated 10 April 1858, relating to that PROCLAMATION.

(*Mr. H. Baillie.*)

---

*Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,  
7 May 1858.*

---

EAST INDIA (OUDE PROCLAMATION).

---

COPY "of LETTER of the Secretary of the Chief Commissioner in Oude to the Secretary of the Governor General, dated Lucknow, the 8th March 1858, with reference to the issue of the PROCLAMATION to the People of Oude:"

"Also, LETTER of the Secretary of the Governor General to the Secretary of the Chief Commissioner in Oude, dated Allahabad, the 10th March, on the same subject:"

"Also, LETTER of the same to the same, of the 31st March, on the same subject."

---

India Board, }  
20 May 1858. }

HENRY J. BAILLIE.

---

From *George Couper, Esq.*, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oude, to *G. F. Edmonstone, Esq.*, Secretary to the Government of India.

(Political.)

Sir,

D. Camp, Chimplut, 8 March 1858.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 191, dated 3d instant, enclosing a Proclamation to be issued to the landholders, chiefs, and inhabitants of Oude, upon the fall of the capital.

G. Couper, Esq.  
to G. F. Edmonstone, Esq.  
8 March 1858.

---

2. In this Proclamation an hereditary title in their estates is promised to such landholders as have been steadfast in their allegiance, and with these exceptions, the proprietary right in the soil of the province is confiscated.

3. The Chief Commissioner desires me to observe that in his belief there are not a dozen landholders in the province who have not themselves borne arms against us, or sent a representative to the Durbar, or assisted the rebel Government with men or money. The effect of the Proclamation, therefore, will be to confiscate the entire proprietary right in the soil; and this being the case, it is, of course, hopeless to attempt to enlist the landholders on the side of order; on the contrary, it is the Chief Commissioner's firm conviction that as soon as the chiefs and talookdars become acquainted with the determination of the Government to confiscate their rights, they will betake themselves at once to their domains, and prepare for a desperate and prolonged resistance.

4. The Chief Commissioner deems this matter of such vital importance, that, at the risk of being deemed importunate, he ventures to submit his views once more, in the hope that the Right Honourable the Governor General may yet be induced to reconsider the subject.

5. He is of opinion that the landholders were most unjustly treated under our settlement operations, and even had they not been so, that it would have required a degree of fidelity on their part quite foreign to the usual character of an Asiatic to have remained faithful to our Government under the shocks to which it was exposed in Oude. In fact, it was not till our rule was virtually at an end, the whole country overrun, and the capital in the hands of the rebel soldiery, that the talookdars, smarting as they were under the loss of their lauds, sided against us. The Chief Commissioner thinks, therefore, that they ought hardly to be considered as rebels, but rather as honourable enemies, to whom terms, such as they could without loss of dignity accept, should be offered at the termination of the campaign.

2 CORRESPONDENCE WITH REFERENCE TO THE ISSUE

If these men be given back their lands they will at once aid us in restoring order, and a police will soon be organised with their co-operation, which will render unnecessary the presence of our enormous army to re-establish tranquillity and confidence.

But if their life and freedom from imprisonment only be offered, they will resist; and the Chief Commissioner foresees that we are only at the commencement of a guerilla war for the extirpation, root and branch, of this class of men, which will involve the loss of thousands of Europeans by battle, disease, and exposure. It must be borne in mind that this species of warfare has always been peculiarly harassing to our Indian forces, and will be far more so at present when we are without a native army.

6. For the above reasons the Chief Commissioner earnestly requests that such landholders and chiefs as have not been accomplices in the cold-blooded murder of Europeans may be enlisted on our side by the restoration of their ancient possessions, subject to such restrictions as will protect their dependents from oppression. If his Lordship agree to this proposition, it will not yet be too late to communicate his assent by electric telegraph before the fall of the city, which will probably not take place for some days. Should no such communication be received, the Chief Commissioner will act upon his present instructions, satisfied that he has done all in his power to convince his Lordship that they will be ineffectual to re-establish our rule on a firm basis in Oude.

Chief Commissioner's Office,  
Camp, Chimlut, 8 March.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *G. Couper*,  
Secretary to Chief Commissioner.

---

From *G. F. Edmonstone*, Esq., Secretary Government of India, with the Governor General, to Major General Sir *J. Outram*, G. C. B., Chief Commissioner, Oude.

Sir,

Allahabad, 10 March 1858.

*G. F. Edmonstone*,  
Esq. to Major  
General Sir  
*J. Outram*, G. C. B.  
10 March 1858.

Your secretary's letter of the 8th instant was delivered to me at an early hour this morning by Captain F. Birch, and it will receive a detailed reply in due course.

Meanwhile, I am desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General to subjoin a clause which may be inserted in the Proclamation (forwarded with my letter, No. 191, of 3d instant), after the paragraph which ends with the words, "Justice and mercy of the British Government."

"To those amongst them who shall promptly come forward, and give to the Chief Commissioner their support in the restoration of peace and order, this indulgence will be large, and the Governor General will be ready to view liberally the claims which they may thus acquire to a restitution of their former rights."

2. This clause will add little or nothing to your discretionary power, but it may serve to indicate more clearly to the talookdars, the liberal spirit in which the Governor General is prepared to review and reciprocate any advances on their part.

3. It is expected that you will find means to translate this additional clause into the vernacular languages, and that you will be able to have copies of the Proclamation, so amended, prepared in sufficient numbers, for immediate use. If more should be required, the magistrate of Cawnpore will lithograph them on your requisition.

4. It is very important, as you will readily see, that every copy of the vernacular version of the Proclamation sent to you, with my letter of the 3d instant, should be carefully destroyed.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *G. F. Edmonstone*,  
Secretary Government of India, with  
the Governor General.

---

Allahabad, 10 March 1858.

OF THE PROCLAMATION TO THE PEOPLE OF OUDE. 3

(No. 467. A.)

FROM *G. F. Edmonstone* Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor General, to Major General Sir *J. Outram*, *c. c. s.*, Chief Commissioner of Oude.

Allahabad, 31 March 1858.

Sir,

IN replying at once on the 10th instant to your secretary's letter of the 8th, in which you urged reasons against the issue of the Proclamation to the talookdars and landholders of Oude, which had been transmitted to you by the Right Honourable the Governor General, my answer was confined to communicating to you the addition which his Lordship was willing to make to that Proclamation, without entering into the general questions raised in your letter. The Governor General desires me to express his hope that you will not have supposed that the arguments adduced by you were not fully weighed by him, or that your opinion upon a subject on which you are so well entitled to offer one, has not been received with sincere respect, although he was unable to concur in it.

G. F. Edmonstone  
Esq. to Major  
General Sir  
J. Outram, *c. c. s.*  
31 March 1858.

2. I am now directed by his Lordship to explain the grounds upon which the course advocated in your letter, viz. that such landholders and chiefs as have not been accomplices in the cold-blooded murder of Europeans should be enlisted on our side by the restoration of their ancient possessions, subject to such restrictions as will protect their dependents from oppression, is in the opinion of the Governor General inadmissible.

3. The Governor General entirely agrees with you in viewing the talookdars and landholders of Oude in a very different light from that in which rebels in our old provinces are to be regarded. The people of Oude had been subjects of the British Government for little more than one year when the mutinies broke out; they had become so by no act of their own. By the introduction of our rule many of the chiefs had suffered a loss of property, and all had experienced a diminution of the importance and arbitrary power which they had hitherto enjoyed; and it is no marvel that those amongst them who had thus been losers should, when they saw our authority dissolved, have hastened to shake off their new allegiance.

4. The Governor General views these circumstances as a palliation of acts of rebellion, even where hostility has been most active and systematic. Accordingly, punishment by death or imprisonment is at once put aside by the Proclamation in the case of all who shall submit themselves to the Government, and who are not murderers; and whilst confiscation of proprietary rights in the land is declared to be the general penalty, the means of obtaining more or less of exemption from it, and of establishing a claim to restitution of rights have been pointed out, and are within the reach of all without injury to their honour. Nothing more is required for this than that they should promptly tender their adhesion, and help to maintain peace and order.

5. The Governor General considers that the course thus taken is one consistent with the dignity of the Government, and abundantly lenient. To have followed that which is suggested in your secretary's letter, would, in his Lordship's opinion, have been to treat the rebels not only as honourable enemies, but as enemies who had won the day.

In the course of the rebellion, most of the leaders in it, probably all, have retaken to themselves the lands and villages of which they were deprived, by the summary settlement which followed the establishment of our Government in Oude. If upon the capture of Lucknow by the Commander-in-Chief, before our strength had been seen or felt in the distant districts, and before any submission had been received or invited from them, the rights of the rebel chiefs to all their ancient possessions had been recognised by the Government, it is not possible that the act would not have been viewed as dictated by fear or weakness. It would have led the people of Oude, and all who are watching the course of events in that province, to the conclusion that rebellion against the British Government cannot be a losing game, and although it might have

#### 4 CORRESPONDENCE WITH REFERENCE TO THE ISSUE

purchased an immediate return to order, it would not assuredly have placed the future peace of the province upon a secure foundation.

6. You observe, indeed, that the landholders were most unjustly treated under our settlement. The Governor General desires me to observe that if this were unreservedly the case, or if the proceedings of the Commissioners by which many of the talookdars were deprived of portions of their possessions had been generally unjust, he would gladly have concurred in your recommendation, and would have been ready, at the risk of any misinterpretation of the motives of the Government, to reinstate the talookdars at once in their old possessions. But it is not so. As a question of policy, indeed, the Governor General considers that it may well be doubted whether the attempt to introduce into Oude a system of village settlement in place of the old settlement under talookdars was a wise one; but this is a point which need not be discussed here. As a question of justice, it is certain that the lands and villages taken from the talookdars had, for the most part, been usurped by them through fraud or violence.

7. That unjust decisions were come to by some of our local officers in investigating and judging the titles of the landholders is, the Governor General fears, too true; but the proper way of rectifying such injustice is by a rehearing where complaint is made. This, you are aware, is the course which the Governor General is prepared to adopt, and to carry out in a liberal and conciliatory spirit. It is a very different one from proclaiming that indiscriminate restitution of all their ancient possessions is at once to be yielded to the landholders.

8. That the hostility of the talookdars of Oude who have been most active against the British Government has been provoked, or is excused, by the injustice with which they have been treated, would seem to be your opinion.

But I am to observe, that there are some facts which deserve to be weighed before pronouncing that this is the case.

9. No chiefs have been more open in their rebellion than the Rajahs of Churda, Bhinga, and Gonda. The Governor General believes that the first of these did not lose a single village by the summary settlement, and certainly his assessment was materially reduced. The second was dealt with in a like liberal manner. The Rajah of Gonda lost about 30 villages out of 400; but his assessment was lowered by some 10,000 rupees.

10. No one was more benefited by the change of government than the young Rajah of Naupara. His estates had been the object of a civil war with a rival claimant for three years, and of these he was at once recognised as sole proprietor by the British Government, losing only six villages out of more than a thousand. His mother was appointed guardian; but her troops have been fighting against us at Lucknow from the beginning.

11. The Rajah of Dhowrera, also a minor, was treated with equal liberality. Every village was settled with his family; yet these people turned upon Captain Harsey and his party, refused them shelter, pursued them, captured the ladies, and sent them into Lucknow.

12. Ushruf Bux Khan, a large talookdar in Gonda, who had long been an object of persecution by the late Government, was established in the possession of all his property by us; yet he has been strongly hostile.

13. It is clear that injustice at the hands of the British Government has not been the cause of the hostility which in these instances, at least, has been displayed towards our rule.

14. The moving spirit of these men and of others amongst the chiefs of Oude must be looked for elsewhere; and in the opinion of the Governor General it is to be found mainly in the repugnance which they feel to suffer any restraint of their hitherto arbitrary powers over those about them, to a diminution of their importance by being brought under equal laws, and to the obligation of disbanding their armed followers, and of living a peaceful and orderly life.

15. The penalty of confiscation of property is no more than a just one in such cases as have been above recited; and although considerations of policy and

OF THE PROCLAMATION TO THE PEOPLE OF OUDE. 5

and mercy and the newness of our rule prescribe a relaxation of the sentence more or less large according to the features of each case, this relaxation must be preceded by submission, and the Governor General cannot consent to offer all, without distinction, an entire exemption from penalty, and the restoration of all former possessions, even though they should not have been guilty of the murder of Europeans.

I have, &c.

(signed) *G. F. Edmonstone*, Secy. to the Govt.  
of India with the Governor General.

Allahabad,  
31 March 1858.

---



EAST INDIA (OUDE PROCLAMATION).

COPY of LETTERS of the Secretary of the Chief Commissioner in *Oude* to the Secretary of the Governor General, dated Lucknow, 8 March 1858, with reference to the issue of the PROCLAMATION to the People of *Oude*; and of LETTERS of the Secretary of the Governor General to the Secretary of the Chief Commissioner in *Oude*, dated 10 and 31 March 1858, on the same subject.

[Presented by Command of Her Majesty.]

(Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,  
20 May 1858.

EAST INDIA (OUDE).

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,  
dated 3 June 1858;—for,

COPY "of LETTER of Captain *Evans*, Deputy Commissioner of Zillah *Poorweh* (*Oude*), reporting to the Chief Commissioner on the State of his District, dated the 31st day of March 1858; together with any accompanying or covering Letter."

East India House, }  
10 June 1858. }

J. D. DICKINSON,  
Secretary.

L I S T.

	PAGE
Letter from Governor-General to Secret Committee, dated 16 April 1858	1
Letter from Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Oude, to Secretary to Government of India with Governor-General, dated 8 April 1858	2
Letter from Deputy Commissioner of Zillah Poorwah to Secretary to Chief Commissioner in Oude, dated 31 March 1858	3

Foreign (Secret) Department,  
Allahabad, 16 April 1858.

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs,

IN reference to my letter of the 15th instant, No. 13, and as bearing upon the question whether the hostility of the Talookdars of Oude, who have been most active against the British Government, has been generally provoked by the injustice with which they have been treated, I beg to forward, for your information, a copy of a letter from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oude, enclosing a letter from Captain *Evans*, Deputy Commissioner of Poorwah, in para. 3 of which he cites several cases of Talookdars who rebelled, although the arrangements made at the time of settlement were peculiarly favourable to them.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Canning*.

2 CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO OUDE (EAST INDIA).

No. 33.

From *T. D. Forsyth*, Esq., Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oude, to  
*G. F. Edmonstone*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, with the  
Governor-General, Allahabad.

Lucknow, Chief Commissioner's Office,  
8 April 1858.

Sir,  
By order of Sir James Outram, I have the honour to transmit, for submission to the Right Honourable the Governor-General, the accompanying copy of a letter, No. 25, dated the 31st ultimo, from Captain Evans, Deputy Commissioner of Zillah Poorwah, reporting on the state of his district.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *T. D. Forsyth*,  
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oude.

No. 25.

From Captain *H. L. Evans*, Deputy Commissioner of Zillah Poorwah, to  
*G. Couper*, Esq., Secretary to the Chief Commissioner in Oude, Lucknow.

Sir, Onam, 31 March 1858.  
I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the Chief Commissioner, the progress that has been made in the re-establishment of authority and order in this district, since the 20th January, the date on which I came out here from Cawnpore.

2. The district is divided into two parts by the Cawnpore and Lucknow road, running east north-east from Cawnpore: south of it as yet our authority extends but a very little distance. The whole of the Poorwah Tuhseel, comprising the Poorwah and Morawa Pergunnahs, is in the hands of the enemy, the former Pergunnah being held by Baboo Davee Buksh, and the latter by Rugbur Sing of Mowai, and Omrao Sing of Kanta. They have collected, I hear, the whole year's revenue from most of the villages, using violence freely to effect their purpose. Davee Buksh has about 2,000 men, and three guns at Poorwah, in a small recently strengthened fort. The others have no fort, and would be easily driven out. Many zemindars of this Tuhseel have come in, and it would not be difficult to re-establish order were Davee Buksh once settled.

3. The whole of the Bhurgwuntnugger Tuhseel is in the hands of Baboo Ram Buksh, a notorious villain, and Seoruttun Sing of Pathun Behar. Baboo Ram Buksh it was who attacked the boats of the fugitives escaping from Cawnpore. He has committed much violence on the zemindars, and collected his revenue in full. He has been repairing and strengthening his fort at Dhondea Khera, and hopes to be supported by the other Bais Talookdars. Neither he, nor Davee Buksh of Poorwah, nor Seoruttun Sing of Pathun Behar, have cause of complaint against our Government. None were in possession of talooks at our advent: I procured three villages for Davee Buksh; Ram Buksh was proscribed and forbidden to enter Oude, and Seoruttun Sing was an outlawed dacoit when we came.

4. The Oonam Hurka Tuhseel is partly in our hands; the Oonam Pergunnah, and the northern part of Hurha Pergunnah, wholly so. Kalka Persad Kanoongo and Thakoor Sing of Atchutgunge hold the remainder, being about two-thirds of Hurha Pergunnah. They have collected 12 annas in the rupee, and are screwing out the remainder. I have a thannah at Buntur, four miles from Hurha, one here and at Busheergunge, and a large chokee at Targanee. This and the Bunkur thannah are the only two posts we have south of the road.

5. The Russoolabad Tuhseel, north of the road, is wholly in our hands, excepting Futtehpoor Chowrasie, which is debateable ground. The enemy re-occupied it; but the loyal zemindars, claimants to the zemindary, aided by  
the

the police, have driven them out. There was, when I came out, only a thannah at Secunderpoor. This was attacked by Munsub Ali, and saved only by the march hence of a detachment of 3d battalion Rifle Brigade and irregular cavalry from Cawnpore. After General Grant's column had cleared Meeagunge, I posted a thannah at Makee, ten miles north of this towards Russoolabad, and pushed the Secunderpoor thannah to Pureer, leaving a small post at the former place. The Pureer thannah has since been advanced to Suffeepoor and Pureinda in Jhulontur Pergunnah, made over to Rajah Dya Shunker, who had been dispossessed by us in favour of his nephew, Jeet Bahadoor, who turned rebel, and joined Munsub Ali. Dhya Shunker I ascertained had taken no part in the disturbances; I therefore directed him to re-occupy his talook, and eject the rebel's men, which he has done.

6. Meahgunge (Aseearun) Futtehpore Chowrassie and Mohan I have entrusted to Habeeboor Rahman the Chukladar, whom we found there at the annexation: he was accused by the late finance minister, Balkishen, of being 2½ lakhs in arrears; but the account was never proved, and I firmly believe the arrears existed only in Balkishen's imagination. When the outbreak took place, he retired to his house at Aseewun, and though offered, declined employment; he has much local influence, hates Munsub Ali and the Futtehpore Chowrassie rebel, and will be able, I think, to hold his own. There is a strong thannah under him at Aseewun, and a small one, to be increased when I get a good thannadar, at Mohan. For Futtehpore Chowrassie I have not succeeded in finding a good thannadar, as the post is a very difficult one.

7. The Nawabgunge Tuhseel is partly in our hands. There is a thannah at Nawabgunge, and a chowkie at Jhulotur. Sissendi, south of the road, is held by a loyal talookdar; but the rest of the Tuhseel in that direction is in possession of the enemy.

8. In a few words, the road is the line of demarcation: south of it, with few exceptions, the enemy held: north of it is in our hands.

9. The people do not appear ill-disposed towards us. When with General Grant's column, they invariably brought me most excellent information. A good many Lumbudars put in by us have been ousted. These were men who had been long dispossessed, and whom we, by our orders, were obliged to put in on their proving their claim. They had not had time to get fairly seated before the disturbances commenced, and were accordingly ejected. The rebels committed the error of raising the assessment at least 25 per cent. above what I had fixed. This at once put most of the village proprietors against them.

Zillah Poorwah,  
Deputy Commissioner's Office, Oonam,  
31 March 1858.

I have, &c.  
(signed) H. L. Evans,  
Deputy Commissioner.

(True copy.)

(signed) T. D. Forsyth,  
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oude.

East India House,  
10 June 1858.

(True copies.)

J. S. Mill,  
Examiner of India Correspondence.

EAST INDIA (OUDE).

**COPY of LETTERS of Captain Evans, Deputy Commissioner of Zillah Poorweh (Oude), reporting to the Chief Commissioner on the State of his District, dated 31 March 1858, together with accompanying or covering Letter.**

*(Mr. Hankey.)*

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,  
11 June 1858.

O U D E.

**R E T U R N**

To an Address of the House of Lords, dated 13<sup>th</sup> July 1859.

FOR

A COPY of the REPORT of the late CHIEF COMMISSIONER of Oude on the ADMINISTRATION of that PROVINCE, and of the MINUTE of his Excellency the Right Honourable the GOVERNOR GENERAL of INDIA thereon, dated 22<sup>d</sup> April 1859.

India Office,  
23<sup>d</sup> July 1859.

J. W. KAYE,  
Secretary in Political and Secret Departments.

(The Nova Harria)

Ordered to be printed 1st August 1859.

# INDEX

TO

## GENERAL REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROVINCE OF OUDH.

	Pages.	Paragraphs.		Pages.	Paragraphs.
<b>CHAPTER I.</b>					
<b>GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND OBJECT OF THE REPORT.</b>					
Object of Report	7	1	support his Power; cession of the Province south of the Ganges to the British	12	65 & 66
Subjects of general interest	7	2	Ghasee-ood-deen Hyder, first King of Oudh; Nusseer-ood-deen Hyder; his incapacity; his death; attempt made to place Moonun Jan on the Throne	12	67 & 68
Incompleteness of the Report	7	3	Mahammed Ally Shah; Amjud Ali Shah	12	69
Geographical Outline of Oudh	7	4	Wejid Ally Shah, last King of Oudh	12	70
Boundaries of Oudh	7	5 to 7	Internal History of Oudh	12	71 & 72
Climate	7	8 & 9	<b>CHAPTER III.</b>		
Rivers	7	10 to 13	<b>REVENUE COLLECTION UNDER THE OUDH GOVERNMENT.</b>		
Features of the Country	8	14	Revenue of the Country	12	73 & 74
Timber Trees	8	15	Talookdars of Oudh	13	75
Soil	8	16 to 18	Collection of Revenue	13	76 to 78
Population — Hindoo Population;			Crown Estates	13	79
Brahmins	8	19 & 20	Huzoor Tehseel	13	80 to 82
Baiswarrah Rajpoots	8	21 & 22	Chuokladars or Collectors of Revenue	13	83 to 88
Mahomedan Population	8	23	Testimony in favour of Talookdars	14	89 & 90
Mahomedan Communities	9	24	Evils of the Contract System	14	91 to 93
Aborigines of the Country	9	25	Trust System	14	94 to 96
Paseses	9	26	Nankar	15	97 & 98
Tharoots	9	27	Kubs	15	99 to 102
Agriculture	9	28 & 29	<b>CHAPTER IV.</b>		
Rotation of Crops	9	30 & 31	<b>JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE LATE OUDH GOVERNMENT.</b>		
Agricultural Products	9	32	Judicial Establishments	16	103
Poppy Cultivation	9	33	Criminal and Civil Courts	16	104 & 105
Saline Produce	9	34	Highest Court of Judicature	16	106
Salt	9	35	Police Court	16	107
Saltpetre	9	36	Court of Requests	16	108 to 110
Soda	9	37	Court of Investigation of Sepoys' Complaints	16	111
Lac Dye	9	38	Nasim's Courts	16	112 to 116
Manufacture	9	39 & 40	Talookdars Courts	17	117
Trade	10	40	News writers	17	118 to 120
			Police Department	17	121
			Frontier Police	17	122
			Army of Oudh	17	123
			Regiments commanded by European Officers	17	124
			Army Paymaster	17	125
			Kubs; Lakulamee	17	126
			Wusoolce	18	127 to 130
			Strength and Cost of the Army	18	131
			<b>CHAPTER V.</b>		
			<b>MISGOVERNMENT OF OUDH AND ITS ANNEXATION.</b>		
			Roads in Oudh	18	132
			Bridges	18	133
			Public Edifices	18	134 & 135
			Lavish Expenditure on Palaces and Mosques, &c.	19	136
			Financial Condition of the Province	19	137 & 138
			King's Ministers	19	139
			Minister of Finance and other public Officers	19	140
			Their Income	19	141
			Alee Nuckee Khan	19	142
			Profligacy and Extravagance of the Court; Reform urged by the British Government	19	143
			Annexation of Oudh	20	144
			<b>CHAPTER VI.</b>		
			<b>SKETCH OF ADMINISTRATION FROM ANNEXATION TO PRESENT.</b>		
			Appointment of Civil Officers	20	145
			Distribution of the Province into Divisions; Sub-divisions into Districts	20	146
				20	146

	Pages.	Paragraphs.		Pages.	Paragraphs.
Police Officers appointed at Lucknow and Fyzabad	20	147 to 149	Synoptical Table of the Classes forming the Police	29	248
Fyzabad Division	20	150	Recruits enlisted at Lucknow and the Punjab	29	249
Lucknow Division	20	151	Time occupied in drilling and equipping the several Regiments	29	250 & 251
Khyrabad Division	20	152	Number of Engagements in which they were engaged between June and November	29	252
Baraich Division	20	153 to 154	Duty assigned to the Police in the General Military Operations undertaken by the Commander-in-Chief	29	253
Collection of Revenue Dues	20	155	Kupoorthulla Contingent: its Strength; its Operations; Number of Actions in which they were engaged	29	254 & 255
Summary Settlement	20	156	Military Operations preceded by the Proclamation of the Amnasy	30	256
Revenue Arrangement	21	157 & 158	Rajah of Ameetha; Benaq Mathia; and his flight to Nepal	30	257
Tehseels	21	159	Flight of the Rebels into Nepal	30	258
Police Posts	21	160	Effects of the Commander-in-Chief's Operations in clausure Oudh of the Rebels	30	259
Abolition of Transit Duties	21	161	Measures adopted to restore Tranquillity	30	260
Octroi Tax	21	162	Disarming the People and destroying forts; number of Arms collected	30	261
Revenue Courts	21	163	Estimated number of Arms in Oudh	31	262
Investigation of Claims to Jagheers	21	164	Number of Forts destroyed	31	263
Discharge of ex-King's Establishment	21	165 & 166			
Poison Investigation	21	167			
Customs	21	168			
Salt	21	169 to 174			
Saltpetre	22	175			
Opium	22	176			
Alketry	22	177			
Timber and Forest Produce	22	178 to 184			
Forest Conservancy	22	185 to 183			
Administration of Justice	23	189			
Military Police	23	190 to 195			
Duties of the Military Police	23	196			
Civil Police	23	197 to 199			
Criminal Justice	23	200 to 204			
Prisons	24	205 & 206			
Civil Justice	24	207			
Appellate Court	24	208			
Statute of Limitation	24	209			
Re-distribution of Districts	24	210 to 214			
<b>CHAPTER VII.</b>			<b>CHAPTER IX.</b>		
<b>THE OCCUPATION OF OUDH.</b>			<b>JUDICIAL.</b>		
Arrangements for the peaceful Occupation of the Province	25	215	Changes in the Functions of the Members of the Administration; Abolition of the Office of Financial Commissioner	31	265
Quiet Behaviour of the People	25	216	Functions of Judicial Commissioner; Abolition of the Office of Inspector of Prisons	31	266
Prognostics of Rebellion	25	217 & 218	Police framed on the Model of the Punjab	31	267 & 268
Fuel All	25	219	Defects of the Police System	31	269
General Tranquillity of the Province; Appointment of Mr. Jackson and Sir Henry Lawrence	25	220	Want of Discipline and efficient Control over the Police according to the old System	31	270
Exertions of Officers and Progress of Affairs	25	221	Inability of District Officers to control the Police owing to their multifarious duties	31	271
Preparations for the Rebellion	25	222	Separation of the Executive Police from the Magisterial Branch of the Administration	32	272
Defence and Relief of the Province	25	223	Bombay Police System; advantages of depriving the Police of the Power of Judicial Trials	32	273 & 274
Rebellion; General Exceptions; Hurdeo Bus; Durg Bijye Singh	25	224	Fabrication of false Cases by the Police	32	275
Rajah of Bulrampore	26	225	Power of a Magistrate not diminished by the withdrawal of the management of the Police	32	276
Conduct of Maun Singh; his family; their use; they acquire Property	26	226 & 227	The Police under the new System continue at the beck of the Magistrate	32	277
Treatment of Rajah Maun Singh after Annexation; Receptions of Fyzabad fugitives; recovers his Estate	26	228 to 230	Reasons for introducing the new System in Oudh	32	278
			Additional Grounds for its Introduction in Oudh	32	279 & 280
			Financial results of the new System	32	281
<b>CHAPTER VIII.</b>			<b>Native Officers of the existing Police at first selected for their Valour without regard to their literary Acquirements</b>		
<b>RE-COQUELT OF THE PROVINCE.</b>			<b>Necessity of selecting Native Officers who combine warlike Skill with Acuteness and Knowledge of the Country; a small extra Establishment to be maintained till the Military Police has been reformed</b>		
First Measures adopted; Proclamation of Government confiscating landed Rights	27	231	Difficulty in the Arrangement of Details and Selection of Men; a fair Trial to be given before returning to the old System	33	284
Confiscation not to be carried out in case of timely submission	27	232	Distribution of the Police in the Province	33	285
The well disposed intimidated from submitting and deserting the Rebel cause	27	233	Duty of Landholders to report and prevent Crime	33	286
Police Posts established by friendly Landholders	27	234	Town Police; Lucknow City Police	33	287
Cruelties practised on all who showed any adherence to the British cause	27	235	Rural Police	34	288
Policy adopted in consequence of these Outrages	27	236			
Progress in the Re-establishment of Civil Government	27	237			
Recapitulation of Military Operations for the Re-establishment of Civil Government	27	238 to 240			
Share taken by the Military Police in the Operations of the Army	28	241			
Orders to organize a Military Police	28	242			
Its Constitution	28	243			
Military Police Staff	28	244			
Strength of each Regiment of Infantry	28	245			
Strength of each Regiment of Cavalry	28	246			
Selection of Recruits	28	247			





	Pages.	Paragraphs.		Pages.	Paragraphs.
Investigation into the Conduct of Pensioners	45	399	<i>Iron Bridge Post.</i>		
Classification of Pensions	46	400	Its Accommodation and Fortification	53	453 & 454
Reduction of the Pension List	46	401	Its Cost	52	455
Pensions between May 1857 and April 1858 not to be continued	46	402	<i>Residency Fort.</i>		
Provision for the ex-King and his Family	46	403	Plan under Preparation	53	456
Wuseeka Pensions	46	404	Total Expenditure in Fortified Posts	53	457
Increase of the Number of Wuseekadars; Position of Government with regard to these Pensions	46	405	<i>Demolitions.</i>		
Necessary to investigate all Claims	46	406	Expenditure incurred	54	460
Baboo Begum's Wuseeka; Request of her Fortunes to the British Government	46	407	<i>Roads.</i>		
The Request renounced by Government in favour of the Wuseer of Oudh; Arrangements made by the Wuseer for paying the Bequests made by the Begum	47	408	New City Roads	54	462 to 464
Number of Baboo Begum's Pensioners, and Amount of Pensions	47	409	Old City Roads	54	465
Classification of Wuseekas	47	410	<i>Clearance of Ruins, &amp;c.</i>		
Total Amount of Pensions disbursed by Government; Liberality of Government appreciated by the People	47	411	Expenditure on Improvements, &c. from General Revenue, from Local Funds	54	469 to 468
Claims to Jagerees not yet investigated	47	412	Church for the Civil Lineal	55	469
			Cost of Local Improvements, how defrayed	55	470
<b>CHAPTER XIV.</b>			Octroi and War Contributions devoted to Improvements	55	471
<b>FINANCE.</b>			State of Municipal Funds	56	472
Estimate of Income and Expenditure	47	413	Colonel Abbott's Services in carrying out Improvements	56	473
Ordinary and precarious Receipts; Classification of Expenditure	48	414 to 416	Provision of Accommodation for Troops	56	474
Establishment Expenses	48	417 & 418	Distribution of Troops in Oudh	56	475
Provincial Police	48	419	Selection of Sites for Cantonments	57	476
Public Works; Works of Utility; Cawnpore Road; District Roads; Public Buildings, Court Houses, and Gaols	48	420 to 422	<i>Roads.</i>		
Police Posts	49	423	Expenditure sanctioned for Military Roads	57	477
Tehseel Buildings, Dispensaries, and Hospitals	49	424	District Roads	57	478 & 479
Probable Expenditure, 80,000, per annum	49	425	Officers appointed to District Roads	57	480
Pensions	49	426 & 427	Expenditure sanctioned for District Roads	57	481
Miscellaneous Disbursements	49	428	Time likely to be occupied in opening out Roads	57	482
Total Disbursements	49	429	Temporary Kutcheries; Police Posts	58	483
			Introduction of Railways	58	484
<b>CHAPTER XV.</b>			Line between Lucknow and Cawnpore	58	485 & 486
<b>PUBLIC WORKS AND GENERAL IMPROVEMENTS.</b>			Line between Lucknow and Fyzabad; its continuation to Bareilly	58	487
Partition of the Province into Three Divisions	49	430	Line from Benares to Rohilcund	58	488 & 489
Operations of the Departments divided into Two Periods	50	431			
Works undertaken	50	432	<b>CHAPTER XVI.</b>		
<i>Accommodation of Troops.</i>			<b>EXAMINATION INTO CLAIMS TO COMPENSATION.</b>		
Military Works	50	433	Commission appointed	59	490
<i>Roads.</i>			Claims divided into Three Classes	59	491
Military Road connecting Rohilcund with Benares	50	434	Substantiated Claims; their Amount	59	492 & 493
District Roads	50	436	Doubtful Claims; their Amount	59	494
<i>Irrigation.</i>			Rejected Claims; their Amount	59	495
Proposed Canal from the Northern Extremity of Oudh to Cawnpore - Canals on a grand scale not required in Oudh	50	437			
Expenditure on Public Works	50	438	<b>CHAPTER XVII.</b>		
Various Works under consideration	50	439 & 440	<b>CONCLUSION.</b>		
Temporary Accommodation of Troops	51	441 & 442	Recapitulation	59	496
<i>Fortified Posts.</i>			Prospects	59	497
Military Posts at Lucknow	52	445	Commission of Officers	59	498
<i>Stone Bridge Post.</i>			Judicial Commissioners	59	499
Its Description	52	447	Secretary to Chief Commissioner	59	500
Time occupied in its Construction	52	448	Military Secretary	60	501
By whom designed	52	449	Commissioner, Lucknow Division	60	502
Its Accommodation	52	450 to 453	Commissioners of Fyzabad and Khyrabad	60	503
			Major Barrow	60	504
			Officiating Commissioner, Bareilly Division	60	505
			Deputy Commissioners	60	506
			Mr. Martin	60	507
			Mr. Lawrence	60	508
			Captain Evans, Major Carnegie, Captain Reid, Mr. P. Carnegie, Captain Orr	60	509
			Assistant Commissioners	60	510
			Captain Thurber, &c.	60	511
			Extra Assistants	60	512 & 513
			Oudh Police Officers; Major Barrow, C.B.	60	514

	Pages.	Paragraphs.		Pages.	Paragraphs.
Major Taylor ; Divisional Officers ; Second in Command ; Adjutant ; District Adjutant ; District Com- mandant	60	515			
Engineer Officers ; Chief Engineer ; Departmental Officers	61	516 & 517			
APPENDICES.					
APPENDIX A.					
Rent Roll of the Province of Oudh	62	—			
			APPENDIX B.		
			Memorandum of Estates confiscated; Cis and Trans Gogra, Oudh	63	—
			APPENDIX C.		
			Estimate of the probable Receipts and Disbursements of the Oudh Territory for the year 1858-59	64	—
			MINUTE by GOVERNOR-GENERAL, dated 22d April 1859	68	—

# GENERAL REPORT

ON THE

## ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROVINCE OF OUDH.

### CHAPTER I.

#### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND OBJECT OF THE REPORT.

1. Previous to relinquishing the charge of the Province, the Chief Commissioner of Oudh considers it his duty to place upon record the result of his administration, as well as all the information he has been able to collect. With this view the following Report has been compiled. Object of Report.
2. Being the first of its kind which has been submitted to the Government of India since the annexation of the Province, there are many subjects of general interest which ought not to be passed by unnoticed, yet which are beyond the scope of the usual annual review of an administration. These pages are therefore offered as affording some slight sketch of the history of Oudh up to the date of its incorporation with the British Empire. Subjects of general interest.
3. If the Report be not as complete, and the information as perfect, as might ordinarily be expected, some indulgence may perhaps be accorded from the fact of nearly all former office records having been destroyed during the memorable siege of Lucknow. Incompleteness of the Report.
4. The Province of Oudh, which on the 6th February 1856 passed into the hands of the British Government, is situated in the centre of the great sub-Himalayan valley, drained by the river Ganges and its tributaries, and extending from E. longitude 78° 16' to the junction of that river with the Brahmaputra at the head of the Bay of Bengal. Geographical outline of Oudh.
5. Bounded on the north by the lower ranges of the Himalayan chain, its opposite limit is clearly defined by the river Ganges. Boundaries of Oudh.
6. An irregular line running from the Ganges near Futtebgurh to the Philibheet Terai above Khyreegurh, separates Oudh from Rohilcund on the west, and on the east a similar demarcation, extending from the Ganges across the Gogra to the Nepal Hills, defines the eastern boundaries of the older districts of Jounpore, Azimghur, and Goruckpore.
7. In the form of a parallelogram, the Province of Oudh lies obliquely on the map, stretching from the 80th to the 83d meridian of E. longitude, and 25° 40' to 28th parallel of north latitude, giving a superficial area of about 23,923 square miles.
8. Occupying a middle position in the Gangetic valley, the climate of Oudh varies in its different extremities. On the west the dry winds, blowing over the arid plains of North-west Hindoostan, parch the soil, and cover the surface with fine sand. On the south-east, the moisture of the eastern winds, which travel unimpeded from the Bay of Bengal, gives a richness of vegetation and pleasing verdure. Climate.
9. In the country which lies between the river Gogra and the Himalayan chain, the humid soil yields exuberant crops, but the climate near the river bank is barely healthy, and as the sub-mountane jungles, known as the Terai, are approached, is positively deadly at most seasons of the year.
10. Besides the Ganges which bounds Oudh on the south-west, the rivers Goomtee, Sai, Chonka, and Gogra intersect its length in parallel course. Rivers.
11. The Goomtee, with excessive windings, flows through its length with sluggish stream over frequent beds of kunkur or limestone concrete, and its waters are comparatively pure and pellucid. Commercial navigation on this river is limited by its sinuosities, but its shallow gentle current offers little obstacles to the traveller in his course.
12. The Gogra is a noble river, whose waters opposite Fyzabad surpass in volume and velocity the Ganges at its junction with the Jumna at Allahabad.

Steamers can ply, by the aid of pilots, as far up the stream as Byram Ghat, 40 miles from the city of Lucknow. Both the Gogra and the Ganges are usually open at all seasons for the largest class of boats that navigate these streams. They flow in alluvial beds of considerable width, and constantly change their channel.

13. The other streams are insignificant rivulets forming the drainage of a comparatively level plain, excepting the Raptée, which during its short passage through Oudh territory partakes of the nature of a mountain torrent.

Features of the country.

14. The face of the country presents a remarkable contrast to the Trans-Gangetic provinces. With water everywhere within 20 feet of the surface, and in some places scarcely 10 feet below the ground, the province smiles with luxuriant vegetation, and is adorned with rich groups of mangoe and mhowa trees, whose picturesque forms add beauty to the scene. Fine clumps of bamboo trees, planted in profusion round the forts of Talookdars, wave gracefully their tapering ends, whilst their closely interwoven stems form an impenetrable barrier to the approach of an invader. The umbrageous tamarind and small-leaved fig, the shrubby acanthus and fragrant orange, mingle their grateful shade and flowery beauty in the groves and gardens which abound in Oudh.

Timber trees.

15. Among timber trees there is a plentiful growth of toon and sissoo, and in more northern parts the sâl and teak trees thrive in abundance, whilst in the Tiger jungle of the sub-Himalayan Terai every variety of tree and shrub is found.

Soil.

16. The soil of Oudh south of the Gogra is in general light, having a preponderance of siliceous and calcareous earths not formed into the massed strata of kumkur, to be met with in no other parts of India, but rounded into small hard nodules of concrete.

17. The sandy soils called Oosur contain large proportions of sulphate and bicarbonate of soda and nitrate of potash, which effloresce in great abundance during the cold season, and are collected and purified by the people. From the most barren of the oosur soils, a carbonate of soda called "reha" is produced, and is much used by washermen. These saline soils prevail chiefly in south-eastern Oudh.

18. Good clayey soil is met with in most parts of Oudh, and in the Trans-Gogra division a rich dark loam marks the site of primeval forests.

Population.

19. No census of the population of Oudh has yet been taken, but it is estimated at eight millions of souls:

Hindoo population.

20. Foremost among the people of Oudh, the country of such special reverence to a Hindoo, must be placed the sacerdotal caste, which, originally set apart for the performance of religious ceremonies and worship, has yet sent so many men to form the flower of a mercenary army. Of Brahmin castes there are many sub-divisions. The highest rank is assigned to the Missur, Shukul, Tewarry, Dube, Phathak, Pandé, Upudhya, and Choube; but there are 113 other tribes all carefully graduated in the Brahminical scale.

Brahmins

Baiswarrah Rajpoots.

21. The Baiswarrah Rajpoots claim to be of ancient stock, sprung from one Tilok Chund, who came from Oojain in the days when Malwa was governed by Vickramajeet, or about the commencement of the Christian era. His two grandsons settled themselves, the one in the village of Nybussa and the other in Synbunsee near to Oonao. From these two villages their descendants take their title. Another branch of the family spread widely through the country, and under the names of Bains, Bhall, Sultan, Kauhpuria, Surujbunsi, Chundrbunsi, and other distinctive appellations, are to be met with all over Oudh.

22. From these two castes the Honourable East India Company's army drew 40,000 of its finest men. It were unprofitable now to dwell on the superiority of race and frame which obtained for the Brahmin and Rajpoot of Oudh such ready and extended admission into the ranks of our army. Accustomed to lead a life of ease, they have ever disdained to handle a plough, and if compelled to seek their bread abroad, it has hitherto been in the honourable service of arms.

Mahomedan population.

23. The Mahomedans form an important portion of the population in Oudh. Allied in religion to their Sovereign, the highest nobles of the State were favoured with Jagheers and lucrative appointments, and their power and influence were at one time great. They mostly, however, lived under the shadow

shadow of the Royal Court, and comparatively few are to be found who have settled on their country estates.

24. Mahomedan communities of Sheikhs, Syuds, Moghuls, and Afghans are to be found throughout the Province, and there are a few families originally sprung from Hindoo stock, whose ancestors embraced the faith of the conquerors, but who still adhere to the rites and customs regarding inheritance, marriage, and tenure of land, which are observed by their Hindoo brethren. Mahomedan communities.

25. The aborigines of a country overrun by successive conquerors are generally to be looked for among the humblest class of cultivators, and the Pasees, Lodhis, Koormees, and Kachis appear to be the original occupants of the soil. Aborigines of the country.

26. Of these the Pasees are the most numerous and important. Skilled in the use of the bow and arrow, they lead a lawless predatory life, ever ready, at the call of a chief, to fight on either side, or in any cause where there is a prospect of reaping plunder. Their activity, fearless daring, and at the same time their singular fidelity when entrusted with a charge, procure for them ready service as village watchmen. Pasees.

27. Towards the hills the Tharoos, a quiet inoffensive race, follow pursuits of peaceful industry. Tharoos.

28. The process of cultivation is conducted with the simple plough, which the labourer carries on his shoulder to the field. Irrigation is rendered easy by the numerous streams and pools, and the abundant supply of water rising close to the surface in wells. The Persian wheel is unknown in Oudh, but by swinging baskets or a leathern bag worked by a rope thrown over a rough wooden fulcrum, the cultivator readily irrigates his fields. Agriculture.

29. The use of manure is universal throughout the Province, and a partial knowledge of rotation of crops is put into practice.

30. In high grounds the rotation chiefly followed is of barley, sown in October and reaped in March; fallow from that time to the end of June; a crop of arbur dal, or pulse, is then raised; and from the harvest season of the following March to October, the ground is allowed to be a second time fallow. Rotation of crops.

31. In low ground cultivation less rest is given to the soil, and rice and grain crops follow each other in regular succession.

32. The Province of Oudh is rich in all varieties of agricultural products, —wheat, barley, maize, the long-stalked bajra, rice, and the many kinds of pulse are staple; cereals, oil, sugar-cane, indigo, and cotton are produced in abundance, and obtain a high value in the market. Agricultural products.

33. Poppy cultivation is extensive throughout Oudh, and in the neighbourhood of Fyzabad furnishes employment to a large proportion of the Kachi caste. The consumption of opium in the capital of the provinces was considerable in the time of the Kings, but the bulk of the produce finds its way into the Government factories at Ghazeepore. Poppy cultivation.

34. The most important and lucrative manufactures are of salt, saltpetre, and soda. Saline produce.

35. Salt is made by the evaporation of water drawn from saline wells, or by salt-lxiviation from some of the saliferous soils. The finest kind thus produced is considered equal in quality to ocean salt, but the secondary qualities are of an inferior flavour, though they command an extensive sale.

36. Saltpetre is pure and abundant, and is carried into foreign markets. Saltpetre.

37. Soda is collected from the surface soil, and is used for home consumption in washing. Soda.

38. Lac dye was at one time procured in large quantities in the Nanpara estate, from the cochineal insect which fed on the extensive dak trees, and if the cultivation were attended to, would again yield a profitable income. Lac dye.

39. Cotton cloths, dyed stuffs, paper, and glass are among the manufactures, and whilst the luxury and pomp of an Eastern Court sustained the demand for articles of taste and elegance, the finest workmen in jewellery and gold, embroiderers, armourers, and clever craftsmen in wood and iron, carried on a thriving business in the cities of Lucknow and Fyzabad. A considerable trade is transacted with Nepal; iron, copper, brass, and borax from the hills being exchanged for salt, and the opium drug from the plain. The chief emporia for trade are Nawabgunge, Bara Bunki, 18 miles north-east of Lucknow, Fyzabad, Manufacture.

a city on the Gogra of rising importance, Dalamon, Pursudipoor, besides other places of lesser note.

Trade. 40. Lucknow, from its size and importance, attracts the largest portion of trade; and the wealthiest bankers in India have either their head quarters or a considerable branch of their firm in that city, whilst their agencies extend throughout the Indian Peninsula, and across the seas to European houses.

CHAPTER II

ANCIENT HISTORY OF OUDH.

Original boundary of the Province. 41. The small tract of country known in modern times as the Province of Oudh forms but a small part of the kingdom, which, under different names, has from the earliest date of Hindoo chronology held a conspicuous place in Indian history.

Early history of Oudh. 42. The earliest mention of Oudh appears to be contained in the Laws of Menu II., 19; where, under the name of Panchala or Cuuya Cubja, it constitutes one of the four tracts which form the region of Brahmarshir, the Brahmins of which land were held in such repute that from them, says the great law-giver, "let all men on earth learn their several usages."

Its limits. 43. The limits of this region embraced the country lying to the north of the Jumna and Ganges, and included Northern Behar.

Its capital. 44. Of the four tracts of the Brahmarshir region, Panchala appears to have been the most important. Its capital, Ajoodya, was the birth-place and seat of a race of Kings who boasted descent from the Sun and Moon, and ruling over Oudh proper and the country between the Jumna and Ganges, are now claimed as the progenitors of the Princes of all other countries in India.

Ancient Kings. 45. It were unprofitable to attempt deep research into the mystifying tradition of Hindoo mythology, and the only King whose history, as recorded in the poems of the age, may be accepted as even tolerably approaching to truth, is the far-famed Rama, King of Ajoodya, who was thrust out of his kingdom and deprived of his wife, the Queen Sita, who was carried away by the Grunt Ravana to his kingdom in Sunga Divip, our modern Ceylon. The expedition of Rama to the Deccan, his ineffectual efforts to recover his wife, till he invoked the aid of the friendly monkeys, who, gathering under their leader Hunooman, constructed a bridge over the Ocean gulf, across which they led the avenging army into the heart of the ravisher's citadel; all form the groundwork of an animated, though lengthy heroic poem, not unworthy of being compared with the Iliad of Homer.

Date of Rama's reign. 46. The date of Rama's reign is necessarily a matter of great conjecture, but it may be placed at a period of two or three centuries before the Christian era.

Removal of the Capital to Kanonj. 47. Sixty Princes ruled in Ajoodya after Rama, after which the seat of Government appears to have been removed across the Ganges to the city of Kanonj.

Boundaries of the Kingdom of Kanonj. 48. The boundaries of this new kingdom extended at one time as far as the Chumbul and to Ajmir, and were maintained till the final overthrow of the Hindoo dynasty, in A.D. 1193, by the Moosulman conquerers.

Inhabitants of ancient Oudh. 49. The inhabitants of ancient Oudh are described as beings of a superior order. The Brahmins were considered sufficiently learned to give instruction to the world; and the valour of the military class may be judged from the following verse of the law-giver, Menu:—

"Men born in Curushetra Mataya  
"in Panchala or Cuuya Cubja  
"(Modern Oudh) let him, & c. the  
"King, cause to engage in the van."

Its wealth and power. 50. At the time of the Mahomedan invasion into Hindoostan, the kingdom of Oudh (Kanonj) was considered the wealthiest and most powerful. Casim meditated an expedition against this State in A.D. 712, but found himself too weak, and returned to Shiraz with the prize of two captive damsels of the Royal House of Sinda.

51. For

51. For more than 200 years no mention of Kanonj is found in history, till A.D. 980, when the Rajah of Lahore, Jaipal, being threatened with an invasion from Sebuktegin, Governor of Ghuzni, called in the aid of the Rajahs of Delhi, Ajmir, Kalinger, and Kanonj, who brought an overwhelming force to oppose the Ghuznevide invader, but were defeated with fearful slaughter.

Aid of the King of Oude solicited by the Rajah of Lahore to oppose the Ghuznevide invaders.

52. Twenty years later, the Lahore ruler, son of the conquered Rajah Jaipal, again had recourse to the assistance of his powerful ally of Kanonj, against the attack of the northern invaders, and again the contest was bloody and the result disastrous.

53. Eight times did Sultan Mahomed overrun the country of the Punjab, returning each time to his native country laden with spoil. His ninth expedition was formed with a more ambitious object, and starting from Peshawur in 1017, with an immense army, and passing over the successive rivers till he reached the Jumna, Mahomed suddenly struck towards the south, and arrived unopposed at the capital of Kanonj.

Invasion of Oudh by Sultan Mahomed of Ghuznee.

54. Unprotected, in the midst of unrivalled wealth and splendour, the Rajah of Kanonj was compelled to submit, and entered into an alliance of sincere friendship with his conqueror, which was severely tested but never dissolved.

Alliance of the King of Oudh with Sultan Mahomed.

55. With Sultan Mahomed's death, the Kingdom of Kanonj recovered for a while its independence, but finally fell under the Mahomedan yoke in A.D. 1194, when the Rajah was killed, the city plundered of all its treasure, and as a final break up of this ancient Kingdom, the Rahtir clan migrated from Kanonj to Marwar, where they founded a principality which exists to this day.

Plunder of Oudh by the Mahomedans, and its submission to the Delhi King.

56. Henceforth and for four succeeding centuries Oudh and the whole Gangetic valley can boast of no history apart from the annals of the Delhi Empire.

57. In Akbur's division of his Empire into fifteen Provinces, the fertile Province of Oudh was formed into a Soobah and governed by a Viceroy or Sipah Salar. The most celebrated of these Viceroys, and founder of the dynasty of Oudh, was Saadut Khan Boorhan-ul-Mulk, originally a merchant of Khorasam, who rose to high military command in the reign of Mahomed Shah, A.D. 1720, and attained to such power in his Province that he not only repelled the attack of a powerful enemy, but marched with a considerable force to the aid of his Royal Master when invaded by Nadir Shah, King of Persia. He either was taken prisoner or treacherously deserted to the side of the conqueror, in whose camp he died by swallowing poison.

Formation of the Province of Oudh into a Soobah.

Saadut Khan, first Soobahdar of Oudh and founder of the Oudh dynasty.

58. Saadut Khan was succeeded by his nephew, Sufdur Jung, who ruled in Oudh for 15 years, and dying at Fyzabad in A.D. 1754, was succeeded by Shuja-ood-dowlah.

Sufdur Jung.

59. Being ambitious of extending his dominions towards Bengal, Shuja-ood-dowlah formed a league for the conquest of the Lower Provinces in the year A.D. 1758, with the eldest son of the Emperor Alungeer II. and the Subadar of Allahabad.

Shuja-ood-dowlah first Wuzeer of Oudh.

60. The Prince and the Soobahdar of Allahabad, adhering to their plans, advanced with an army of 40,000 men and laid siege to Patna, whilst the crafty Shujah-ood-dowlah, having collected a large force, ostensibly to join his colleagues in the field, seized in their absence upon the town and fort of Allahabad.

Invasion of Bengal.

Capture of Allahabad.

61. A second expedition was entered on by Shujah-ood-dowlah in concert with the Prince in 1760, but before the Province of Behar had been reached, news of the death of the Emperor and of the accession of the Prince arrived in the camp. Shujah-ood-dowlah seized the favourable opportunity to obtain the title of Wuzir, which he always retained and transmitted to his successors. We pass hastily over the varied scenes of this minister's treachery, his duplicity and lukewarmness in his master's cause, his ignominious defeat by the British force at Buxar in A.D. 1768, and his unconditional surrender to the English Commander. Anxious only to secure to himself the possession of this fertile Province, he entered into a treaty with Lord Clive, by which the districts of Corah and Allahabad were made over to the Emperor, Shujah-ood-dowlah confining himself to his own Province.

Title of Wuzir conferred on Shujah-ood-dowlah.

His defeat by the British, and treaty entered into with them.

62. But when the Emperor left Allahabad for the capital in 1771 he gave over the fort in charge to his Wuzir, and soon after fell under the power of the Mahrattas, in whose hands he became a tool.

Fall of the Emperor under the Mahratta Power.



Purchase of British aid to expel the Mahrattas.

63. In 1774, being unable to recover from the Rohillas a sum of 40 lakhs of rupees, the price of his aid in expelling the Mahrattas from Rohilcund, Shujah-ood-dowlah obtained the help of the British troops, for whose service and protection he agreed to pay an annual sum. Shortly after this he died, on 26th January 1775, at Fyzabad, the capital of his dominions.

Asaph-ood-dowlah. Change of the seat of Government to Lucknow.

64. Asaph-ood-dowlah ruled from 1775 to 1797, and changed the seat of Government from Fyzabad to Lucknow. Wajir Aly, who succeeded, reigned till 1798, when he was deposed by Saadut Ali Khan.

Wajir Ally. Saadut Ally Khan. Subsidy given for the aid of British troops to support his power. Cession of the Provinces south of the Ganges to the British.

65. A treaty was entered into by this Wajir, whereby he agreed to give an annual subsidy of 76 lakhs, in payment of the troops kept up for the support of his power, and to make over the fort of Allahabad to the British. Other conditions were agreed to, but could not be fulfilled, and finally on the 14th November 1801 the Nawab Wajir liquidated his debt by the cession to the Honourable East India Company of the provinces south of the Ganges, and Rohilcund, yielding an estimated revenue of one million three lakhs and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder, first King of Oudh.

66. Saadut Aly Khan died in 1814, leaving behind him treasure to the amount of thirteen millions sterling, exacted from the resources of a country which only yielded one million and a half of revenue.

Nusseer-ood-deen Hyder.

67. Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder, who succeeded to the musnud, was elevated to the rank of King in 1819, and died in the year 1827.

His incapacity.

68. His son Naseer-ood-deen Hyder affected English manners and English society, wholly regardless of the dignity of his station and the cares of his kingdom; his days were spent in degrading sport, and his nights in riotous debauch.

His death. Attempt made to place Moouna Jan on the throne.

His death, which occurred on the 7th July 1837, not without suspicion of poison, was the signal for an attempt on the part of the Queen mother to wrest the Crown for her favourite son Moouna Jan. An angry scene in the Royal Palace, where the excited Begum, surrounded by an armed multitude of her city adherents, assailed and threatened the life of the British Resident, was quelled by the firmness and presence of mind of Colonel Low, and Mahomed Ally Shah was placed on the throne, whilst the Queen mother and the pretended Moouna Jan were sent in honourable confinement to Chunar.

Mahomed Ally Shah.

69. Mahomed Ally Shah, during a short reign of comparative economy, reduced somewhat the expenses of the State. He died in 1842, and was succeeded by his son Amjid Ally Shah, who reigned, without governing the country, till his death, 1847, when his son Wajid Ali Shah ascended the throne as the last of the Kings of Oudh.

Wajid Ally Shah, last King of Oudh.

70. From the days of Saadut Ali Khan to Wajid Ally Shah, the external history of the rulers of Oudh is utterly devoid of all character and interest.

Internal history of Oudh.

71. The internal history may be summed up in a few words. Uniform extravagance and unparalleled profligacy, the grossest abuse of kingly power, and the most heartless disregard to justice, and that paternal care of his subjects, which in every country forms the bond of union between the King and his people, earnest and unceasing remonstrances from the Governor General of India, in person and through his Resident, and the callous response of dissipated monarchs; such form the annals of the Kingdom of Oudh.

72. The reader derives no pleasure from dwelling on scenes of profligacy in the Court, or of oppression in the Province; but a few words may be devoted to describing the sources of revenue, the judiciary and police, the army of the King, and the position of parties prior to annexation.

Note.—In compiling this slight sketch of Oudh, the histories of India by Elphinstone, Mill, and Thornton, the interesting researches of Dr. Butler, and the diary of General Sleeman, besides manuscript works, have been carefully consulted.

### CHAPTER III.

#### REVENUE COLLECTION UNDER THE OUDH GOVERNMENT.

Revenue of the country.

73. The main revenue of the rulers of Oudh, as of all Suzerains in India, were derived from the tax upon land. The proprietary of every village, whether a single individual or the community of a brotherhood, in some cases paid

paid the dues direct to the general treasury, in others through some feudal chief, who was invested with, or claimed by ancient prescription, quasi baronial rights over a cluster of villages. Without entering into a discussion, which would be interesting, regarding the difference or similarity between these Talookdars of the East and the Barons of the West, there is sufficient analogy between the two to warrant the opinion that the Indian Talookdars acquired their hold, and exercised their rights, much as the Norman followers of William the Conqueror acquired possession, and gained manorial rights over the Saxon tenants of the English soil. Secure in the possession of his own lands and privileges, the vassal acknowledged the right of his feudal superior to claim his service, or demand his rent. Far from being a mere tenant at will, with no rights in the soil, these original proprietors of the land held their villages as firmly, and enjoyed their privileges as securely, as the Sovereign who ruled over all.

74. At this period of history we do not now call in question the right of our most ancient landowners to their titles to their demesnes; and in the same way in India, whatever were the causes which led to the assumption of manorial rights, prescription has sanctioned them to Talookdars. Throughout the north-west country of India Talookdars at one time were extensively scattered. In Oudh they were equally numerous.

75. When Nawab Saadut Khan received the Soobah of Oudh from the Emperor, he found a class of powerful Talookdars already established. From these he collected his revenues, as also from many other villages who had paid their revenues direct into his treasury. Talookdars of Oudh.

76. But as succeeding rulers grew independent of their Imperial master, and fixed in possession of their territory, began to yield to the fascinating indolence of wealth, the Nawabs of Oudh relinquished into the hands of others the arduous task of fiscal collection. Collection of revenue.

77. It is true that in the days of their stewardship to the Emperor, subordinate collectors had always been allowed, but the fear of a day of reckoning stimulated the Soobadar to watch the proceedings of his underlings with care. Gradually, as the feeling of responsibility wore off, careless indifference took the place of vigilance. The collectors, who had formerly felt the restraint of surveillance, were not slow to benefit by the relaxation of discipline. It is not surprising then to hear that, in consideration of large bribes, the collectors or Chuckledars were in the habit of making over the villages of independent holders to neighbouring Talookdars, and to this may be traced one cause of the importance of the Oudh Talookdar.

78. But to describe clearly the state of things in Oudh, it is necessary to enter fully into the various modes of collecting the revenue.

79. The Crown estates, being as it were private property, paid the most lucrative revenues, from the fact of no middleman interposing to receive a share of the profits. But these were few, and we pass on to the Talookdars' estates, from which the collection of revenue was a more difficult matter. Crown estates.

80. The simplest and most popular system was that denominated Huzoor Tehseel. When a Zemeendar was freed from all the superintendence of local authorities, and paid his revenue direct into the Royal treasury, he paid the quota fixed by the King, and no more, and was exempted from all further exactions. No oppressive Chuckledar could increase his rent, or seize his villagers for forced labour, or use their services without payment. The soldiers hesitated to lay hands on his doors and windows for fuel, and refrained from appropriating his grass and fodder for their cattle. Under the Huzoor Tehseel system gross oppression was rare, and comparative happiness prevailed. Huzoor Tehseel.

81. This system, however, favourable as it was for the comfort of the people and the prosperity of the ruler, obtained only in a small portion of the Province. In 1841, only nine lakhs (90,000*l.*), out of a revenue of one million and a quarter sterling, represented the income of the Huzoor Tehseel.

82. The cause of the limited adoption of this system has already been explained in the slothfulness of the rulers, and it is not surprising that the Chuckledars supplanted, where they could, all other mode of collection by the contract system.

83. The Izarah, or farming lease system, was simply a contract entered into between the ruler and his collectors, by which the King received, without trouble or delay, a certain income, and the collector was allowed full scope for Chuckledars or contractors of revenue. exaction.

exaction. Without any regard for the future interests of his Sovereign, or care for the welfare of the people at large, the sole object of a contractor was to obtain as much money from the district committed to his charge, as he could screw out by exaction, extortion, and every species of torture.

84. Where the Chuckledar and the Talookdar found it their interest to combine, the ryots were plundered, and ruin ensued. But, as was more generally the case, the Chuckledar and Talookdar were thrown into direct opposition, and to resist the illegal demands of the contractor, the Talookdars were compelled to maintain large bodies of men at a ruinous expense.

85. With no check on the conduct of the Chuckledar to control his accounts, or to represent the justice of the case between him and the landholder, there was nothing to hinder his waging war at will on any Talookdar whose resistance was represented to the King as contumacious opposition to the Sovereign's demands. Aggression on the part of the Government contractor begat reprisals from the Talookdars, and the rapine and rebellion which stain the history of Oudh are thus traced to the rapacity of the Government officials.

86. Having pointed to the cause, it behoves us not to pass over with any extenuating gloss the deeds and delinquencies of Oudh Talookdars.

87. Enclosed in an almost impenetrable labyrinth of wood, and sheltered from all attack in their earthen forts, where bristling cannon on fortified rampart overlooked the fosse to guard the path beyond, the turbulent landholders dared to defy the summons of the Sovereign, or surrendered only when favourable terms had been extorted.

88. Then followed raids on their weaker neighbours, extortion, devastation, and cruel mutilation, the wholesale plunder of unoffending villages, the depopulation of whole tracts of country.

89. Lamenting the evils of the administration in the time of the Kings, Captain Orr, a distinguished officer under the Oudh Durbar, thus wrote to the Resident: "I have often thought that of all the settlement systems adopted in Oudh, the best, without exception, is that termed Huzoor Tehseel, where the Zemeendar himself pays directly to Government.

90. "Under this system the ryot is invariably more contented, less tortured, and generally exempt from furnishing forage. I speak not this from mere supposition, for an example of this is to be seen in the Baiswara district, where all the great and powerful chiefs are under Huzoor Tehseel, and it is a notorious fact that there is not in Oudh a better behaved set of men than these chiefs. I am not aware that they have ever shown bad faith towards their Government, in neglecting to forward their stipulated revenue. It is the ambition of every Zemindar to come under this species of settlement."

91. The fearful evils of the contract system were keenly observed and unceasingly animadverted upon by the British Government, whose representative at the Lucknow Court urged upon the King the experiment of trust management, by which a fair and moderate assessment was to be fixed for a period of not less than five years, and not to be disturbed without the advice and consent of the British Government. The attempt was first made in the reign of Ghazee-ood-deen, when Colonel Baillie was Resident, but failed after two years' trial. Again, in Nusseer-ood-deen Hyder's time, it was tried at Colonel Low's suggestion, and again failed.

92. Mahomed Alee Shah made a more vigorous effort to secure success, and his two ministers, Shuraf-ood-dowlah and Ameen-ood-dowlah, lent all the weight of their influence, but with no good result. The fact was that without honest Amils, and vigilant supervision, no King or Minister could command success, and we must look for the failure of the experiment, not in the essential error of the system, but in the corruption of the Court which, spread its evil effects into the remotest corner of the Province.

93. Notwithstanding these repeated failures, the evils of the contract system were so grievous and intolerable, that in 1847 the Governor General urged upon the King of Oudh to return to the system of trust management, as the only hope of improving his finance, and ameliorating the condition of the people.

94. Under this Amanee, or trust system, a Nazim was appointed over a portion of the Province, who was bound to remit to the Royal Treasury whatever he could collect, without any stipulated amount being given. Bad as was the contract system, with the power it gave the contractor of oppression, even to ruining

Testimony in favour of Talookdars.

Evils of the contract system.

Trust system.

ruining the cultivator, yet it had this recommendation, that it secured to the King the payment of the revenue for the time. But in the Amanee system; without any fear of a contract before him, the Nazim was at liberty to enrich himself, without caring to pay beyond his own discretion to the Government. So long as he remitted timely donations to the Royal treasury, and paid handsome douceurs to the Court officials to deal leniently with his accounts, the Nazim knew that he enjoyed full power to enrich himself at the people's expense. And the history of Oudh under the Amanee system is a disgraceful tale of shameless spoliation of the ryot, by all classes, from the Minister who stood behind the throne, to the lowest peon who served a process on the Zemeendar.

95. As an instance of the peculations and profits of a Nazim, a case mentioned in Major General Outram's report may be cited. In the district of Sooltanpore, where 27 lakhs were collected by the Nazim, nominally for Government, only 17 lakhs were accounted for to the Crown, but far less found its way to Lucknow, whilst the remaining 10 lakhs were reserved by the Nazim for his own purposes, to which may be added one lakh for additional cesses.

96. Out of the 17 lakhs nominally paid to Government, the Nazim claimed compensation for the payment of troops employed in the collection of the revenue; repairs of forts, which were never repaired; expenses of feeding cattle and elephants, allowed to starve; repairs of artillery carriages, left to rot; cost of hutting the troops, who invariably provided for themselves at the expense of the people. Besides all these deductions, a considerable remission was claimed for those estates whose owners were reported to have absconded, but who had paid, not only their full quota of revenue, but a douceur besides, to escape further exaction.

97. One great item in the accounts of Oudh Zemindars is what is called the *Nankar*. Originally it was the allowance given to collectors in payment of service as a subsistence, but it has received a wide signification. Every Talookdar against whom an assessment was made, received a certain per-centage as remission. The per-centage was not fixed, and varied greatly, according to the influence of the Talookdar or the venality of the Nazim. A portion of the profits of the village is at times called *nankar*, and the same term is applied to the payment of service to a Kanvongoe, either in money or a remission of revenue. It is necessary to mention here this item, which swelled the exactions from the ryot, though it added not to the coffers of the King.

98. Imitating the indifference of their Royal Lord, the Nazims of Oudh adopted easy methods of collecting their fortunes. In most cases Chuckledars undertook the work of realization by the prescribed contract system, but there was also another mode quite as easy and satisfactory to the Nazim.

99. Having a large army to support, and often with no funds to meet their clamorous demands, the necessities of the Monarch suggested the idea of giving bills on a Nazim for the payment of the salary of a regiment. Far from disconcerted at having the soldiery quartered on him, the clever Nazim turned the occasion to account, and assigning a portion of his district to the Commandant for the collection of the revenue, the Nazim would divest himself of all responsibility of account, and would deliver the receipt of the officer to the Court as an item of revenue properly accounted for.

100. So popular amongst the collectors was the mode of realizing the revenue, that the services of a regiment were frequently sold at private auction to the highest bidder.

101. The oppression exercised by an army turned loose on a country to realize their pay, requires no description; yet, strange to say, even this *Kubz* system, evil as it was, was somewhat less oppressive to the ryot than the actual collection by the Nazim himself.

102. This account of the sources of the territorial revenues is drawn from the most authentic records, and all the evidence attainable goes to prove that, though the iniquities and aggressions of Talookdars were undoubtedly great, they were not generally oppressive to their own ryots, and were only aggressive and cruel towards others, either because they were harassed by Chuckledars, or took advantage of the utter weakness of the Government. There is sufficient evidence to show that the most popular, most lucrative, and most efficient

system under a powerful Government, was that styled Huzoor Tehseel, where the ryot paid to his feudal lord, who again paid the revenue to the lord paramount, and was powerful enough to protect his tenants from oppression.

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE LATE OUDE GOVERNMENT.

- Judicial establishments.** 103. Where oppression and corruption are allowed in one branch of the administration, the same may be looked for in every department, and the reader will not be surprised to hear that "of Judicial Courts, there were none in Oude, save at the capital, and these were inefficient and venal." Throughout Oude, the whole Judicial establishment only numbered 61 persons, whose aggregate pay was rupees 15,672 a year.
- Criminal and Civil Courts.** 104. The Criminal Courts were made subservient to corrupt influences, though some semblance of form and justice was adhered to, and the law of the Koran was professedly administered. But the Civil Courts of the capital were the scenes of most shameless corruption, justice being there openly bought and sold.
105. A glance at the Courts as they were constituted previous to the annexation will suffice.
- Highest Court of Judicature.** 106. The highest Court of Judicature was presided over by the son of the High Priest, and was one of the few Courts which had the power to receive plaints and try cases without reference to the King.
- Police Court.** 107. The President of the Kotwalde, or Chief Police Court of the city, was a man whose profligacy and extravagance were disgracefully notorious.
- Court of Requests.** 108. A Court of Requests for claims for petty debt was held by the favourite fiddler of the King.
109. The Court of Civil Judicature for the trial of suits was an arena of shameless extortion by unsalaried servants, whom it were a mockery of justice to call Judges. After ruthless exaction had been carried to the farthest limit, the final decision would be given in favour of the most liberal litigant.
110. A minor Court of Civil suits of small causes, and many others of inferior character, and as grossly corrupt, were held in the city.
- Court for investigation of Sepoys complaints.** 111. One Court was specially held for the receipt and investigation of Sepoys petitions, received through the President from the soldiers of the British army.
- Nazim's Courts.** 112. Though the only *regular* Judicial Courts were held in the capital, almost unlimited power was deputed to the Nazims of Provinces to administer a summary kind of justice. Capital executions were rarely resorted to, even at Lucknow, and were never permitted to be inflicted by the Nazims. Generally, when any noted outlaw was apprehended, he was sent at once to the capital for disposal. But ordinary cases, requiring fine or imprisonment, were decided summarily by the Nazim and his deputies.
113. Imprisonment was resorted to only in extreme cases, as being the least profitable to the Judge. It was no uncommon occurrence for murder and dacoitee to be compounded for by a simple fine, which helped to swell the perquisites of the Nazims and the Court favourites.
114. To aid the Nazim in his varied duties, fiscal, judicial, magisterial, and police, deputies were appointed on moderate salaries, to which were added certain fees and perquisites; the subordinate establishments were the protégé of these deputies, who shared in the harvest of general plunder. But a large portion of the plunder was reserved for a long list of Civil functionaries, recommended by the creatures of the Court for service, but who never performed any duties at all; their names being entered on the Nazim's roll merely as a pretext for drawing the pay.
115. Civil actions for the recovery of debts were decided, sometimes by the Nazim or one of his officers, sometimes by a PUNCHAYET, or by some Hakim who would undertake to investigate the matter for a proper consideration. In such cases the poor man fell a prey to the rich, and no appeal was left but to the sword.

116. A sturdy yeoman, deprived of his rights, for the recovery of which he was too poor to pay, was apt to have recourse to physical force, and much bloodshed was the oft-recurring result.

117. The Talookdars in days of yore, administered rude justice to their tenants, and decided all controversies relating to lands within their manor. Gradually, as the power of the Sovereign outgrew that of his feudal Chiefs, the jurisdiction of these Manorial Courts was eclipsed by the authority of the Royal officers; and the judicial power of Talookdars, even in those estates over which no Nazim was appointed, was greatly circumscribed; but whether rightfully or usurped, yet some power was undoubtedly retained by the Talookdars of Oude up to the time of annexation. The Talookdars of Gonda and Hussimpore (Sultanpore) enjoyed the privilege of conferring the title of "Rajah," a privilege which they held from the Emperor of Delhi.

Talookdars' Courts.

118. No periodical returns of crimes and trials were ever called for by the King; but to serve as a check on the conduct of the officials, a large body of News writers was kept in the pay of the Government, whose duty it was to keep rigid watch on the proceeding of each functionary, and faithfully to report all passing events. It is almost needless to relate that the reverse was the case. Armed with a power, which a Nazim would respect, an Akhbar Navees went forth to grasp a certain fortune. According as he was paid and treated, he suppressed the truth or gave a colour to facts. He who had a desire to make his case known to the Sovereign, and he whose interest it was to conceal the truth, alike feared and fed the News writer.

News writers.

119. With such open shamelessness was this traffic carried on, that the office of Head Newsman was disposed of by contract, and Mohamed Allee Shah, the most economical of the Kings, did not disdain to receive into his treasury one lakh of rupees under the head of "News-writing fees."

120. This mockery of all justice was at last put an end to by the remonstrances of the Resident.

121. The Police Department fared no better than any other. Thannahdars were appointed by favouritism, or bid for their place that they might realize the profits derived from mulcts or petty delinquents, or connivance at the enormities of more powerful criminals. In city or country, the same system prevailed, with the same result.

Police Department.

122. Honourable exception, however, must be made in favour of the Oude Frontier Police, composed of two detachments, which were commanded by Captain Alexander P. Orr and Captain W. Hearsey, and placed under the superintendence of Captain G. R. Weston, directly subordinate to the President. The duties of this Frontier Police were to suppress thuggee and dacoitee in Oude, and to apprehend all fugitives from the British territories. These duties were well performed, and afforded a bright contrast to the generality of the Oude Police.

Frontier Police.

123. The army of the King of Oude has been described as an ill-paid, inefficient, insubordinate rabble, which was kept up for the sole purpose of coercing refractory landholders. Without drill, discipline, or decent apparel, and receiving barely three rupees as pay, which was always kept several months in arrears, such a body of military was neither imposing in appearance nor formidable in the field, and it is no matter of wonder that a stubborn Talookdar with a few resolute followers could boast that he had faced and defeated the Royal forces.

Army of Oude.

124. Great distinction is to be drawn between the mass of these troops and the few regiments which were commanded by European officers. Captains Bunbury, Orr, Barlow, and Magness, in spite of annoying difficulties and inherent evils, contrived to maintain a degree of discipline and efficiency.

Regiments commanded by European officers.

125. What the News writers department was in the Civil Police such was the Paymaster's office in the Army. Farmed out on contract by the Head Department, the office of Bukshee to a regiment was eagerly sought. The profits accruing from entrance fees, fees for leave of absence, bribes to escape dismissal, arrears due to the families of deceased soldiers, as well as from the pay of mere paper-men, brought a large revenue to the officers of the Pay Department.

Army Paymaster.

126. Allusion has been made to the system of *Kubz* collection through the agency of the troops. Of this there were two kinds, the *Lakulamee* and the *Woosulee Kubz*. Under the *Lakulamee* contract, the Commandant of a regiment

Lakulamee.  
regiment

regiment agreed to pay to the Government tax-gatherer a certain fixed amount, for which the estate was declared to be liable.

Wusoolce.

127. Under the second system, the Commandant was informed of the balance due from the estate, and merely pledged himself to recover whatever he could. Practically the returns to the collector and the oppression on the ryot were alike under either system.

128. Having rid himself of the double burthen of collection and of payment of the troops, the collector was bound to take no further steps to interfere between the soldier and cultivator. Then followed too often a scene of wholesale spoliation. To provide shelter for the troops, the light thatches were removed from the houses of villages; food and fodder were taken without payment, and the finest timber would be destroyed to supply fuel for cooking. The broad grasp of the Commandant took not only all the crops on the ground, regardless of all claims of capitalists, cultivators, or mortgagees, but also seized and sent to auction the live stock on the farm, and the property in the house. The last horrors of military oppression were sometimes exhibited in the sale of the unfortunate women and children.

129. With their time and thoughts wholly occupied in plunder and their officers turned into extortionate bailiffs, the soldiery lost all claim to be ranked as an army; no martial ardour or thirst for military triumphs stirred the ranks or urged on the Sovereign to schemes of extended dominion. Terrible only to their own countrymen, the line of march of the troops was marked everywhere by devastation, and their most glorious prize was a wealthy estate ripe for plunder.

130. The King never made a royal progress through the country to see with his own eyes the disorganization of the army and the desolation of the Province; surrounded in his Court with parasites and favourites, who fattened on the rank corruption which approached to his very doors, there was but little substantial remedy afforded by the ostentatious appearance of the King in open Court to receive the petitions of his oppressed subjects.

Strength and cost of the Army.

131. The size and cost of the military forces maintained by the Kings of Oudh were never fairly estimated, but they varied from 40,000 to 80,000 men. In Wajid Ali Shah's time, Colonel Sleeman placed the nominal returns of the army of all ranks at 59,000 men, at a cost of 42 lakhs of rupees, and the Civil Police at 22,000 men, involving an expenditure of nine lakhs; thus 51 lakhs, or nearly one half of the annual revenue, were expended in its actual collection, irrespective of the cost of the higher establishments.

## CHAPTER V.

### MISS GOVERNMENT OF OUDE AND ITS ANNEXATION.

Roads in Oude.

132. The only road in the Province of Oude was that constructed and metalled under the superintendence of an English engineer, between Lucknow and Cawnpore; elsewhere, along the village tracts, the irregular and confined lines of communication ill sufficed to convey the traffic of the Province.

Bridges.

133. The chief permanent bridges in the Province were five neglected and almost impassable masonry arches on the road to Fyzabad, one dilapidated bridge on the Seetapore road, and some few others over the river Sai, at Mohan and Roy Bareilly, &c. The road to Cawnpore was, of course, well drained and bridged.

Public Edifices, &c.

134. But with the characteristic selfishness of the Sovereigns of Oude, whilst the wants of the people and requirements of the Province were utterly disregarded, successive Nawabs and Kings in Lucknow vied with each other in the splendour of their palaces and in the exhibition of their architectural taste. Asuf-ood-dowlah founded the seat of Government at Lucknow, and inaugurated the change by the erection of an Imambarah, which for lofty dimensions and stately arch, solidity of material and architectural beauty, surpasses every other building in Lucknow, and is entitled to rank with the fine structures of Europe.

135. Vast

135. Vast sums of public revenue were lavished on gorgeous palaces and stupendous tombs, whose gilded domes glittered in the sun and added a gay appearance to the pompous scene.

Lavish expenditure on Palaces and Mosques, &c.

136. The lavish extravagance of the Monarch was imitated by the Ministers and Nobles of the Court. Palaces and gardens spread in rapid succession over the extensive capital; beyond the suburbs magnificent parks, well studded with trees and stocked with deer, gave delight to the heart of the pleasure-seeking Princes; across the river Goomtee, whose waters flow in meandering course by palaces and parks, two substantial bridges throw their graceful span; one built of stone is of ancient structure and curious in form, the other of iron, was made in England, and sent out to be erected under the superintendence of an English engineer.

Financial condition of the Province.

137. Since the cession to the East India Company of a portion of his territories by Saadut Ally Khan in 1801, the revenues of the State had been encumbered with no public debt, and there was no drain of money from the country into the adjacent provinces. The wealth which was taken by the Government was circulated in the Kingdom or hoarded up in secret treasuries; a considerable sum was invested by the King and the people in British Government securities, but the interest of the money always found its way back to Lucknow. Half a million of money was yearly sent by the British Government into Oude, either as interest on ordinary loans or for the incomes of guaranteed pensioners, for whose provision the Sovereigns of Oude had at different times invested certain funds in the Company's public loans. Rupees 35,000 in interest alone were annually distributed in charities at Lucknow. Considerable sums were remitted yearly in stipends to the pensioners of the army, and the earnings of the soldiers passed through the Government treasuries to their families in Oude. The flow of wealth was then all into Oude, and fed the heavily-taxed resources of the country.

138. Amidst the cry of oppression and the starvation of his troops, the King possessed a secret hoard of reserved treasure, from which he drew largely when his urgent necessities increased, or to which he added when his finances flourished; a million of money lay at one time buried in the vaults beneath the Royal palace.

King's Ministers.

139. The Ministers who formed the Cabinet of the King were generally men of talent though of unbridled cupidity; frequent changes and sudden alteration, according to the caprice of the Sovereign, or his subjection to female sway, rendered the office of the Minister precarious, and his practices unbecoming of a statesman.

Minister of Finance and other Public Offices.

140. Besides the Prime Minister, who enjoyed almost plenary power, there were the Minister of Finance, who controlled all expenditure and receipts, the Master of the Exchequer, and the Paymaster General, the officers of the Household, and the keepers of the Royal Seraglio.

Their income.

141. The illegal incomes derived by these functionaries from the sale of Court favour, and the lease of appointments, amounted to an annual sum of more than 21 lakhs (210,000l.); the Prime Minister alone received thus 13 lakhs, and 8 lakhs of the remainder were appropriated by the Minister of Finance.

Allee Nuktee Khan.

142. Allee Nuktee Khan, the last Prime Minister of the Kingdom, was not a man of high ability, but skilled in business; he only lacked the principle which would restrain him from speculation, and the wisdom which taught the policy of moderation.

Profligacy and extravagance of the Court.

143. A description of the profligacy and profuse extravagance of the Court will find no place in this Report. For 50 years, and more, it was the painful but important duty of each succeeding Resident to plead the cause of the ryot, and point out the excesses of the Monarch; and a pressing part of each Governor General's duties was to adjure in solemn terms the rulers of Oudh to cast aside the frivolities and follies of a voluptuous Court, and bestir themselves to the discharge of the paramount duties of Government. Reforms were suggested and plans of improvement elaborated. At times the ruler would be roused from his lethargy, and possessed of an easy good-natured disposition, would for the moment be horror-stricken at the sufferings of his subjects, and listen attentively to schemes of reform; but the indolence of his nature or the intrigues of his favourites soon effaced the impression; the ruler relapsed into slothful indifference, and all hope of ameliorating the condition of the Province was lost.

Reform urged by the British Government.



Annexation of Oudh. • 144. Such being the disorder of the Kingdom and the depravity of the administration, the Government of the territories of Oudh, on the 6th February 1856, was formally transferred from the King of Oude to the Honourable East India Company.

## CHAPTER VI.

### SKETCH OF ADMINISTRATION FROM ANNEXATION TO MUTINY.

Appointment of Civil Officers. 145. The last Resident at the Court of Lucknow was Major General Sir James Outram. On the incorporation of Oude with the British Empire, he was appointed by the Governor General the first Chief Commissioner for the affairs of that Province. In subordination to him were appointed a Judicial and a Financial Commissioner, Commissioner of Division, Deputy Commissioner, assistants and extra assistants, and the administration was to be conducted as far as possible in accordance with the system which had proved so successful in the Punjab.

Distribution of the Province into Divisions. Subdivisions into Divisions. 146. Comparing the area and the revenue of the Province with those of the tract ceded to the British Government in 1801, the Governor General in Council decided that the country should be separated in four large divisions or commissionerships; each of these tracts was to be again subdivided into three districts, and each one placed in the charge of a Deputy Commissioner, aided by assistants and extra assistants.

Police Officers appointed at Lucknow and Fyzabad. 147. For the management of the Police and the administration of Criminal Justice in the cities of Lucknow and Fyzabad, two special Military Assistants were appointed; an Inspectorship of Jails was authorized, and a department of Public Works organized.

148. To form the nucleus of subordinate native establishments, some few experienced and trustworthy officials were summoned from the older provinces; but every means were directed to be taken to give employment to the natives of the Province.

149. The distribution of the Province into divisions and districts was planned at Lucknow by the Chief Commissioner and his coadjutors.

Fyzabad Division. 150. One division comprised the country lying between the Gogra and Ganges on the extreme east, and was composed of the districts of Fyzabad, Sooltanpore, and Salone, which included the town and pergunnah of Roy Bareilly.

Lucknow Division. 151. The next division, the head quarters of which were fixed at the capital, included the district of Durriabad, lying between the Goomtee and Gogra; 2dly, the country north of Lucknow to the Gogra at Byram Ghat, around the city of Lucknow, formed into a district; and 3dly, that to the south of Lucknow extending to the Ganges, on both sides of the Cawnpore road, which was the district of Poorwa.

Khyrabad Division. 152. The country to the west of Sundeela and south of the Chowka, including the districts of Mullaon, Seetapore, and Mohumdee, was placed under the Commissioner of the Khyrabad division.

Baraitch Division. 153. The small triangle of land formed by the junction of the Chowka and Gogra, known as the Mullapoor district, and the long tract of submontane valley north of the Gogra, which was divided into the two districts of Baraitch and Gonda, constituted the remaining division.

154. This partition of the country having been effected, the Commissioners with their staff set out for their posts, to assume charge of their jurisdiction, establish police, and collect the revenue on the harvest already advanced in ripeness.

Collection of revenue due. 155. It was pointed out as not improbable that the revenue would be forestalled by the Amils of an impoverished Government; this was a matter of account between the Amil and his Government, and district officers were warned to collect from the standing crop and sequesterate it, if necessary, to enforce payment.

Summary settlement. 156. Having introduced authority and made arrangements for the spring harvest collections, the labour of summarily settling the land revenue for a period of three years was vigorously taken in hand. This settlement was made in accordance to orders with the parties actually in possession, without any recognition

recognition of proprietary right. The assessments were ordered to be moderate and founded on the account of past collections. Where a just cry of over-assessment was raised, the Divisional Commissioner made a prompt reduction, and the Financial Commissioner often reduced it still lower. One per cent. on the Government demand was levied for a road fund, and provision was made for the remuneration of the village police.

157. All details of revenue arrangements were left to the local authorities of the Province, to whom the desire and intention of the Government were clearly conveyed to deal with the actual occupants of the soil, viz., with village Zeemindars or proprietary coparcenaries, and not to suffer the interposition of Talookdars and middlemen. The consideration of the claims of this class was to be reserved for a future occasion, or was to be made the subject of judicial trial. Revenue arrangement.

158. These orders of the Supreme Government were implicitly obeyed. How they operated on the Talookdars, and what the effect was of stripping them of all right on the soil, will form matter for comment hereafter.

159. The subdivisions of the Districts (called Tehseels) were made to comprise Villages paying an aggregate of between two and three lakhs of revenue. Tehseels.

160. Police posts were established at convenient distances; towns were protected by an efficient constabulary, and the lines of communication were carefully guarded; the landholders were called upon to give up their guns; jails, public offices, and Government dispensaries were located in such buildings as were found to be available. Police Posts.

161. Transit duties were abolished, and the petty exactions of oppressive landholders were suppressed. Abolition of Transit duties.

162. The municipal charges for watch and ward were defrayed by the levy of a moderate octroi. Octroi Tax.

163. Following the practice of the Punjab, in preference to that which obtained in the North-western Provinces, it was ruled at the outset that the investigation into, and adjudication of all claims connected with land should be heard in the Court of the Settlement Officer. Revenue Courts.

164. In arranging for the revenue, it was necessary at once to determine all claims to hold lands in rent-free tenure. The instructions of the Governor General in Council were explicit, and were rigidly acted upon:— Investigation of claims to Jagheers.

1st. Where the authority of the grantor and the authenticity of the grant were proved, the terms of the grant were strictly observed.

2d. All deeds of grant bearing the seal or sign manual of any Nawab or King of Oudh, and of none other, were accepted as valid.

3d. Where no deeds could be brought in proof, but uninterrupted possession for three generations or twenty years could be established, a life tenure rent-free was allowed.

4th. All moderate endowments of religious establishments, or buildings erected for public convenience, were maintained, so long as the establishments or buildings remained.

5th. Grants given on condition of military service were resumed.

6th. Special claims to the continuance of rent-free tenures, either in virtue of prescriptive possession or on special considerations of family influence, antiquity, character, or service, were inquired into, and decided on their merits.

165. In accordance with the orders of Government, the establishments of the ex-Regal Court, who were thrown out of employ, were paid up and discharged, and the claims of those entitled to pensions were inquired into. Discharge of ex-King's establishments.

166. The rules which guided the officers employed in the payment of these establishments were clearly defined. Service of more than ten and under fifteen years entitled the claimant to three months gratuity; of fifteen years and under twenty, to six months pay; of twenty and under twenty-five years, to nine months pay.

167. The investigation into the numerous State, family, and charitable pensions formed a separate department, and will be treated of hereafter. Pension investigation.

168. The arrangements for the collection of the sources of revenue which come under the head of Customs, underwent much investigation and discussion. Customs.

169. The most important item of these was salt. Under the former Government this commodity was taxed like any other product of the soil, and was included in the yearly assessment of a man's estate; the proprietor being left to

to make his own arrangements for reimbursement. At times he took his salt works into his own management, but generally leased them out to the manufacturers.

170. The chief saliferous country is that south of the Gogra around Roy Bareilly. The salt manufactured there is mostly of an ordinary quality, and is made in sufficient quantity not only to supply the people of Oude but also to form an article of export, which is smuggled across the preventive line into the villages of the Benares division.

171. The salt extracted from the watery soils of the Trans-Gogra division is unfit for human use, and altogether deleterious.

172. Considering the importance of keeping up the supply of cheap salt for a large class of people who could ill afford to pay for the higher-priced article in the Province, and weighing also the impolicy of putting a stop to this branch of trade, the Chief Commissioner proposed at the close of the year 1856 that the limits of each salt-producing district should be defined, and a separate contract given for the manufacture of salt in every district.

173. The contract for the manufacture was primarily to be offered to the owner of the land at rates estimated on the capabilities of the soil for producing salt, and if refused by him, to be put up to competition. It was recommended that no restriction should be placed upon the impure salt made on the north side of the Gogra.

174. The Governor General in Council consented to a trial of this system for one year, at the same time expressing a decided opinion in favour of separating entirely the salt from the land revenue, and levying an excise on every maund produced instead of a system of indefinite licence.

Saltpetre.

175. Saltpetre was at the same time subjected to taxation. It had always been made to pay an excise under the King's Government, and the old monopoly was still kept up. In the month of November 1856 the contract was put up to auction, and realized the sum of 52,000 rupees for one year.

Opium.

176. To ensure the collection of the Government dues on the poppy cultivation, orders were early issued by the Supreme Government for the transmission of all opium to the Government factories at Benares and Ghazee-pore. The Chief Commissioner recommended the free cultivation of the drug, which was to be brought to the Deputy Commissioner of each district, to be tested by him in concert with the Civil Surgeon, and eventually to be forwarded to the factories. This plan was sanctioned, but never carried out.

Abkarry.

177. The rules which obtained in the North-western Provinces for the restriction and licence of the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors were put in force in Oude.

Timber and Forest produce.

178. The last source of revenue which demanded the Chief Commissioner's attention was the Crown dues on timber and forest produce.

179. In the extensive Terai jungle, extending across the north of Oude, from Philibheet on the west to Goruckpore on the east, the most valuable forests are those of Khyreegurh and Kunchunpoor, at the extreme north-west of Oude.

180. The finest sal and sissoo trees grow here and in the country about Dhourera. As the forests extend towards the south-east on the Goruckpore side, and leaving the mountain slopes approach the open plain, the timber falls off in size and solidity. There are many sal trees in the Toolseepore jungles, but they never grow beyond the size of saplings, and are only useful for rafters.

181. In the depths of the forests vast "Chauds" or grass prairies are to be met with, with here and there a cluster of woodmen's huts. Condemned for its unhealthiness in most seasons of the year, little attempt had ever been made to clear plots of Terai jungle to be converted into arable land.

182. In a few places, however, some clearance had been effected, and in the centre of a forest near Bhinga the traveller may be reminded of the backwoods of America by the blackened stumps of trees which stand above the luxuriant crops of corn.

183. The right of the Crown to levy dues on the various products of the forest was never lost sight of, though the privileges of the King were frequently encroached upon; customs posts were established on the Gogra and Raptee rivers for the collection of taxes on timber felled and floated down the stream, and on boats and charcoal.

184. Resin

184. Resin produced from the sál, and the gum extracts of the khyr and peepul trees, were subjected to taxation. Grazing dues also brought in a lucrative income.

185. In lieu of the transit duties, which were directed to be abolished, the system of forest conservancy which had been tried with success in the Punjab, Rohilkund, and other parts of the Indian empire, was directed to be introduced into Oude. Forest Conservancy.

186. A Superintendent of Forests was appointed on 700 rupees per mensem, and a code of rules was drawn up for his guidance.

187. No timber was to be felled by any private persons whatever. The Superintendent was to visit the different forests annually with an establishment of woodmen, who were to mark off and girdle trees fit for the axe; when felled, the timber was to be sold by public auction.

188. Penalties for infringement of the forest laws, and the powers and jurisdiction of the Superintendent, were duly prescribed.

189. In the administration of Justice, the principles and practice of the Punjab were directed to be followed. In a country like Oude, where violent crime was of daily occurrence, and from whence lawless bands of dacoits dared to travel even as far as Calcutta in search of plunder, it was very necessary to have an efficient police. Administration of Justice.

190. Following the example of the Punjab, a Military Police, consisting of three regiments of infantry and nine troops of cavalry, under their Commandants, subordinate to a Superintendent of Police, was organized. Military Police.

191. The 1st of the infantry regiments was composed of five companies of the frontier police and three companies of recruits.

192. The 2d regiment contained two companies of frontier police and eight of new recruits.

193. The 3d was entirely recruited from the King's army, which was disbanded on the annexation of the Province.

194. The cavalry received 300 men of the King's army, and the rest were fresh recruits.

195. The soldiers for the cavalry were mostly drawn from the Rangur District of Hansie Hissar beyond Delhi, whilst the recruits for the infantry were chiefly inhabitants of Oude.

196. The duties of this Military Force were to guard jails and public offices, and to escort treasure in transit from the district to head quarters. The cavalry patrolled roads, and acted as escorts to civil officers. Duties of the Military Police.

197. The Civil Police were formed on the model of our older provinces, and undertook the duties of detection of crime, apprehension of criminals, and the general care of the public safety. Thannahdars, on salaries of 40, 50, and 60 rupees per mensem, were appointed to every police station to investigate and report all crime, to superintend the apprehension of criminals, and to control the conduct of the police. Civil Police.

198. The importance of teaching all landholders the duties and obligations imposed on them in the tenure of their land was not lost sight of. To keep a vigilant watch on the bad characters of their society, to trace crime, and compel restitution of plundered property, were the conditions attached to every man's holding of land.

199. The jurisdiction of all officers in the judicature and police was defined by the Governor General in Council.

200. The supervising authority of the judiciary, as well as the executive, was primarily vested in the Judicial Commissioner, with whom also rested the control of jails, public ferries, and town dues. Where sentence of death was recorded against a culprit, the case was submitted to the Chief Commissioner for concurrence. Sentence of imprisonment or transportation for life might be passed by the Judicial Commissioner. Criminal Justice.

201. Commissioners of Divisions were authorized to sentence to imprisonment or transportation beyond the seas for periods short of banishment for life, and to deliver judgment on the original record of the lower Court in cases when a sentence, not exceeding nine years, was legally awardable, or when the prisoner voluntarily confessed his guilt before a Magistrate, or where the proceedings of the case warranted an acquittal.

202. The Deputy Commissioner had the powers of a Magistrate, and could sentence to three years imprisonment.

203. Assistant Commissioners of the 1st, 2d, and 3d class were empowered to exercise full, partial, or restricted powers, according as they had passed both, or one, or no examinations.

204. For the disposal of petty cases of misdemeanor, and for the general convenience of the public, some of the Tehseeldars in the districts were invested with limited judicial powers, to hear and decide charges of assault, abuse, and petty larceny.

Prisons.

205. The establishment of prisons on a proper foundation was co-ordinated with the arrangements for the detection of crime. It was the duty of the Superintendent to scrutinize returns, suggest plans for sanatory improvement, and introduce practical schemes of jail reform.

206. In every district the prisoners were confined in the zillah jail, but it was in contemplation to erect a central prison in the capital for the long-term convicts.

Civil Justice.

207. The rules of Civil Judicature which were framed and promulgated in the Punjab were introduced in their integrity into Oude. The same principles of law were applicable to both Provinces, save where the *lex loci* interfered to guide to a special verdict. The popularity of the Small Cause Courts in the Punjab, where petty suits for simple debt, or the enforcement of a right were tried and disposed of with expedition and trifling expense, warranted the introduction of the same tribunals in Oude.

Appellate Court.

208. Whilst the powers of Assistants and Deputy Commissioners to decide suits were defined, the right of appeal to the highest judicial authority was allowed to both parties in a suit; and to secure the due regard for justice in the subordinate Courts, the district officers were empowered to revise the decisions of Tehseeldars, even though no appeal had been allowed.

Statute of Limitation.

209. The statute of limitation for the hearing of civil suits was fixed at 12 years. Later in the year permission was received to reduce the limit to six years, and notices were promulgated on the 1st December 1856, that after six months from that date no suits for transactions beyond six years would be received. But the period of grace had scarcely elapsed, when the whirlwind of rebellion had swept over the Province of Oude, and removed all trace of civil administration.

Re-distribution of Districts.

210. When the officers of the administration had made themselves practically acquainted with the limits and capabilities of their respective jurisdictions, it soon became apparent that an unequal distribution of territory had been made. Whilst the jungle tract of Mullapore scarcely yielded enough revenue to bear the cost of a Tehseeldar's establishment, and yet was superintended by a Deputy Commissioner with his full district establishment, the districts of Salone and Sooltanpoor comprised a very large population, and an area of unwieldy extent.

211. It was therefore proposed to re-cast the whole distribution, and by absorbing Mullapore into the adjacent districts, and creating a third jurisdiction out of the overgrown districts of Salone and Sooltanpoor, by curtailing this Pergunnah, and rounding that Tehseel, to equalize as far as possible the labours and limits of each district officer.

212. The changes in districts necessitated some alteration on the divisional boundaries. Mohumdee was ordered to be transferred from the Khyrabad to the Bareutch division, and Durriabad was given over in its stead to Khyrabad. Roy Bareilly, the capital of the shorn Salone district, was included in the division of Lucknow.

213. Such were the changes authorized by the Governor General in Council, but when the orders arrived at Lucknow, the agricultural season was too far advanced to admit of the change before harvest time; and subsequent events caused the postponement of all business.

214. In the absence of all statistics, and of all but the most scanty fragments of reports, nothing more than a general outline of the administration of 1856-57 can be given.

CHAPTER VII.

THE OCCUPATION OF OUDE.

215. Such were the conditions and prospects of the Province of Oude, which was annexed and administered by the British Government in 1856. Guarding against the possibility of armed opposition, the Governor General had ordered a strong force to assemble at Cawnpore, to move into Oude, on its becoming British territory. Her Majesty's 32<sup>d</sup> regiment of infantry held the capital, supported by European artillery, whilst sepoy regiments of the line, with native artillery, garrisoned Seetapoor, Fyzabad, Sooltanpore, and Gonda.

Arrangements for the peaceful occupation of the Province.

216. But the appearance of the people was everywhere favourable, and the fallen Monarch, without acquiescing in the change of his fortunes, rendered a ready assistance in transferring his Government into British charge; his troops were disbanded, and exhorted to good behaviour; his Amils and civil establishments were enjoined to obey all orders, and on no account proceed to resistance or rebellion. In no part was the disposition of the population otherwise than contented. They had suffered much under the former rule, and they hailed with apparent satisfaction the approach of justice. The history then of Oude for 1856 is one of internal tranquillity and peaceful improvement.

Quiet behaviour of the people.

217. A threatened commotion in the city of Lucknow at the time of the Mohurrum, when fanatical Moulvees attempted to implicate the brother of the ex-King in a wild scheme of insurrection, was promptly dealt with by the civil authorities, without having recourse to the aid of the military.

Prognostics of rebellion.

218. At a later period a more significant prognostic of coming events was displayed in the preachings and proclamations of a seditious Moulvee at Fyzabad. His apprehension was not effected without bloodshed, and he was tried for his life, and condemned to be hanged; but it was ordained that he should escape for a while, to take a prominent part in the scenes of the rebellion.

219. The numerous bands of dacoits who had ranged unrestrained before, were now hunted down and confined in the jails; some more expert or daring spirits defied the officers of justice, or eluded pursuit; one noted outlaw, Fuzul Ali, enticed the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Boileau, to follow him to his fastness, where he slew the British officer and four of his attendants. This robber was afterwards successfully hunted and destroyed by the military police, under Captains Boileau and Longueville Clarke.

Fusul Ali.

220. With these exceptions the current of public tranquillity remained undisturbed; changes occurred in the personnel of the administration,—General Sir James Outram early left the Province for England, and was succeeded by Mr. C. C. Jackson; he again left in March 1857, and his place was supplied by Sir Henry Lawrence. The ex-King had gone with his suite to Calcutta, and the remnants of his Court were settled in Lucknow.

General tranquillity of the Province.

Appointment of Mr. Jackson and Sir Henry Lawrence.

221. District officers were everywhere busied with settlements, civil courts, and public improvements. Profiting by the experience of the older provinces, there was no need in Oude to make tentative progress in administration. Roads were everywhere in course of construction. Buildings commenced, local conservancy plans discussed, and actually carried out; but all the bright prospect was rudely blighted by the events which rapidly followed the mutiny at Meerut.

Exertions of the Officers and progress of affairs.

222. It will not be necessary here to detail the wise preparations made by the Chief Commissioner and his officers to meet the inevitable approach of the storm. The firm bearing of all the officers, their fortitude under trial, and the cruel fate of too many of our countrymen and women, form an instructive but sad page in the volume of history.

Preparations for the rebellion.

223. The glorious defence of the Lucknow residency, the timely relief by Outram and Havelock, and the final release of the garrison by Sir Colin Campbell, are indelibly engraven on the memory of Englishmen. No record of their deeds is required at the hands of the Chief Commissioner, but he would fain pay a passing tribute of admiration to the trials and triumphs of the heroes of Lucknow.

Defence and relief of the Province.

224. Throughout the stormy period between June and November 1857, the whole province of Oude was in arms against the British Government. A few

Rebellion general.

- Exceptions. honourable exceptions, however, deserve mention. Koer Hurdeo Buksh, a wealthy Zemindar of Kutya-ree, on the Ganges, opposite Furruckabad, rendered early aid to the beleaguered garrison of Futtehgurh, and received and sheltered several English fugitives. In days gone by, his father sought and found refuge with an English officer from the oppression of the Nawabs, and the debt of gratitude thus incurred was discharged by his son.
- Hurdeo Bux.
- Roostum Shah. Baboo Roostum Sah, of Dera, near Sooltanpoor, received the fugitive officers from Sooltanpoor, and passed them under safe conduct over the frontier to Jounpore.
- Ajeet Singh. Baboo Ajeet Sing, a junior member of an influential family, braved the resentment of his brethren, and sacrificed all his property, to save and deliver into Allahabad 42 English persons.
- Dirg Bijye Sing. Rajah Dirg Bijye Sing, the chieftain of the Baiswarra Rajpoots, saved from the waters of the Ganges, and the deadly fire of a pursuing foe, the four survivors of the Cawnpore massacre.
- The Rajah of Bulrampoor. 225. The Rajah of Bulrampoor received into his asylum the officers and families who fled from Gonda and Buhraitch, and when a fitting opportunity occurred, escorted them safely to Goruckpoor.
- These men have, throughout these trying times, maintained a steady adherence to the British cause.
- Others have rendered important service in protecting single fugitives in flight, but were afterwards either overwhelmed by the waves of rebellion, or willingly joined the cause of the enemy.
- Conduct of Maun Singh. 226. The most influential of all the Talookdars in Oude is Rajah Maun Singh. The history of this man's family is interesting, and explains the different positions occupied by Chuckledars and Talookdars. Sprung from humble origin, the uncle of Maun Singh entered the service of the Nawab of Oude, Saadut Ally Khan, in which he rose to the rank of captain. He then obtained the farm of two large tracts of country, and his brother, Durshun Singh, father of the present Rajah, was appointed Chuckledar of Sooltanpoor, and governed a large portion of the whole province. Entrusted with almost unlimited power, in the use of which they were wholly unscrupulous, these two brothers and their heirs were guilty of the grossest acts of oppression and rapacity. Forcing upon the cultivators a heavier tax than they were able to bear, they brought the insolvent estates to the hammer, and having purchased them in their own name, added village to village till they acquired several Talookas.
- His family. 227. But it is specially to be noted that the power which they exercised, and the lands they acquired, were gained through their position of Chuckledars, or farmers of the revenues, and not through their influence as independent landholders.
- Their use. 228. On the annexation of the Province, a rigid inquiry into the title of Rajah Maun Sing to his lands, resulted in his dispossession of nearly the whole; and heavy demands being made for the payment of Government revenue, he for a while absconded.
- They acquire property. 229. When the disturbances of May 1857 rendered it necessary to gather all the supporters of Government, this most influential chieftain in Oude was in confinement at Fyzabad, but was speedily set free, and one of his first acts after release was to receive into his fort of Shahgunj the officers, civil and military, who fled from Fyzabad. Thenceforth, and without a dispute, the proprietors of villages who had recovered their lands and caused his exclusion, acknowledged the feudal superiority of their chief, and Raja Maun Singh found himself reinstated in his former position with the concurrent will of his tenantry. His subsequent defection to the side of the enemy, his attack on the residency, his vacillation and hesitation finally to surrender, have greatly dimmed the bright service rendered at the outset.
- Treatment of Rajah Maun Singh after annexation. 230. These men and all others who rendered aid to the British Government, or obeyed the dictates of humanity, have been recommended for handsome reward, each according to his rank, and the degree of service rendered.
- Reception of Fyzabad fugitives.
- Recovers his estates.

CHAPTER VIII.

RE-CONQUEST OF THE PROVINCE.

231. When after the final release of the garrison (by Sir Colin Campbell), for four trying months, General Sir James Outram, with a slender force, had maintained at Alum Bagh, on the south side of the capital, a firm hold on the Province against the repeated attacks of assailants, and when the Commander-in-Chief had returned with an irresistible army to capture the rebel city, in March 1858, the Chief Commissioner of the Province received the Governor General's orders to issue a proclamation to all landholders of Oude, demanding their submission, and declaring confiscation as the just sentence of rebellion.

First measures adopted.

Proclamation of Government confiscating landed rights.

232. Acting under the instructions of the Right Honorable the Governor General, Mr. R. Montgomery, who was appointed Chief Commissioner in April 1858, spared no pains to make known to the people that timely submission and faithful obedience to the paramount power would stay the execution of the sentence of confiscation; and from every part of Oude, with a few exceptions, a ready response was sent to Lucknow. Willingness to submit was the answer of all, but it was sincere only in some cases, and there was often inability to act upon it.

Confiscation not to be carried out in case of timely submission.

233. In the first shock of surprise at the rapid destruction of their supposed invincible fortifications, and the capture of their capital, the people of the rebellious Province were paralyzed and penitent, but gradually, as they were enabled to collect their broken forces, and felt themselves secure for a while from pursuit, the inclemency of the season moreover greatly favouring them, the puppet King and the Begum's Court spared no acts of oppression and cruel revenge to intimidate the well-disposed from deserting their cause.

The well-disposed intimidated from submitting and deserting the rebel cause.

234. Those of the landholders who came in and acknowledged the British rule were ordered to show their repentant loyalty by establishing strong police posts out in their districts. But circumstances having rendered it impossible to attempt the entire subjugation of Oude immediately after the capture of Lucknow, only such outposts were maintained as could be held through the aid of friendly Talookdars, and these were not unfrequently overpowered and driven back.

Police posts established by friendly landholders.

235. In fact, such was the virulence of feeling against the Government that the slightest show of adherence to our cause was at once the signal for a cruel vengeance. One, and by no means a singular instance, occurred at Jullotur, near the Cawnpore road, where 42 Oude men who guarded an outpost were surrounded, taken prisoners, and put to a cruel death by order of the Delhi Prince, Feroze Shah.

Cruelties practised on all who showed any adherence to the British cause.

236. These unrelenting barbarities could not but intimidate even the most loyal from rendering actual service to our cause, and the Chief Commissioner conceived it to be only justice as well as policy to require from the well-wishers of Government no active demonstration till proper support could be guaranteed.

237. The weekly narratives of passing events, which were submitted regularly by the Chief Commissioner to the Supreme Government, have fully detailed, step by step, the progress made in re-establishing Civil Government, and a brief recapitulation of events will suffice here.

Progress in the re-establishment of Civil Government.

238. Early in April, General Sir H. Grant marched with a column towards the north-west of Lucknow, describing a circle, the radius of which was about 35 miles, clearing the country as he advanced. Immediately afterwards General Walpole marched for Bareilly, in Rohilkund, passing through Sundeela, Rohya, and Palee, to Shahjehanpore. The temper of the landholders of Western Oude was not unfavourable to our rule, and civil officers were sent to receive their submission. No attempt was made to take up a position which would require military support, but Hurdeo Buksh, now raised to the rank of Rajah, with his feudatory forces, bravely held a few posts against Nurput Singh, Feroze Shah, and other rebel leaders.

Recapitulation of military operations for the re-establishment of Civil Government.

239. The road between Cawnpore and Lucknow was held in military occupation. Benee Madhoo, leader of the Baiswarra Rajpoots, hovered with numerous forces on this line of road, which he often threatened but never



dared to attack ; and in May, General Grant marched to disperse these rebels. Returning to Lucknow in June, he met and defeated with signal loss the army of the Begum, which had assembled at Nawabgunj, 20 miles to the north, to attack the city of Lucknow.

240. The march of General Grant in July to Fyzabad, which he occupied without opposition, relieving Rajah Man Singh from his siege in the fort of Shahgunj, and his advance to the town of Sooltanpore, which was simultaneous with the movement of a force from Allahabad on Pertahgurh, enabled the Chief Commissioner to establish Civil Government in the three districts of Durriabad, Fyzabad, and Sooltanpore. A lodgment was effected by the military police in August, in Sundeela, 30 miles west of Lucknow, from which repeated skirmishing parties went out to clear the surrounding country. Outposts at Jubrowlee, Poorwa, and Mohan overawed the country on either side of the Lucknow and Cawnpore road. The rest of the Province was in the hands of the rebels.

Share taken by the military police in the operations of the army.

241. A large share of the operations in attack and defence was taken by the Oude military police ; and here it will be fitting to give a detail of the constitution and deeds of this branch of the service.

Orders to organize a military police.

242. On the establishment of Civil Administration, in March of last year, orders were received from the Right Honourable the Governor General to organize a force of military police (to replace that which had been lost by the mutiny).

Its constitution.

243. The constitution of this force, and the selection of the materials from which it should be composed, were entrusted to Major Bruce, C.B., a distinguished Bombay officer, who had served on the Punjab frontier, and who was now appointed Chief of Police. Five regiments of cavalry and twelve of infantry, to which three more were subsequently added, were ordered to be raised for eventual distribution over the districts, in the proportion of one regiment of native infantry and 150 sabres of cavalry to each district, and placed under the orders of a District Commandant and his Adjutant.

Military police staff.

244. At the head quarters of each division a Divisional Commandant, Second in Command, and Adjutant were to control the officers and their regiments on the subordinate districts, and also to superintend the regiment of infantry and cavalry which was to be stationed at head quarters.

Strength of each regiment ; infantry.

245. The strength of each infantry regiment was ordered to be—

- ① 1 Native Commandant.
- 1 Do. Adjutant.
- 24 Commissioned Officers.
- 89 Non-commissioned Officers.
- 678 Privates.

793 Total.

Regiment of cavalry.

246. Each cavalry regiment was to consist of—

- 1 Native Commandant.
- 1 Native Adjutant.
- 18 Commissioned Officers.
- 66 Non-commissioned Officers.
- 514 Privates.

600 Total.

Selection of recruits.

247. In selecting recruits for this force the greatest care was requisite. Recent events had taught the wisdom of breaking through all distinctions of caste, and the intriguing Brahmin and fanatical Mussulman were not allowed too ready admittance into the ranks. The bravery and fidelity of the Sikhs recommended them for service, and the activity and hardihood of the Oude Passeur, whose proverbial fidelity to his employer, as well as the lawlessness of his character when unemployed, suggested the sound policy of enlisting this class on our side. From the Jats of the North-west, and Afghans from Peshawur, from Koormees, Chumars, and other classes in Oude, men of sturdy frame were chosen without reference to caste or creed.

248. The

248. The accompanying synoptical table will show the variety of classes from which the warriors of this local army are drawn :—

Synoptical table of classes forming the police.

		CASTES.																											
		Brahmin.	Chutras.	Bhat.	Abeer.	Mooraco.	Males.	Locha.	Danooh.	Fasht.	Kathi.	Naso.	Tumole.	Hilwals.	Buhalla.	Dhote.	Musulman.	Sikh.	Jat.	Chandian.	Kormase.	Dogra.	Khatras.	Gurula.	Kyhar.	logre.	Suar.		
Cavalry	-	388	302	3	47	-	1	1	-	-	19	6	-	-	1	1	695	1,101	435	3	5	7	77	1	10	1	3		
Infantry	-	96	405	8	640	206	10	173	90	366	28	16	10	23	355	19	890	2,721	654	4	502	40	16	289	8	-	-		
Total	-	384	607	10	687	206	11	173	90	366	40	22	10	23	356	20	1,545	3,823	1,089	6	504	57	23	290	19	1	3		

(continued)

		Gojhar.	Mullah.	Bhoochee.	Thee.	Bunals.	Carpenter.	Kumhar.	Koree.	Gohhar.	Kulhar.	Bradler.	Blacksmith.	Betrash.	Baree.	Loula.	Bhungee.	Chuhar.	Parree.	Jugga.	Mitrach.	Bourree.	Beidar.	Kashher.	Grand Total.
Cavalry	-	7	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	1	5	1	2	-	-	2,933
Infantry	-	114	18	18	18	10	9	140	5	17	1	1	1	1	1	1	641	302	-	-	-	-	4	9	5,450
Total	-	7	114	18	22	22	10	9	140	13	17	1	1	1	1	1	647	302	1	5	1	2	2	2	8,383

249. A large share of the recruiting was undertaken by Major Bruce at head quarters, but the Sikh levies of horse and foot were raised under the orders of Sir John Lawrence in the Punjab.

Recruits enlisted at Lucknow and the Punjab.

250. Originally it was expected that the Oude military police would be drilled and ready equipped for service by October, when the army of India would take the field. But the call for native troops was immediate, there being but very few to aid the European force; and early in June the 1st regiment of infantry was sufficiently drilled and accoutred to be sent out from Lucknow to maintain an outpost at Mulliabad.

Time occupied in drilling and equipping the several regiments.

251. In July the second and third regiments were ready to take their turn of duty, and in the space of six months from the commencement, by the unremitting exertions of Major Bruce and his officers, the whole force was brought into an efficient state and sent forth to take an active share in the strife.

252. Between June and November, the period of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief taking the field, the Oude military police have been engaged in 16 actions, on 10 occasions taking a subordinate part in the general military operations, but in six engagements they alone were opposed to the enemy.

Number of engagements in which they were engaged between June and November.

253. In accordance with the combined plan of campaign, designed by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and agreeable to the directions of the Right Honourable the Governor General, the Chief Commissioner arranged to attach to every column that marched through Oude a body of military police, which should occupy each district as it was wrested from the rebels. The arrangements planned have been successfully carried out, and till the completion of the campaign on the 31st December, the military police remained with the regular army, occupying in succession military posts as the troops advanced throughout the country, and vigorously carrying out the disarmament of the population and the razing of forts.

Duty assigned to the Police in the general military operations undertaken by the Commander-in-Chief.

254. In enumerating the services of the civil native forces under his immediate command, the Chief Commissioner would assign a high place to the Kupoorthulla contingent.

Kupoorthulla contingent;

255. Rajah Rwndheer Singh, of Kupoorthulla, in the Punjab, son of the Aloowalia chieftain who at one time claimed equal rank with Maharajah Runjeet Singh, and whom the Chief Commissioner knew intimately in the Punjab, volunteered, in April 1857, the services of himself and his followers to aid in the subjugation of the Province of Oude. This offer, at the recommendation of the Chief Commissioner, having been accepted graciously by the Right Honourable the Governor General, the Rajah arrived at the end of May in Oude, with a force consisting of 2,000 men, cavalry and infantry, and four guns. During June and July this force was stationed at Bunnee to protect the Lucknow and Cawnpore road, but as the regular troops advanced to Fyzabad, the

its strength; its operations.

Kupoorthulla contingent took up a position midway at Durriabad, and there has performed excellent service, chiefly in concert with Europeans, and sometimes alone. Six actions have been fought by the Rajah's forces, in which 10 guns were taken from the enemy. The moral effect of the voluntary presence of a Sikh Rajah, with all his followers, aiding in the conquest of the Province of Oude, has been without doubt excellent, whether we view it with reference to the present work of subjugation, or look forward into a possible future of more complicated difficulty.

Number of actions in which they were engaged.

Military operations preceded by the Proclamation of the amnesty.

Rajah of Amaithee. Benee Madhoo and his flight to Nepal. Flight of the rebels into Nepal.

Effects of the Commander-in-Chief's operations in clearing Oude of the rebels.

Measures adopted to restore tranquillity.

Disarming the people and destroying forts.

Number of arms collected.

256. Such was the position of affairs in Oudh when his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief took the field in November to undertake the final reduction of the Province. All military operations were preceded by the Proclamation of Her Majesty's most gracious offer of amnesty, which was speedily made known to every village and every inhabitant. The merciful terms of this Proclamation, the release of upwards of 100 prisoners who had been confined for simple rebellion in the Lucknow gaol, and the steady advance of an irresistible army, speedily proved the sincerity of the offers of Government and the hopelessness of opposition.

257. Rajah Lall Madhoo, of Amaithee, was the first to yield a reluctant submission. Benee Madhoo, though conciliated and offered fair terms, preferred flight to submission, and after making one short stand at Doondea Khera, near the Ganges, fled precipitately across the Goomtee and Gogra to the hills of Nepal.

258. The rapid progress of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief paralyzed the plans of the most determined rebels. On all sides beholding an array of advancing columns, their courage failed them, they faltered, and fled.

259. The admirable combinations and considerate forbearance of the Commander-in-Chief could not fail to produce most signal results, and the Chief Commissioner had the satisfaction of reporting to the Supreme Government of India that, with the close of the year 1858 the Province of Oude had been cleared of rebels.

260. To the Royal army and its noble chief had been entrusted the task of extinguishing the rebellion. It was the Chief Commissioner's province to pacify the people, disarm them of all martial weapons, and dismantle every fortification. To every column which spread throughout the Province a civil officer was attached, whose duty it was to make known to all in advance the benign wishes of their Sovereign. Submission was extorted, and patient forbearance extended to the most refractory. Slow to believe the protestations of Government, the rebel population judged their rewards by their own acts, and expected no mercy. But the rebellion is now quite a thing of the past, and, strange as it may appear, it is a remarkable fact that in the Province, which little more than four months ago was a surging sea of rebellion and strife, profound peace and perfect safety everywhere prevail.

261. The necessity of disarming the whole population, destroying all forts, and clearing away jungles, has occupied the earnest attention of the Chief Commissioner. Detachments of columns placed at his disposal, or regiments of civil police told off to this duty, were accompanied by civil officers, whose sole business was to disarm the people. Deputy Commissioners, assistants, and every available officer, by force or persuasion, extracted the arms. From the powerful Talookdar, whose guns defend his fort, to the low-caste Pasee who handles the bow with deadly effect, all classes have been called on to give up their arms. Evasion, refusal, and general concealment had to be met with firmness, perseverance, and painstaking search, and the weekly returns of weapons collected show that the officers to whom the Chief Commissioner has entrusted this arduous task have performed their work right honestly and well. The number of arms of all kinds hitherto collected up to the 12th February 1859 is here shown :—

Cannons	-	-	-	-	378
Firearms	-	-	-	-	184,517
Swords	-	-	-	-	444,074
Spears	-	-	-	-	82,111
Total	-	-	-	-	611,080
Miscellaneous arms	-	-	-	-	364,976
Total	-	-	-	-	976,056

262. Calculating the population of Oude at the least at five, and probably eight millions of souls, two millions may be computed as capable of bearing arms, and from every one of these one weapon at least may be expected. The work, then, of disarming is far from completion. The Chief Commissioner believes that it must be carried on with steady perseverance for years to come, and even then a large portion must remain undiscovered; but must will complete the destruction of the arms that remain.

Estimated number of arms in Oude.

263. The labour of dismantling forts and clearing away jungles is only inferior to that of disarming, inasmuch as concealment here is impossible. The number of forts in Oudh is not less than 1,100, and of those 736 have been entirely levelled, and the remainder are being rapidly destroyed. Around every fort, to the extent of 400 yards square, all jungle has been completely cut down, and through the rest broad roads have been everywhere made, and the whole will be gradually cleared and brought under cultivation.

Number of forts destroyed.

## CHAPTER IX.

### JUDICIAL POLICE.

264. Having thus described briefly the history of Oudh from the earliest times till its final subjugation to the British power, the Chief Commissioner proceeds to review in detail the different branches of the Civil Administration.

265. A few but important changes were made in October 1858, in the position and functions of the members of the Oudh Commission. The small size of the Province suggested a reduction in the number of the governing members, and the duties of finance were confided to the charge of the Chief Commissioner, in addition to the organization and direction of the police, both military and detective, as well as the control over all public works.

Changes in the functions of the members of the Administration. Abolition of the office of Financial Commissioner.

266. To the Judicial Commissioner was given the entire exercise of judicial functions, and the duty of carrying into effect the system of judicial administration, with the management of all jails. A separate Inspector of Prisons being dispensed with, other modifications were introduced, and will be alluded to under the proper heads.

Functions of Judicial Commissioner. Abolition of the office of Inspector of Prisons.

267. The Civil Police of Oudh, immediately on the annexation, were framed on the model of the Punjab; that is to say, there were a few regiments of a military police who were spread over the districts to repress insurrections or attack and apprehend desperate gangs of dacoits, but all the general duty of prevention and detection of crime was entrusted to the civil police formed on the model of the old provinces, under the control and orders of the European Deputy Commissioner.

Civil Police framed on the model of the Punjab.

268. On reorganizing the administration of the Province, it was the duty of the Chief Commissioner to establish that kind of police which should be most efficient, without any reference to former establishments.

269. The system, as it prevailed in the North-west Provinces before the mutiny, did not commend itself to the Chief Commissioner. It is unnecessary here to traverse ground that has been already occupied by able exponents of the defects of our police system, which have been so clearly placed before the public, in the Memorandum of improvements in the administration of India during the last thirty years, drawn up at the East India House on the 11th February 1858.

Defects of the police system.

270. To the recognized defects of the system there pointed out, viz. the low rate of pay, and consequent inferiority of men, and the disproportion of the strength of the force to the density of the population and extent of country, the Chief Commissioner would add another very serious evil, the complete want of discipline and of efficient control. Having been deeply engaged in the direction and control of the civil police in the Punjab, and having devoted his energies to the object of obtaining a degree of efficiency and general organization amongst the civil police, he trusts that his acknowledgment of any defects arising from want of discipline may be considered to be impartial.

Want of discipline and efficient control over the police according to the old system.

271. With the multifarious duties entrusted to a district officer, experience has taught the Chief Commissioner, that the organization and efficiency of the police cannot properly be attended to. In no part of India has the experiment

Inability of district officers to control the police, owing to their multifarious duties.

been more fairly tried than in the Punjab, by officers who have distinguished themselves for untiring zeal and exertion; and if the Chief Commissioner, when employed in that Province as Judicial Commissioner, perceived defects to exist, he feels sure that elsewhere perfection in that system cannot be attained.

Separation of the executive police from the magisterial branch of the administration.  
Bombay police system.

272. The opinion of the Honourable the Court of Directors, supported by the experience and representations of the Governments of Bombay and Madras, are all in favour of separating the executive police from all connexion with the magisterial branch of administration.

273. The reform which has been practically tried in Bombay has been based on this principle. The whole police of the district are placed under an European Superintendent of Police, originally a military officer, but latterly some uncovenanted officers have been appointed. The police are drilled, and maintained in all matters of internal economy, on a military footing, and are dispersed through the districts to outposts and villages, much on the plan on which the rural constables are spread through a county in England.

274. It is their duty to report crime, track and arrest criminals, and procure evidence in every case that goes before the Magistrate.

Advantages of depriving the police of the power of judicial trial.

The subordinate police at outposts have to send in diaries of all their proceedings to their European superior, as well as to the Magistrate. They are constantly watched, visited, and supervised by English officers, whose sole business it is to attend to this duty. The power of judicial trial is completely taken out of their hands. There can be no possibility of a criminal being prejudged before his trial, or of a case being got up and carried through to conviction, by the intrigue of the police. Under the former system the district officer had to perform multifarious duties. He first of all appointed his own police, he watched crime, and directed his constables to apprehend a suspected person, he collected through them the evidence against the accused, and then he sat on the bench to try impartially the case.

Fabrication of false cases by the old police.

275. That an English Judge ever descended to countenance the concoction up of a false case, or that he wittingly permitted his anxiety to arrest the criminal to bias his mind against the prisoner at the bar, the Chief Commissioner would be loth to believe, but he is fully convinced that many a case has been fabricated, and brought before the Magistrate in a form that would ensure conviction through the villainy of the police, and the intrigue of the Court officials. To separate the connexion between these two branches must have a good effect in breaking the link, and in throwing obstacles in the way of successful intrigue.

Power of a Magistrate not diminished by the withdrawal of the management of the police.

276. There is in no way any diminution of the real power of the Magistrate arising from this division of duty, any more than it can be said that a Magistrate of a Court in England has diminished authority because he has not the drilling and internal management of the police.

The police under the new system continue at the beck of the magistrate.

277. The police, under the system in force in Bombay, are as entirely at the beck of the Magistrate as they are in the North-west Provinces. The authority of the Deputy Commissioner of the district remains the same for all practical purposes; and the contrary idea vanishes on coming to practical experiment.

Reasons for introducing the new system in Oudh.

278. These reasons alone would be sufficient to dispose the Chief Commissioner of Oudh to select for his Province, where a police has to be created, not reformed, that system which has recommended itself to the wisdom of the Honourable the Court of Directors, and which has been tried with success under such able men as Mr. Frere and Sir George Clerk.

Additional grounds for its introduction in Oudh.

279. But in Oudh there are additional grounds for desiring the large admission of a military element into our police. The scene of a violent and bloody strife, a country of warriors and renowned for desperate bands of dacoits, Oudh must for some time to come be governed with firmness, and by a hand ever ready to strike with certainty and effect.\* The loss of an outpost, or even the temporary success of a few insurgents in a remote corner, might light up a flame which it would be difficult to extinguish. Were our police stations then manned by a body of men like the old class of Burkundazes, who had learned no organized system of drill, and had never been taught to move together in masses, their efficiency in time of need would be beyond all hope.

\* Since this Report was prepared, the Chief Commissioner has heard of a band of men, 100 strong, having come from the Terai to plunder our frontier. A party of military police stationed near the place at once attacked and killed many of them, and dispersed the gang.

With

With such a police it would be essential that a large body of military men should be kept in reserve at convenient distances throughout the country, waiting for the occasion when their services might be required, and meanwhile, when idle, costing a large sum to the State.

280. It were every way preferable, then, to avoid the double expense to the State by availing ourselves of the force which is absolutely necessary, and introducing such modifications and changes as are necessary to transform military officers into serjeants of police, to make one body of police perform the ordinary duties of constables in peace, and fall into the ranks of a regiment in time of war.

281. Viewing the question financially, the result may be thus shown :—

Cost of irregular force and military police of all ranks, kept up before the mutiny, per annum	25,20,584
Cost of the civil police, on the scale in force before the mutiny	3,58,920
Total Rs.	28,79,504
Present cost of the military police of all ranks, per annum	26,66,490
Annual saving to Government by the proposed system, Rs.	2,12,414

Financial results of the new system.

282. As the Oudh military police during the past year have been raised and officered chiefly with reference to their efficiency in the field, anticipating that the campaign might not come to so speedy a termination as has been happily the case, the native officers were for the most part selected for their military valour and steadiness in action, without regard to their literary acquirements.

Native officers of the existing police at first selected for their valour, without regard to their literary acquirements.

283. But to adapt the police to both duties of peace and war, it is requisite to select men who shall combine courage and warlike skill, with some degree of acuteness, and it will be an object, with reference to the detection of crimes, to introduce a large proportion of people of the country into the ranks, who are acquainted with the haunts and habits of the criminals, and who moreover may have some little interest in preserving order. For some time to come too, it will be necessary to entertain a small extra establishment until these changes shall have been effected and efficient men fill every rank. But this extra expense is only temporary, and speedily will be reduced.

Necessity of selecting native officers who combine warlike skill with acuteness and knowledge of the country.

284. There will be doubtless some difficulty at first in arranging details, and the selection of good men for the important posts of inspectors and serjeants will require care and patience, but there are sufficient grounds for expecting success, and the united efforts of all officers in Oudh will be directed to ensure a fair trial. Until which has been made, and unless after thorough experience, the return to the old system of police can be proved to be preferable, the Chief Commissioner will not recommend a retrograde movement in the path of reform, which would involve the State in a heavy additional expenditure.

A small extra establishment to be entertained till the military police has been reformed.

285. The distribution of the police over the Province of Oudh is shown in the accompanying map. It will be observed how every portion of the country is guarded by these men, and in the event of an emeute how quickly any one post can be speedily reinforced. In ordinary time of peace, the jurisdiction allotted to each station is quite small enough to admit of the native officers being thoroughly acquainted with every village in his beat, and with the habits and characters of the inhabitants of each.

Difficulty in the arrangement of details and selection of men.

A fair trial to be given before returning to the old system.

286. The duties and responsibilities of landholders regarding the reporting, prevention, and detection of crime, have been made the subject of a series of regulations. In the Punjab those duties have been somewhat generally enforced. In Oudh the Chief Commissioner made it a *sine qua non* in the tenure of land, and entered the condition in the deed which granted his rights to every man, that the landholder, whatever be his rank or degree, whether peasant, proprietor, or talookdar, should engage to assist the Government, by every means in his power, to hunt down criminals, and aid in the suppression of crime.

Distribution of the police in the Province.

Duty of landholders to report and prevent crime.

287. The same system of police which has been established in the country, is also followed for the protection of towns. In the city of Lucknow, the Chief Commissioner, so early as in July, remodelled the constabulary according to the system which prevails in London and other large towns. Policemen

Town police. Lucknow city police.

were carefully selected, drilled, and equipped with staves. To each man was assigned, for certain periods in the day, his regular beat, to and from which he was marched in file by a native serjeant. The city was divided into eight divisions and 240 beats. Over each division, a native or Anglo-Indian inspector was appointed, and the whole was controlled by one European Superintendent, who had no magisterial power whatever, but brought every case direct into the City Magistrate's Court. This system, which has been tried for a short time only, has given every promise of success, and being similar in features and all details to the method now in force throughout the whole Province, for uniformity sake, the city police has also been placed under the direct superintendence of the Chief of Police.

**Rural police.**

288. The organization of the village police is likewise entrusted to the Chief of Police. Hitherto this class of watchman has not been efficient or much cared for in Oudh. A body of village servants existed everywhere under the name of Goraitis or Bullahurs, and were paid by grain, or by some small part of land given for the support of whole families of this class. These men were the underlings or helpmates of the village watchman, who sometimes received an allowance in cash, but more frequently in a per-centage on the yearly crop. Whatever were the characteristics of system in each village community, they are to be respected, but money payments are also to be made so as to secure the condition of the village policeman from starvation. Placed under the superintendence of the officers of the military police, some degree of efficiency will be attained, though no drill or military discipline will be attempted. An the Chief Commissioner considers it a matter of vital importance to impress upon his subordinates, that these village watchmen are not to be made the scapegoats of negligent Zemindars; they are the joint servants of their village proprietary, or of a single landlord, as well as of the Government, and landlord or proprietor works through them, but they cannot thereby divest themselves of responsibility. Nor will they escape punishment, even though it be proved that the watchman has been negligent. The Government looks to the landlord, and will not permit him to pass the duty on wholly to another.

**Recapitulation of the advantage of the new system.**

289. The changes and advantages of the reformed system may be briefly recapitulated.

**Its separation from the judiciary.**

290. The military and civil rural police are separated from the judiciary, and placed under the direct superintendence of English officers specially selected for this duty.

**Its discipline and control.**

291. They are controlled and disciplined on an uniform plan, and can be massed together in regiments or spread out over the country, as occasion requires.

**Its exemption from the preparation of preliminary proceedings.**

292. Being purely executive, the police have nothing whatever to do with the preparation of preliminary proceedings in a case. The quasi-judicial capacity of police officers under the old system is entirely done away with, and Thannahdars are no longer required. The parties to a case are taken at once direct to the nearest Magisterial Courts.

**Magisterial Courts. Tehseeldars employed as Deputy Magistrates.**

293. These Courts are established at convenient distances over the country. Tehseeldars, native officials employed in the collection of the revenue, are invested with judicial powers as Deputy Magistrates, to receive and try petty criminal charges, or to investigate and report to the Magistrate's Court all serious cases of crime.

**Responsibilities of Deputy Magistrates.**

294. These Deputy Magistrates are responsible for the portion of the country subjected to their control, subordinate to the general superintendence of the Deputy Commissioner of the district.

**Jurisdiction of each Deputy Magistrate.**

295. The jurisdiction of each Tehseeldar acting in the capacity of a Deputy Magistrate extends over an average area of 400 square miles.

**Efficiency of the village police.**

296. The village police are organized, well paid, and rendered efficient, while the responsibility of all village communities is rigidly enforced.

*Administration of Criminal Justice.*

**Special Acts.**

297. The terrible necessities of the Indian rebellion gave birth to a series of special laws, which armed the Magistrate with extended powers to deal out with a prompt hand severe measure of justice to all lawless offenders.

**Their extension to Oudh.**

298. These special acts were extended to Oudh, where anarchy reigned unchecked, and respect for laws had been utterly discarded. But taking into consideration

consideration the position of the people, only lately, and without any act of their own, brought under our rule, circumstances which had already moved the head of the Government to declare that he put away from him all thought of sentencing to capital punishment an inhabitant of Oudh for simple rebellion, the rigour of the law was tempered in this Province with discriminating mercy.

299. The task was no slight one of affixing different degrees of guilt to the different phases of the conduct of the rebels. Starting with the principle that all those in Oudh who had been guilty of opposition to the Government prior to the capture of Lucknow were condoned, on condition of immediate surrender, it was necessary to draw a distinction between the various kinds of criminals after the subjugation of the capital. Whilst all acts committed before that event were allowed to be passed over, it became a necessary act of justice to those who showed their loyalty in submission, to protect them against the attacks of their fellow countrymen.

Distinction drawn of the different degrees of guilt in the various phases of the rebellion.

300. It was requisite then to assume that the conquest of Lucknow was the signal for the surrender of the Province, after which whoever resisted incurred the worst fate of a rebel. But even here again the phase of affairs changed, and as the impossibility of protecting our friends, and the impolicy of assuming a control which could not be maintained, became apparent, it was necessary to absolve our friends from active allegiance, and to suspend for a while severe sentence against our enemies. It was thus that no fixed rule could be maintained throughout, but one general principle pervaded the policy of the Chief Commissioner, viz., the most patient investigation into every individual case, and mercy to all who were guilty of no deeds of atrocity.

Difficulty of maintaining a fixed rule for the punishment of rebellion.

301. An examination of the returns will illustrate the practical working of this principle.

302. The total number of persons brought to trial and capitally executed were	-	-	-	-	-	23
Transported	-	-	-	-	-	115
Imprisonment for less than three years	-	-	-	-	-	13
Flogged	-	-	-	-	-	27
Fined	-	-	-	-	-	47
Acquitted	-	-	-	-	-	139
Total	-	-	-	-	-	<u>364</u>

Number of persons tried and punished for rebellion.

303. The number of persons who underwent the extreme sentence of the law is undoubtedly wonderfully small, but the Chief Commissioner derives satisfaction from a conviction that the leniency displayed by his officers has been attended with the best effects in pacifying the minds of the people, and that in the special tribunals held everywhere in Oudh, officers conducted their proceedings with patience, decorum, and justice.

Small number of rebels sentenced to death.

304. But the serious evil of rebellion being no more, there is still a fearful and extensive spirit of lawlessness to be curbed. The scenes which lately have been everywhere enacted have taught men to value too lightly human life, and plunder and murders for a time must be rife. Oudh, too, the country of dacoits and desperate bandits, has received from the jails of our provinces and the ranks of a mutinied army an alarming accession to the hosts of its criminals. Already the mysterious disappearance of many a traveller, the half-buried corpse, with its swollen face, tell the fearful tale of the dark deeds of the Thug. These enemies of mankind and scourge of the land can only be dealt with by an unsparing hand, and must be pursued with relentless vigour.

Spirit of lawlessness in existence in the Province.

Dacoits.

Thuga.

305. Deep-seated as the pride of the families where it is practised, is the inhuman sin of female infanticide. No hand was raised by the Kings of Oudh to save one innocent life from an untimely grave, and in the short interval of British administration which supervened to misrule, no effective measures could be taken for the prevention of the crimes. The removal of this blot on the character of a people laying claim to humanity cannot but form the object of the Chief Commissioner's earnest solicitude.

Infanticide.

306. Anticipating the probability of the prevalence of serious crime, such as robbery, burglary, and violent assaults, extended powers have been given to judicial officers by the Right Honourable the Governor General.

Prevalence of serious crimes.

307. Capital punishment, when necessary, may be inflicted, with the concurrence in every case of the Chief Commissioner, in all cases of heinous crime; and

Extended powers of judicial officers.



and in ordinary charges Deputy Commissioners have been invested with power to sentence up to seven years imprisonment.

Right of appeal curtailed.

308. The right of appeal has been wisely curtailed, and whilst it is still allowed for either party in a case to prefer an appeal to a higher Court, thus ensuring substantial justice, the door which was left open to unrestrained litigation has been in a great measure closed by this rule.

*Jails.*

Corporal punishment and fines substituted for short terms of imprisonment.

309. In re-establishing jails in the Province, the experience of the past has induced the Chief Commissioner to modify the system which formerly prevailed. Hitherto our jails have been crowded with offenders, the majority of whom were sentenced to short terms of imprisonment. For this class of criminals the Right Honourable the Governor General has expressed his opinion that the lash and fines may probably be found the most appropriate punishment, and if the object of incarcerating such offenders be their reformation, the Chief Commissioner believes that experience proves sadly the failure of our efforts.

Proposed establishment of prisons at the head quarters of each division, and a small lock-up at each district.

310. Instead, then, of having large jails in every district, the Chief Commissioner has adopted the plan of having one prison at the head quarters of every division to hold about 400 prisoners, whither all prisoners sentenced to terms beyond six months are to be forwarded by the District Magistrates, who will only keep a small lock-up in the vicinity of their Courts for petty offenders whom it is impolitic to fine or flog.

Central jail at Lucknow.

311. One large central jail may be erected at Lucknow, which shall contain such convicts as are sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, not in transportation; and towards the reformation of these the best endeavours of the Chief Commissioner and his subordinates will be directed.

*Civil Justice.*

Re-opening of the Civil Courts.

312. From June 1857 till the 1st January 1859 all Courts of Civil Judicature were of necessity closed. With the restoration of peace, they have now been re-opened, and justice will be administered on the same principles and following the procedure which guide the Courts in the Punjab. The unlimited right of appeal, which produced groundless litigation, and impeded the course of true justice, has now been restricted within proper bounds. One appeal by either party from the Court of first instance is allowed, and the decision of appellate Court, if upholding the original sentence, is final; if adverse, one further appeal is permitted. There is no part of the system of British Government which excites more apprehension in the minds of the natives than our civil courts. With the evils of the Courts in the North-western Provinces, which surround Oudh, they are fully conversant, and even the comparatively cheap, accessible, and expeditious administration of justice brought from the Punjab into Oudh was looked upon scarcely with favour. So long as the influence of the native officials in our Courts remains undestroyed, the justice which it is our duty to deal out pure and unstinted must continue to be polluted and hindered. On the paramount importance of bringing the parties in a case in direct contact with the presiding Judge, free from the intrigues of surrounding Court servants, it is not necessary now to enlarge. The Honourable the Court of Directors not long ago called the attention of their Indian Judges in the non-regulation provinces to the advantage of the system of English note-taking, in preference to leaving the preparation of a case in the hands of native evidence writers, whose corruption is too notorious to require further proof; and the Chief Commissioner has urgently required of all his officers that they shall use their utmost diligence to administer justice in the form most pleasing to the people, relying on their own investigation, and taking their own notes, and recording their own decisions, rejecting altogether the influence of native officials. It is a remarkable fact that the cry which is raised with such bitter vehemence against the corruption and inefficiency of our Civil Courts, in no case that the Chief Commissioner has heard of has ever been directed against the English officer who sits on the Bench, but against the atmosphere of intrigue and glaring depravity in the precincts of the Court, which prevents the truth from reaching the Judge, or perverts justice as it flows in its course from the Bench.

Introduction of the Punjab system.

Right of appeal curtailed.

Unpopularity of our Courts.

Influence of native officials.

Introduction of the system of English notes.

Eagerness of suitors to bring

313. The ready eagerness of a suitor to have his case brought direct before the presiding English officer, and his manifest satisfaction when the intervention

( 37 ) of

of native clerks has been eluded, are surely sufficient indications of the causes of the inefficiency and unpopularity of our Indian Courts. The remedy is, in our own hands, and its application should not be delayed.

their cases did before the En Judges.

CHAPTER X.

REVENUE.

Land Tax.

314. In this chapter a somewhat detailed account of the revenue operations will be given, but owing to the scantiness of records and reports from his subordinates, no attempt at an elaborate disquisition on the different tenures in Oudh can be made by the Chief Commissioner.

Scantiness of records.

315. On assuming the Government of the country in February 1856, a summary settlement was made with the landholders, in such a manner as to secure to Government its fair share of the crops then on the ground. No inquiry into rights could be made, and those who were found to be actually in possession at the time were made responsible for the payment of the Government dues.

Summary settlement of 1856 with landholders.

316. The prevalent custom under the King's Government was to collect the revenue by 12 instalments. At the period when the transfer of the Province was effected, 7½ instalments were due to the Government, 4½ either having been gathered in advance by the King's collectors, or owing to the confused state of their accounts, not being fully claimable by them.

Custom of the Oude Government in collecting revenue.

317. But the demand of the 7½ instalments, as it stood in the King's books, was not levied without inquiry by the British officers. Under the King's regime, in addition to the direct land tax, the duties on salt, liquor, drugs, town and market rates, road duties, were included in the rent roll, and realized by the proprietors. All these indirect sources of revenue, excepting salt, were at the outset separated from the legitimate tax upon land, and for the opium and liquor a summary lease was given, whilst the remainder were abolished altogether.

Collection of the revenue due on annexation.

Indirect source of revenue separate from the land tax.

318. These deductions and alterations made, the balance of the revenue was duly collected into the Government treasuries; and for the ensuing season a more thorough investigation was undertaken to fix for a period of three years, after due inquiry into every man's claim to his holding, the proportion of the net rent which should be paid to the Government by the proprietor.

Summary settlement made for three years.

319. The principle which was enjoined, and strictly carried out, was that where the actual net assets of a village could be ascertained, the Government demand should be limited to 50 per cent.

Government demand fixed at 50 per cent. below the net assets.

320. In other words, supposing the whole gross produce represented 200, and the cost of cultivation, wear and tear of stock, share of grain laid aside for seed, amounted to 100, a balance of 100 would be net profits; of this the Government share would be 50, or one half, the other moiety going to the village proprietor.

321. Where, however, this minute inquiry could not be conducted, the process adopted was to take the demand of the Oude Government, and from this strike off all nankar, nuzrana (gifts to native officials and extra cesses), assuming the remainder to be the fair demand of the State.

Or the late Government demand minus the nankar, &c.

322. Whenever it was ascertained, after all these deductions, that the assessment still pressed heavily, the Financial Commissioner, Mr. M. Gubbins, ordered immediate remissions.

Where found large remissions were made.

323. The "nankar" above mentioned was of three kinds, "dehee," "ismee," and "tankhai."

Nankar.

324. "Nankar dehee" implied village subsistence allowance, and was the portion of the profits allotted to the proprietary of the village. It has always been acknowledged, and was taken into calculation when the settlements were made by British officers.

325. The nankar ismee was an irregular abstraction of the profits in favour of some individual proprietor, made by the Government collector, wholly without the sanction of the King's Ministers. The nankar tankhai was simply

	the dues of the Cauongoes, or other village officials, levied from the net profits of the village.
Gifts to native officials.	326. The gifts to native officials formed an important item in each villager's accounts, and greatly reduced the profits of the estate. The renunciations of all these extra cesses relieved the villagers from a heavy burden.
Introduction of tax for village accountant and watchman.	327. But whilst these taxes were taken off, two new ones were added, as essentially necessary for the constitution of every village community; the fees for a village accountant, and the wages of the watchmen. The former functionary was not universally employed in Oudh, and least so in Talookdars' estates, where the landlord kept his accounts in the hands of his own servants. Still in very many villages this officer was to be found, but adequate provision was not always given. In the summary settlement made for three years, the salary of village accountants was fixed at three per cent. on the net profits, or at six per cent. on the rent paid to Government.
Rate at which fixed.	
Remuneration to watchmen.	328. The watchmen were chiefly selected from the Pasee class, of whom mention has been made already. These men received their remuneration generally in small grants of land, which sufficed to support the watchman and his whole family. Where possible, provision was ordered to be made for securing to this useful class of village servants payment in money.
Abkaree contracts.	329. The arrangements made for the sale of salt, liquor, opium, &c., have been already detailed. It suffices to say here, that they were disconnected from the tax upon land.
Settlements made with proprietors and not the Talookdars.	330. The class of landholders with whom the three years settlement was made is now to be noticed. The orders of Government having defined the course to be adopted, only those Talookdars who could prove very antiquated title as village proprietors to the estates they held were allowed to retain their tenure, and even then they were settled with, not under the superior title of Talookdar, but as owners by prescriptive right of the villages.
Different form of land tenure.	331. The different forms of land tenure which have been shown to exist in the North-west Provinces prevailed likewise in Oudh; single proprietors holding the whole village, a brotherhood owning and cultivating the village in common, or each dividing off his separate allotment. These and other phases of land tenures were to be met with throughout the Province. All were carefully investigated and recorded, and the rights of each were equitably adjusted. The settlement of the land revenue made before the revolt, though called summary in contradistinction to the more complete arrangements based on a professional survey of each plot of ground, yet was undertaken in far too elaborate a manner to be looked upon as an ill-digested hasty assessment.
Loss of the settlement records.	332. It is to be lamented that the labours of the different officers engaged in this work perished in the revolt, and scarcely any of their valuable records have been saved from the general ruin.
Results ascertained from village accountants and others.	333. But by the energy and laborious research of the officers under his orders, the Chief Commissioner has been enabled to recover from village accountants and Government officials the results of the arrangements entered into with each district and village. The actual assessment that had just been completed before the revolt, has now been adhered to, save in such cases as called for some reduction of the Government demand. But a very important change has been made as regards the class of persons with whom the settlement is to be made.
Talookdars, their position, &c.	334. In previous chapters discursive remarks have been made, showing the rise and position of the Oudh Talookdars. It may be well to devote some more minute attention to this subject, even at the risk of repetition.
Their first introduction in Oudh.	335. The existence of a class of landed aristocracy dates probably from an early period. In the time of Saadut Ally Khan, the reigning Nawab, at the commencement of this century, their power was so great that he endeavoured, but without success, to break up their estates. Various were the steps by which a Talookdar arrived at the position of a feudal landlord. The most legitimate title was that derived from the original right in the soil. Tracts of country, which had been broken up and parcelled out among his followers, conditionally on the payment of some fee to the lord owner of the land, were formed into the estate of a Talookdar. Gradually the landlord increased his domains by purchase, or not unfrequently by force. The extortionate proceedings of the Sovereign's officers tended greatly to swell the estates of Talookdars. Wholly regardless of the interests of their people, or of their ruler,
Estates, how formed.	

ruler, Chuckledars and Nazims were wont to enhance the rents of the villages to such an extent that payment was impossible, and then to sell the lands outright at auction. These opportunities were watched and seized upon by the Talookdars, and the frequent charge of fraud and collusion between Talookdars and Government officers to bring about such sales, has been brought with some justice against these two powerful parties.

336. But having once brought an estate within his grasp, the oppression of the village by the invader ceased. Self interest dictated to the Talookdar that there was wisdom in fostering the people who were to minister to his comfort and add to his wealth. And herein lay the great difference between the Chuckledar or Government official and the Talookdar. The former never cared to look beyond the short period for which he held his contract, and it mattered little to him what oppression and cruelty, involving future ruin, were practised, so long as the revenues due for the period of his tenure of office were paid up.

Liberal treatment of their own villages.

337. But on the other hand, the Talookdar's interests lay in a contrary direction. He knew that overstraining his demand this year, must be succeeded by a corresponding reduction in following seasons, or if the high pressure was kept up for any length of time, his own ruin was the inevitable result.

338. Practical experience proved that the estates which belonged to Talookdars, and were free from the oppressive exactions of the Government tax-gatherers, were far more flourishing than those of single village communities. A remarkable proof of this is found in the fact that many villagers who were too weak to resist the ruinous demands of the Chuckledars, voluntarily placed themselves under some neighbouring friendly Talookdar, and paid seigniority dues to him, in order to receive his powerful protection. A few villages were strong enough to resist the attacks of the collectors, and in the Pergunnah of Shahabad, in the west of Oudh, where the community of brotherhood had been preserved in tact, no King's contractor was permitted to enhance the demand beyond what had been fixed by prescriptive custom.

339. The power which a Talookdar exercised over his tenantry was in no way defined by the rulers of Oudh. So long as the revenue due to the State was paid, little regard was had to the interests of the people, and not only all fiscal, but a large share of the criminal jurisdiction was assumed by the Talookdars.

Power exercised by Talookdars over their tenantry.

340. Reference being had to the manner in which many Talookda estates had been formed, and with a desire to establish the village communities independent of all superior titles, other than that of the Government as lord paramount of the soil, it had been determined by the Supreme Government of India at the period of annexation that the settlement of the revenue demand should be made with the proprietor of each village, and with no class of middlemen.

Reasons which led Government to order settlement being made with the proprietors.

341. Under a just and powerful Government, the single village proprietary would be treated with equitable consideration, and no exactions of Government officials would depopulate the village, or drive the inhabitants to seek the friendly shelter of a more powerful neighbour.

342. But when the question of a re-settlement of the land revenues of the Province, on the re-organization of civil administration, was brought under the consideration of the Right Honourable the Governor General, wisdom dictated some change in the revenue policy of the Government.

Change in the present policy of Government.

343. The events of the rebellion had tended to show that the entire release from a condition of subordination to the Talookdar was not universally desired by village proprietors. In Oudh, where the release was most recent, and where it might be presumed that the vivid recollection of the thralldom to a landlord would render the owners of villages all the more averse to subject themselves again to the evils they had just escaped, the Talookdars were allowed to reassert their former rights, and resume their ancient position without the slightest opposition. This voluntary return to the *status ante quæ*, showed clearly what the feeling of the people was, and on this ground, as well as because the Talookdars, if they choose, could materially assist in the re-establishment of authority and the restoration of tranquillity, it was determined by the Right Honourable the Governor General, that the settlement of the land revenue should be made with Talookdars.

Release of proprietors from subordination to Talookdars not desired by the proprietors.

Present settlement,  
how framed.  
Contingent on  
specified service.

344. This settlement was to be framed so as to secure the village occupants from extortion, and the tenures were to be contingent on a certain specified service to be rendered, and the assessment was to be so moderate as to leave an ample margin for all expenses incidental to the performance of such services.

345. The duties required of all Talookdars were the active co-operation in the preservation of peace, and in the detection of crime, and rendering aid to the Government when called upon by the district officers.

346. It would be perhaps indecorous in the Chief Commissioner to do more here than to express his hearty concurrence in this measure, which emanated from the wisdom of the head of the Government.

347. To carry it out, however, some authoritative declaration, either of the failure of the village system or of the imperative policy of a return to the former tenures, was required. Under no other circumstances could the Chief Commissioner of his own accord undertake to arrange a re-settlement of the revenues in any other than the originally announced principle of the Supreme Government.

348. The authority thus sought was obtained in the issue of the Proclamation of the Governor General on the recapture of Lucknow, declaring that the titles of all landholders to estates in Oudh, with a few exceptions, were confiscated to the State.

349. This sentence having been recorded against all estates in Oudh, there was no longer difficulty in returning to the tenure which prevailed at the time of annexation, and as far as possible the status of parties in February 1856 prior to annexation was restored.

350. Exceptional cases have been made where the titles of Talookdars were but of recent origin, and their hostility had been marked and persistent. Such men were not completely reinstated in their former position.

351. A few have altogether forfeited all title to lands and claim to consideration; but happily these are few, and are enumerated in the Appendix B.

Title now conferred  
on landholders  
made incontestable.

352. In making a summary settlement it is generally the custom to enter into engagements with the actual occupants, leaving the question of disputed rights to be adjusted at some future period. But if this course were permitted in Oudh, a door would be left open for the various views of officers, and the not improbable result would be, that at some future settlement the whole Province would become an arena of litigation, in which the Talookdars would be deprived of all but their name. The Right Honourable the Governor General having authoritatively decided the principle of settlement, the Chief Commissioner has thought it proper at once to set the question at rest, and so to relieve the minds of men from a general uneasiness which would be felt if they knew that there existed in the future some tribunal before which the whole question of right in the soil might be argued and decided again. Having therefore carefully investigated each Talookdar's claim, and adhering as far as practicable to the state of affairs in which we received the Province from the King, the Chief Commissioner has decided, subject to the approval of the Supreme Government, that as a general principle the title to land now conferred by the Government on any landholder is fixed and incontestable. In any particular cases of palpable injustice a special reference may be made for the consideration of the local Government, but such cases the Chief Commissioner trusts will be rare, and should not be the subject of ordinary investigation.

Manner of settling  
the Government  
demand and the  
profits of the  
Talookdars, &c.

353. The manner of settling the proportion of the Government demand and the profits of the Talookdar and sub-lessees will be now described.

354. We will assume the net profits of an estate to be represented at 100, of which the Government claims one half, or 50.

355. The nankar, or share of profits allowed to the village proprietors by the King, exclusive of all profits arising from the cultivation of his own peculiar lands (called seer), may be placed at 8 or 10 per cent. on the whole net profits.

356. The fees for accountant, watchman, and other servants, amount to 6 per cent., leaving a margin of 34 per cent., which goes to the Talookdar.

357. Where, however, as is often the case, the Talookdar is also village proprietor, he receives his own 34 per cent. in addition to the 10 per cent. nankar.

358. This then, taking the broad features of the system, is the principle of the talookdaree assessment.

Result of the re-  
venue operations.

359. The rent roll of the village is ascertained as it stood in the King's time, and such deductions are made as appear after investigation to be requisite.

360. The

360. The net profits being ascertained, are divided into four shares, half to the Government, 8, 10, or 15 per cent., as the case may be, according to custom, to the actual village proprietors, 6 per cent. to village servants, leaving the balance to the Talookdar.

361. In these arrangements no licence whatever is permitted to the Talookdar to enhance his demand upon the village proprietors, beyond the sum fixed in the village rent roll.

362. The result of the revenue operations in each district in Oudh is given in a tabular statement in Appendix A. The net revenues derived from the land tax by the King of Oudh, according to the returns for the year prior to annexation, were Rs. 1,29,41,818, exclusive of the extra fees and cesses which were realized by the Collectors and Court favourites, and increased the burden of the tax to Rs. 1,68,94,196. The settlement now concluded has fixed the Government demand at Rs. 1,05,64,555, exclusive of jagheer and rent-free tenures.

Rent roll according to present settlement.

363. The number of Talookdars in Oudh is upwards of 690, and they hold lands paying Rs. 62,25,364 in revenue, to Government, or 58 per cent. of the whole rent roll. In the collection of the revenue the Chief Commissioner has conceded to the Talookdars the privilege formerly possessed and much prized by them of paying their quota direct to the British officer in charge of the district instead of to the native Tehseeldar or tax collector. This privilege, however, is liable to be withdrawn in the event of any backwardness on their part to liquidate the Government demand.

Number and value of Talookdars' estates.

Talookdars to pay their revenue direct to district officer.

364. To test the nature of an assessment whether it fall lightly or heavily on a people, we must watch the result of collection, and in proportion as the returns come in with punctuality and ease, we may assume the rate of taxation to be moderate. The speedy liquidation of the Government demand is also an evidence of the peaceful condition of the country.

Nature of an assessment, how tested.

365. Although at the ripening of the autumn crops, the rebels held possession of most part of the Province, yet with rare exceptions the last harvest collections have been fully gathered.

Last harvest collections paid up.

366. In the Trans-Gogra division British authority was not fully restored until the end of December, yet the revenue collections have been considerable, and in a short time will be completed.

367. The spring crop of last year mostly fell into the hands of the rebels, and to demand from all, indiscriminately the revenue now, would be only to throw a heavily increased burden upon the cultivators which would impoverish them for many seasons. Only in certain cases, therefore, where wealthy landlords could have but did not pay the Government demand, the Chief Commissioner has issued instructions for the collection to be made.

## CHAPTER XI.

### TALOOKDAREE SYSTEM OF OUDE.

368. Some remarks may here be offered by the Chief Commissioner regarding the future position and influence of Oudh Talookdars. It has been shown how these great landholders have held possession from early time, how they received or usurped extended powers, both fiscal and judicial, over the tenants on their estates. The proprietary of the soil as well as the labouring cultivator acknowledged the suzerainty of the Talookdar. It has been shown how great distinction is to be drawn between the estates of Talookdars which had been acquired or descended by right, and those which were seized by some rapacious Chuckledar. But whether rightfully acquired or wrongfully grasped, we have seen how at the time of annexation the sub-proprietors of the soil acknowledged their vassalage to a feudal superior. We have seen that for awhile the most earnest endeavours were made by the British Government to secure the original proprietors the right of independence; and the principle of justice, which is inherent in the British constitution, was uncompromisingly put into practice. But what was the result? When the British authority was for a short space withdrawn, did the village proprietors whom we had restored to their rights show their appreciation of this regained position by holding their own and

Talookdars, their fortune, influence, and position.

Vassalage of sub-proprietary.

Talookdars acknowledged during the rebellion.	refusing submission to the Talookdar's yoke? Was the struggle between proprietor and Talookdar bloody and doubtful, only decided by the superior force of a mutinied army siding with the Talookdar? Such we might naturally have expected to be the case, and such in all probability it would have been, had the superior title of Oudh Talookdars been looked upon by the people as tyrannical usurpation. For undoubtedly it cannot be said that the proprietors were too weak to fight against the Talookdars. Had the feeling against them been universally strong, the mass of the people must have sympathized with the proprietors, and where would have been the force of the usurper?
Talookdars a necessary element in the constitution of the Province.	369. None of these things came to pass, and whatever be the abstract idea of justice, whatever the principle we might have wished to see carried out regarding the tenure of the soil, the fact remains important and incontrovertible, that the superiority and influence of these Talookdars form a necessary element in the social constitution of the Province.
Why necessary.	370. It is necessary because, at the time of annexation, when we took the country by transfer, with its obligations and institutions, we found a Talookdaree system to prevail. It is necessary because we endeavoured, as in our old Provinces, to restore to every proprietor his rights unencumbered with any duties to a feudal superior; and yet by the voluntary act of the people those rights have been abdicated in favour of their feudal Chief. If policy and the memory of State obligations failed to recommend the return to the condition of society prior to annexation, this last act of the people would fully justify the course which has now been pursued.
Their influence brought to support Government.	371. The necessity of their existence once admitted, it behoves us to direct the influence of Talookdars to the support of the Government, and not to render them discontented and hostile. Plain necessity points out this sequence of reasoning.
Reasons against it reviewed.	372. But here it may be argued that past experience has proved the danger of entrusting to Oudh Talookdars any share in the general administration.
	373. That they abused their power in many, nay, in most cases, is an undoubted fact, but the candid arguer will also admit that the cause of this abuse was solely the weakness of the Government, which permitted to pass unheeded and unchecked the grossest act of tyranny and injustice. The most perfect system of distribution of power must of necessity fall to pieces and degenerate into anarchy when the ruling hand has withdrawn its control; unceasing watchfulness and the strictest supervision alone procure a degree of efficiency for our own administration, and yet how frequent are the complaints of the corrupt influence of our Courts, or of our executive native officials. The same power which restrains within certain bounds these men, can be brought to bear with far greater effect on the landlords of the soil, who have some regard for public opinion, and whose interests are identical with those of the people.
Opinion of the Chief Commissioner based upon their antecedents.	374. During the past year the Chief Commissioner has narrowly watched the proceedings and inquired into the antecedents of Oudh Talookdars, and arriving in the Province with no preconceived notions, and if anything, rather with a prejudice against these men, he has been forced to adopt the opinion that the general character of oppression and cruelty towards their tenants, ascribed to the Talookdars, has been greatly exaggerated. That they had great power left in their hands, which was often abused, there can be no doubt; but an inquiry into history proves that there were many, very many, who treated their tenants leniently and well, and administered a rude kind of justice with rectitude and care.
The respect in which they are held.	375. The Chief Commissioner cannot blind himself to facts, when searching for the truth, and he has been much struck with the great respect in which these Talookdars are held, and the power they wield over their dependents, a power which cannot be gained from their fears, for there was every inducement for them to assert their independence.
The condition of their estates.	376. No less important is the condition of the estates over which these Talookdars exercised sway. The idea is prevalent that desolation, destruction, and withering decay had turned what might be called the garden of India into desert waste, but ocular demonstration affords a convincing proof to the contrary. Throughout the past year, when anarchy prevailed and Talookdars resumed their rights, doubtless with no friendly feelings towards the proprietors who had succeeded in ousting them a year before, amidst the distractions of war

war and the temptation of plunder, it might be expected that cultivation would be sparse, and the population unsettled; but the testimony borne by every officer who has lately travelled through Oudh, and the valuable evidence of the Commander-in-Chief, are resolved into general admiration at the luxuriance of the crops, and the abundance and comfort which pervade the whole Province.

377. There is perhaps no man whose name for oppression and cruelty has acquired more infamous notoriety than Raja Man Singh. Yet, whilst rapacious towards the country which was intrusted uncontrolled to his rule as a Government Chukledar, a strict inquiry has established the fact, that he was careful of the villages which belonged to his own estate. Instance of Raja Man Singh.

378. It is not the desire nor is it within the power of the Government to rule the country without the aid of the people; our object is to work through them, exciting their sympathies and carrying their feelings step by step with us. No pains have been spared, no labour begrudged, to bring to such perfection the administration of justice, that its manifest superiority over all former institutions shall commend itself to the affections of the people. Policy adopted.

379. There has not been wanting a succession of most able disinterested men whose labour of life it has been to secure for the people a complete code of justice, administered with the most unerring impartiality; it has been the aim of Government to improve the class of native officials; men generally raised from the lower ranks of society by their own industry and aptitude for business, whose upright conduct and conciliatory bearing in the discharge of their duty, shall spread peace and contentment amongst their fellow-countrymen. Aim of Government to secure a Judicature.

380. And yet, out of the midst of mutiny, rebellion, and the tumult of war, out of unmeasured and unfounded accusations against the Government, one cry of the unpopularity of our Civil Administration has been raised, and surely it demands to be deeply inquired into. Unpopularity of Civil Administration.

381. Various may be the causes which rendered that cry, and it is not needful here to enter into all the alleged abuses of our Courts or the laxity of native officials; one broad fact is plain and unmistakeable, that our native officials have not that character and influence that we desire for them, and if our authority be withdrawn for a day, their position and power are in a moment swept away. Its causes.

382. In order to understand the question aright, we must place ourselves in the position of the governed; we must imagine England conquered by a foreign power, and all power and influence taken out of the hands of the English and vested in a class of men, Englishmen indeed, but taught and trained in a foreign school, who when robed in authority take occasion to trample on the rights and position of the gentry, and not infrequently to oppress the lower classes. There would be little necessity for pleading with an Englishman the cause of his countrymen in such a state, and yet the difference between this suppositious case and the real position of Indian society is indeed exceedingly small. The question considered.

383. It must not be supposed that the Chief Commissioner would advocate the transfer of all executive authority from the present class of Government servants to Talookdars; but seeing that there are many such men who have exercised unlimited powers with some degree of moderation and justice, his feeling is in favour of enlisting them on our side, by releasing them from the galling interference of subordinate native officials, and by continuing to them some control over the tenant on their estates, subject to the strict supervision of European officers. Power to be vested in Talookdars.

384. That there are difficulties in the way of carrying this principle into practice, the Chief Commissioner is fully aware; there are many into whose hands the smallest power could not safely be delivered, but there are a few men whose antecedents warrant the hope that moderation and justice would guide their future proceedings. Such men are they who in the hour of distress obeyed the calls of humanity, and forgot not the claims of loyalty; men who took no occasion of the times to oppress their tenants or seek self-aggrandizement. Raja Dirgbyjee Sing, of Morarmow, and he of Bulrampoor; Roostum Sah of Dehra, and Hurdeo Bux of Kutgaree; Ajeet Singh, Hunwunt Singh, and Rughoonath Sing, names ever memorable for fidelity and humane hospitality; to these, and, perhaps, to one or two others whose political importance prevents their exclusion, the Chief Commissioner would rejoice to see some small share in the executive entrusted. Its difficulties removeable by selection of those that can be trusted.

Nominees.



Extent of power.  
Check to be  
adopted.

385. But a little portion of authority would suffice, and no other check would be needed than the voice of public opinion. The Chief Commissioner would apprehend no difficulty whatever in ascertaining correctly the extent to which this power was used or abused. He would have the double check of the tenants to complain, and also of the native Government servant, who would keep a close watch on the proceedings of his rival, and where the power was abused it should instantly be withdrawn. The extent of authority delegated to these men might be the power of hearing and deciding charges of assault or petty theft, and small misdemeanors, where fining or sentencing to a fortnight's imprisonment would suffice.

The reasons ad-  
duced for the  
policy.

386. It is with the utmost respect for our established institutions, and an earnest desire to preserve intact that administration of our laws which is the pride of all Englishmen, that the Chief Commissioner has thus ventured to hazard suggestions. He may be wrong in the application of the principle, and an abler legislator may apply more effectual remedies, but he only discharges his duty to his Sovereign and the Government whom he has the honour to serve, in pointing out the evils which lurk in the present system. He is emboldened thus to urge on the consideration of Government the position of the Talookdars, for it is now for the first time that we have this element in our system fairly recognized, and it is necessary to determine what place they shall hold. Conciliated and trusted, yet placed under strict control, this class of men may be valuable coadjutors of the Government;—distrusted and deprived of all power, they assuredly will not be friendly to the Government, and will become formidable obstacles in the way of all improvement, or of the popularity of our rule.

And its justice.

387. Putting aside the argument of policy and expediency, which yet point in the same direction, on the broad ground of justice to ourselves and to the people we govern, the Chief Commissioner would advocate the admission of the landed aristocracy to a share in the general work of administration. The power that is suggested to be given is not great. It is the principle that the Chief Commissioner desires to see recognized.

## CHAPTER XII.

### SALT, ABKARRY, AND FERRY.

Arrangement of  
taxing salt.  
Capabilities of  
Baiswarah for pro-  
ducing salt.

388. The arrangements which had been entered into for taxing salt, previous to the outbreak, have been detailed. Mr. Glynn, an officer in the Custom Department, was employed in examining the capabilities of Baiswarah as a salt-producing country when the mutinies broke out, and had arrived at very satisfactory conclusions, which were embodied in a Report intended for submission to the Chief Commissioner, but it never reached him.

Salt produced in  
the south-eastern  
districts a prolific  
source of revenue.

389. Subsequent inquiries have confirmed the opinion first broached by Mr. Glynn, that the salt produced in the south-eastern districts of Oudh ought to be a prolific source of revenue to the State. The first quality made is decidedly good, and the second kind, which meets with a most extensive sale, has a tolerable flavour. Altogether, the amount of salt produced annually throughout Oudh is not perhaps over-estimated at 1,500,000 maunds,\* and is not only consumed by people throughout Oudh, but is largely exported to the North-western Provinces and Nipal.

Amount annually  
manufactured.

Estimated income  
of the salt tax.

390. The Chief Commissioner has already submitted to the Supreme Government a proposition to levy an excise on this salt, at the low rate of one rupee per maund, which, if sanctioned, will increase the revenues by 15 lakhs annually. If a higher rate of taxation be enforced, there would be but a very small return, as the quality of the salt would not bear a heavy tax, and smuggling would be resorted to.

Proposed method  
for taxing the salt.

391. The salt works lie contiguous to each other, and convenient for vigilant supervision, and it is proposed to receive all the salt, as it is made by the manufacturers, into a Government store, from which it will be carried away by the traders after paying the duty. This method, which is simple and easy of

\* One maund = 80 lbs.

execution, has been rendered obligatory by the refusal of the salt manufacturers to undertake the works on any other terms; and until confidence and peace are more fully confirmed, backwardness on their part to enter into speculation is not to be wondered at.

392. The soil of the Province is favourable to the growth of opium, and a considerable revenue may be derived from its cultivation. By direction of the Supreme Government, the culture of the poppy has been declared free, but the opium extract intended for export is to be carried under a pass from the district officer to the nearest Government storehouses in the Azimgurh or Benares districts. Opium required for home consumption is subjected to the retail laws of the Abkaree department.

393. Spirituous liquors and other drugs are subject to excise, and tolls are levied on the ferries of the river Ghogra. For the present, the ferries on the river Goomtee are exempt from tolls.

394. The return in former years from all these branches of taxation are not now procurable, but they are estimated for the ensuing year as follows:—

	Rupees.	
Salt	-	10,00,000, with prospective increase to 15 lakhs.
Excise collections	-	5,17,500
Forests	-	2,00,000 per annum.

Opium.

Abkarry.  
Ferry.

Estimated income from the above branches for the ensuing year.

### CHAPTER XIII.

#### PENSIONS.

395. The sources of revenue having been detailed, it remains now to treat of the alienations of incomes, in the shape of grants of land or pensions paid from the treasury.

Alienation of income on account of pensions, &c.

396. On assuming charge of the government of the Province from the King of Oudh the Government of India pledged itself to the due discharge of all just liabilities, and to the support of such persons and institutions as could lay claim to Royal bounty. The principles on which the inquiries were conducted have already been explained, and by June 1857 most of the investigations had been completed and reported, but the final sanction of the Government had not been received before the outbreak occurred to alter entirely the phase of affairs.

Pledge of the British Government to continue the pensions, &c. of the Oudh Government.

397. When the Chief Commissioner assumed charge of the Province in April 1858 the British Government stood in a different relation towards the people of Oudh to that which existed formerly; then we received the Crown by transfer, now we had secured it by conquest; and it would have been but the full measure of stern justice had the Government decided on recognizing no claims to pensions or bounty on the part of those who had fought against the paramount power.

Difference of the position of the British Government towards the people before and after the mutiny.

398. But a merciful policy was adopted by the Chief Commissioner, and received the full approbation of the Right Honourable the Governor General. Assuming that the offence of joining in the rebellion, or failing to take part against it, in the case of those whose subjection to the British rule had been of recent date, was far different from that of older British subjects, and whose conduct has been marked by ingratitude and contempt of all old attachments, the Governor General decided that when timely submission was rendered by Oudh pensioners whose stipends had been granted by the native Government before the introduction of our Government in Oudh, or by the British Government in consideration of obligations incurred in the transfer of the Province, their claims to support might be treated with a leniency which would be misplaced towards those who are purely pensioners of the British Government.

Policy adopted with regard to the Oudh pensioners.

399. But it was necessary to inquire into every claim afresh, not only with reference to the conduct of the applicants, but also to ascertain the justice of the claim, for all English records had been entirely destroyed in siege. The labour of sifting each case, collecting and weighing evidence, the references to the Government records in Calcutta, and the difficulty of arriving at a correct decision in these most complicated cases have formed a very onerous part of the Chief Commissioner's duty.

Investigation into the conduct of pensioners.

Classification of pensions.

400. The following table will show the classification of the pensions :—

No.	Description of Pensions.	Number of Cases investigated.	Number of Claims rejected.	Estimated Monthly Amount of the Pension Claims.
1	Military	14	9	325 0 0
2	Civil	18	4	1,833 12 11
3	Household	390	55	9,647 12 6
4	State	119	35	4,147 12 11
5	Family Provision to Members of Family of former Rulers, &c.	546	73	51,076 10 1
6	Royal Ladies	57	8	24,594 0 0
7	Endowments	1	1	—
8	Charitable Grants, and	189	41	2,254 13 0
9	Holy Men			
Total		1,274	226	93,879 13 5
			Amounting to 15,547 0 7	Estimated Monthly Amount of the Pension List.
Estimated annual Amount of the Oudh Pensions				11,26,558 0 0

Reduction of the pension list.

401. The money pension list is somewhat reduced by deaths and misconduct from the number which formerly stood on the books. Out of a total of 1,274 claims now brought forward, 1,048 cases have been decided by the Chief Commissioner in favour of the applicant. Of the 226 rejected cases, the majority were claims of household servants, who had been paid up and discharged at the time of annexation, or of the relatives of deceased pensioners, whose stipends had lapsed to the State, but who took advantage of the loss of all records to endeavour to impose upon the liberality of Government. Several pensions have been reduced in consequence of misconduct, but the number of claims rejected absolutely on the score of obstinate rebellion is only eleven.

Pensions between May 1857 and April 1858 not to be continued.

402. But with regard to all these men, save in some special instance of distinguished loyalty, it was ruled by the Right Honourable the Governor General, that for the period between May 1857 and April 1858, when no revenue was paid by the Province to the Government, justice demanded that these provincial pensions should not be disbursed.

Provision for the ex-King and his family.

403. The provision for the ex-King and his immediately surrounding family has not been included in the above classification. The arrangements which may be entered into with his Majesty are matters for the consideration of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council.

Wuseeka pensions.

404. There is a class of pensions called Wuseekas, peculiar to Oudh, which require mention here. From time to time the Sovereigns of Oudh have contributed largely to the British Government loans. It is contrary to the creed of a Mussulman to receive usury, and the Kings of Oudh would not depart from the sacred law of the Koran. But it was manifestly impossible for the paramount power to accept on such terms aids from its feudatories, and it was finally agreed that the interest due on the loans should be disbursed in the form of monthly stipends to certain members of the Lucknow Court, to be continued to them and their heirs for ever. The provision thus made is called in Persian "Wuseeka."

Increase of the number of Wuseekadars.

Position of Government with regard to these pensions.

405. As families increase, and minute distribution of income becomes necessary, the number of Wuseekadars have greatly multiplied, as the amount of each pension proportionately decreases. Government standing towards these Wuseekadars in the light of a trustee administration of a deed, the rules which guided the inquiries into claims to ordinary pensions were of necessity relaxed, and resumption of a Wuseeka was only to take place where the holder had been judicially condemned to suffer confiscation of all his effects.

Necessity to investigate all claims.

406. But it was requisite to inquire into every case afresh, because the loss of all records brought forward many intricate claims, all which have been investigated and adjusted.

Buhoo Begum's Wuseeka.

407. There is one Wuseeka fund which has no little historic interest for all who are familiar with the Fourth Article of charges brought by Mr. Burke against

against Warren Hastings. The Buhoo Begum, Princess of Oudh, widow of Nawab Shuja-ood-dowla made in 1808 a will, in which she bequeathed the bulk of her fortune to the British Government, reserving the sum of 10,000 rupees, 1,000% per annum, for the current expenses of her mausoleum at Fyzabad.

408. The benefits of this bequest were renounced by the British Government on the death of the Begum in 1815, and an arrangement was entered into with the Nawab Wuzer of Oudh, by which the whole estate was made over to him, on condition of his lodging with the British Government a sum of money the interest of which would cover the bequests made by the Begum, and guarantee the payment in perpetuity of certain pensions to be enjoyed by her Highness's brothers and others.

409. The number of pensioners on this Princess's bounty now amount to 1,245, amongst whom the sum of 3,57,706 rupees, 3 annas, is yearly distributed in monthly instalments. Every case of pension or Wuzeeke has been investigated by the Chief Commissioner, and final orders passed on each by him.

410. The various Wuzeeke funds may be arranged in the following form:—

No.	Designation of Wuzeeke.	Original Amount of the Loan.	By whom given.	Amount of the Interest Payments.	Amount of Principal subsequently paid off.	No. of Cases Investigated and reported.	Monthly Amount of Chais which have been reported.
1	First loan, obtained by the Marquis of Hastings in 1814, A.D.	One crore, afterwards augmented to 1,08,80,000 rs.	Ghaseerooddeen Hyder, first King of Oudh.	Interest at 6 per cent., R. 6,51,000 per annum.	70½ lacs.	177	7,804 4 10
2	Second loan, obtained during Nipalese war.	Two crores	Ditto	Interest at 5 per cent.	3 crores, with interest at 5 per cent.	Not paid off—total.	After the war, the Terai lands, bordering on Oudh, taken from Nipals, were offered to Oudh and accepted in repayment of this second loan, together with the British district of Khyaseen.
3	Third loan	One crore	Ditto	Ditto, R. 41,666 10s monthly.	Nothing paid off—a perpetual loan.	151	20,292 2 64
4	Fourth loan, given in May 1825—a temporary loan.	Fifty lacs	Ditto	Interest at 5 per cent.	Repaid in 3 years, with all interest at 5 per cent.	—	—
5	Fifth loan, given 1839.	Sixty-two lacs, forty thousand.	Nusseerooddeen Hyder, second King of Oudh.	Ditto, R. 26,000 monthly.	Nothing repaid	4	10,000 0 0
6	Sixth loan, given in November 1839.	Seventeen lacs	Mohamed Aly Shah, third King of Oudh.	Interest at 4 per cent., R. 5,960 10s.	As parties died without issue, the Princess, calculated on their interest payments, reverts to the King of Oudh.	31	3,127 0 0
7	Wuzeeke Amatut Buhoo Begum.	Fifty-six lacs, sixteen thousand, afterwards augmented by 20½ lacs.	Ghaseerooddeen Hyder.	Interest at 8 per cent., R. 28,975 9 3 monthly.	Nothing repaid, but R. 8,379 5 4 credited to Government monthly as lapses.	285	28,975 9 3
Total monthly amount of all Wuzeekas							81,197 14 1
Total annual amount of all Wuzeekas							9,74,378 11 0.

411. The total amount thus annually disbursed by the Government in pensions, Wuzeekas, and the Buhoo Begum's stipends, is in round numbers Rs. 21,00,000, 210,000% sterling. The Chief Commissioner believes that the liberality of the Government is fully appreciated by the people, and the considerate grant of pensions to persons who had justly forfeited all claim on the bounty of Government, yet without which they would, in most instances, have been left to starve, has formed a large element in the pacification of the Province.

412. Re-investigations into rent-free tenures of land, of necessity have not been attempted as yet, but they were mostly inquired into and decided upon before the outbreak, and a return of the total amount of revenue alienated is given in the Appendix.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### FINANCE.

413. A complete disquisition on the financial prospects of the Province may be appropriately deferred to another Report, when full information, based on actual experience, shall have been obtained. But there are ready at hand

sufficient data for the formation of some correct estimate of the probable income and expenditure of future years.

414. The ordinary receipts from land tax, excise on salt, liquor, and drugs, for the present year are known, and on these, calculations for the future can be based. The more precarious and fluctuating incomes derived from stamps, fees, sale of forest timber, &c., cannot now be very

Ordinary and precarious receipts.

correctly estimated; but even regarding these, a comparison with the returns of other parts of the country will enable us to form some approximation of future receipts.

415. The expenditure can be more clearly ascertained, and may be arranged under the following heads:—

Classification of expenditure.

Civil establishments.  
Provincial military establishments.  
Public works.  
Territorial and charitable pensions.  
Miscellaneous disbursements.

416. In treating of the finances of the Province, it is necessary to exclude all charges of an Imperial nature, of which only a certain portion can be fairly debited to the net revenue of Oudh.

Establishment expenses.

417. In the annual estimate of receipts and disbursements furnished to the Accountant General,\* the first item of expenditure, viz., establishments and expenses in all departments of the civil administration, is entered at 25 lakhs; but from this may be deducted two lakhs, saved to Government by the substitution of the military for the civil police, as has been already explained.

418. The annual cost to the Province under this head may be therefore estimated at 23 lakhs.

Provincial police.

419. The expenditure for the provincial military police establishments stands at 27 lakhs, and will not be capable of reduction, but it will not be increased; and this force, the cost of which is large, includes not only the civil police, but also the military force, which before the revolt was entertained for the military protection of the Province.

Police posts.

420. The outlay on public works may be classed under four heads:—

- 1st. Works of utility, and for the improvement of the Province.
- 2d. Public buildings for officers connected with the administration.
- 3d. Cost of establishments.
- 4th. Accommodation of troops belonging to the regular army.

421. The first three heads only are to be considered here, the fourth being properly debited to the Imperial resources, and only a certain proportion would be charged against the surplus revenues of Oudh.

Works of utility.

1st. Amongst works of utility are classed military roads, district roads, bridges. For the great military lines throughout Oudh, the Right Honourable the Governor General has vouchsafed a grant of Rs. 10,14,000, to be spent on opening out, repairing, and bridging the most important roads through Oudh. It is not contemplated to go to the expense of metalling them, and the cost of keeping them in repair in future years will not exceed, but may probably be much less, than the sum now granted. The Cawnpore road has been metalled once, but requires constant repair, owing to the heavy traffic, and on this road probably Rs. 50,000 will be expended annually. To open out district roads, which at the outset forms always a heavy item of expense, the Right Honourable the Governor General has been pleased to sanction the sum of one lakh (10,000L.). This will suffice for the purpose for which it was solicited, and once set agoing, these roads will be repaired and kept open from the local funds collected by every district officer. No further expenditure need be anticipated therefore in the section of public works.

Cawnpore road.

District roads.

Public buildings.

2d. The public buildings include court houses, jails, police posts, tehsels (revenue officers courts), dispensaries, hospitals.

422. The Chief Commissioner would not recommend that Government should undertake the heavy expense of constructing all these buildings of the

\* Vide Appendix.

most substantial materials. By the use of burnt bricks and mud well plastered with lime cement, and thus thoroughly protected from the action of the outer air, the buildings would be as durable and as convenient for public purposes as if they had been constructed of stone and mortar. With these materials, the Court houses for every Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner in Oudh might be erected at a total cost of two lakhs of rupees (20,000L). Jails are only to be built at the head quarters of each division, large lock-up houses being used elsewhere; the total cost of these buildings, not including the aid derivable from convict labour, would be about Rs. 70,000 (7,000L)

Court houses and jails.

423. For police posts, plans and estimates have been carefully drawn up; and the aggregate expenditure on these buildings ought not to exceed a lakh (10,000L)

Police posts.

424. Tehseel buildings will be more expensive, and are estimated at Rs. 2,50,000. For dispensaries and hospitals, some buildings undoubtedly may have to be erected; but in towns and cities Government buildings will generally be found well suited for these charitable institutions; Rs. 50,000 would suffice for the expenditure. The whole cost under the head of public buildings may be ranged thus:—

Tehseel buildings, dispensaries and hospitals.

Court houses	-	-	-	-	-	2,00,000
Jails	-	-	-	-	-	70,000
Police posts	-	-	-	-	-	1,00,000
Tehseel buildings	-	-	-	-	-	2,50,000
Dispensaries	-	-	-	-	-	50,000
						6,70,000

425. But this expenditure will not be incurred in one year, and must be spread over a cycle of years, in order to adjust fairly the balance sheet of the revenues. Even allowing a large margin for annual repairs, and calculating these buildings to last only ten years, the yearly drain on the revenue would be not more than Rs. 80,000 per annum.

Probable expenditure, Rs. 80,000 per annum.

426. The territorial and charitable pensions will be higher for the first few years, and will gradually diminish as present life incumbents die off.

Pension

427. The total cost of all pensioners on the State is Rs. 11,26,000. In addition to this, must be added the allowance of 12 lakhs, granted by treaty to the ex King. But the pensions drawn by the Wuseekadars will not be included in this estimate, as the fund from which their stipend is derived is in no way different from the ordinary Imperial loans, and their pensions have been drawn from the general revenues for many years prior to the annexation of Oudh.

428. The miscellaneous disbursements in the stamp and postal departments for profit, loss, &c., may be estimated at 1,50,000.

Miscellaneous disbursements.

429. The total disbursements therefore under all heads of strictly provincial expenditure amount to Rs. 75,56,000, leaving a balance of Rs. 51,08,000 out of the annual income of Rs. 1,26,64,000 to be allotted to the general Imperial revenues.

Total disbursements.

## CHAPTER XV.

### PUBLIC WORKS AND GENERAL IMPROVEMENTS.

430. The instructions of Government, in the despatch dated 4th February 1856, contemplated the organization of a department of Public Works. Accordingly the late Major Anderson was appointed Chief Engineer in July 1856, and the Province was separated into three divisions.

Partition of the Province into three divisions.

The 1st division included the city of Lucknow, the cantonments of Muriam, and the roads from Lucknow to Cawnpore, and to the Bhyram Ghat ferry, on the river Gogra.

1st division.

2d division. The 2d division comprised Fyzabad, Sultanpore, Purtaubgurh, and the road between Lucknow and Fyzabad.

3rd division. The 3d division included Khyrabad, Seetapore, Mullaon, Gonda, Seerora, and Baraitch.

Operations of the department divided in two periods: 431. It may be convenient to divide the operations of this department into two periods:—

Previous to the mutiny. 1st. From annexation to the revolt, in May 1857.

Subsequent to the mutiny. 2d. From the retaking of Lucknow, in March 1858, to the close of that year.

Works undertaken. 432. The energies and skill of the Engineer department were directed to the following objects:—

1st. Accommodation of troops.

2d. Roads.

3d. Irrigation.

4th. Construction of civil buildings.

*Accommodation of Troops.*

433. The chief expense under the first head was incurred at Lucknow, where the single English regiment was stationed. In other divisions the military works were accordingly trifling, and need no detail.

*Roads.*

434. Repairs were executed on the old roads from Lucknow to Cawnpore, to Fyzabad, and to Seetapore; and schemes for new lines from Fyzabad and Bhyram Ghat to Lucknow were completed and submitted with the budget of 1857-58.

Military road connecting Rohilcund and Benares.

435. It was projected to form a line of military road, traversing the Province east and west, to connect Rohilcund with Benares, thus avoiding the passage of the Ganges. For this purpose Lieutenant, now Captain, Hutchinson was employed to survey the country from Singramow, on the Jampore boundary, to Lucknow, and from thence on to Shajehanpore. This project was completed by Captain Hutchinson, as far as Lucknow, and was included in the public works budget of 1857-58.

436. The internal communications of districts were improved by civil officers, and plans were formed for expending advantageously the local and municipal funds, in opening roads for traffic, or in bridging streams on existing lines.

*Irrigation.*

Proposed canal from the northern extremity of Oudh to Cawnpore.

437. The Chief Engineer, with the sanction of the Chief Commissioner, commenced a survey of the country with a view to the introduction into the Baraitch division of the system of irrigation practised in Rohilcund; and one project was the excavation of a canal from the Surdah river, near the northern extremity of the Province, which should traverse the country between the rivers Gogra and Ganges, one branch terminating at Fyzabad, and the other falling into the Ganges opposite Cawnpore.

Canals on a grand scale not required in Oudh.

438. Of the survey, which was completed before the outbreak, no record now remains, but the Chief Commissioner understands that the result of Major Anderson's inquiries proved that irrigation canals on any grand scale are not required in this Province.

*Civil Buildings.*

439. With the exception of repairs to some houses in Lucknow, to adapt them to public offices, no civil buildings were undertaken, but plans were drawn out and arrangements were in course of preparation for the construction of Court houses, jails, and public offices on an uniform system. The expenditure incurred on these various works is shown in the following table:—

*Accommodation*

*Accommodation for Troops.*

	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	
Lucknow Division	1,18,082	12	1				Expenditure on public works.
Fyzabad Division	2,174	13	3				
Khyrabad Division	437	8	6				
				1,20,695	1	10	

*Roads.*

Cawnpore Road	30,815	12	8			
Fyzabad Road	9,992	1	5			
				40,807	14	1

*Civil Buildings.*

Lucknow	5,189	0	11	5,189	0	11
---------	-------	---	----	-------	---	----

*Establishment and Current Expenses.*

Lucknow Division	15,000	0	0			
Fyzabad Division	6,925	13	5			
Khyrabad Division	4,412	4	3			
Singramow Road	13,723	5	3			
Irrigation Department	8,318	15	11			
Chief Engineer's Office	24,131	8	6			
				72,521	15	4

*Contingencies.*

Lucknow Division	2,929	14	1			
Fyzabad Division	574	6	7			
Singramow Road	1,942	10	8			
Irrigation Department	1,006	14	0			
				6,453	13	4

Total - - - - - Rs. 2,45,657 13 6

2d. From the Recapture of Lucknow in March to end of December 1858.

440. The operations of the department of Public Works were necessarily suspended during the season of revolt, and all traces of buildings or of improvement were destroyed. On re-occupying Lucknow, the attentions and labours of the engineers were more urgently directed to the temporary accommodation of troops, the erection of fortified posts, the clearance of ruins, and conservancy of the city, the construction of roads and bridges.

441. Subsequently, as the Province gradually fell under our power, cantonment for troops, roads, bridges, civil buildings, tehsel posts, and projects for the development of the resources of the country, have been considered and planned under the orders of the Chief Commissioner.

Various works under consideration.

442. It will be best to treat on each head in detail categorically.

*Temporary Accommodation of Troops.*

443. For the troops stationed in the capital, the palaces and other available buildings were occupied, and at the old cantonment at Muriaon, three miles from the city, at Nawabgunge on the Fyzabad road, and Nawabgunge on the Cawnpore road, thatched sheds were provided for the soldiers.

*Fortified Posts.*

444. The following description of the operations under this head is furnished by the Chief Engineer, Major Crommelin:—

“ Immediately after the capture of Lucknow, the Brigadier, now Brigadier General Sir Robert Napier, K.C.B., the Chief Engineer of the Army, in a very able memorandum on the military occupation of Lucknow, recommended the establishment of a number of military posts extending along the river or

(74.)

G 2

“ north



Military post at Lucknow.

“ north front of the city of Lucknow, from Dilkoosha on the extreme east, to  
 “ Moosah Bagh on the extreme west. The principal positions proposed were  
 “ the Dilkoosha House, the Begum’s Kotee, the Motee Muhal, the Kaisur  
 “ Bagh Palace, the Chuttur Munzil and Furrud Buksh Palaces, the Residency,  
 “ the Iron Bridge, the Stone Bridge, Hosseinabad, Ali Nukee Khan’s River  
 “ House, and the Moosah Bagh.

445. “ The positions at the Stone Bridge, the Iron Bridge, and Residency were  
 “ to be converted into strong fortified posts for the purpose of commanding the  
 “ bridges across the Goomtee and overawing the city ; but the remainder, though  
 “ useful as a series of posts along the line which controlled the city and its  
 “ communications with the north bank of the Goomtee, being chiefly required  
 “ for the shelter of the troops, were only to be placed in a defensible state. The  
 “ whole of the proposed defensive arrangements for the minor posts were com-  
 “ pleted in a few days, such as closing all external openings, making loop-  
 “ holes in walls and sand bag parapets on the roofs of the houses, clearance of  
 “ buildings and cover within musketry range, rendering the inter-communica-  
 “ tions easy, &c. &c. ; regarding these it is not necessary to enter into further  
 “ details; but the permanent fortified posts require a more lengthened descrip-  
 “ tion; it suffices to state, that General Sir R. Napier’s plans have been  
 “ adopted.

“ Stone Bridge Post.—(See Plan B. annexed.)

446. “ This post includes the ancient ‘ Muchi Bowan Palace,’ the magnificent  
 “ Emambara of Ashroofoodowlah, with its fine mosque, gateways, and courts ;  
 “ and the elevated plateau on the river front called the ‘ Luchmun Teela,’ and  
 “ the works on its north face are washed by the river Goomtee. It overawes  
 “ the greater portion of the most populous quarter of the city, and commands  
 “ the Stone Bridge and its approaches, and the line of communication along  
 “ the river.

Its description.

447. “ The post is of an irregular trace, and has no outworks, the fortifica-  
 “ tions consisting of a single well-flanked enciente with high relief, covered  
 “ (excepting the Luchmun Teela river face) by a glacis and ditch ; the interior  
 “ perimeta of the ramparts is about 1½ miles.

Time occupied in its construction.

448. “ The fort was commenced about the middle of April, was placed in a  
 “ defensible state by the middle of May, was in such an advanced state in August  
 “ as to admit the greater portion of the garrison of Lucknow being withdrawn  
 “ into the district for active field operations, and by the end of the year 1858  
 “ its fortifications were completed, with the exception of the glacis and portion  
 “ of the parapet on the south face. The large powder magazine and other  
 “ arsenal buildings have not been commenced, and the accommodation for  
 “ troops is not quite complete.

By whom designed.

449. “ The original plan of the fort was designed by Brigadier General Sir  
 “ Robert Napier, and has been generally adhered to, but as the works pro-  
 “ gressed and the nature of the ground and its capabilities for defence purposes  
 “ became better known, very considerable modifications have been made, both  
 “ in the trace and profiles. Every advantage has been taken of the irregular  
 “ features of the ground to ensure a commanding relief, and a perfect flanking  
 “ defence. The cliff on the river front, and the sides of the deep nullah running  
 “ along the west face, have been trimmed and sloped, and present most formid-  
 “ able scarps and counterscarps ; and on the other faces the ruins of the demo-  
 “ lished buildings have been thrown into glacis, a covered way being left  
 “ between them and the enciente.

450. “ The fort could, in time of need, accommodate a force of 3,000 men,  
 “ but owing to its general high relief, and the strength of the several salient  
 “ positions it has this peculiar advantage, that it might be defended by a  
 “ garrison of 500 British troops against any but a well-appointed army. In  
 “ addition to accommodation for troops, there is ample space in the fort for a  
 “ second-class arsenal, which it is intended to establish therein, for a large  
 “ supply of commissariat stores, and for treasure, records, &c. &c.

451. “ Lastly, apart from its utility as a strong fort, the Stone Bridge, with  
 “ its magnificent and ancient buildings of Eastern architecture, defended by  
 “ modern fortifications, and situated on a commanding position, presents to view  
 “ from all quarters a most striking and picturesque object.

452. “ The

452. " The expenditure up to 31st December 1858 has amounted to Company's Rs. 2,13,425 ; and when all the interior buildings are finished the total cost will be about Company's Rs. 4,00,000. This is a very small sum for a large and strong fort complete in every respect. An entirely new fort, capable of affording the same accommodation, and constructed on a plain, would probably have cost four times the above amount. Indeed the total cost of the adapted fort would not be more than sufficient to cover the expense of providing in a new fort accommodation for the garrison alone.

" Iron Bridge Post.—(See Plan C.)

453. " This is a small irregular fort for a maximum garrison of 200 men, but it could be well defended by a much smaller number ; it only encloses space sufficient for its garrison, with their equipments and supplies. The fort commands the Iron Bridge, and is a link between the Muchi Bhawan and Residency positions ; it also commands a considerable portion of the city. The fortifications consist of a single enciente, and a ditch has been given wherever the relief of the rampart was not sufficiently high ; but there is no glacis. The deep nullah on the west side has afforded an opportunity of ensuring a very lofty escape on this face, averaging from 60 to 90 feet in height.

454. " Throughout the whole length (3,000 feet) of the Strand road between the two forts, a screen wall 10 feet high with a banquette has been constructed, and three ornamental buildings along the line have been preserved and fitted up as piquet houses ; a similar screen wall on the other side of the road would convert the road into a covered way between the posts ; this, however, need not be done until required.

455. " This Iron Bridge post, was commenced in April, was rendered its cost: defensible by the end of May, and was completed in September, at a cost of Company's Rs. 33,438.

" Residency Fort.

456. " This has not yet been commenced ; a plan is under preparation, and will be submitted shortly for the consideration of Government. Plan under preparation.

457. " The total expenditure in fortified posts throughout the period under review is as follows :— Total expenditure in fortified posts.

" Stone Bridge Fort	-	-	-	2,13,425	12	0
" Iron do. do.	-	-	-	33,438	13	7
" Minor Posts	-	-	-	20,592	4	8
" Total	-	-	-	<u>Rs. 2,67,456</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>5</u>

" Demolitions.

458. " The extent of the demolition of the city has been entirely guided by military principles. It was absolutely necessary for purposes of defence and military control that there should be clear esplanades 500 yards broad around the three forts ; that the suburbs between the general line of posts and the Goomtee should be cleared away ; that clearances, varying in extent according to circumstances, should be made around these minor posts ; and that the suburbs on the left bank of the Goomtee should be cleared to a distance of 300 yards from the river. The dark shade on the Plan A shows the extent to which these demolitions have been carried. The esplanades around the forts are almost complete, and but little remains to be done elsewhere along the general line of the city bank of the Goomtee ; not much, however, has been done on the left bank of the river, and, indeed, but little requires to be done here.

" The whole of the fortifications thrown up by the rebels have also been levelled.

Expenditure incurred.

459. " In the vicinity of the Stone Bridge post and of the Kaisur Bagh and Chuttur Munzil Palaces, the demolitions have been smoothed, and great care has been taken to spare as much as possible buildings of an ornamental character. Much remains to be done before all traces of the demolitions can be effaced; but the removal of bricks for building purposes, the filling up of hollows with rubbish, the effect of the rains, and gradual clearance, will probably in two years render the whole area of demolition even. It is generally admitted that the demolitions have greatly improved the appearance of the city. The beautiful Palaces of the Kaisur Bagh, Chuttur Munzil, and Turad Buksh, can now be seen to full advantage; and many handsome dwellings and mosques before concealed from view by masses of ugly houses now present themselves as pleasing objects to the eye.

460. " The demolitions must also have a most beneficial effect as regards the health of the inhabitants. The expenditure incurred has amounted to 2,00,172 7 9.

" Roads.

New city roads.

461. " It was manifestly of the utmost consequence that our communications with Cawnpore and the few stations that we were enabled to establish in the district, should be rendered as easy and complete as possible, and that free means of inter-communication for our troops should be established in the city of Lucknow. Every effort, therefore, has been made to repair all the old useful roads, and to open out new ones in the city wherever required.

462. " The new city roads, which deserve special notice, are the three military lines, each 150 feet broad, which have been pierced through the city, all radiating from the south front of the Stone Bridge post, from whence they are open to strong artillery fire. These with the old Cawnpore road divide the city into five distinct sections, rendering each thoroughly accessible, and form four clear lines of communication right through the city, between the forts and the open country to the south of the city; the directions of these lines are,—

- " From Fort to Charbagh Bridge, length - - 2 $\frac{1}{4}$  miles.
- " From do. to Telku Torah, do. - - 2 $\frac{3}{4}$  "
- " From do. to Moosa Bagh, do. - - 3 "

Old city roads.

463. " The first two roads have all their bridges completed, and a track 40 feet wide throughout has been cleared and opened for traffic; the greater portions of both roads have also been cleared to the full width of 150 feet. The demolitions of the Moosah Bagh road have been completed, but nothing has as yet been done towards the levelling of the track.

464. " A fourth military line, connecting by a high embanked road (about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  miles long) Alee Nucki Khan's house with the Moosah Bagh, has also been completed.

465. " Of the old city roads, the road forming the grand line of communication along the north front of the city from the Dilkoosah to Hossainabad, about 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  miles in length, has been throughout repaired and remetalled; the other roads, noted by continuous red lines on the plan, have also been repaired and remetalled."

Clearance of Ruins, &c.

466. The foregoing is a description of the works carried on under the able superintendence of Major Crommelin and his subordinates, and an abstract of the expenditure from the general revenues and local funds is given below. Hand in hand with his alterations progressed the labours of the Commissioner, Colonel Abbott, and the local authorities, in removing the débris of the bombardment, levelling ruined houses, and opening roads. A Conservancy Committee of English officers was early formed, and undertook with energy and skill the drainage and sewerage of the whole city, thus saving the population from the disease and death which at first appeared inevitable from the putrid filth of the streets.

From

From General Revenues, under the Chief Engineer.				Expenditure on improvements from general revenue.			
	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.	
At Lucknow.	Fortified Posts	2,67,456	14	3			
	Demolitions	2,00,172	7	9			
	Roads and Bridges	1,49,984	14	5			
	Accommodation for Troops	97,376	8	5			
	Military Contingencies and Service of Troops.	49,125	12	6			
	Civil Buildings	28,091	8	8			
	Miscellaneous	29,244	15	0			
Establishments	38,860	2	8				
				8,60,319	3	8	
At Muriaon and Nawabgunge.	Roads and Bridges	5,514	4	6			
	Accommodation of Troops	1,00,166	15	3			
	Military Contingencies	1,995	14	4			
	Miscellaneous	1,036	6	7			
Establishments	2,950	4	3				
				1,11,668	12	11	
Lucknow and Cawapore Road.	Road	1,08,321	3	2			
	Accommodation of Troops	781	9	6			
	Miscellaneous	332	11	3			
	Establishment	8,242	3	8			
				1,17,727	11	7	
Total of expenditure				Rs. 10,89,704	12	2	

## From Local Funds, under Colonel Abbott.

From Local Funds, under Colonel Abbott.				From local fund.			
	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.	
Conservancy and Demolitions	89,444	15	7				
Station Roads and Bridges	84,335	8	5				
Repair of Nuzool Buildings	50,424	12	4				
Advances for Nuzool Houses	20,771	12	1				
				2,44,977	0	5	
Total of expenditure				Rs. 2,44,977	0	5	
Grand Total from General Revenues and Local Funds				13,34,681	12	7	
Expended at Lucknow from General Revenue				8,60,319	3	8	
From Local Funds				2,44,977	0	5	
Total				Rs. 11,05,290	4	1	

467. Broad and well-metalled roads now take the place of close alleys, and the principal thoroughfares are daily watered. Bazaars have been erected with architectural taste, and spacious accommodation provided for the country traders who come daily to market.

468. As far as possible the mosques and palaces everywhere have been preserved, and no pains have been spared to remove all traces of the siege, to restore the health or add to the comfort of the inhabitants.

469. To replace the church attached to the Residency, which was wholly destroyed by the rebels, the Chief Commissioner has received the sanction of the Right Honourable the Governor General to erect in the civil lines a capacious church at an estimated cost of Rs. 30,000 (3,000*l.*). The cantonment church, which was also destroyed, has been partially restored for temporary use, and a proper building will be raised in the new cantonments.

470. The cost of all local improvements, repairs, and reconstruction of public buildings, is defrayed from the large municipal funds of Lucknow.

471. In addition to octroi, the rent of houses and land escheated to Government, and the tax on all houses of substantial structure, the Chief Commissioner, with the sanction of the Right Honourable the Governor General, has levied a contribution from the wealthy inhabitants who took a prominent part in the past revolt, and aided in the destruction of public buildings. This fine has

been levied with discrimination, and after a careful inquiry into each case, and has been so apportioned that the wealthiest and most influential, whose offence was the greatest, have undergone the largest share of amercement.

State of municipal funds.

472. The state of municipal funds may be shown here.

FUNDS.

	Before the Revolt.	Since Re-occupation.	Total.
Nuzool Buildings confiscated or lapsed to Government	27,014 3 11	6,373 0 0	89,444 15 7
Octroi	1,28,400 14 1	- - -	84,385 8 5
Road Fund	11,730 11 1	4,873 0 0	50,424 12 4
Ferry Fund	4,237 0 4	- - -	20,771 12 1
House Tax	- - -	63,801 0 0	63,801 0 0
Penal Contribution	- - -	1,69,234 0 0	1,69,234 0 0
Total Amount realized up to 31st January 1859	1,71,382 13 5	2,44,281 0 0	4,15,663 13 5
Expended on Improvements, Restoration of Buildings, &c. &c.	- - -	- - -	2,44,977 0 5
Balance	- - -	- - -	1,70,686 13 0

The future income of the city taxes may be thus estimated :—

Octroi	- - - - -	2,00,000
House Tax	- - - - -	60,000
Garden Lands	- - - - -	20,000
Nuzool	- - - - -	10,000
Total	- - - - -	<u>2,90,000</u>

473. In connexion with the vast improvements effected in the city of Lucknow, the Chief Commissioner desires to mention, in terms of high acknowledgment, the valuable services of the energetic Commissioner, Colonel Abbott.

Provision of accommodation for troops.

474. For the large European force henceforth to be located in Oudh, it is necessary to provide, at an early date, ample and airy accommodation. Till the termination of the campaign, no arrangements could be made for collecting materials or selecting sites, but the Engineer staff has received of late a large accession of members, and the active energies of all are devoted to the important object of housing the troops.

Distribution of troops in Oudh.

475. The British force will thus be distributed throughout Oudh :—

Lucknow	{	3 Batteries of Light Field Artillery.
		2 Companies of Reserve Artillery.
		1 Company of Engineers.
		1 Regiment of European Cavalry.
		1 Regiment Native Cavalry.
		2½ Regiments European Infantry.
		1 Regiment Native Infantry.
Seetapore	{	1 Battery of Light Field Artillery.
		1 Company of Reserve Artillery.
		1 Squadron European Cavalry.
		1 Regiment Native Cavalry.
		1½ Regiments of European Infantry.
		1 Regiment of Native Infantry.
Fyzabad	{	1 Battery of Light Field Artillery.
		1 Reserve Company of Artillery.
		2 Squadrons European Cavalry.
		1 Regiment Native Cavalry.
		2 Regiments of European Infantry.
		1 Regiment of Native Infantry.

Roy

Roy Bareilly -	{	1 Battery of Light Field Artillery.
		1 Reserve Company of Artillery.
		1 Squadron of Dragoons.
		1 Regiment of Native Cavalry.
		1½ Regiments European Infantry.
		1 Regiment Native Infantry.
Sooltanpore -	{	1 Battery of Light Field Artillery.
		1 Regiment Native Cavalry.
		½ Regiment European Infantry.
		1 Regiment Native Infantry.
Trans-Gogra Gonda	{	1 Battery of Light Field Artillery
		1 Reserve Company of Artillery.
		2 Regiments of Native Cavalry.
		1 Regiment of European Infantry.
		2 Regiments of Native Infantry.
Total - - -	{	8 Batteries of Light Field Artillery.
		6 Companies of Reserve Artillery.
		1 Company of Engineers.
		2 Regiments of Dragoons (4 squadrons each).
		7 Regiments of Native Cavalry.
		9 Regiments of European Infantry.
		7 Regiments of Native Infantry.

476. For each of these cantonments, sites have been selected, and the erection of barracks is everywhere rapidly progressing. No labour or expense will be spared to have all the troops in Oudh properly housed before the rapidly approaching hot season. Selection of sites for cantonments.

#### Roads.

477. Towards the end of December, the Chief Commissioner had the honour of laying before his Lordship the Governor General a detailed project for opening out or repairing the main lines of road to connect all the military and civil stations with the capital. The importance of keeping up rapid communication between all parts of the Province for military purposes, as well as for the furtherance of commercial traffic, has been acknowledged by the Supreme Government in the grant of Rupees 1,14,000 for the efficient repair of the following roads:—

Lucknow to Fyzabad.

„ Bhyramghat on the river Gogra.

„ Seetapore, Roy Bareilly, Sultanpore.

Fyzabad, as far as the Jounpore boundary, en route to Allahabad.

Expenditure sanctioned for military roads.

478. These works will be undertaken and carried to speedy completion by the Engineer department, under the superintendence of Major Crommelin, C.B. District roads.

479. In addition to these grand military arteries of communication, there is a considerable number of minor roads, highly essential for the conveyance of traffic, and for the communication between the various outposts and the head station of a district. To throw out a network of roads over the length and breadth of the Province will be not only to provide channels for a trade which requires outlets to become lucrative, but in a political point of view it will be also well to provide for a large mass of the people, whose only hope of sustenance is daily labour for hire.

480. The construction of these minor lines will be entrusted to the energy of each Deputy Commissioner; but in order to preserve an uniform system, and to observe some degree of engineering skill, a staff of native surveyors, subordinate to an European officer, has been appointed. Officers appointed for district roads.

481. This plan has likewise received the approbation of the Right Honourable the Governor General, by whom a grant of one lakh of rupees (10,000L.) has been given for these roads, which, when once constructed, will be kept in repair by district officers from the local funds. Expenditure sanctioned for district roads.

482. It is calculated that within a few months the roads will be all opened out, and the streams and nullahs spanned with wooden bridges, thus securing communication during the rains throughout the whole territory. This is considered Time likely to be occupied in opening out roads.

sidered better than to expend a large sum in the construction of a single line of road which might take years in completing.

483. For a while it may be advisable to delay the construction of substantial civil buildings, until the more important work of housing the troops shall have been completed.

Temporary kutch-  
eries.

As a temporary arrangement, therefore, but which may last for the next three or four years without inconvenience, a simple plan for the erection of Court houses of unburnt bricks has been circulated for general adoption through the Province.

Police posts.

For outposts too, earthen enclosures, plain, but well planned for purposes of defence, are being thrown up.

Introduction of  
railways.

484. To develop the resources of the country, as well as to facilitate the rapid passage of troops from one part of the country to the other, it is very desirable that railways should be introduced into Oudh. This subject was brought before the public soon after Oudh became a British Province, and a company was formed in England for the purpose of constructing lines of rail to intersect the Province east and west, and north and south. Field operations were actually commenced, and the survey of the line between Lucknow and Cawnpore had been completed, when the company's engineer, Mr. Garrett, fell a victim in the general massacre at Cawnpore. The labours of their agent were not lost however to the company; and they have expressed their intention of resuming negotiations with the Home Government of India.

Line between  
Lucknow and  
Cawnpore.

485. The construction of a line between Lucknow and Cawnpore commends itself to the favourable consideration of Government for many reasons:—

1st. In a military view, it is desirable that means of transport should be provided not only for the soldiers, but for the vast Government stores which daily pour into Lucknow.

2d. The trade of Lucknow, one of the largest cities in India, is fed by imports from and exports to the Trans-Gangetic Provinces, and the stream of carts, camels, and bullocks which pass along the Cawnpore road is now very great, and will daily increase. The large addition of European troops to the Province will bring a corresponding accession of camp followers and traders, and the increased demand for necessaries and luxuries must create a proportionate increase in the supply. Already several transit companies have started conveyances for passenger traffic, and the wants of the public are still unsatisfied.

486. In traffic of goods and of passengers, the company that establish a railway between Lucknow and Cawnpore would find a large return of profits.

3d. The line is short, being only 47 miles.

4th. The country is level, free from all obstructions, and only one river (the Sai) has to be crossed.

5th. The heavy traffic on the present metalled road is so enormous, that it will be necessary to take some steps to relieve it, if not by a railway, by opening out other lines of road to meet the grand trunk railway lower down, opposite Futtehpore. The distance thus travelled by carts would be one third greater, and the road would afford only partial relief.

Line between  
Lucknow and  
Fyzabad.

487. The next line which appears of importance is that between Lucknow and Fyzabad.

The advantages of this line may be briefly stated:—

1st. It would connect the two largest towns in Oudh.

2d. It would be advantageous for the transport of troops or Government stores.

3d. The navigation of the river Gogra is superior to that of the Ganges, and if steamers were employed to ply between Fyzabad and Calcutta, the whole trade of the Province would pass on this route in preference to the Ganges line.

4th. Hereafter a continuation of the line to Bareilly, the capital of Rohilcund, would bring the commercial traffic of Upper India north of the Ganges by a direct and more expeditious route to the seaports of Bengal.

5th. The length of the line being only 74 miles, it would not cost much time or money in construction.

488. A more extensive line of railroad would undoubtedly be desirable, commencing at Benares and traversing the Province of Oudh into the heart of Rohilcund; and such an undertaking the Chief Commissioner would desire to see, but this could not be completed for some time, and meanwhile these smaller lines

lines would be valuable for political and commercial purposes, and would not interfere hereafter with the Benares trunk line.

489. No surveys have as yet been undertaken of any but the country between Lucknow and Cawnpore, and the Chief Commissioner offers now these suggestions to the Government purely from a sense of the importance of securing speedily for the Government as well as for the public improved means of transit throughout the country.

### CHAPTER XVI.

#### EXAMINATION INTO CLAIMS TO COMPENSATION.

490. In order to arrive at a correct estimate of the loss of property consequent on the revolt, the Right Honourable the Governor General was pleased to appoint a Commission of officers to receive and report upon all claims preferred by the sufferers during the mutiny to compensation for losses incurred. Commission appointed.

491. These claims were divided into three classes, according to the degree of validity ascertained to be due to each. Claims divided into three classes.

492. Those which were well substantiated by vouchers, and admitted of no doubt, were placed in the first class, and aggregated Rs. 7,88,052 0 8. Substantiated claims, their amount.

493. The Chief Commissioner recommended that the claims should be the first discharged.

494. In the second class were placed those claims which *prima facie* were susceptible of adjustment, but owing to the absence of vouchers, or the apparently excessive nature of some of the charges, could not be passed at once by the Committee; for these the Chief Commissioner recommended that a further searching investigation should be undertaken. Doubtful claims, their amount.

They amounted to Rs. 14,36,026 8 8.

495. The remaining claims were rejected, as wholly unproved, or as being advanced by men whose conduct in no way entitled them to consideration. They form by far the largest class in value, amounting to Rs. 89,10,050 6 8. Rejected claims, their amount.

### CHAPTER XVII.

#### CONCLUSION.

496. The Chief Commissioner has endeavoured to detail the state of the Province of Oudh and the progress of the administration up to the present time. Of education, social improvement, and advancement in science and art, it were premature to speak, whilst the effects of mutiny, rebellion, and war are still pressing on the people. Recapitulation.

497. The Chief Commissioner firmly believes that in a very short period of time the prosperity of the people and the real resources of the country will be developed by the steady advance of the present system of administration in Oudh. He trusts that the system will, by its fruits, merit the aid and protection it has so largely received from his Excellency Lord Canning. As far as human experience can guide, the Chief Commissioner believes it to be the best that could be devised to meet the habits and wants of the people, and he trusts that the blessing of Providence may crown the efforts of the Government with success. Prospects.

498. The Chief Commissioner has great pleasure in bringing to the favourable notice of the Supreme Government the conduct of his subordinates, who throughout a season of trial and difficulty have uniformly exhibited fortitude and unwearying energy in the discharge of their duty. Commendation of officers.

499. To the Judicial Commissioner, Mr. George Campbell, the Chief Commissioner desires to tender his thanks for the aid which he has rendered, and for the ability which he has brought to bear on the discussion of important measures. Judicial Commissioner.

500. Mr. T. D. Forsyth, the Chief Commissioner's Secretary, has discharged his onerous duties with an ability and promptitude which much facilitated the Chief Commissioner's labours, and for which he is deserving of special praise. Secretary, Chief Commissioner.



- Military Secretary.** 501. The services of the Chief Commissioner's Military Secretary, Captain Hutchinson, have been much appreciated. His knowledge of Oudh and practical acquaintance with military details have proved most valuable to the Chief Commissioner, which he has much pleasure in acknowledging.
- Commissioner, Lucknow division.** 502. Colonel Abbott, Commissioner of the Lucknow division, has added to the name he had already acquired for energy and skill in public improvements, and the Chief Commissioner desires to acknowledge his obligations to that officer.
- Commissioners of Fyzabad and Khyrabad.** 503. Mr. Saint George Tucker and Colonel J. Clarke rendered good service, and were exposed during the hot season of last year.
- Major Barrow.** 504. Major Barrow has given valuable assistance to the Chief Commissioner in resettling the revenues of the Province, and has displayed judgment and sound sense in his proceedings. His services in the field as civil officer attached to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's force have already received the public recognition of the Government.
- Officiating Commissioner, Baraitch division.** 505. The Chief Commissioner's acknowledgments are due to Mr. W. A. Forbes, who, trusting to the good faith of Baboo Roostum Sah, went alone into the heart of the then rebel country of Sooltanpoor; afterwards he settled the district of Fyzabad, and latterly has officiated as Commissioner of the Baraitch division.
- Deputy Commissioners.** 506. Amongst Deputy Commissioners, the Chief Commissioner would mention,—
- Mr. Martin.** 507. Mr. Martin, who has held the important district of Lucknow, and has on several occasions rendered good service with troops in the field,
- Mr. Lawrence.** 508. Mr. Lawrence, who occupied a difficult post at Oonao.
- Captain Evans, Major Carnegie, Captain Reid, Mr. Carnegie, Captain Orr.** 509. Captain Evans, Major Carnegie, Captain Reid, whose exertions in the field have compelled him to seek health in change of air; Mr. Carnegie, Captain Orr.
- Assistant Commissioners.** 510. The following Assistants deserve particular commendation :—
- Captain Thurburn, &c.** 511. Captain Thurburn, Lieutenant Thompson, Captain Ross, Captain Bunbury, Mr. E. O. Bradford, Captain Steel, Lieutenant Chamier, who has been attached to the Kupoorthulla contingent as civil officer in charge; Mr. J. G. Anderson, Mr. Perkins, Mr. Kavanagh, whose bravery in the field has become well known; Lieutenant E. G. Clarke, Mr. C. A. Elliot, a young officer of promise and energy; Mr. Ross, Mr. R. King, Lieutenant C. R. Shaw, Lieutenant Eckford, Mr. C. R. Crommelin, Lieutenant Hawkins.
- Extra assistants.** 512. Among the extra assistants, the Chief Commissioner desires to notice,—
513. Mr. Wood, in charge of the city of Lucknow; Mr. Berkeley, who has rendered good service as civil officer with military column; Mirza Abbas Beg; Mr. Williams, who has with great pains-taking labour completed the preliminary investigation into pensions; Syud Abdool Hukeem, who was taken prisoner by the rebels whilst in the execution of his duty; Ramdral, Mr. Bickers, Kedar Nath, Nund Kishore.
- Oudh police officers.** 514. For the efficiency of the Oudh police, and the rapidity with which they have been organized, the Chief Commissioner's acknowledgments are due to Major Bruce, C.B., who in six months formed a force that took a large share in the military operations carried on under his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.
515. Praise is also due to the following officers who served under him :—
- |                             |                                             |                             |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <b>Major Taylor.</b>        | Major Taylor, Assistant to Chief of Police. |                             |
| <b>Divisional officers.</b> | Lieutenant Chamberlain                      | } Divisional Commandants.   |
|                             | Captain Boileau                             |                             |
|                             | Major Stephen                               |                             |
|                             | Captain Hawes                               |                             |
|                             | Lieutenant Sadlier                          |                             |
| <b>Second in command.</b>   | Captain Barrow                              | } Divisional 2d in command. |
|                             | Lieutenant Hill                             |                             |
|                             | Lieutenant Drummond                         |                             |
| <b>Adjutant.</b>            | Lieutenant Roddy                            | } Divisional Adjutants.     |
|                             | Lieutenant Smith                            |                             |
|                             | Lieutenant Tweedie                          |                             |
|                             | Lieutenant Ffrench                          |                             |

Captain

Captain Orr, who, under Captain Hutchinson, has discharged the duties of the Intelligence department with great ability, assisted by—

Captain William Hearsey -	-	-	District Comman-
Lieutenant Hawkins	-	-	dant.
Lieutenant Ward	-	} District Commandants.	
Lieutenant Boileau	-		
Lieutenant Manson	-		
Lieutenant Sharpe	-		

516. The acknowledgments of the Chief Commissioner are due to the Chief Engineer, Major Crommelin, C.B., under whose directions extended lines of fortifications were in a few months completed, and various improvements tending to the safety, comfort, and health of the community were completed.

517. The services of the following officers in his department are specially acknowledged:—

Captain Medley, Garrison Engineer of Lucknow.		Engineer Officer.
Captain Craster, Executive Engineer of Lucknow.		Chief Engineer.
Lieutenant Lang, Assistant to Chief Engineer.		
Lieutenant Pemberton, Executive Engineer, Nawabgunge.		
Lieutenant Burton	-	} Assistants to Garrison Engineer.
Lieutenant Smyth	-	
Mr. J. S. Tait, Assistant to Executive Engineer, Lucknow.		
Mr. H. Demes	-	} Sub-Engineers.
Mr. Powell	-	

By order of the Chief Commissioner.

(Signed) T. DOUGLAS FORSYTH,  
Secretary.

## APPENDIX.

## APPENDIX A.

## RENT ROLL of the PROVINCE of OUDH.

Divisions.	Districts.	Net Revenue in King's Time.	Net Revenue according to the present Settlement.	Value of Msafee Jageer Lands, according to Government Rates.	Value of Grants for religious or charitable Purposes, according to Government Rates.	Gross Government Revenue.	Number and Revenue of Talooqua.	
							Number.	Net Revenue according to present Demand.
LUCKNOW.	Lucknow -	R. 9,98,681	R. 9,21,087	R. 1,02,389	R. 11,396	R. 10,94,812	57	R. 3,07,634
	Durriabad -	13,38,726	9,92,335	22,722	18,851	10,83,908	69	5,30,349
	Oonao -	11,15,364	11,23,798	17,663	4,489	11,45,950	44	8,17,205
	Total -	34,52,771	30,37,220	1,42,774	34,676	32,14,670	170	11,55,188
FYZABAD.	Sultanpore -	11,61,958	9,05,746	68,233	2,563	9,76,542	27	5,29,989
	Fyzabad -	11,10,394	11,32,397	99,249	6,303	11,77,949	28	7,61,814
	Salone -	14,03,600	11,38,940	50,615	16,577	12,06,132	54	10,39,724
	Total -	36,75,952	31,77,083	1,58,097	25,443	33,60,623	89	23,31,527
KUTCHABAD.	Mullaon -	14,61,361	11,92,504	22,394	3,141	12,18,099	64	4,77,128
	Sectapora -	13,57,574	9,41,982	31,560	3,280	9,76,822	171	7,12,345
	Mohumdee -	5,00,000	4,21,160	—	—	4,21,160	72	1,15,617
	Total -	33,18,935	25,55,706	53,954	6,421	26,16,081	307	13,05,090
BARAICH.	Baraich -	3,39,951	3,69,618	19,317	3,661	6,12,594	42	5,68,539
	Gonda -	12,70,879	9,47,350	10,160	19,375	9,76,885	52	5,75,000
	Mullapoor -	3,63,330	2,57,380	9,250	1,800	2,68,430	36	2,30,020
	Total -	24,94,160	17,94,346	38,727	24,836	18,57,909	130	14,83,559
Grand Total		1,29,41,818	1,05,64,355	3,93,552	91,376	1,10,49,283	696	62,25,364

(Signed) T. DOUGLAS FORSYTH,  
Secretary to Chief Commissioner of Oudh.

APPENDIX B.

MEMO. of ESTATES CONFISCATED, CIS AND TRANS GOGRA, OUDH.

The late Rajah Deves Buksh was offered his estate and free pardon, but not having yet tendered his allegiance, his estate has been settled with Rajah Maun Singh. Rent paying to Government: Gondah, 50,000.

The Rajah Jodh Singh, who held this estate, fought to the last, though frequently offered free pardon. When the Commander-in-Chief was before his gates, he was told he had only to surrender to receive his property. The estate has been conferred on Kolraj Singh, the Pudinabah Hill chief, who protected Captain Hearsey and other British officers in their flight, and who is mentioned in the Governor General's Proclamation as an exception to the confiscation order. Churdah, 40,000.

Rajah Hurdut Singh, in the same way, having persisted in his rebellion, and being still an absentee, his estate has been conferred on the Rajah of Kupoorthulla, who has done much good and well-known services. Bondar, 70,000.

Has been confiscated for the same reasons as above, and settled with the same party. 4 Bittowlee, 29,000.

The owner of this estate is one of the same party of persistent rebels. A portion of the lands have been conferred on Sudut Singh, a Sikh Sirdar, whom the Government desire to reward. A portion has been settled on the brother of the Kupoorthulla Rajah, and the rest with other Sikh Sirdars. 5 Ekowna, 1,00,000.

Confiscated for the same reasons. Has been settled with the Rajah of Bulrampoor, who saved so many European lives, and has been one of a few who stood by the Government during all the rebellion. 6 Toolseepore, 1,80,000.

Rajah Ram Buksh is supposed to have instigated the murder of officers who fled from Cawnpore and were attacked on his estate. He has never come in to stand a fair trial, which was guaranteed to him. 7 Doonder Kheera, 65,000.

The estate has been settled with the original under-proprietors, who held it even in the late Government time, Ram Buksh having been ejected for default prior to annexation.

Rana Bence Madho Buksh, from the first fall of Lucknow to the present time, has been frequently offered pardon, but is still a persistent rebel. Some of his villages have been settled with the under-proprietors; one portion, Rs. 10,000, has been restored to the original zemindars (syuds), from whom Bence Madho had seized it; another portion has been conferred on Rajah Dyrgbijee Singh of Mootarmoor, who defended Messrs. Delafosse and Thompson, the survivors of the Cawnpore massacre. 8 Shunkerpore, 1,80,000.

Ram Gholam Singh, an ally of Beni Madhoc, still a fugitive with him, was offered pardon, even after this obstinate resistance at Rampoor Kussrah, which was prior to Her Majesty's gracious Proclamation. The estate has been settled on certain Sikh pensioners, in lieu of their pensions, by desire of Government. Mustafabad, 25,000.

Jussa Sing, the original proprietor, was killed in fighting against General Havelock, and his relations were allies of Nana Row. They have not come in to stand their trial, and the estate has been settled with Jubber Singh, who is mentioned in the Governor General's Proclamation as one exception to the confiscation order, and has since done very admirable service. Futtehpore Chonrusee, 10,000.

This estate belongs to Bhopal Singh, also an ally of Nana Rao, and is still a fugitive. It has been settled with Kashi Pershaud, who is likewise mentioned in the Governor General's Proclamation. Jajhmain, 11,000.

The generality of these are for continued rebellion and absence, some few for some specified crime; but no estate has been confiscated in Oudh wherein the proprietor has tendered his allegiance under the terms of the Proclamation. Small estate confiscations, aggregate 50,000.

Nurput Singh held out to the last. The estate has been settled between Hushmut Ally and Barat Singh, two neighbouring Talookdars, who fought for us in the past year, and suffered in consequence. Rooyeah.

The Rajah has submitted, and pending the issue of his trial, the estate is reserved. Pending: Mithowlee, 1,20,000.

(Signed) T. DOUGLAS FORSYTH,  
Secretary.

## APPENDIX C.

## ESTIMATE of the probable RECEIPTS and DISBURSEMENTS

Items of Income.	Actuals for May to October 1858.	Estimated Receipts from Nov. 1858 to April 1859.	Grand Total.	Prospective Estimate for 1859-60.	Explanatory Remarks.
<b>ORDINARY RECEIPTS, GENERAL.</b>					
Sale Proceeds of Judicial and Postage Stamps, and Postage Collections	50,000	1,00,000	1,50,000	2,50,000	The settlement of Land Revenue for 1856-57, is stated in a public Letter at Rs. 1,15,00,000, but the Accountant-General telegraphs the Estimate to have been Rs. 1,05,00,000. I have taken a medium, supposing the country to be completely quieted.
Miscellaneous Receipts - So on.	5,00,000	2,00,000	7,00,000	2,00,000	
<b>Revenue :</b>					
Land Revenue - -	7,40,000	45,00,000	52,40,000	1,10,00,000	Including Local Salt and Opium. The Abkaree for Lucknow and other European Stations is closed.
Abkaree Collections - Sayer and Miscellaneous Revenue - -	20,000	2,00,000	2,20,000	7,00,000	
<b>EXTRAORDINARY.</b>					
Repayment Advances -	-	5,00,000	5,00,000	-	-
Profit and Loss -	-	-	-	-	-
Premium on Bills, &c. &c.	-	-	-	-	-
Profit and Loss on account of the Mutiny, Revenues or Sale proceeds of all Estates, as well as other Property belonging to Rebels, confiscated by Government, &c. &c.	3,000	10,000	13,000	20,000	Almost all such Property has gone to the Prize Agents. Government will get scarcely anything.
<b>PUBLIC WORKS, ORDINARY.</b>					
Collections on account, Road Fund.	7,000	45,000	52,000	1,00,000	-
Collections on account, Ferry Fund.	-	5,000	5,000	1,00,000	-
<b>TOLL COLLECTIONS, &amp;c. &amp;c.</b>					
<b>DEBT.</b>					
Local Funds, exclusive of Road and Ferry Deposit Funds.	1,50,000	2,00,000	3,50,000	3,00,000	-
Civil and Annuity Funds, &c. &c.	10,000	10,000	20,000	20,000	-
5 per Cent. of 28th February 1858, Subscriptions to this Loan.	2,00,000	-	2,00,000	-	In a former Estimate the Amount received for May and June was stated at 4 lacs and upwards; but the Lucknow Accountant now gives a Total of only Rs. 1,90,000 for Six Months. There must be a Mistake. This was paid by the Prize Agents. No more will be necessary.

## APPENDIX C.

of the Oude Territory for the Years 1858-59.

	Actuals for May to April 1858.	Estimated Disbursements from Novr 1858 to April 1859.	Grand Total.	Prospective Estimate for 1859-60.	Explanatory Remarks.
<b>ORDINARY CHARGES.</b>					
Territorial and Charitable Allowances. (All Pensions exceeding Rs. 5,000 per Annum should be entered in detail, and the rest in one figure).	3,70,000	5,00,000	8,70,000	11,00,000	Exclusive of any allowance made to the King. Includes one List of Connexions of the King, Rs. 5,50,000; Bhow Begum's Jagheer Compensation, Rs. 2,00,000; other Payments, say Rs. 3,50,000.
<b>GENERAL.</b>					
Cost of vending Judicial and Postage Stamps, including Salary and other Charges of the Postal Department.	20,000	50,000	70,000	1,50,000	Uncertain.
Chief Commissioner and Secretary's Salary, Establishment, and Contingencies.	1,19,000	1,00,000	2,19,000	2,00,000	—
<b>MEDICAL.</b>					
Salary, Establishment, and Contingencies.	5,000	20,000	25,000	1,00,000	—
<b>JUDICIAL.</b>					
Salary, Establishment, and Contingencies.	3,00,000	4,00,000	7,00,000	*8,00,000	* Allowing Rs. 5,000 per Mensem for each District.
<b>MILITARY POLICE</b>	8,00,000	13,00,000	21,00,000	30,00,000	Fixed Salaries of Establishments, and Pay, Rs. 26,45,000; Contingencies, say Rs. 3,55,000.
<b>REVENUE.</b>					
Salary, Establishment, and Contingencies.	2,00,000	4,00,000	6,00,000	*10,00,000	* Allowing Rs. 6,000 per Mensem for each District.
Miscellaneous Disbursements.	12,00,000	2,00,000	14,00,000	2,00,000	The Miscellaneous Disbursements are principally advances to be afterwards adjusted. A great part is for Pension, Loans, &c.
<b>EXTRAORDINARY.</b>					
Profit and Loss, Discount on Supply Bills, &c. &c.	65,000	35,000	1,00,000	50,000	—
Profit and Loss on account of the Mutiny; Compensation for Loss of Property on account of the Mutiny, &c. &c.	20,000	10,000	30,000	15,00,000	This is quite uncertain. It is a mere guess. Supposing a small proportion of the Claims entered to be paid.
<b>MUTINY.</b>					
Pensions to destitute Families of Persons who have fallen in the Mutinies, &c. &c.	5,000	10,000	15,000	15,000	—

## APPENDIX C.—continued.

Items of Income.	Actuals for May to October 1858.	Estimated Receipts from Nov. 1858 to April 1859.	Grand Total.	Prospective Estimate for 1859-60.	Explanatory Remarks.
<b>SUPPLIES, INDIA.</b>			0		
Bills - - -	22,00,000	20,00,000	42,00,000	40,00,000	To simplify this Account, I have deducted the Amounts drawn on us, and only entered the difference or Amount which we have gained by Bills, so that Miscellaneous Bills either way are excluded, and only real Supply Bills entered.
<b>NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.</b>					
Cash Remittances -	33,00,000	*30,00,000	63,00,000	*15,00,000	* Of this received in November and December.
Bills - - -	35,00,000	45,00,000	80,00,000	70,00,000	—
<b>PUNJAB.</b>					
Bills - - -	4,75,000	5,00,000	9,75,000	5,00,000	Goruckpore to Fyzabad, 10 lacs; ditto, direct to General Grant, 3 lacs; Allahabad to Sooltanpore, 2 lacs; Shajehanpore to Seetapore, 2 lacs; Cawnpore to Lucknow, 7½ lacs = 24½ lacs.
<b>BOMBAY.</b>					
Bills - - -	25,000	- - -	25,000	—	—
Cash Balance on 30th April 1858.	—	—	—	—	—
Probable Deficit	—	—	—	—	—
<b>Grand Total</b> -	<b>1,11,80,000</b>	<b>1,57,70,000</b>	<b>2,69,50,000</b>	<b>2,56,90,000</b>	—

## APPENDIX C.—continued.

	Actuals for May to April 1859.	Estimated Disbursements from Nov. 1858 to April 1859.	Grand Total.	Prospective Estimate for 1859-60.	Explanatory Remarks.
<b>PUBLIC WORKS, ORDINARY.</b>					
Road Fund - - -	20,000	50,000	70,000	1,50,000	} There will be large Expenditure on District Roads, &c.
Ferry Fund, &c. &c. - -	-	50,000	50,000	1,50,000	
<b>PUBLIC WORKS, EXTRA-ORDINARY.</b>					
Road Fund - - -	8,25,000	19,75,000	28,00,000	50,00,000	} There will be great Barrack building; the Engineers estimate to take 4 lacs per mensem.
Ferry Fund, &c. &c. - -	-	-	-	-	
<b>DEBT.</b>					
Local Fund - - -	1,00,000	1,00,000	2,00,000	2,00,000	Very expensive Works in Lucknow.
<b>LOANS.</b>					
Interest on Loans - -	5,50,000	12,00,000	17,50,000	2,00,000	On ordinary Government Notes, 10 lacs; on special Claims or Wuseeka, 10 lacs; and then on large Arrears.
<b>SUPPLIES, INDIA.</b>					
Bills - - - - -	Deduct from Amount of Bills drawn.				Deducted from Amount of Bills drawn on the other side.
<b>MILITARY PAYMENTS, including Paymasters Drafts.</b>	39,00,000	*50,00,000	89,00,000	70,00,000	* In Lucknow for November and December.
Commissariat Advances -	20,00,000	†30,00,000	50,00,000	30,00,000	† In Lucknow alone, Commissariat has taken Rs. 11,50,000 in November and December.
<b>NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.</b>					
Cash Remittances - -	-	-	-	-	-
Bills - - - - -	-	-	-	-	-
Probable Cash Balance on 30th April 1859.	-	-	20,51,000	-	-
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>1,04,99,000</b>	<b>1,44,00,000</b>	<b>2,69,50,000</b>	<b>2,56,15,000</b>	

(Signed) T. DOUGLAS FORSYTH,  
Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Oudh



## MINUTI

BY

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA,

Dated 22d April 1859.

### OUDH.

1. A Report by Mr. Montgomery, lately Chief Commissioner in Oudh, of the administration of the Province during the eventful period for which he held that office, is sent to-day to Her Majesty's Government.

2. I have had before me for some time the despatch of the Secretary of State, dated the 9th of December, in which his Lordship notices the despatches which, on the 17th of June and 4th of July, I had the honour to address to the Court of Directors regarding the policy pursued under my orders in Oudh, and especially regarding the Proclamation issued on the recovery of Lucknow.

3. I do not seek to prolong the discussion of these topics, but there are some passages in the above-mentioned despatch of his Lordship upon which I desire to write a few words. So far as those words are my own, they shall be very few indeed.

4. The passages to which I refer are those in which it is said that the policy indicated in the Proclamation as regards the claims of the Talookdars and other proprietors in Oudh was not in practice adopted by me; that the sentence of confiscation which the Proclamation pronounced has not been put in force, and that it would appear to have been merely a menace; and, lastly, that the Proclamation has been cancelled by myself.

5. In explanation on these points, and I trust that I may without disrespect say, in correction, of the misapprehensions which may probably arise from the expressions to which I have referred, I beg leave to cite the following extract from Mr. Montgomery's Report.

After reviewing the land tenures in Oudh, the former position of the Talookdars, and the changes under this head introduced by our Government upon the annexation of the Province, Mr. Montgomery writes thus:—

(342.) " But when the question of a re-settlement of the land revenues of the Province on the re-organization of civil administration was brought under the consideration of the Right Honourable the Governor General, wisdom dictated some change in the revenue policy of the Government.

(343.) " The events of the rebellion had tended to show that the entire release from a condition of subordination to the Talookdar was not universally desired by village proprietors. In Oudh, where the release was most recent, and where it might be presumed that the vivid recollection of the thralldom to a landlord would render the holders of villages all the more averse to subject themselves again to the evils they had just escaped, the Talookdars were allowed to re-assert their former rights and resume their ancient position without the slightest opposition. This voluntary return to the status quo ante showed clearly what the feeling of the people was, and on this ground, as well as because the Talookdars, if they choose, could materially assist in the re-establishment of authority and the restoration of tranquillity, it was determined by the Right Honourable the Governor General that the settlement of the land revenue should be made with Talookdars.

(344.) " This settlement was to be formed so as to secure the village occupants from extortion, and the tenures were to be contingent on a certain specified service to be rendered, and the assessment was to be so moderate as to leave an ample margin for all expenses incidental to the performance of such service.

(345.) " The duties required of all Talookdars were, the active co-operation in the preservation of peace and in the detection of crime, and rendering aid to the Government when called upon by the district officers.

(346.) " It

(346.) "It would be, perhaps, indecorous in the Chief Commissioner to do more here than to express his hearty concurrence in this measure, which emanated from the wisdom of the head of the Government.

(347.) "To carry it out, however, some authoritative declaration, either of the failure of the village system or of the imperative policy of a return to the former tenures, was required. Under no other circumstances could the Chief Commissioner, of his own accord, undertake to arrange a re-settlement of the revenues on any other than the originally announced principle of the Supreme Government.

(348.) "The authority thus sought was obtained in the issue of the Proclamation of the Governor General on the recapture of Lucknow, declaring that the titles of all landholders to estates in Oudh, with a few exceptions, were confiscated to the State.

(349.) "This sentence having been recorded against all estates in Oudh, there was no longer difficulty in returning to the tenure which prevailed at the time of annexation; and, as far as possible, the status of parties in February 1856, prior to annexation, was restored.

(350.) "Exceptional cases have been made where the titles of Talookdars were but of recent origin, and their hostility had been marked and persistent. Such men were not completely reinstated in their former position.

(351.) "A few have altogether forfeited all title to lands and claim to consideration; but happily these are few."†

6. This statement of the late Chief Commissioner shows that the Proclamation has, not, in any sense, been cancelled; that confiscation was not only adopted, but put in force; that the present tenure of land in Oudh, and the conditions attached thereto, mainly rest upon it; and that the issuing of the sentence of confiscation has not been merely a menace, where there has been persistence in hostility.

7. I have preferred in this matter to use the testimony and words of Mr. Montgomery to any others, not only because the responsibility of carrying out the policy prescribed in Oudh, and the great credit of having done this with eminent success, belong to him alone, but because he has no share whatever in the responsibility for the Proclamation.

It was issued before his arrival in Oudh, and if, instead of a facility, he had found it to be a hindrance to his work, most assuredly no undue regard for superior authority would have deterred him from saying so.

8. I have nothing further to add, but I have desired to say thus much, because, for reasons far higher than a consideration of the personal credit or consistency of the Governor General, I hold it to be of the utmost importance that no misapprehension should prevail as to the meaning, practical effect, and validity of the Proclamation.

22d April 1859.

(Signed) CANNING.

\* No complete return of these men has been received.

† Their number is 14; the revenue which their lands paid to the State was about 100,000*l.* a year.

O U D E.

RETURN

To an Address of the House of Lords, dated 19th July 1859.

FOR

A COPY of the REPORT of the late CHIEF COMMISSIONER  
OUDE on the ADMINISTRATION of that PROVINCE, and  
the MINUTE of his Excellency the Right Honourable  
the GOVERNOR GENERAL of INDIA thereon, dated  
22d April 1859.

*(The Lord Harris.)*

Ordered to be printed 1st August 1859.

EAST INDIA (OUDH.)

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons,  
dated 10 August 1859;—for,

'COPY of LETTER from the Government of *India* to Lord *Stanley*, dated  
the 17th day of May 1859, with reference to certain CLAIMS upon the  
late NATIVE GOVERNMENT of *Oudh*.'

V. 2, L: 8. ?

India Office, }  
11 August 1859. }

J. W. KAYE,  
Secretary in Political and Secret Departments.

(No. 70.)

To the Right Honourable Lord *Stanley*, M.P., Her Majesty's Secretary of State  
for *India*.

Fort William, Foreign Department,  
17 May 1859.

My Lord,

With reference to the correspondence, noted on the margin,\* respecting cer-  
tain alleged claims upon the late native Government of Oudh, we now reply to  
the Court's Despatch of 17th June 1857.

2. It appears to us that the British Government is not, either morally or  
otherwise, under any obligation to discharge the whole or any part of the  
debt alleged to be due to Mr. Frith, as representative of his late grandfather,  
Colonel Robert Frith, upon the bond entered into by Azoff-ul-Dowlah, dated  
31st July 1785; and, in our opinion, it would be very inexpedient to admit that  
any such obligation exists, by offering to pay any part either of the principal or  
interest. Such an admission, even if it extended only to the principal, might  
be used as a strong argument in support of the claim to interest, at the rate  
reserved by the bond, viz., 12 per cent. per annum, and would probably cause  
many similar claims to be raked up and brought forward, not only in the case  
of Oudh, but also in the case of other native States, which have lapsed to the  
British Government. Mr. Frith's claim.

3. In the Memorial, dated the 31st June 1856, and addressed to the Chair-  
man and Deputy Chairman of the Honourable Court of Directors, Mr. Frith  
makes use of many arguments, which have from time to time been urged, for the  
purpose of showing that an obligation existed on the part of the East India  
Company before the annexation of Oudh, to discharge the debt out of the  
general revenues of India; but those arguments are of no greater force now than  
they have been at any time since the date of the bond; and whatever differences  
of opinion may have existed at one time, as to the obligation of the East India  
Company to urge upon the King of Oudh the importance of an immediate and  
effectual adjustment of the debt of the Lucknow † bankers, we do not find that  
anyone ever entertained the opinion that the East India Company were bound to  
satisfy that or any similar demand, of which there were many, out of the general  
revenues of India.

4. From 1790 down to the present time, frequent applications have been  
made

\* Letter from the Honourable Court, No. 22, dated 17 June 1857. Letter to the Honourable  
Court, No. 58, dated 22 August 1857.

† See Correspondence relating to claims of Calcutta bankers on the King of Oudh, printed by  
order of the House of Commons, 3 June 1834.

O U D E.

**RETURN**

To an Address of the House of Lords, dated 19th July 1859,

FOR

A COPY of the REPORT of the late CHIEF COMMISSIONER  
OUDE on the ADMINISTRATION of that PROVINCE, and  
the MINUTE of his Excellency the Right Honourable  
the GOVERNOR GENERAL of INDIA thereon, dat  
22d April 1859.

*(The Lord Harris.)*

EAST INDIA (OUDH.)

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons,  
dated 10 August 1859;—*for*,

“COPY of LETTER from the Government of *India* to Lord *Stanley*, dated  
the 17th day of May 1859, with reference to certain CLAIMS upon the  
late NATIVE GOVERNMENT of *Oudh*.”

V. 2, L: 8. 2

India Office,  
11 August 1859.

J. W. KAYE,  
Secretary in Political and Secret Departments.

(No. 70.)

To the Right Honourable Lord *Stanley*, M.P., Her Majesty's Secretary of State  
for *India*.

Fort William, Foreign Department,  
17 May 1859.

My Lord,

WITH reference to the correspondence, noted on the margin,\* respecting cer-  
tain alleged claims upon the late native Government of *Oudh*, we now reply to  
the Court's Despatch of 17th June 1857.

2. It appears to us that the British Government is not, either morally or  
otherwise, under any obligation to discharge the whole or any part of the  
debt alleged to be due to Mr. Frith, as representative of his late grandfather,  
Colonel Robert Frith, upon the bond entered into by Azoff-ul-Dowlah, dated  
31st July 1785; and, in our opinion, it would be very inexpedient to admit that  
any such obligation exists, by offering to pay any part either of the principal or  
interest. Such an admission, even if it extended only to the principal, might  
be used as a strong argument in support of the claim to interest, at the rate  
reserved by the bond, viz., 12 per cent. per annum, and would probably cause  
many similar claims to be raked up and brought forward, not only in the case  
of *Oudh*, but also in the case of other native States, which have lapsed to the  
British Government.

Mr. Frith's claim.

3. In the Memorial, dated the 31st June 1856, and addressed to the Chair-  
man and Deputy Chairman of the Honourable Court of Directors, Mr. Frith  
makes use of many arguments, which have from time to time been urged, for the  
purpose of showing that an obligation existed on the part of the East India  
Company before the annexation of *Oudh*, to discharge the debt out of the  
general revenues of *India*; but those arguments are of no greater force now than  
they have been at any time since the date of the bond; and whatever differences  
of opinion may have existed at one time, as to the obligation of the East India  
Company to urge upon the King of *Oudh* the importance of an immediate and  
effectual adjustment of the debt of the Lucknow† bankers, we do not find that  
anyone ever entertained the opinion that the East India Company were bound to  
satisfy that or any similar demand, of which there were many, out of the general  
revenues of *India*.

4. From 1790 down to the present time, frequent applications have been  
made

\* Letter from the Honourable Court, No. 22, dated 17 June 1857. Letter to the Honourable  
Court, No. 58, dated 23 August 1857.

† See Correspondence relating to claims of Calcutta bankers on the King of *Oudh*, printed by  
order of the House of Commons, 3 June 1834.

made for payment of the debt alleged to be due to Mr. Frith, and other similar claims; but the late Honourable Court of Directors and the Government of India have invariably refused to interfere, either by discharging the debt, or even by urging the Nawab Vizier to do so, though they have on several occasions allowed the claim to be presented to the Vizier, by the Resident, as the sole and regular channel of communication between the Vizier and British subjects. (See, amongst others, Letter from Secretary to Government of India to the Resident at Lucknow—Consultation 18th May 1816, No. 28.)

5. The only new ground which has been urged by Mr. Frith in the memorial now under consideration is, that the East India Company having succeeded to the kingdom of Oudh and its revenues, are bound to discharge all just claims against the former Government. But, if the length of time (upwards of 70 years), which has elapsed since the debt was contracted, and the repudiation of the debt by six successive sovereigns, who have dealt with the revenues of the State, as if the debt had never existed, are not in the present case to be deemed a bar to any recognition of the demand, it is impossible to say how many old claims against native States which have lapsed to the East India Company may not be preferred upon similar grounds. Mr. Frith appears to consider that the East India Company are now under the same obligation to satisfy the debts contracted by Azoff-ul-Dowlah, as they would have been, if the Nawab Vizier Saadut Ali had, in 1799, abdicated, and made over the whole of his territories and revenues to the East India Company; and in order to show that such an obligation would have existed, if Saadut Ali had abdicated in favour of the British Government, he quotes the explanation of Lord Mornington respecting the 10th Article of the Treaty, tendered in November 1799, by which it was stipulated that the Nawab Saadut Ali should not be responsible for any debts contracted by the late Nawab.

6. In that explanation his Lordship made the following remarks: \* “The justice and necessity of discharging the *bonâ fide* debts to the native † creditors of the State, and also the arrears of the civil and military establishments are apparent, and it might with strict propriety be expected that the Nawab should apply a part of his treasures to the liquidation of these demands. The Company, however, are willing to take upon them the discharge of all such of these demands as, on investigation, shall be found to be equitable. His Excellency must, however, be sensible that the Company could never think of taking upon themselves this heavy burthen, without being put in possession of the complete control over the resources of the State, from the improvement of which, under a course of steady and economical management, they can alone expect to be reimbursed for the amount.”

7. It should be remarked that, according to the proposed treaty, the Nawab Vizier was to abdicate in favour of the East India Company. Bearing this fact in mind, the explanation above quoted shows, that Lord Mornington considered that, in strict justice, Saadut Ali, even if he should abdicate, was bound to apply part of his large treasures (treasures which he had amassed from the revenues of the State) to the liquidation of the debts of Azoff-ul-Dowlah, but that the East India Company might be willing, notwithstanding, to take upon themselves such of the debts due to the native creditors as, upon investigation, might be found to be equitably due; provided the Nawab Vizier would abdicate in favour of the Company, and make over to them the whole of his territories and revenues. Upon such conditions the East India Company were willing to enter into the treaty tendered, by which the Nawab was to abdicate, and the East India Company were to stipulate, in the terms of the 10th article, that “he should not be responsible for any of the debts contracted by Azoff-ul-Dowlah.” But admitting that in 1799, when the justice of the claims might easily have been investigated, the East India Company were willing to take upon themselves the payment of the

\* Correspondence relating to claims of Calcutta bankers, printed 8 June 1834, p. 11.

† It is to be observed that Lord Mornington speaks only of native creditors. The reason seems to be twofold: 1st. Because Mr. Lumsden had reported that all the European creditors, with the exception of Mr. Bruce, had been paid; 2d. Because it was contrary to the orders of the Court of Directors, even before the 37 Geo. 3, c. 142, for British subjects in the service of the Company to be concerned in loans to the native princes. (See recital, s. 28 of that Act.) It was 1799, in which Lord Mornington spoke of the native creditors only, notwithstanding Colonel Frith had sent in his second memorial in 1798.

the debts equitably due to the native creditors, upon condition that Saadut Ali would abdicate in favour of the Company, it by no means follows that any obligation now exists to pay those same debts, because the Company have obtained possession of the revenues of the State under totally different circumstances, and without any condition whatever.

8. In 1799, the justice of the claims might easily have been investigated, and if any of the debts had been found to be equitably due, and had been paid at that time, the payments would probably have been made to the persons with whom the debts were contracted. This certainly would have been the case as regards Colonel Frith,\* if anything had been found to be equitably due to him. But if the demand be paid now, the payment must be made, not to Colonel Frith himself, but to a descendant in the second degree from him, who would not, in all probability, have been one whit the richer if the debt had been paid to his ancestor. In fact, Colonel Robert Frith stated in his memorial, that the money alleged to have been advanced by him on account of the Nawab, was money which he had borrowed from natives, whom he would be unable to pay unless he should receive both the principal and interest due to him. There is every reason therefore to suppose that the persons who actually advanced the money were never repaid by him, and we would ask, what security is there that they will ever receive a farthing, even if Mr. Frith be now paid the full amount of the bond, with interest? But it may be said that if there is a strict right on the part of Mr. Frith to receive payment of the bond, considerations such as these cannot bear upon the question. It may be proper, therefore, to consider whether the acquisition of the revenues of Oudh in 1856 imposed upon the East India Company any obligation to pay the debts contracted by Azoff-ul-Dowlah in 1786. We hold that it did not, even if it could be proved, which it certainly has not been to our mind, that the services alleged to have been rendered, or the monies advanced, were rendered or advanced on account and upon the credit of the State, and not upon the mere personal credit of Azoff-ul-Dowlah. We would go further, and say not only that no such obligation exists, but that it would be unjust to the present generation to apply the revenues of the State in payment of debts contracted upwards of 70 years ago, instead of applying them towards improving the condition of the people. Mr. Frith's petition is not accompanied by a copy of the bond, and we have not been able to obtain one; but we will assume that Azoff-ul-Dowlah bound himself and his successors, the strongest case against the British Government, for it is not pretended that Colonel Robert Frith ever received a tunkah or assignment of the revenues for more than the one lac of rupees which were paid to him. There is a wide difference between a constitutional Government and a Government such as that of Oudh, under the Nawab Viziers, in which they, as *quasi* absolute sovereigns, were allowed to squander, upon their own personal vices and gratifications, as much of the revenues of the State as was not appropriated to the purposes of Government. In the case of The Government of Bombay *versus* Ameer Chund, Lord Tenterden asked, "What is the distinction between the public and private property of an absolute sovereign"? He said, "You mean by public property, generally speaking, the property of the State, but in the case of an absolute sovereign, who may dispose of everything at any time and in any way he pleases, is there any distinction"? And, in delivering judgment in the same case, his Lordship remarked: "I have already intimated my opinion, and I have the concurrence of the other Lords of the Council with me in it, that when you are speaking of the property of an absolute sovereign, there is no pretence for drawing a distinction; the whole of it belongs to him, as sovereign, and he may dispose of it for his public or private purposes, in whatever manner he may think proper." Although the Viziers of Oudh dealt with the revenues of the State very much like absolute sovereigns, and disposed of them during their own lives just as they pleased, they were not, in strictness, absolute sovereigns; they were merely delegated by, and subject to, the paramount power, and had no authority without the consent of that power to assign over to a private individual any portion of the territories placed under their government, or to charge the public revenues so as to bind their successors. To admit that Azoff-ul-Dowlah could have charged the revenues with

\* Colonel Frith did not die until the year 1800.



with the payment of any debts which he contracted, even though the money might have been expended for the purposes of Government, would be to admit that he could have appropriated the whole of the current revenues of the State to his own private purposes, and have borrowed money for the immediate purposes of Government, upon the credit of his successors, and upon the security of those revenues, by which alone they could properly carry on the government of the country.

9. But even, if Azoff-ul-Dowlah or any other vizier had the power to borrow money for the purpose of Government upon the credit of the revenues of the State, and to charge such debts upon the revenues, so as to bind his successors, we think it is clear that he had no power to exempt his immediate successors and to throw the whole burthen of his extravagance upon the people of the third or fourth generation after him, by charging his debts upon the revenues of 1857 or any subsequent period. If Azoff-ul-Dowlah had done so, we apprehend that the British Government would not now have considered themselves morally bound to discharge such debts, after six sovereigns or viziers in succession to him, had, without regard to the interests or welfare of the people, been squandering the revenues of the State upon their own personal gratifications and follies, or in amassing wealth to be dissipated by others.

10. If, in the case supposed, the British Government would not have recognised the debts as a charge upon the revenues, of which they became possessed upon the annexation of Oudh, we cannot see any good reason why they should admit their liability to satisfy any portion of the present demand, for by so doing they will be admitting that Azoff-ul-Dowlah and the six succeeding sovereigns had power to do that which any one of them singly could not have done. If the necessities of the State required that debts should be contracted upon the security of the revenues, those debts ought to have been repaid out of the first revenues available for the purpose, after satisfying the current expenses of the Government of the country, and making a liberal allowance for the support of the king and his family and attendants, in a manner suitable to their rank and condition.

11. Admitting this principle to be the correct one, all the debts contracted by Azoff-ul-Dowlah, assuming that they were necessarily incurred for the benefit of the State (a fact which we no means admit), ought to have been paid, if not in the lifetime of Azoff-ul-Dowlah, at least during the reign of Saadut Ali, for the latter accumulated out of the revenues of the State a much larger sum than was sufficient to pay all the debts of Azoff-ul-Dowlah.

12. It is said that his accumulations amounted to 13,000,000 sterling.\* The whole of these large accumulations were inherited by his son Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder, who succeeded as vizier in 1814; yet that prince, as well as his father, entirely repudiated all responsibility to discharge any of the debts, contracted by Azoff-ul-Dowlah.

13. In a letter of the 29th October 1816,† from the Nawab Vizier Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder to the Resident at Lucknow upon the subject of other claims, he writes, "The claim of Captain Frith, which was forwarded to me in your letter of the 15th Shaol (8th September) is of a similar description. You will be pleased to bring these circumstances to the favourable attention of his Excellency the Governor General, so that there may be neither discussion nor correspondence hereafter on affairs of this nature." Again, on the 21st December 1816, he addressed the Resident as follows: "I cannot consider it incumbent on me to have any concern with demands referable to the time of the Nawab Azoff-ul-Dowlah, and of which I have no knowledge whatever. My father, at the time of his accession, denied all claims of gentlemen and others relative to the time of my late uncle, and the adjustment of them was not mentioned in the treaty. Therefore, neither this, nor other claims of a similar nature, can at all apply to me."

14. In

\* See "Mill's History of India," vol. viii, p. 109. Note.—See also Mr. Charles Grant's letter. Correspondence as before, pages 44, 46.

† See Papers: Cons. 15 May 1830, Nos. 72, 73.

14. In 1840 Colonel Frith renewed his demand upon the King of Oudh, Mahomed Ali Shah, who peremptorily refused to recognise the claim.\*

15. Thus, it appears that the debt has been actually and finally repudiated by two Nawabs and one King of Oudh, and it has been virtually repudiated by their successors, all of whom have dealt with the revenues of the State as if the claim had never existed. If the debt ought to have been satisfied at all out of the revenues of the State, which accrued after the death of Azoff-ul-Dowlah, it ought to have been paid by Saadut Ali, or his son Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder, out of the treasure saved by the former from the revenues of the State, to which the latter succeeded; but they both repudiated the debt, and applied those funds to other purposes. We do not think that the British Government, by reason of their acquisition of the revenues of Oudh, are in any way bound to enter into the consideration of a question, which has been finally decided by the former rulers of that State, who have dealt with the revenues upon the footing of that decision. Even admitting that their decision was wrong, and that Saadut Ali was morally bound to pay the debts of Azoff-ul-Dowlah, the British Government are no more responsible for his short comings in this respect, than they are for any of the other delinquencies or omissions of any of the former rulers of the State.

16. If Azoff-ul-Dowlah, having sufficient funds from the revenues to enable him to discharge his debts, had applied those funds to his own private purposes, leaving his debts unpaid, the British Government would surely not have been bound to pay those debts in consequence of their obtaining the State and its revenues 70 years after the debts were contracted, and if not, there does not appear to be any valid ground for contending, that the people of the present generation ought to bear the burthen of these debts, which, if they had not been repudiated, might have been paid out of Saadut Ali's savings from the revenues during the period of his rule.

The people of Oudh gained nothing by his amassing the great wealth, which was inherited by his son, nor would the State have been injured, if he or his son had appropriated a portion of his revenues to the payment of the debts of Azoff-ul-Dowlah instead of appropriating them as they did; but as rulers of the State they repudiated the debts, and applied the surplus revenues in a manner wholly unprofitable to the State.

17. It cannot be urged, that if the province of Oudh had never been annexed, the alleged creditors of Azoff-ul-Dowlah would have been paid by the native Government to which the British Government succeeded. The native Government had absolutely repudiated the debts, and it is quite clear that they never would have paid them.

18. In the debate which took place in the House of Commons on the 28th of July 1834, upon the subject of the claim of the Lucknow bankers, Sir Robert Peel, after illustrating the impolicy of taking up the case, concluded his speech by referring "to the possible assumption of the Government of Oudh by the British Government, and solemnly deprecating in that case the commencement of the exercise of sovereignty by appropriating 1,100,000 *l.* sterling of the property of the territory to the liquidation of a claim for which it did not appear that the British Government had ever made itself, in the slightest degree, responsible." (See Thornton's History of India, vol. 6, page 21.) Mr. Thornton refers to the "Mirror of Parliament" as his authority; but we have not the book here, and have therefore not been able to see that report of the speech, but we have referred to the opinion, as it completely accords with our own.

We have thought it right to consider the case upon general principles, because there are many other similar claims upon which it will be necessary to come to a decision.

19. In regard to Mr. Frith's claim, we cannot help thinking that the lac of rupees which he received upon the tunkab, was as much as he was fairly entitled to under the bond, and we think that it was probably considered by Azoff-ul-Dowlah, and his minister, as a settlement of his demand.

20. This

\* See letter, Resident to Colonel Frith, 24 June 1840. Memorial, 13 November 1841, para. 7. Cons. 22 November 1841, No. 95 A.

20. This case affords proof of the difficulty of investigating claims of 70 years' standing, and of the wisdom of the remark made by Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder, "that he could not consider it incumbent on him to have any concern with demands referable to the time of Azoff-ul-Dowlah, of which he had no knowledge whatever."

21. The claim made by Mr. Frith consists of two items :

Principal due upon bond to Colonel Robert Frith, dated 31st July 1785 - - - - -	Rs. 2,70,000
Allowance for 12 months, ending 31st July 1786, for commanding a company of the Nawab's battalion, at 5,000 per month - - - - -	60,000
	Rs. 3,30,000

Against this sum credit is given for one lac of rupees received by Colonel Robert Frith upon a tunkah or assignment on the Nawab of Furruckabad, payable by three kists in 1789-90, 1790-91, and 1791-92 respectively, and the balance, with interest at 12 per cent. to the present time, is claimed.

22. The balance in 1818 amounted to 11,87,458 rupees. It is not necessary to say to what extent it would be increased by the addition of interest calculated at the rate of 12 per cent., or even at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum.

23. Mr. Frith, in his memorial now under consideration, says, "with regard to the interest which has accumulated, that has arisen from an arbitrary refusal of the native Government to pay the debt, the validity of which they never questioned;" and then, with a show of great liberality, proceeds: "Still I am willing to admit that the interest appears to be a fair subject of compromise, and I would respectfully suggest that a moderate and reasonable amount of simple interest should be fixed for the whole period, as the most equitable mode of settling that portion of the claim." We strongly recommend that he should not be paid either principal or interest.

*See Memorial.*  
Capt. Frith, the  
father of the pre-  
sent claimant, 20  
January 1810.  
Cons. 16 January,  
No. 15.

24. It appears that Colonel Robert Frith, then Captain Frith, was aide-de-camp to Warren Hastings in 1782-83 and 1784, and that upon the Governor General's quitting Lucknow in 1784, he was appointed to take the command of a corps belonging to the Nawab, at a salary of 5,000 rupees a month.

25. Mr. Frith and his father, who was the son of Colonel Robert Frith, in the memorials which have been from time to time presented, have always claimed the full amount of the bond, 2,70,000 rupees and interest.\* But Colonel Robert Frith, the original creditor in 1798, gave his own account of the transaction.

*See account, dated*  
31 January 1798.  
Cons. 5 March  
1798, No. 5.

26. In the account then transmitted by him, he claimed not the whole amount of the principal of the bond, but only 1,50,000 rupees thereof as his share, after deducting:—

	Rs.
Mr. Robert Grant's share thereof - - - - -	80,000
Mr. Robert Bruce's share - - - - -	22,000
Colonel Palmer's share - - - - -	18,000
	Rs. 1,20,000

He also claimed 60,000 rupees as his allowance as commanding officer of a corps of sepoy in the Nawab's service for one year, from 31st July 1785 to 31st July 1786, and interest on the above sum at 12 per cent., and he gave credit for 1,00,000 rupees received upon the tunkah on the Nawab of Furruckabad, dated in 1789, and he added the following note: "1st. N.B. Major Frith's share of the bond for 2,70,000 rupees arose from an allowance of 5,000 rupees granted to him by the late Vizier, on the command of four battalions of sepoy being conferred on him, in lieu of all emoluments, from money advanced to the battalions by Buksh

\* See the account said to have been made out by Colonel Frith's brother in 1798, with interest, account continued to 1 February 1818, showing a balance of Rs. 11,87,458. Letter to T. H. Maddock, Esq., dated 4 September 1839. Cons. 20 November 1839, Nos. 103, 104.

Buksh Roye and Kushmery Mull on his credit, and for feeding and other expenses of the gun bullocks of the artillery attached to the battalions. The account of the whole was made up to the 31st July 1785, approved of, and the bond granted."

27. Thus it appears that his share of the bond consisted partly of arrears of his allowance of 5,000 rupees a month, due prior to the 31st July 1785; partly of money advanced by two natives on his credit (whether they were ever repaid or not does not appear), and partly on account of expenses of the gun bullocks, &c.

28. The other item claimed by him was 60,000 rupees for arrears of allowance from 31st July 1785 to 31st July 1786. To this item he attaches a note:—

"2d. N. B. A bond for 40,000 rupees, in part of the 60,000 above charged, was offered to Major Frith, but rejected, because the full amount of his allowances was not included."

29. The above account was dated 31st January 1798. Colonel Robert Frith had, however, in 1790, sent in a previous account, in which he showed, that his claim for principal on the bond amounted to only 1,00,000 rupees. There seems to be no reason to suppose that Colonel Robert Frith's claim for principal on the bond exceeded 1,00,000 rupees, the amount stated in his first account in 1790; and, if so, it is probable that the 1,00,000 rupees received on the tankah was intended to cover his demand upon the bond, for we find that an arrangement was subsequently made, on behalf of Azoff-ul-Dowlah, with all his other European creditors, by which they, with one exception, agreed to receive the principal of their debts, without interest.

See Cons. 9 March 1798, No. 5.  
Letter to Lord Cornwallis, dated 19 October 1790, and Encl. T.  
Cons. 20 October 1790, No. 180.

"In 1795, the Vizier Azoff-ul-Dowlah became sensible of the urgent necessity of retrieving his affairs, and requested the British Government to allow their Resident, Mr. Cherry, to assist him in ascertaining the amount of his debts, with the view to their liquidation. Sir John Shore consented to the Resident's affording the required assistance, and promised the communication of his own opinion upon the result whenever called upon; but he restricted Mr. Cherry's interference in the adjustment of the claims, to transmitting applications and forwarding answers. In the performance of this duty, Mr. Cherry had an opportunity of informing himself of the Nawab's debts, which appear, from a statement he received from the minister and transmitted to the Governor General in November 1795, to have amounted to 1,02,40,120 rupees, besides 75 lacs for salaries to officers." (See Correspondence as above, p. 6.)

30. Mr. Lumsden succeeded Mr. Cherry, as Resident, and the following is his account of the arrangement:—

"The whole of the principal debt has been paid to the European creditors, Mr. Bruce excepted, half in gold and half in silver, and they have each executed a general release and given up their bonds. The negotiation was finally closed at a late hour last night, when Rajah Janoo Lall proceeded to join the Vizier, having previously ordered away the money which he had deposited in my treasury for the purpose of paying Mr. Bruce,\* if he had acquiesced in the Vizier's offer. Mr. Bruce demanded interest, as well as principal, and thus lost his whole debt, amounting to 4,50,000 rupees. The other European creditors had consented to receive the principal of their debts without interest." (See same Correspondence, p. 7.)

We have examined the list of creditors sent in by the minister to Mr. Cherry, but the name of Colonel Robert Frith is not mentioned therein, which leads us to suppose that having received on the tankah one lac of rupees, which, according to his account of 1790, was the full amount of the principal due to him on his bond, or for some other reason, he was not acknowledged as a creditor by the Nawab or his minister in 1795, when the Nawab was arranging to compound with his European creditors by paying them their principal without interest.

31. We

\* Note.—This Mr. Robert Bruce is no doubt the same person who is said by Colonel Frith to have had an interest in the bond to the extent of 22,000 rupees, and if so, that sum was in all probability included in his demand.

31. We do not find, in the list of creditors, the name of Mr. Robert Grant, or that of Colonel Palmer, the former of whom Colonel Frith admitted to be interested in the bond to the extent of 80,000 rupees, and the latter to the extent of 22,000 rupees.

32. The latter is, no doubt, the Major Palmer who was the private agent of Warren Hastings at Oudh, so frequently alluded to in the articles of impeachment, and who is said himself to have had a salary of 22,800*l.* a-year. (*See Burke's Charges, No. 16, s. 89.*)

33. This is also, we presume, the gentleman who is referred to in Mr. Frith's present memorial as having ascertained the balance due to Colonel Frith, though no mention is made of the fact, that he himself was one of the persons interested in that balance. Mr. Frith says: "Major Palmer resigned his office in 1785, and, in making up his accounts, ascertained the balance due to Colonel Frith from the Nawab. For this amount, a bond, bearing interest at 12 per cent., was sealed by the Nawab, in favour of Colonel Frith, and officially delivered to him by Major Palmer." \* \* \*

"With respect to the debt, no question can, I think, arise, as Mr. Palmer, the Resident at Lucknow, has given most ample proof of its correctness, both in his report to the East India Company, and in his letters to my father."

34. What Mr. Palmer had to do with ascertaining the balance due to Colonel Frith from the Nawab, in making up his own accounts, we are at a loss to conjecture. We have no doubt that Major Palmer must have received his share of the principal of the bond, for, in his letter dated 21st August 1813, to Captain Frith, the son of Colonel Frith, he makes no mention of any part of the principal remaining due to himself. He says, "I am entirely ignorant of the share to which your father was entitled of the bond for 2,70,000 rupees in his name, granted by the Vizier;" but he says nothing of his own share in the bond, or that any portion of what he had himself advanced remained due.

*See extract of letter annexed to Col. Frith's memorial, dated 12 November 1841; Cons. 22 November, No. 95 A.*

35. Mr. Bruce, it appears, was not paid, because he refused to come into the compromise; but that is not a sufficient reason for Mr. Frith's now claiming his share. The whole claim, so far as the bond is concerned, is so unsatisfactory, that even if we considered that there ever was any obligation on the part of the East India Company to satisfy the debts of Nawab Azoff-ul-Dowlah, we could not recommend that any portion of the principal or interest on the bond for Rs. 2,70,000 should be paid.

36. In 1790, Colonel Robert Frith claimed 1,00,000 rupees only of the principal due on the bond. In 1798, he claimed 1,50,000 rupees as his share. His son and grandson have increased the demand of principal due on the bond to 2,70,000 rupees. Notwithstanding these variances, important under any circumstances, but still more so when interest at 12 per cent. from 1785 to the present time is claimed, we think it is clear that Colonel Frith's share of the principal of the bond did not exceed 1,00,000 rupees, which he claimed at first. It is also clear that he received that amount upon a tunkah, and that the rest of the European creditors, with the exception of Mr. Bruce, compromised their claims in 1795, by receiving the principal without interest, and that they received better terms than the native creditors; that a great portion of Colonel Frith's share in the principal of the bond was not for money advanced, but for arrears of salary of 5,000 rupees a month, to which Colonel Frith, though only a captain at the time, having been aide-de-camp to Warren Hastings in 1782, 1783, and 1784, was appointed just previously to the latter's leaving India (a salary which appears to have been exorbitant for a captain in the army); that Colonel Frith was not included in the list of creditors made out by the minister, Rajah Tuckaet Roy, and sent to Mr. Cherry, the Resident, in 1795; that no sufficient explanation is given why, if he considered that Azoff-ul-Dowlah was his debtor, Colonel Frith did not bring forward his claim when Azoff-ul-Dowlah was settling his debts in 1795, but waited until 1798, a year after his death (Azoff-ul-Dowlah having died in 1797); that this claim has not been brought forward in a manner calculated to afford much confidence, that any portion of the demand remains fairly due. As to the second item of the demand, viz., one year's allowance, 80,000 rupees, and

*See Correspondence as above, page 7.*

NATIVE GOVERNMENT OF OUDH.

and interest thereon at 12 per cent.,\* we do not think that the Government in 1857, is called upon to pay salaries which became due to officers in 1785, either with interest at 12 per cent, or without interest, even if it were clear that the salaries were just and equitable. But still less ought such salaries to be paid, when the circumstances under which the appointments were made, lead to the conclusion, that the interests of the officer, rather than those of the State, were considered in the arrangement.

37. We find from Colonel Frith's own memorial that Mr. Macpherson, who succeeded Warren Hastings and Mr. Stubbs, disavowed any knowledge of Colonel Frith's appointment, and in doing so, refused their sanction to the Vizier's payment of the allowances annexed to it. We find, in the extract of proceedings of the Governor General in Council, in the Secret Department, 3d May 1785, the following entry:

See Memorial, 19 October 1790, Cons. 20 October 1790, No. 41.

"Captain Frith, commanding four battalions of Sepoys, in lieu of all charges and contingencies whatever, 5,000 rupees per mensem." "The Board know nothing of Captain Frith's appointment, and cannot therefore authorise the allowance." Also the following extract of a letter, in the Secret Department, to the Honourable Court of Directors, dated 31st July 1785, par. 8:—"The Governor General's agent has been directed to acquaint the Vizier, that the salaries paid to Captain Frith cannot be authorised." Surely, if after this letter, Captain Frith thought fit to continue in the employment of the Nawab Azoff-ul-Dowlah, and the latter chose to continue him there for another year, the salary cannot fairly be considered as a public debt, binding upon the revenues of his successors.

Cons. dated 19 October 1790, No. 11.

38. In 1790, a claim was brought forward by Major Darell for arrears of salary due to him from the Vizier, amounting to 88,000 rupees; the Government determined, "that as it came in every respect under the description of a private debt, it would be no less improper, with regard to the Vizier, than derogatory to the dignity of the Government, to take any concern in soliciting the payment of it; and of this decision the Court approved."

39. The claim of Colonel Frith was considered by the Committee of Correspondence † to be similar in its nature to that of Major Darell. If the debt was a private debt, it cannot, we think, irrespective of other considerations, constitute a valid claim against the revenues of Oudh.

40. For the above reasons we recommend that Mr. Frith's claims be rejected altogether.

41. This case having been referred to the Honourable Court in our Despatch, No. 107, § dated 8th October 1856, and being still under consideration, we abstain from offering any opinion on the claims. We would, however, remark that the Dosses, or their representatives, do not appear to be the persons really interested in the debt. If Mr. Prendergast had not purchased the debt or had no personal interest in it, it appears to us to be a very remarkable fact that his widow and two sons, who were his representatives, should have been appointed agents for the Dosses in his place, as appears from the memorial.

Captain Prendergast's claim.

42. The sum claimed is 90,265 sicca rupees, with interest at 12 per cent., on a bond given by Azoff-ul-Dowlah, dated 12th December 1783, and for salary due from the Nawab Vizier to Mr. Grant, as assistant to the Resident. The consideration of the bond is alleged to be a house sold to the Vizier, and money received by the Vizier on some tunkah given by the Nawab of Mozuffer Jung, a tributary chief of Oudh, for certain merchandise sold to him by Mr. Grant. It is stated that Azoff-ul-Dowlah received

Claim of the Rev. James Fendal, executor of Mrs. E. Grant, widow and executrix of Robert Grant, deceased.

See List of Documents, No. 8.

\* Note. In the account sent in by Captain Frith, in 1790, he made no claim for interest on the arrears of salary said to have become due in July 1786, although he said, it was, in fact, equitably due.

† Correspondence as before, page 8. Report of the Committee of Correspondence, dated 31 May 1822.

‡ See also extract from letter from the Honourable Court of Directors, No. dated 25 October 1820, Military Department, p. 86; also, extract of proceedings, Government of India, Foreign Department, dated 20 October 1790.

§ Abstract, Nos. 41, 42.

10 CLAIMS UPON LATE NATIVE GOVERNMENT OF OUDH.

received the amount of the tunkahs on account of Mr. Grant, to obviate inconvenience, but never paid over the money to him. We would reject the claim altogether. We do not consider that the Government of 1859 is in any manner called upon to pay out of the revenues of the State a debt which was a mere private debt from Azoff-ul-Dowlah.

43. We presume this is the same Mr. Grant who is said to have been entitled to a share of the bond given to Colonel Frith. His name is not inserted in the list of creditors sent by the minister to Mr. Cherry in 1795.

44. It appears from the petition, that Mr. Grant, in 1783, entered the service of the East India Company, and was appointed assistant to the British Resident at Lucknow; that shortly after the transaction in question, he was removed by Government from Lucknow at 48 hours' notice; that he petitioned in vain to be allowed to return to Lucknow to arrange his affairs, but that no reply was vouchsafed. A list of documents is annexed to the memorial, but they are not sent. (See Mr. Jennings' letter.) We would reject the claim altogether. We scarcely think that the claimants can be serious in supposing that it will be paid.

Claim of the Dowager Lady Darell, as representative of Sir Henry Verelst Darell.

45. This claim is made by Lady Darell, as representing Major Darell.

46. The claim is for 98,000 sicca rupees, due on seven bonds, alleged to have been given by Azoff-ul-Dowlah to Major Darell, for arrears of pay as aide-de-camp to the Nawab Vizier from 1779 to 1783.

Major Darell was previously aide-de-camp to Sir Eyre Coote, Commander in Chief, but resigned that appointment upon obtaining the appointment of aide-de-camp to the vizier.

47. Six of the bonds, for 90,000 sicca rupees, bear interest at 12 per cent., the other does not bear interest. This debt, as shown above, has always been treated as a private debt. Major Darell's name was not in the list of creditors sent in to Mr. Cherry in 1795. We would reject the claim altogether.

We have, &c.  
(signed) *Canning.*  
*J. Outram.*  
*H. Ricketts.*  
*B. Peacock.*

EAST INDIA (OUDH).

COPY of LETTER from the Government of *India*  
to Lord *Stanley*, dated 17 May 1859, with  
reference to certain CLAIMS upon the late  
NATIVE GOVERNMENT of *Oudh*.

(*Mr. Ayrton.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,  
12 August 1859.

202—Sess. 2.

*Under 2 oz.*



EAST INDIA (OUDE PROCLAMATION).

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons,  
dated 21 February 1859;—for,

A "COPY of the ANSWER of the Governor-General of *India* to the Secret Despatch of the 19th day of April 1858, with any REPLY from the Secretary of State in Council, or from the Secretary of State; and of any subsequent CORRESPONDENCE on the subject:"

"And, of HER MAJESTY'S gracious PROCLAMATION to the PRINCES, CHIEFS, and PEOPLE of *India*."

CONTENTS.

DATE.	FROM.	TO.	PAGE.
17 June 1858 -	Governor-General - - -	Secret Committee - - -	1
20 April 1858 -	Memorandum by Captain Barrow - - -	- - - - -	9
22 May 1858 -	Memorandum by Captain Barrow - - -	- - - - -	10
4 July 1858 -	Governor-General - - -	Court of Directors - - -	11
9 December 1858 -	Secretary of State for India - - -	Governor-General - - -	12
1 November 1858 -	Her Majesty's Proclamation - - -	- - - - -	13

The Governor-General of *India* to the Secret Committee, dated Allahabad, the 17th of June, No. 264 of 1858.

Honourable Sirs,

I HAVE the honour to reply to your despatch, No. 1,954, of the 19th of April

That despatch condemns in the strongest terms the proclamation which, on the 3d of March, I directed the Chief Commissioner of Oude to issue from Lucknow.

2. Although written in the Secret Committee, the despatch was made public in England three weeks before it reached my hands. It will in a few days be read in every station in Hindostan.

3. Before the despatch was published in England, it had been announced to Parliament by a minister of the Crown as conveying disapproval, in every sense, of the policy indicated by the Governor-General's proclamation. Whether this description was an accurate one or not, I do not inquire. The telegraph has already carried it over the length and breadth of India.

4. I need scarcely tell your Honourable Committee that the existence of such a despatch, even had it never passed out of the records of the Secret Department, would be deeply mortifying to me, however confident I might feel that your Honourable Committee would, upon reconsideration, relieve me of the censure which it casts upon me. Still less necessary is it for me to point out that the publication of the document, preceded as it has been by an authoritative declaration of its meaning and spirit, is calculated greatly to increase the difficulties in which the Government of India is placed, not only by weakening the authority of the Governor-General, but by encouraging resistance and delusive hopes in many classes of the population of Oude.

5. So far as the despatch, and the mode in which it has been dealt with, affect myself personally, I will trouble your Honourable Committee with very few words.

No taunts or sarcasms, come from what quarter they may, will turn me from the path which I believe to be that of my public duty. I believe that a change in the head of the Government of India at this time, if it took place under circumstances which indicated a repudiation, on the part of the Government in England, of the policy which has hitherto been pursued towards the rebels of Oude, would seriously retard the pacification of the country. I believe that that policy has been, from the beginning, merciful without weakness, and indulgent without compromise of the dignity of the Government. I believe that wherever the authority of the Government has been re-established, it has become manifest to the people in Oude as elsewhere, that the indulgence to those who make submission, and who are free from atrocious crime, will be large. I believe that the issue of the proclamation, which has been so severely condemned, was thoroughly consistent with that policy, and that it is so viewed by those to whom it is addressed. I believe that that policy, if steadily pursued, offers the best and earliest prospect of restoring peace to Oude upon a stable footing.

6. Firm in these convictions I will not, in a time of unexampled difficulty, danger and toil, lay down of my own act the high trust which I have the honour to hold, but I will, with the permission of your Honourable Committee, state the grounds upon which these convictions rest, and describe the course of policy which I have pursued in dealing with the rebellion in Oude. If, when I have done so, it shall be deemed that that policy has been erroneous, or that, not being erroneous, it has been feebly and ineffectually carried out, or that for any reason the confidence of those who are responsible for the administration of Indian affairs in England should be withheld from me, I make it my respectful but earnest request, through your Honourable Committee, that I may be relieved of the office of Governor-General of India with the least possible delay.

7. I desire to say that I shall in that case resign my great charge into the hands of the Honourable Court of Directors with a deep and abiding sense of gratitude for the generous support, the unreserved confidence, and the considerate courtesies which I have at all times received from them.

I have nothing more to add upon the personal part of this question.

8. But before I speak of the proclamation, I beg to call the attention of your Honourable Committee to certain paragraphs of the despatch before me, which are pregnant with a signification far more momentous than the censure of any recent act or policy of the Governor-General of the day. These paragraphs are numbered from 10 to 14 inclusive, and I believe that I shall not misrepresent their import by describing it as follows:

9. They begin by pointing out a doubt whether the British Government was justified in taking possession of the kingdom of Oude. The doubt is pointed out, but is not resolved, nor is a distinct opinion expressed upon it.

10. Certain facts are there referred to which, though they do not directly affect the question of our right to take possession of Oude, are cited as leading, in conjunction with the doubt above mentioned, to the conclusion that the hostilities which the people of Oude have been carrying on against us have rather the character of legitimate war than that of rebellion, and that the people of Oude should be regarded with indulgent consideration.

11. It is altogether beyond my duty to discuss whether the course pursued by the British Government in taking possession of Oude was a lawful and justifiable one. Still less does it belong to me to say what line of conduct the British Government ought to follow, if it be now determined that that course was not lawful or justifiable. But as to the indulgence due to the people of Oude, your Honourable Committee will, I am sure, do me the justice to admit that no misgiving as to the character of our dealings with the Oude State was necessary to induce me to declare, without any injunction from yourselves, that the talookdars and landholders of Oude must be viewed in a very different light from that in which rebels in our old provinces are to be regarded. I found sufficient reason for this in the facts, that the allegiance of these men when they

they broke into rebellion was little more than a year old, and that they had become British subjects by no acts of their own; that our rule had brought loss of property upon many of them, and upon some, an unjust loss; and that it had diminished the importance and arbitrary power of all. I considered these facts to be a palliation of rebellion, even where hostility to us had been most inveterate; and therefore I put aside altogether the punishments of death, transportation and imprisonment, and whilst marking those who had rebelled with the penalty which in India, as elsewhere, has been again and again recognized as the fitting punishment of rebels, namely, the forfeiture of their rights in the soil, I promised indulgence to those who should make prompt submission.

I felt that considerations of policy and mercy, and the newness of our rule, prescribed this course. I recorded this in a paper already in the hands of your Honourable Committee; and, I hope, before closing this despatch, to show that the indulgence has been accorded promptly and liberally.

12. But it is my first duty earnestly to beg your Honourable Committee to consider the effect which will be produced upon the province of Oude, when it shall become generally known that the British Government speaks hesitatingly of its right to rule that country. I cannot but fear that it will make a turbulent and warlike people more impatient than ever of subjection to authority and order. I fear that it will furnish a pretext for resistance to the Government, of which many bad spirits will avail themselves now and hereafter.

13. But more especially do I fear its immediate effect: it cannot have escaped the notice of your Honourable Committee, that although the rising against our authority in Oude has been general, almost universal, it has been singularly devoid of a national character. Except for the purpose of reducing our garrison in Lucknow, and afterwards of holding the city against us, there appears to have been no common cause amongst our assailants. Since the capture of Lucknow, we have had against us the party of the Begum, and her son, claiming to represent the royal family of Oude; the party of the Moulvie, a Mahomedan fanatic; the party of the Nazim, an adventurer without rights or property in the province; the sepoy, who have passed from one leader to another, according as they have been able to extort the highest pay; and a number of the talookdars and zemindars, some few of whom, at the head of bands of their own, have plundered and oppressed their enemies and those whom they believed to be our friends, whilst others, generally of less influence, have been tempted or coerced to join the ranks of the Begum or the Moulvie.

There is little concert or cohesion between any of these parties: indeed, between those of the Begum and the Moulvie, there has been not only complete separation, but open hostility.

14. I cannot think that this want of unity will long continue if it shall once become manifest that the British Government hesitates to declare its right to possess Oude, and that it regards itself as a wrongful intruder into the place of the dynasty which the Begum claims to represent. I believe that this would draw to the side of the Begum many who have hitherto shown no sympathy with the late ruling family, and that it is just what is wanting to give a national character to her cause.

15. An uncompromising assertion of our authority in Oude is perfectly compatible with a merciful exercise of it, and I respectfully submit, that if the Government of India is not supported in making this assertion, and in declaring that the recent acts of the people of Oude are acts of rebellion, and that they may in strict right be treated as such, a powerful temptation will be offered to them to maintain their present struggle, or to renew it.

16. I now proceed to offer some remarks upon the proclamation, and I believe that the spirit in which the proclamation was conceived and has been acted upon, will be best shown by the following statement:—

17. When, in January last, about the time at which the army of the Commander-in-chief began to be concentrated upon Lucknow, I left Calcutta for Allahabad, one of my chief motives for doing so was the obtaining of full, accurate and recent information in regard to the temper and disposition of the chiefs and people of Oude; the extent to which they felt themselves aggrieved

by the Government; how far that feeling was just; the nature of the influences at work amongst them, and other points requiring consideration, before a decision could be taken as to the mode of dealing with the province.

These were matters upon which formal references and reports would have thrown very tardy and inadequate light, seeing the condition to which our archives and official establishments had been reduced, and therefore, in addition to the information received by Government from the usual civil and military sources, I sought information and opinions from those who, from having filled posts within the province or upon its frontiers, had had opportunities of becoming personally, and in some cases intimately, acquainted with the talookdars and zemindars and their followers.

18. The conclusions at which I arrived were,—Firstly. That all question of punishing with death, or even with transportation or imprisonment, rebels who, however inveterate and unceasing their hostility had been, were free from the stain of murder, should be set aside. I need not at present defend this decision, although at the time it was very far from meeting with general approval.

19. Secondly. That the one declared punishment for rebellion should be the confiscation to the state of proprietary rights in the soil.

I have already said that this is a punishment which has been repeatedly enforced against rebels in India, as well by native rulers as by the British Government. It is one which admits of being easily tempered and relaxed, with more or less of lenity, according as considerations of policy or mercy and the past or future conduct of the persons to be punished may prescribe. It in no way affects the honour of the most sensitive Rajpoot or Brahmin. It would provide the Government with the means of rewarding, in the manner which is most acceptable to the natives of India, the services of those who should be found to deserve reward. It would tend to the final settlement of many of those disputes respecting landed rights which have been the source of so much strife and animosity in Oude.

20. Finally. I came to the conclusion, that if a proclamation were issued on the capture of Lucknow (a point upon which I entertained doubts up to the last moment), it should be one not threatening confiscation as a possible contingency, but declaring it; pointing out, however, the means by which relaxation and indulgence would be obtainable; and, further, that no attempt should be made to indicate the measure of relaxation and indulgence which might be conceded in particular cases.

21. I will offer a few words in explanation of these last points.

I believe that the issue of proclamations is not the surest or safest mode of influencing the natives of India. The experience of the past year has furnished examples of the ingenuity with which the meaning of such documents can be perverted, or their language misrepresented by the enemies of the State; and it is a fact, several instances of which have come to my knowledge of late, that the word of any English officer of the Government, even though a stranger, is more trusted than a printed paper. I should therefore have preferred to take in Oude the course which was afterwards taken in Rohilcund, and to place instructions in the hands of the officers attached to the columns which marched through the country, leaving it to them to carry out those instructions, and to explain, in each district through which they passed, the spirit in which the Government desired to deal with the people. But I knew it to be very probable that no columns would be available for the purpose in Oude, and that in that case much time might elapse before English officers would be able to penetrate the province. I therefore had recourse to a proclamation, which might be disseminated by native agency.

22. That proclamation was made to declare the confiscation, and not to threaten it, because the natives of India, whilst they attach much weight to a distinct and actual order of the Government, attach very little to a vague threat, whether conveyed by proclamation or otherwise; whilst it might safely be assumed, that the spirit in which the clause treating of indulgence would be acted upon in the districts which should be recovered, would gradually become known throughout the province, and have conciliatory effect.

Precaution was taken against perversion and mistranslation, by publishing in the first instance none but vernacular versions of the proclamation.

23. I have

23. I have said that the proclamation should not attempt to point out the different measures of indulgence which would be conceded in different cases. This, and some other preceding observations, will be best explained by a brief reference to the recent condition of the talookdars and other landholders, as regards their rights in the soil.

24. When we assumed the Government of Oude in 1856, the greater part of the province was held by talookdars, who represented it. They have been called the "Barons of Oude," but this term, applied to them as a class, is misleading. Some had received titles from the Kings of Oude, for services rendered, or by court favour; some few are the representatives of ancient families; but the majority are men distinguished neither by birth, good service, or connexion with the soil, who, having held office under the Native Government as nazims (*i. e.*, governors), or chuckladars (*i. e.*, collectors of Government rents), or having farmed the revenues of extensive tracts, had taken advantage of the weakness of the Native Government and its indifference to all considerations of justice, so long as it received revenue, had abused the authority confided to them by that Government, and by means of deeds of sale, sometimes extorted by violence, sometimes obtained by fraud, had become the nominal proprietors and the actual possessors of the villages, or the majority of the villages, which formed what they called their talookas, or estates.

25. Owing to the ascendancy which the men of this class acquired, the weakness of the Native Government, the venality of the Courts, and the absence of justice, the condition of the actual occupants of the soil of the province was one of unparalleled depression. Their rights had ceased to exist, or were reduced to a mere shadow; they could get no protection from the Government; they were completely in the power of the talookdars, and were subject to every kind of oppression, tyranny, and exaction. In numberless instances they were compelled by the talookdars to execute deeds of sale, alienating whatever proprietary right they nominally possessed; and they lost but little by the act, for the practical fruition of proprietary right they had scarcely known.

26. Such being the condition of things in Oude, the Government of India, perhaps with more of chivalrous justice than political prudence, determined at once to reinstate these proprietary occupants of the soil in what were believed to be their hereditary rights, and to restore the ancient village communities; and upon the annexation of the country, the Chief Commissioner was instructed to make the settlement of the land revenue with the proprietary occupants of the soil, to the exclusion of middlemen. This instruction was carried into execution in some districts with undue haste, harshly, and upon insufficient evidence; and where this took place, injustice was done to the talookdars, some of whom were deprived of villages which had long been attached to their talookas, and their titles to which were not satisfactorily disproved.

The injustice might, and probably would have been, corrected, in making the revised settlement; but this does not excuse or palliate the wrong.

27. The mutinies broke out. It might have been expected that, when insurrection first arose in Oude, and before it had grown to a formidable head, the village occupants, who had been so highly favoured by the British Government, and in justice to whom it had initiated a policy distasteful to the most powerful class in the province, would have come forward in support of the Government who had endeavoured to restore them to their hereditary rights, and with whose interests their interests were identical. Such, however, was not the case. So far as I am yet informed, not an individual dared to be loyal to the Government which had befriended him. The village occupants as a body relapsed into their former subjection to the talookdar, owned and obeyed his authority, as if he had been their lawful suzerain, and joined the ranks of those who rose up in arms against the British Government. The endeavour to neutralise the usurped and largely-abused power of the talookdars, by recognising the supposed proprietary rights of the people, and thus arousing their feelings of self-interest and evoking their gratitude, had failed utterly.

28. The time arrived when it became necessary to consider how the province should be dealt with upon the re-establishment of our power and authority in its capital. On the one hand was the patent fact, that those whom we had desired to benefit, and had, to our thinking, benefited, did not value the rights

which we had restored to them, and that, far from standing up in defence of those rights, and in support of the Government which had been the means of reviving them, they had acted in complete subordination to the talookdars, and had been no less forward than these latter in their efforts to subvert the authority of that Government, and to expel its officers. On the other hand was the no less certain fact, that, with but few honourable exceptions, all the talookdars, many who had not suffered in the smallest degree by our fiscal measures, and some who had benefited by them, having been allowed, at the settlement, to retain all, or nearly all, the villages composing their talookas on reduced assessments, had taken up arms against the British Government; had either themselves participated, or had sent their retainers to aid in the relentless attacks on the Lucknow Residency; had forcibly resumed the occupation of their talookas, and had in many ways manifested their malignant hostility to the British Government.

29. In these circumstances, to have recalled the condition of things which existed immediately before the rebellion, thereby renewing the experiment which had been attempted in 1856, and restoring the occupants of the soil to the position of proprietary landholders, which they had but just proved themselves wholly unfit and unprepared to maintain, would have been to court failure. And, on the other hand, to have reverted to the state of affairs as we found them upon taking possession of the country, and thus to have acknowledged in the talookdars, after they had, as a body, risen in arms against us, and helped to subvert our authority, rights which had been denied, and in most cases justly denied, when our power was unquestioned and unresisted, would have been to concede a victory to rebels, and to put a premium on insurrection; a course which would have lowered the character of the Government, and destroyed its influence, not only in Oude, but throughout India.

30. Regard being had to the history of tenures in Oude; to the failure of the efforts made by the Government in 1856 to set up those who were believed to be the hereditary proprietors of the soil; to their unworthy reception of the benefits bestowed upon them; to the rebellious spirit manifested by nearly all the talookdars of the province, and to the inconceivable difficulties which would have attended the adjudication of claims to proprietary right in the circumstances that have been briefly described, and which would have hampered the administration at every turn, the surest, the safest, the most politic, and a thoroughly just course seemed to be to declare the proprietary right in the soil (to whomsoever appertaining, for all classes, as such, had sinned equally) confiscated, and to reserve to the Government the right of hereafter disposing of it, as might seem fitting; at the same time notifying the intention of the Government to show indulgence to those who should tender immediate submission, and throw themselves upon its mercy.

31. I apprehended little difficulty, and, so far as experience has gone, little has, I believe, been found, in explaining to the talookdars and landowners with whom our officers have come in contact, that the "confiscation" does not necessarily operate as a permanent deprivation of their rights, but that it places in the hands of the Government the power of punishing those who shall still persist in rebellion, after life and honour have been guaranteed to them; of rewarding those who shall promptly come forward and give their support to the Government and to the cause of order; of substituting, in every case of restoration, the undeniable title derived from the will of the Government, for the doubtful title which alone could be advanced by the majority of those whom the order affected; and of attaching to the fiat of restoration such conditions of service, political and military, fealty and good conduct, as the altered circumstances of the province have made essential to the firm establishment of our authority.

32. I have now stated the considerations which led me to frame the proclamation in the form in which it was transmitted to you.

33. It was sent to Lucknow on the 3d of March, and on the 10th I received from the Chief Commissioner, Major-general Sir James Outram, a letter urging a reconsideration of the terms of the proclamation, mainly on the ground that it would render hopeless the attempt to enlist the talookdars on the side of order, and would drive them to a desperate resistance; and recommending that  
such

such landholders and chiefs as had not been accomplices in the cold-blooded murder of Europeans should be enlisted on our side by the restoration of their ancient possessions, subject to such restrictions as would protect their dependants from oppression.

34. This letter, and the replies to it, including the additional paragraph, which Sir James Outram's opinion of the light in which the talookdars and chiefs would view the proclamation, induced me to add thereto, are before your Honourable Committee.

35. I will not trouble your Honourable Committee with a recapitulation of the reasons which appeared to me to forbid the adoption of Sir James Outram's suggestion; but, lest your Honourable Committee should suppose that I was without any previous expression of Sir James Outram's opinion on the subject, I wish to state that the unfavourable view taken by that distinguished officer of the substance of the proclamation was a cause of much disappointment to me.

36. A very few weeks previously, the Chief Commissioner had sent to the Government of India an able and elaborate memorandum upon the system of civil administration to be adopted for Oude, after Lucknow should be subjugated. In this memorandum, dated the 15th of January 1858, are the following passages:—

“The system of settlement with so-called village proprietors, will not answer at present, if ever, in Oude.

“These men have not influence and weight enough to aid us in restoring order. The lands of men who have taken an active part against us should be largely confiscated, in order, amongst other reasons, to enable us to reward others in the manner most acceptable to a native. But I see no prospect of returning tranquillity except by having recourse for the next few years to the old talookdaree system.”

“Talookas should only be given to men who have actively aided us, or who, having been inactive, now evince a true willingness to serve us, and are possessed of influence sufficient to make their support of real value.”

37. Subject to the understanding that even to those who had been most active against us indulgence should be extended upon their making prompt and complete submission, these opinions accorded exactly with my own; and although I was aware that there might easily be difference of opinion as to the mode of announcing and of carrying out punishment by confiscation, it did not occur to me that any such divergence of views, as was subsequently intimated in the Chief Commissioner's letter of the 8th of March, could occur between us. The belief therein expressed that there are not a dozen landholders in the province who have not borne arms against us, seemed to go far towards justifying the general and sweeping terms of the proclamation, to which alone I expected any objection on Sir James Outram's part.

38. I afterwards had occasion to send my Military Secretary, Colonel Stuart, to head quarters, and I took the opportunity to explain to the Chief Commissioner that I wished him to give the most liberal interpretation to the proclamation; that, for instance, the proclamation left it free to him to notify to any talookdar who was deserving of consideration, that if he made submission and supported the Government, the confiscation of his lands would not take effect, and that his claims to property, of which he might have been deprived upon the annexation of the province, would be re-heard; and that in the case of these having been resumed by him, he might retain them till the re-hearing.

39. On the 3d of April, Major-general Sir James Outram being about to take his seat in Council at Calcutta, Mr. Montgomery succeeded to the Chief Commissionership of Oude.

40. Mr. Montgomery had at my request done me the favour of visiting Allahabad before going to Lucknow, in order that I might have an opportunity of communicating unreservedly with him upon the discharge of his new duties.

I impressed upon the new Chief Commissioner my wish that his dealings with the chief rebels should be as conciliatory as might be consistent with the dignity of the Government, and that he should treat liberally and generously

all those who tendered their allegiance and gave support to his authority. Mr Montgomery expressed his intention to take this matter into his own personal management.

41. On the 20th of April, the Chief Commissioner wrote to me in an unofficial letter, as follows :—

“ I enclose a memorandum just given me by Captain Barrow, which will show your Lordship the names of talookdars who have attended in person or by vakeel. Generally speaking, indeed invariably, the feeling showed by the men who come in is excellent. They express great sorrow at the past, and seem grateful for the consideration shown to them.” A copy of the memorandum is enclosed. It contains the names of 26 chiefs of note and influence in various quarters, some of them at a great distance from Lucknow, who had either openly tendered their allegiance to the Government, or had taken the first steps towards doing so. So far as I am aware, only one of these has swerved from his first intention.

At the date of this memorandum, little more than a month had elapsed since the first appearance of the proclamation in Lucknow.

42. On the 22d of May, the Chief Commissioner sent me a further memorandum from Captain Barrow, which is also under this cover. It describes the progress made and the state of feeling prevalent.

It is right, however, that I should observe that, of the three powerful talookdars named in the memorandum, one only (Maun Sing) has sided with us actively. Of the other two, one (Madhoo Sing) is inactive, and the other (Banee Madho) is in arms against us.

43. From this last date, the Chief Commissioner has furnished weekly reports, which have been forwarded to your Honourable Committee in regular course.

44. Latterly, these have become less favourable. The rebels, under the leadership in some cases of talookdars, have approached nearer to Lucknow, have threatened, and in some places destroyed, the civil stations which we had established, and have killed some of the native guards. But I am not, neither is the Chief Commissioner of Oude, disheartened by a temporary check in the progress which has been rapidly achieved.

In a letter received from Mr. Montgomery, as I am writing, that gentleman says,—

“ I had settled some 6,000 villages, and everything was progressing most favourably, when a combination of circumstances prevented the progress of the settlement;” but, he adds, “ I still say that the mass of the people are well inclined to us. I get secret letters and messages, but they dare not come forward in the face of the armed bodies which are hostile to us.”

45. In an earlier part of this despatch, I had occasion to speak of these bodies, which, although without cohesion and combination, are none the less capable of intimidating and persecuting those whom they believe to be well-disposed towards the Government. They have latterly been greatly aided in this by the influx of fugitives from Rohilcund and Calpee, who have either joined them, or set up as independent marauders.

46. I never expected it to be otherwise; I never expected that, with the capture and occupation of Lucknow, the province would become submissive; and my anticipation of the contrary is recorded in the letter which, on the 16th of January, the Governor-General in Council addressed to the Commander-in-Chief, recommending that his Excellency's operations should, notwithstanding, be directed against Lucknow. Those operations were carried out with a skill, bravery and success which have won the admiration of the world. But it is no disparagement of the work of the great soldier who achieved that success, to say that the chastisement thereby inflicted upon the loose bands of mutineers, rebels and plunderers who were collected in and about the city, was not such as to expel them from the limits of the province, or to deter them from persevering in their work of murder and pillage in other districts of it.

47. It is not in reason that, what with the pressure of the mutinous sepoy now congregated in various parts of the province on the one hand, and the arts  
and



THE OUDE PROCLAMATION.

9

and threats of desperate adventurers acting as leaders on the other, violence and rebellion should not be kept alive, and that those who are well inclined to make their peace with the Government should not thereby be deterred from doing so.

48. No man is better acquainted with the eastern districts of Oude and their inhabitants than Mr. Wingfield, who is at present acting on that frontier of the province as Special Commissioner of Goruckpore: writing on the 6th of June, Mr. Wingfield says, "Unsupported by the presence of British troops, there are many talookdars who, to my certain knowledge, are deterred from tendering their allegiance, which is their sincere wish."

"Had the garrison of Lucknow only been distributed about the province, three-fourths of the talookdars would, under the promises held out by the proclamation, have been entirely on our side by this time."

Unfortunately the garrison of Lucknow could not be spared, nor any body of troops at all approaching it in strength.

49. But when the season shall arrive at which the troops can again move rapidly over the country; when the large police force now being raised by the Chief Commissioner at Lucknow shall have reached its complement, and received further organization; and when it shall be manifest that we have the means of protecting or supporting those who return to their allegiance, I cannot doubt that the spirit in which the proclamation has been accepted in many quarters will declare itself generally throughout the province.

50. I have now described to your Honourable Committee the whole course of my proceedings in regard to the proclamation of the 15th of March; I have at the same time explained the policy which has guided me, and I have informed you generally of its results.

I respectfully await your judgment.

I have, &c.  
(signed) Canning.

Captain Barrow's Memorandum, dated 20th April 1858.

LIST of the PRINCIPAL TALOOQDARS of Oudh who have appeared by Vakeel, Letter, or in Person.

NAME OF TALOOQDAR.	RESIDENCE OR NAME OF ILLAQUA.	REMARKS.
Shunkur Singh -	Rajah of Tileo -	One and a half lacs; an old rajah, and has not been in arms against us.
Ruggenath Singh -	Tooleraye -	On banks of Ganges, near Dalamow and Dandekeira; very well disposed; has been settled with 1,10,000.
Bussunt Singh -	Sumpahah -	Has sent in several times; expresses the greatest allegiance.
Sendushaw Singh -	Chandapore -	- ditto - - ditto.
Sheer Bahadoor Singh -	Dulolee -	Writes, and sends vakeel.
Mohunt Zoor Narain -	- - - -	Present, and has been settled with.
Maun Singh -	Shahgunge -	Since fall of Lucknow he has had his vakeel present; he has always written in respectful terms, and sent proper messages through his vakeel; is only wavering about coming in, and will come if we are not in too great a hurry. I would leave him alone for the present.
Madhoo Singh -	Amatie -	Goes with Maun Sing. Complains of confiscation of his property in Benares; assisted ladies, and thinks himself hardly used in consequence.
Mypaul Singh -	Baree -	Writes; and is, he says, in favour.
Shumber Singh -	Shahmow -	- ditto - - ditto.
Shevрутun Singh -	Patan Behar -	Has been settled with.

## PAPERS RELATING TO

NAME OF TALOOQDAR.	RESIDENCE OR NAME OF ILLAQUA.	REMARKS.
Ranee of Toolseepore -	Toolseepore -	Sent in at Alumbagh, and has done so since; is quite ready to show allegiance.
Hindepaul Singh -	Russilolee -	Has been in.
Digbagee Singh -	Mooramow -	Assisted British officers; has tendered his allegiance.
Hunmunt Singh -	Kalekunkur -	Did the same, and has written several times.
Bisheshur Buksh -	Sumroto -	Very favourable.
Ramgoolam Singh -	Attayah -	- - ditto.
Surnam Singh -	Rittaree.	- - ditto.
Roostum Sai -	-	-
Malish Narain -	-	-
Bunoor Singh -	-	Reported by Mr. Carnegie, and have also written in here.
Runjeet Singh -	-	-
Juggernauth Buksh -	Simree -	Writes favourably.
Sirdar Singh -	Churdhanah -	- - ditto.
Reblas Koer -	Dheguns -	Has been settled with.
Deena Singh -	Mullonee -	Writes favourably, and sends vakeel.

(signed) *L. Bowring.*

MEMORANDUM by Captain *L. Barrow*, Deputy Commissioner, Oudh. Dated Lucknow, 22 May 1868.

WITH few exceptions, the large talookdars of Oudh have sent in by letter or vakeel, or in person tendered their allegiance.

In the last 10 days great progress has been made, inasmuch as the communications with the principal parties have assumed a tone which shows they are more in earnest than their first letters led us to suppose.

Their excuses about coming into Lucknow in person to show the sincerity of their professions have been, in each case, answered according to its merits. We have now quite sufficient partisans and information to be able to find out whether the excuses are valid or not. It is not distance, but a generally insecure feeling, whilst so many armed bands are abroad, that prevents men leaving their homes.

Our progress in settlement to this time, and the little opposition met with at the posts we have established, shows the tone of feeling towards us is changing. A fortnight since no man would have undertaken to establish himself in any place five miles from a military post. Now we could get talookdars or zemindars over one-third of Oudh, or half, to support our tuhseels. Witness our posts\* established or proposed.

The principal obstacle at this moment to our settlement, and to the talookdars presenting themselves to the Chief Commissioner, is the want of a military post at Fyzabad, and Banee Madho's holding out on the south-west.

Though Madho Singh and Maun Singh profess allegiance, it is remarkable that from the Sultanpore and Fyzabad districts none have come in. As regards Banee Madho's opposition, we have already drawn off several of the talookdars. Most of them, indeed, make excuses for not joining him, and there are hopes of gaining him over, as he states, through Munoor oo Dowlah, "that he will always obey those who are in power;" a day or so will decide his course.†

Sic orig.

The reports of officers of the Commission of the feeling of particular individuals on a particular frontier does not give a fair notion of the tone of feeling generally amongst the talookdars of Oudh. Reports should be to the Chief Commissioner alone, and I earnestly trust no change in our policy towards the talookdars will take place at this moment. Let them tender their allegiance at Lucknow only. The Chief Commissioner can determine to dispense with personal attendance, and prevent any inconvenience to the party as each case comes before him.

After such a rebellion as the present, to know that every talookdar is wavering, that most have tendered their allegiance by letter or vakeel, and that many have personally attended, is fair progress to have been made in Oudh.

(signed) *L. Barrow.*

(Copy.)

(signed) *L. Bowring.*

\* Malluabad, Sundeelah, Gossamow, Jayes, Futtehpore, Sarendi, Neghohee, Hassaingunge, Pali, Dalamow, Durriabad.

† Banee Madho's tender of allegiance has just been received.

## THE OUDE PROCLAMATION

11

The Governor-General of *India* to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the *East India Company*, dated Allahabad, the 4th July, No. 17A of 1858.

Honourable Sirs,

1. Your Despatch, No. 20, of the 18th of May, reached me two days ago.

I beg your Honourable Court to accept my warmest thanks for the assurance of your continued confidence, which that despatch, and the resolution of your Honourable Court embodied in it, convey.

2. Such an expression of the sentiments of your Honourable Court would be to me a source of gratification and just pride in any circumstances, but the generous and timely promptitude with which you have been pleased to issue it, and the fact that it conveys approval of the past as well as trust for the future, has greatly enhanced its value. Your Honourable Court have rightly judged that in the midst of difficulties no support is so cheering to a public servant, or so strengthening, as that which is derived from a declared approval of the spirit by which his past acts have been guided.

3. I believe that the expectations expressed by your Honourable Court as to the spirit in which the proclaimed confiscation of proprietary rights in Oude would be used will not be disappointed when you shall have had cognizance of the despatch which I had the honour to address to the Secret Committee on the 17th ultimo, and which, as being the sequel of correspondence already in the hands of your Honourable Court, will no doubt have been laid before you.

4. Your Honourable Court observe that I must have been well aware that the words of the proclamation, without the comment on it, which your trust was speedily afforded by the actions of the Government, must have produced the expectation of much more general and indiscriminate dispossession than could have been consistent with justice or with policy.

Undoubtedly this is so. But it was not without deliberation that, in framing the proclamation, I used the positive, peremptory, and, so to speak, enacting words which declare that the proprietary right in the soil of the province is confiscated to the Government, which will dispose of that right in such manner as it may deem fitting.

5. As this point was scarcely touched upon in my above-mentioned despatch to the Secret Committee, I will take leave to add a further brief explanation upon it. I have said that it is in the nature of those to whom the proclamation was addressed, to care very little for the threats, but to have a great respect for the distinct orders of superior authority. A rebel landholder, to whom no more should be said than that if he did not make submission soon, his rights would be liable to confiscation, would be likely to trust for his escape to the chapter of accidents, and to the chance of avoiding or defeating criminatory evidence, and so to delay submission, and cling to the cause of those whose immediate influence might be nearest and strongest. Whereas, if he should be made to feel that the withdrawal of his rights is already decreed, that it only remains for the executive officers to give effect to it by placing another proprietor in possession, and that the best hope left to him is to work out as large a claim to proffered indulgence as possible whilst there is yet time, his manifestation of allegiance would assuredly be quickened.

6. It was my business to consider what would most stimulate and hasten a return to peace and loyalty on the part of those addressed; and I was of opinion that this would best be done by making it clear and plain that the rewards actually conferred for fidelity were very large; that the punishment actually decreed for rebellion was very heavy; but that from the punishment a door of escape was still open.

7. To attempt to define more precisely the conditions and degrees according to which indulgence should be awarded and punishment tempered, appeared to

me most inexpedient. It would, I submit, have been impossible to put into the proclamation any mitigating or conciliatory words to this effect, without incurring the greatest risk of raising false hopes, and giving ground for mistaken claims, the disappointment of which hereafter would have gone far to confirm in the minds of many the reproach which the rebel leaders have sedulously thrown out against the English Government of a want of good faith,—a reproach to which no colour or shadow of truth shall ever be given by any act of mine.

8. I therefore left the way of escape and the amount of attainable indulgence to be learned from the treatment which those who should first come in would receive. No explanation in words would have been so certain to spread through the country with little chance of perversion as this. No other course could have left the Government so free to use wise discrimination in the remission of punishment.

9. Your Honourable Court will, of course, bear in mind that the proclamation was addressed to a province in arms, throughout which we had not, at that time, a surviving friend or interest to defend; and that therefore any fear of danger from an outburst of resistance, by which matters should be made worse, was imaginary.

10. Upon a careful and, I hope, dispassionate review of the whole subject, I cannot but think that the words in which the proclamation was couched were those most befitting the Government of India in its relations with its rebellious province, and best calculated to effect eventually a real and sure pacification.

But the question was one of very great difficulty, and I entreat your Honourable Court not to suppose that I am so presumptuous as to deprecate criticism of the mode in which the difficulty was met.

11. The reports lately received from Lucknow, and despatched to your Honourable Court by this and by the preceding mail, show that one of the Chief Commissioner's greatest embarrassments is the want of sufficient means to protect the landholders who are eager to tender their allegiance, but whom we cannot in some places effectually defend, until the bands of the more desperate rebels and mutineers which still harass the province shall have been subdued and destroyed,—an object which can be attained only by moving troops through the country at a suitable season. Accordingly, in the cases of many who have declared their desire to make submission, Mr. Montgomery has found it necessary to advise them to remain passive for the present.

12. The delay is to be regretted; but the fact furnishes proof that the spirit of the proclamation has not been misunderstood, and that the temper of the province is gradually tending towards order and allegiance.

I have, &c.  
(signed) Canning.

---

The Secretary of State for *India* to the Governor-General of *India*, dated the 9th December, No. 5 of 1858.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordship's despatches, No. 26<sup>1</sup>, to the Secret Committee of the East India Company, dated the 17th of June, and No. 17A, of the 4th of July, to the Court of Directors (in the Foreign Department), having been considered by Her Majesty's Government, I now proceed to offer such remarks upon them as they appear to demand.

2. The first of these despatches is a reply to the letter of the Secret Committee of the 19th of April, commenting upon the proclamation issued on the

3d of March to the talookdars and other landholders of Oude, after the re-occupation of Lucknow by British troops; the second is in reply to the letter of the Court of Directors of the 18th of May, covering a resolution of confidence in your Lordship passed by the Court on the 10th of that month. In both of these despatches you explain and vindicate the course of policy which you adopted in issuing the above-mentioned proclamation to the landholders of Oude.

3. I do not propose to follow, paragraph by paragraph, the elaborate arguments contained in these letters. They have been considered with the attention which was due to the high character and the distinguished position of your Lordship; and I observe with satisfaction, that the policy indicated in the document adverted to, as regards the claims of the talookdars and other proprietors in Oude, has not in practice been adopted by you, and is declared, on your own authority, never to have been intended to have been carried into effect. However indiscriminate and unsparing may have been the sentence of confiscation which your proclamation pronounced, that sentence has not been put in force; and the issuing of it would appear to have been merely a menace, designed to strike awe into the minds of those still arrayed in arms against the British Government.

4. Though anxious to support your authority, and to regard in the most favourable point of view any explanation of your public conduct which you might have to offer, Her Majesty's Government cannot alter their previously expressed opinion with regard to the policy which, in this instance, you have pursued. They cannot think it wise for a Government, either in Asia or in Europe, to utter threats on which it is not meant to act; and they apprehend that the tendency of such threats, when addressed to insurgents in arms, is to drive into desperate and hopeless resistance some, at least, of those who might be induced to submit by an invitation couched in more lenient terms. They are, however, glad to receive, and ready implicitly to accept your assertion, that the practical effect produced upon the minds of the people has been but small. They learn with satisfaction, that the personal explanations to which you refer as having been given by your desire through the officers of your Government, have dispelled the alarm which its contents were likely to excite. And the whole tenor of your Lordship's administration in India, and the moderation of language and of action, which you have known how to preserve in circumstances of unusual difficulty and universal excitement, confirm, if confirmation were needed, the assurance which you have given of your intention to deal in a spirit of mercy and of justice with those whose rights appeared to be imperilled by the language of your official declaration.

5. While Her Majesty's Government adhere to the opinion expressed by them respecting that declaration, it seems to them needless further to comment on a document which has been practically cancelled by yourself; and whilst regretting what they cannot but consider as a mistaken act on your part, they desire publicly to express their full approval of your general policy, and their confident hope that the measures taken by you for the suppression of insurrection in India will at no distant period lead to the entire pacification of that country.

I have, &c.  
(signed) Stanley.

## HER MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION.

GAZETTE. Governor-General's Camp Extraordinary. Published by authority.

Allahabad, Monday, 1 November 1858.

THE Right Honourable the Governor-general has received the commands of Her Majesty the Queen to make known the following gracious Proclamation of Her Majesty to the Princes, the Chiefs, and the People of India.

PROCLAMATION by the Queen in Council, to the Princes, Chiefs, and People of India.

VICTORIA, by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

Whereas, for divers weighty reasons, we have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the government of the territories in India, heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honourable East India Company:

Now, therefore, we do by these presents notify and declare that, by the advice and consent aforesaid, we have taken upon ourselves the said government; and we hereby call upon all our subjects within the said territories to be faithful, and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom we may hereafter, from time to time, see fit to appoint to administer the government of our said territories, in our name and on our behalf.

And we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability and judgment of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and councillor, Charles John Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Viscount Canning, to be our first Viceroy and Governor-general in and over our said territories, and to administer the government thereof in our name, and generally to act in our name and on our behalf, subject to such orders and regulations as he shall, from time to time, receive from us through one of our Principal Secretaries of State.

And we do hereby confirm in their several offices, civil and military, all persons now employed in the service of the Honourable East India Company, subject to our future pleasure, and to such laws and regulations as may hereafter be enacted.

We hereby announce to the native Princes of India that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and, while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native Princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to

## THE OUDE PROCLAMATION.

15

to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.

We know, and respect, the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.

We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power has been shown by the suppression of that rebellion in the field; we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been thus misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty.

Already, in one province, with a view to stop the further effusion of blood, and to hasten the pacification of our Indian dominions, our Viceroy and Governor-general has held out the expectation of pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who, in the late unhappy disturbances, have been guilty of offences against our Government, and has declared the punishment which will be inflicted on those whose crimes place them beyond the reach of forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said act of our Viceroy and Governor-general, and do further announce and proclaim as follows:—

Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been, or shall be, convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.

To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators in revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance; and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men.

To all others in arms against the Government we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offence against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with these conditions before the 1st day of January next.

When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.

PROCLAMATION by the Right Honourable the Governor-General of *India*.

Foreign Department, Allahabad, the 1st November 1858.

HER Majesty the Queen having declared that it is Her gracious pleasure to take upon herself the Government of the British territories in India, the Viceroy and Governor-general hereby notifies that from this day all acts of the Government of India will be done in the name of the Queen alone.

From this day all men of every race and class, who, under the administration of the Honourable East India Company, have joined to uphold the honour and power of England, will be the servants of the Queen alone.

The Governor-general summons them, one and all, each in his degree, and according to his opportunity, and with his whole heart and strength, to aid in fulfilling the gracious will and pleasure of the Queen, as set forth in Her Royal Proclamation.

From the many millions of Her Majesty's native subjects in India, the Governor-general will now, and at all times, exact a loyal obedience to the call which, in words full of benevolence and mercy, their Sovereign has made upon their allegiance and faithfulness.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-general of India.

*G. F. Edmonstone,*  
Secretary to the Government of India,  
With the Governor-General.

---

(True copies).

India Office, }  
3 March 1859. }

J. W. KAYE,  
Secretary in Political and Secret Departments.

---



EAST INDIA (OUDE PROCLAMATION).

COPY of the ANSWER of the Governor-General of India to the Secret Despatch of 19th April 1858, with REPLY from the Secretary of State; and subsequent CORRESPONDENCE on the subject; also, of HER MAJESTY'S gracious PROCLAMATION to the PRINCES, CHIEFS, and PEOPLE of India.

(Mr. Cardwell.)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,  
4 March 1859.

EAST INDIA (SIR JAMES OUTRAM).

---

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons,  
dated 11 April 1859;—*for*,

“ COPY of MINUTE by the Honourable Major-General Sir *James Outram*,  
dated the 17th day of August 1858.”

---

India Office, }  
14 April 1859. }

J. W. KAYE,  
Secretary in Political and Secret Departments.

---

MINUTE by the Honourable Major-General Sir *James Outram*, G. C. B., dated  
17 August 1858.

---

LETTER from the Right Honourable the Governor-General to the Honourable  
the Secret Committee, dated 17 June 1858.

Extracts, paras. 35, 36, and 37 of the Governor-General's Letter.

Para. 35. “ I WILL not trouble your Honourable Committee with a recapitulation of the reasons which appeared to me to forbid the adoption of Sir James Outram's suggestion ; but lest your Honourable Committee should suppose that I was without any previous expression of Sir James Outram's opinion on the subject, I wish to state that the uniaavourable view taken by that distinguished officer of the substance of the Proclamation was a cause of much disappointment to me.”

36. “ A very few weeks previously, the Chief Commissioner had sent to the Government of India an able and elaborate memorandum upon the system of civil administration to be adopted for Oudh after Lucknow should be subjugated. In this memorandum, dated the 15th January 1858, are the following views :—

“ The system of settlement with so-called village proprietors will not answer at present, if ever, in Oudh.

“ These men have not influence and weight enough to aid us in restoring order. The lands of men who have taken an active part against us should be largely confiscated, in order, among other reasons, to enable us to reward others in the manner most acceptable to a native. But I see no prospect of restoring tranquillity except by having recourse for the next few years to the old talook-daree system. \* \* \* Talookas should only be given to men who have actively aided us, or who, having been inactive, now evince a true willingness to serve us, and are possessed of influence sufficient to make their support of real value.”

37. “ Subject to the understanding that, even to those who had been most active against us, indulgence should be extended upon their making prompt and complete submission, these opinions accorded exactly with my own ; and, although I was aware that there might easily be difference of opinion as to the mode of announcing and of carrying out punishment by confiscation, it did not occur to me that any such divergence of views as was subsequently intimated in the Chief Commissioner's letter of the 8th March, could occur between us. The belief therein expressed, that there are not a dozen landholders in the province who

have not borne arms against us, seemed to go far towards justifying the general and sweeping terms of the Proclamation, to which alone I expected any objection on Sir James Outram's part."

As the paragraphs above quoted reflect injuriously on me, it is unfortunate for me that no copy of the Governor-General's letter, dated 17th June, was furnished to Council until the 5th, and only reached me on the 8th August, an interval of upwards of seven weeks. But as we are now aware that the delay was accidental and unintentional, I can only regret the circumstance; for it ought, I consider, to have been furnished to us in time to enable me to have sent home by the same mail which conveyed it, such explanation as it might reasonably be supposed I should be anxious to offer, under the imputation therein brought against me of official inconsistency, to apply the mildest term, to the meaning of this extract.

But I have to complain that no copy of my memorandum of the 15th January, from which his Lordship quotes, was at the same time transmitted to the home authorities, or has to this day been forwarded.

As his Lordship considers that memorandum "able and elaborate," and as it submits my views as Chief Commissioner in Oudh of "the system of civil administration to be adopted in that province after Lucknow should be subjugated," its having been so long withheld from the Government of India and from the Honourable Court, can hardly have been warranted by any consideration of its insignificance; and I now move, therefore, that it be called for, for the information of my honourable colleagues, and for after transmission, should they think proper, to the Court.

In the meantime, however, I annex an extract from that memorandum, in my possession, so far as relates to the Oudh talookdars, and have underscored the words quoted therefrom by the Governor-General, that my honourable colleagues may at once see how inadequately these words represent the whole tenor of the argument in which they are employed, and that the context of the entire passage from which his Lordship quotes, does not warrant the interpretation which he has been pleased to put upon those words. But, mistaken as his Lordship appears to have been at that time, as to my real sentiments with regard to the Oudh talookdars, I respectfully submit, that the whole tenor of my correspondence with the Governor-General, official or private, from that time up to the issue of the Proclamation, might reasonably have assured his Lordship that I should be opposed to so severe and sweeping a measure as general confiscation, and thus prepared him for such a divergence of views "as was subsequently intimated in my letter of the 8th of March."

To prove this, I may be permitted, as his Lordship has quoted from one paper of mine, which has not been placed on the records of this Government, to quote from another official communication which I addressed, through my secretary, to Mr. Edmonstone, on the 15th February, one month after the date of the "memorandum," and three weeks prior to my letter of the 8th March:—

"The Chief Commissioner feels himself in a very embarrassing position. His Lordship is aware that he does not regard the rebellious Oudh talookdars in the same light as the mutineers, and would be disposed to let bygones be bygones to all those men who may have taken no part in the atrocities, conditional on present and future good service."

I have no desire, nor would it become me, to comment on any portion of the Governor-General's letter which does not concern myself; but, as my official reputation would suffer were the success which has attended Mr. Montgomery's exertions towards the pacification of Oudh to be attributed, as I understand to be assumed by his Lordship, to the Proclamation, even in its modified form, which I had declared, and here repeat, was calculated to obstruct pacification, I consider myself justified in pointing out that the only instances in which chiefs and talookdars of Oudh had attended to my summons, were where they received personal assurance by letter on forwarding the Proclamation, thereby nullifying its effects. And as I believe Mr. Montgomery followed the course which I had adopted, I can have no doubt that all who have since submitted were induced to do so by similar letters—not by the Proclamation.

On the 30th March I thus informed his Lordship that I had sent the letters:—

"Enclosed is a list of the few powerful talookdars who have not taken an active part in the rebellion, to whom he has written, assuring them that, if they  
now

now come forward to support the British Government, they will be put into as good a position as they were before annexation."

On the 3d of April, the day on which I made over charge to Mr. Montgomery, it was reported to his Lordship (whether by Mr. Montgomery or myself I am not sure) :—

"The talookdars are holding aloof, and the Chief Commissioner fervently hopes that there will not be any very serious opposition to the permanent establishment of our rule in Oudh. Two lists are sent, one of the laudholders who treated with us at Allum Bagh; the other, of those who have come in under the terms of the Government Proclamation, combined with the Chief Commissioner's letter of assurance, that those who come forward and do good service now, will have their claims to the lands of which we dispossessed them re-investigated."

As this was read by Lord Stanley in the House of Commons on the \_\_\_\_\_, I presume it must have been furnished by the Governor-General; but I believe that neither the latter report, nor mine of the 30th March, quite literally represents the whole tenor of these letters, which probably were couched in even the more liberal terms enjoined in the following telegram, forwarded to me by the Governor-General on the 24th March: "The present Proclamation has left it quite free to you to notify to any talookdar whom you consider deserving of consideration, that if he now comes in and supports the Government, none of his lands will be confiscated, and that his claims to the lands which he held before annexation will be re-heard. If he has resumed possession of these last-mentioned lands during the mutiny, you can, if you think fit, promise that he shall retain possession of them until his claims are re-heard."

*Sic orig.*

As three mails have already intervened since his Lordship's letter was forwarded to the Honourable the Secret Committee, I hope my colleagues will consider that I am justified in requesting that this may be transmitted to the same authority by the mail of the 23d instant; a copy, of course, being furnished to the Right honourable the Governor-General.

(signed) J. Outram.

17 August 1858.

EXTRACT from a Memorandum suggesting Measures for the Administration of Oudh, dated 15 January 1858.

"I DEEM it my duty to point out, that the re-establishment of good government, and of peace and order, is out of the question until the population be thoroughly disarmed, and this measure should not be confined to Oudh alone, but should be carried out simultaneously throughout the empire. I would take the greatest pains to insure that the prohibition to bear or possess any description of lethal weapon, shall be made over to every inhabitant of the province. Acknowledgments of the receipt of the Proclamation, and also an affidavit that its contents had been read, should be taken from the head man of every village in Oudh.

"A reasonable time, say one month, should also be allowed to the people to come in to the head quarters of the nearest city authority and lay down their arms, for which a liberal price should be given. But, that time once expired, the penalty for possessing arms should be death, and the stern decree should be rigidly enforced; only a few examples will be required, and the disarming will then be effectual, as concealed weapons will be at once melted down, or otherwise destroyed. But I am convinced that nothing short of this measure will effect it, and that unless the law be rigidly carried out, we shall never be able to restore perfect tranquillity to this portion of our dominions.

"The active co-operation of the landholders must be obtained, and this can best be done by declaring that the Government will regard the life of the offender as a sufficient expiation of the first offence against the provisions of the Proclamation committed on lands held by the same proprietors. But that, if a second instance of the possession or concealment of arms on the same state occur, the entire rights and interests of the owner of the land will be liable to confiscation.

"One such example will convince the lawless landholders of Oudh that the

British Government is in earnest, and that they have at last met with their master.

*“The system of settlement with the so-called village proprietors will not answer at present, if ever, in Oudh. These men have not influence and weight enough to aid us in restoring order. The lands of men who have taken an active part against us should be largely confiscated, in order, among other reasons, to enable us to reward others in the manner most acceptable to a native. But I see no prospect of restoring tranquillity, except by having recourse for the next few years to the old talookdaree system.”*

“The talookdars have both power and influence to exercise either for or against us.

“The village proprietors have neither.

*“Talookahs should only be given to men who have actively aided us, or who, having been inactive, now evince a true willingness to serve us, and are possessed of influence sufficient to make their support of real value.”*

“There will be no difficulty in settling the rent to be paid from each talookah, and this should be distributed rateably over the several constituent villages, the exact amount to be paid by each villager to be settled among themselves.

“By this arrangement, the talookdar will be unable to raise his rents, and he should moreover be given to understand that, on his treatment of the people under him, his admission to raise at the revised settlement would in a great measure depend. This, in my opinion, would suffice for the protection of a body of men, not one of whom, not even those with whom the settlement was made to the exclusion of the old talookdars (some of 80 years' possession), have come forward to aid us in this juncture.

“The talookdars should be responsible for the disarming of the population, the destruction of the forts, and the apprehension of offenders, within the limits of his estate. He should be made to feel that he holds upon a strictly ‘service tenure,’ dependent entirely upon the punctual discharge of his duties as a landholder; *very* influential men, or men who have done real good service during the present crisis, might have a portion of land in jageer, conditional on constant and zealous service. This measure would enlist this powerful body of men on our side, while it entails no injustice on the cultivators of the soil, who have been accustomed all their lives to the talookdaree tenure, with power on the part of the talookdar to raise his rents *ad libitum*. In a word, the men capable of restoring order and confidence will be gained over, while the men who will be benefited by the restoration, but who will never move a hand or foot to obtain or hold such a blessing for themselves, will suffer no hardship, and be in a much better condition than they were before annexation.”

The words *underscored* are those of which Lord Canning availed himself in his quotation.

(signed) J. O.

EAST INDIA (SIR JAMES OUTRAM).

COPY of MINUTE by the Honourable Major-General Sir James Outram, dated the 17th day of August 1858.

(Mr. John Benjamin Smith.)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,  
15 April 1859.

237.

*Under 1 oz.*

**EAST INDIA (GOVERNOR GENERAL).**

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,  
dated 14 May 1858,—for,

A COPY "of any PROCEEDINGS or COMMUNICATIONS from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-General of India, relating to the proposed PROCLAMATION of Lord Canning, and to the late DESPATCH from the Secret Committee with reference thereto."

East India House,  
17 May 1858.

J. D. DICKINSON,  
Secretary

At a Court of Directors, held on Monday, 10th May 1858

THE Chairman acquainted the Court that it had been specially summoned for the purpose of laying before them, with the consent of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, the undermentioned Secret Papers, viz. :—

Letter from the Governor-general of India to the Secret Committee, dated Allahabad, 5th March 1858, with the undermentioned enclosures, viz. :—

Letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-general, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oude, dated 3d March 1858; and

Copy of a Proclamation, addressed to the Chiefs and Inhabitants of Oude, to be issued by the Chief Commissioner at Lucknow, so soon as the British troops, under the Commander-in-Chief, shall have possession or command of the city; also,

Letter from the Secret Committee to the Governor-general of India, in Council, dated the 19th April 1858.

And the same having been read;

The Chairman intimated his intention of submitting to the Court a despatch upon the subject of those papers, at their meeting on Wednesday next.

A member of the Court submitted the following motion, viz. :—

"That in reference to the despatch from the Secret Committee to the Governor-general of India, dated the 19th ultimo, with the documents therein alluded to, and this day laid before the Court of Directors, this Court desires to express its continued confidence in the Governor-general, Lord Canning, and its conviction that his measures for the pacification of Oude, and the other disturbed districts in India, will be characterised by a generous policy, and by the utmost clemency that is found to be consistent with the satisfactory accomplishment of that important object."

And the previous Question, viz., "That this Question be now put," being moved and put,

The same passed in the affirmative; whereupon

The main Question being put, it was

Resolved,—That in reference to the despatch from the Secret Committee to the Governor-general of India, dated the 19th ultimo, with the documents therein alluded to, and this day laid before the Court of Directors, this Court desires to express

express its continued confidence in the Governor-general, Lord Canning, and its conviction that his measures for the pacification of Oude, and the other disturbed districts in India, will be characterised by a generous policy, and by the utmost clemency that is found to be consistent with the satisfactory accomplishment of that important object.

---

At a Court of Directors, held on Wednesday, 12th May 1858.

A LETTER, dated the 11th instant, signed by Russell Ellice, Esq., and John Harvey Astell, Esq., Members of this Court, was read; representing, that having been unavoidably absent from want of notice from the Special Court, held on the 10th instant, they were prevented taking part in the discussion of the Secret Papers, laid before the Court that day, relative to the Proclamation to be issued by the Chief Commissioner at Lucknow; and the Letter from the Secret Committee to the Governor-general of India, in Council, dated the 19th ultimo; and from giving their most cordial support to the Resolution, which was carried by a large majority of the members present, expressing the continued confidence of the Court in the Governor-general, Lord Canning; and accordingly recording their entire concurrence in that resolution.

A Letter from Colonel W. H. Sykes, M.P., a member of the Court, dated the 11th instant, was likewise read; stating, that having received a summons to attend the Special Court held on the 10th instant, only after the hour appointed for the meeting, he was disabled from personally expressing his thorough conviction that Lord Canning's measures hitherto have been characterised by prudence, moderation, and firmness, and that he has full confidence that his Lordship's future policy for the pacification of Oude, while punishing guilty leaders in the late disorders, will respect the landed rights of the people.

---



**EAST INDIA (GOVERNOR GENERAL).**

---

**COPY of PROCEEDINGS of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, relating to the proposed PROCLAMATION of Lord Canning, and to the late DESPATCH from the Secret Committee with reference thereto.**

*(Mr. Hankey.)*

---

*Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,  
18 May 1858.*

---

**EAST INDIA (GOVERNOR GENERAL).**

---

**COPY of PROCEEDINGS of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, relating to the proposed PROCLAMATION of Lord Canning, and to the late DESPATCH from the Secret Committee with reference thereto.**

*(Mr. Hankey.)*

---

*Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,  
18 May 1858.*

---