OUDE

PAPERS RELATING TO.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1856.

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OUDE.

No. 1.

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

Ootacamund, July 3, 1855. No. 4.

WITH a view to avoid any unnecessary delay, I have the honour to forward direct to you, for consideration and orders, copies of the papers enumerated in the accompanying Abstract of Contents, relative to the present condition of Oude, together with a transcript of a Minute recorded by me on the 18th ultimo on the subject.

2. A copy of the Minute has been transmitted for the consideration of the President in Council, with a request that he will communicate direct to you any information he may have to offer on the several points therein discussed.

3. In addressing you upon this subject, I would venture to urge upon you an early consideration and decision of the question relating to Oude. From indications of your opinion upon this question which already appear upon record, and from the nature of the case which has now been laid before you, it seems to me impossible that you can ultimately avoid having recourse to the measure which has been recommended for your immediate adoption. If under these circumstances you should consider that the experience of eight years will arm me with greater authority for carrying the proposed measure into effect than any Governor-General when first entering on the administration of this empire is likely to command, I beg permission to assure you that I am ready to undertake the duty.

4. You will acquit me of any other motive in making this statement than a desire to promote your views, and to render one more service to those great interests which have been so long intrusted to my charge. It is at least a disinterested offer on my part; for the measure, if it be assented to, will doubtless be assailed by those who are ever on the watch to attack the policy of the Indian Government; while, however successful it may prove to be, it will impose upon me, in the closing days of my administration, a very heavy additional labour and responsibility, whose ripened fruit will be gathered only by those who may come after me.

5. Should you, then, approve the general measure I have proposed for the future government of Oude, and desire to see it carried into immediate effect, I have the honour to request that no time may be lost in conveying to me the authority necessary for that purpose.

6. By the present mail I have addressed a letter to you, soliciting your

permission to retire from the office of Governor-General in the beginning of the month of February next.

7. If, however, you should be pleased to empower me to carry into effect the policy now proposed in relation to the Kingdom of Oude, I would request that the 1st of March, 1856, may be fixed as the date of my relief.

I have, &c.

DALHOUSIE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1.

Minute by the Governor-General of India, November 21, 1854.

1. COLONEL OUTRAM arrived at the Presidency by the last mail from Aden, and is about to take his departure, in order to assume his appointment as officiating Resident at the Court of Lucknow.

Adverting to the peculiar footing on which our relations with the Court of Lucknow have stood for some years past, and especially to the intelligence which has recently reached me of the state of the King's health, I conceive that it would be right to furnish Colonel Outram with some special instructions for his guidance on first assuming the Residency.

2. The accounts of the King's health, which were sent to me some time since by Captain Hayes, were alarming, and seemed to give some ground for the apprehension that His Majesty's decease might occur at any time. Latterly, very much more favourable tidings have been received; and it is to be hoped that the King's life may be prolonged, so as to avert the evils which would be inseparable from a protracted minority.

In the event of the King's death, however, the Resident should at once place the eldest son, the heir apparent, on the guddee. The administration should be temporarily carried on after the succession by the minister, subject to the control vested in the Resident by the Treaty of 1801, until instructions shall be obtained from the Government of India by the Resident for his guidance under the new circumstances which will thus have arisen.

3. Should there appear no immediate reason to apprehend the death of the King, the Resident will continue to conduct the duties of his office, on the same principles as have regulated the conduct of the British Resident at the Court of Lucknow for many years past.

4. But, however desirous the Government of India may be to avoid all interference in the affairs of Oude, which is not forced upon it, yet we cannot ignore the fact that the Government of Oude is still in that state of probation in which it was solemnly placed by my predecessor in 1847. The King was then informed by the Governor-General in person, that, unless within two years from that time, the miserable condition of the people of Oude had been much improved, and unless the oppression under which they had long groaned was at least in the way of being removed, it would be the duty of the British Government to have recourse to those extreme measures which, sixteen years before, Lord William Bentinck had declared must be enforced for the protection of the people of Oude.

5. The occurrence of successive wars, and an unfeigned reluctance to have recourse to those extreme measures to which allusion has just been made, have concurred to induce the Government of India to take no action on the final warning given to the King, now seven years ago, in 1847.

But the Honourable Court of Directors, during that period, have more than once called for the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, as to the course which ought to be pursued in regard to the Kingdom of Oude. Our former warning is still in force. We have every reason to believe that the state of Oude shows none of that amendment which the Governor-General, in 1847, declared to be indispensable; and yet our threats remain unfulfilled.

Averse as I am to enter on this large question, I feel that it can not be left in its present indefinite and unsatisfactory condition.

6. I would, therefore, propose to instruct the officiating Resident, Colonel Outram, to apply himself, on his arrival at Lucknow, to an inquiry into the present state of that country; with a view to determine whether its affairs still

continue in the state in which Colonel Sleeman, from time to time, described them to be; whether the improvement which Lord Hardinge peremptorily demanded seven years ago at the hands of the King, in pursuance of the Treaty of 1801, has in any degree been effected; and whether the duty imposed upon the British Government by that Treaty, a duty recognised by Lord William Bentinck in 1831, and reiterated by Lord Hardinge in 1847, will in truth any longer admit of our honestly indulging the reluctance we have felt to have recourse to those extreme measures which alone can be of any real efficacy in remedying the evils from which the state of Oude has suffered so long.

DALHOUSIE.

I concur: it seems to me quite impossible that things can be allowed to go on as we suppose them to be at present.

J. DORIN.

The proposed instructions to Colonel Outram seem to me to be very proper.

J. LOW.

I cordially assent to the proposal.

B. PEACOCK.

Inclosure 2 in No. 1.

Minute by Mr. John Peter Grant, November 22, 1854.

I SUPPORT the Governor-General's proposal with sincere satisfaction. I have always thought our long neglect of our obligations towards the people of Oude, a great moral error; and I have always openly avowed that opinion.

In the case of Oude, a state wholly supported by the British Government, and bound to be wholly guided by that Government, I have never been able to understand how the policy of even temporary non-interference could be justifiable, on any other ground than that, for the time being, non-interference was better for the people of Oude than interference. How many years ago it is since any Statesman has maintained that ground, we need not stop to count. No one, I believe, maintains that a policy of permanent non-interference would be justifiable. If a man brings his elephant into a crowd, and, having the power to prevent him, does not interfere to prevent him from trampling the people to death, the judge will hang that man exactly as if he had put the people to death with his own hand; and nothing that can be said in favour of a policy of non-interference will suspend execution of the sentence.

Many years ago, all other measures having failed of effect, the Government of India received the authorization of the Home Government to take the extreme measures indicated by the crying necessity of the case. One more chance however was allowed to the Government of this unhappy country; one more warning was given, with the solemn assurance that it should be the last. The time for acting upon that assurance arrived five years ago, and of the long respite that has been since granted to this irreclaimable Government, not a day has been allowed because of any belief in its improvement.

For a considerable part of this last term, the condition of Oude has come under my eyes weekly in the diaries of Colonel Sleeman, the Resident. It is the habit of the office to note in pencil, on the outside of those diaries, the more remarkable occurrences reported. A paper embodying these notes for a few months would show a continuous stream of outrages, many perpetrated by officers of the Government, many more perpetrated with their connivance. Yet these officers, and their Government, have no strength but what is derived from the armed support of the British Government.

A few months ago a banker, being a British subject, was travelling, with a party of friends and servants, and some property, a short way within the

Oude frontier, when he was surrounded by a large body of the troops of the King of Oude, the officer at their head being a civil officer such as we should designate the commissioner or deputy commissioner of the division: his property was plundered, and he and some of his servants were murdered. The court of Oude did all it could to bear the offenders harmless; they were (in my opinion) at last very inadequately punished; and the King gave the chief culprit a dress of honour.

More lately still, two assassins, hired beyond doubt by some great man about the court, attempted to murder the Resident in his bed at night; and the King virtually refused to make any, the least, endeavour to discover the criminals.

On either of these occasions, and on any occasion for the last five years, if I had then been a member of Government, I should have voted for such orders as the most noble the Governor-General now proposes to issue. There has been no improvement since, and, therefore, I cordially support the proposal now made. In so doing I feel relieved from a sense of an unfulfilled duty.

J. P. GRANT.

Inclosure 3 in No. 1.

The Secretary to the Government of India to Colonel James Outram, C. B., the Officiating Resident at Lucknow.

Sir, *Fort William, November* 24, 1854.

1. ADVERTING to the peculiar footing on which our relations with the Court of Lucknow have stood for some years past, and especially to the intelligence which has recently reached the Government of the state of the King's health, I am directed to acquaint you that the Governor-General in Council desires to furnish you with some special instructions, for your guidance on first assuming the Residency at Lucknow, whither you are now proceeding to join your appointment as Officiating Resident.

2. The accounts of the King's health, which were sent to the Government some time since, were alarming, and seemed to give some ground for the apprehension that His Majesty's decease might occur at any time. Latterly, very much more favorable tidings have been received, and it is to be hoped that the King's life may be prolonged so as to avert the evils which would be inseparable from a protracted minority.

3. In the event of the King's death, however, his Lordship in Council authorizes you at once to place the eldest son, the heir apparent, on the guddee. The administration should be temporarily carried on after the succession by the Minister, subject to the control vested in the Resident by the Treaty of 1801, until instructions shall be obtained from the Government of India by you, for your guidance under the new circumstances which will thus have arisen.

4. Should there appear no immediate reason to apprehend the death of the King, you will continue to conduct the duties of your office on the same principles as have regulated the conduct of the British Resident at the Court of Lucknow for many years past.

5. But, however desirous the Government of India may be to avoid all interference in the affairs of Oude, which is not forced upon it, yet it cannot ignore the fact that the Government of Oude is still in that state of probation, in which it was solemnly placed by the Government of 1847. The King was then informed, by the Governor-General in person, that, unless within two years from that time the miserable condition of the people of Oude had been much improved, and unless the oppression under which they had long groaned was at least in the way of being removed, it would be the duty of the British Government to have recourse to those extreme measures, which, sixteen years before, Lord William Bentinck had declared must be enforced for the protection of the people of Oude.

6. The occurrence of successive wars, and an unfeigned reluctance to have recourse to those extreme measures, to which allusion has just been

made, have concurred to induce the Government of India to take no action on the final warning given to the King, now seven years ago, in 1847.

7. But the Honourable the Court of Directors, during that period, have more than once called for the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, as to the course which ought to be pursued in regard to the kingdom of Oude. Our former warning is still in force. We have every reason to believe that the state of Oude shows none of that amendment which the Governor-General, in 1847, declared to be indispensable; and yet our threats remain unfulfilled.

8. Averse as the Governor-General in Council is to enter on this large question, His Lordship in Council feels that it cannot be left in its present indefinite and unsatisfactory condition.

9. I am accordingly directed by the Governor-General in Council to instruct you to apply yourself, on your arrival at Lucknow, to an inquiry into the present state of that country, with a view to determine whether its affairs still continue in the state in which Colonel Sleeman, from time to time, described them to be; whether the improvement which Lord Hardinge peremptorily demanded seven years ago at the hands of the King, in pursuance of the Treaty of 1801, has in any degree been effected; and whether the duty imposed upon the British Government by that Treaty, a duty recognized by Lord William Bentinck in 1831, and reiterated by Lord Hardinge in 1847, will in truth any longer admit of our honestly indulging the reluctance we have felt to have recourse to those extreme measures which alone can be of any real efficacy in remedying the evils from which the State of Oude has suffered so long.

I have, &c.

G. F. EDMONSTONE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 1.

Major-General Outram to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir, *Lucknow Residency, February* 6, 1855.

1. THE allusions in my late* diaries to the hostilities now prevailing in Oude, though warfare in this country is of but usual occurrence, will doubtless attract the attention of Government, from the great loss of life which has recently been reported therein. It behoves me, therefore, to place before the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council, such information as I have been able to obtain regarding the cause of these hostilities.

2. In the district of Nanparah, the warfare, which has continued for three years past, has of late assumed a more serious aspect, in consequence of the determined resistance to the King's troops of the partizans of the elder widow of the late Raja Munour Ally Khan, in upholding the cause of her young son, the rightful heir to the Raj I am informed, who has been dispossessed by the younger widow, (in behalf of an infant nephew of the late Raja,) with the aid of the Government Amil, and support of the Oude troops acting under the authority of the Durbar. The lamentable consequence of this interference on the part of the Oude Government is thus described by an officer now on the spot, written on the 5th ultimo:

"Nanparah, one of the richest districts in Oude, with magnificent fertile plains intersected in all directions by rivers and streams, and yielding Munour Khan, the late Rajah, upwards of three lakhs of rupees yearly, since the Rajah's death is reduced to such a state that it does not now yield the King anything at all, though upwards of 1,20,000 rupees have been spent every

* *Extract from the Political Diary of the Lucknow Residency, from the 7th to the 13th of January*, 1855.

January 12th.—1st January. The Amil of Salone took one of the forts belonging to the Farmer of Chundapore, who sustained a loss of seventy men killed, and five taken prisoners; and the Amil had fifty men killed on his side. The war is still raging.

January 13th.—8th January. The forces of the Farmer of Chundapore were attended by the Tehseeldar of Etha, in Salone, and, in a fight which took place, twenty-seven men were killed and sixteen wounded on both sides.

year on the troops stationed here. The whole of the villages are deserted and in ruins; not a single chupper is to be seen for miles and miles. Kullian Khan, the elder Ranee's Karindah, about four years ago, burnt down the whole of the villages in the district."

And another officer, writing still more recently from that vicinity, thus refers to the Nanparah case as an illustration of the evil influences by which this Court is swayed: "Mahal (palace) influence is now all in all; a proof is in the ruin of the Nanparah Raj."

3. A narrative of the rise and progress of the warfare which still rages, and has already desolated Nanparah, is appended hereto; from which it will be seen that the son of the elder widow was recognised as the rightful heir, and formally placed on the musnud by the neighbouring Chiefs and Rajahs, and that the Ranee peacefully ruled and managed the estate on behalf of her son for two years; when, through intrigues at Court, the younger widow, having obtained the countenance of the Durbar, by aid of the King's troops, dispossessed the elder Ranee, after a determined struggle on her part. This took place in October, 1853, and warfare has been waging between the parties with more or less virulence ever since. It will be observed further, that the Resident strongly remonstrated against the Queen Mother's interference, and that the King, at his suggestion, deputed an officer "to effect a settlement of the district;" but as no settlement appears to have been attempted, grounded on a recognition of the young Rajah's rights, the ousted party, as a matter of course, continues in rebellion. Several encounters between the Oude troops and the rebels have taken place, with considerable loss of life on both sides. I have been unable to ascertain the amount of previous casualties; but, in an engagement between Captain Orr's corps and the rebels on the 15th ultimo, two of the former* and thirty-four of the latter are reported to have been slain. The rebel son of the Toolseepore Rajah has lately joined the Nanparah malcontents, and considerable reinforcements have been sent to that quarter.

4. I have not been able to satisfy myself as to the merits of the case of Sahibjee, the Toolseepore Rajah's son, here alluded to; but, so far as I have been able to ascertain, it appears to be as follows:—Sahibjee quarrelled with, and wished to dispossess, his father: both father and son either came of their own accord, or were summoned, to Lucknow. Accounts differ as to whether or not they were at large, or imprisoned; but the Durbar sent a Chuckledar to manage the estate, who collected therefrom last year, it is said, nearly five lakhs of rupees, of which about a quarter was credited to Government, the Chuckledar promising to raise a lakh more this year, if Sahibjee was kept under restraint. He, however, fled from Lucknow in November last, collected a force of about 2,000 men, with which, on the 12th of December, he attacked the King's Thannah at Toolseepore, of whom four were killed and eighteen wounded (including the Chuckledar†); took possession of the King's guns; plundered the Government Treasury; and, having dispersed the King's troops, established his own Thannah in their place. Since then, having united his forces to the rebels of Nanparah, he is devastating the country far and wide; and, in an encounter with the King's troops on the 25th ultimo, thirteen of the latter are reported to have been killed, besides others wounded, the rebels being said to have been defeated with great loss.

5. In another quarter, the Salone Elaka, even more sanguinary contests are taking place between the Oude troops and powerful Talookdars, who are said to have been driven to resistance in consequence of the endeavour of the Amil to exact more from them this year than had ever been demanded for twenty years previous. One of these Talookdars, Sheadurshun Sing, of Chundrapoor, on demurring to accede to the demand, was besieged in his smaller fort of Chopka, which was invested by the Amil at the head of 2,000 men, on the 1st of January, on which day four of the Talookdar's followers, who fell into the Nazim's hands, were decapitated. Next day the fort was stormed and taken, with great loss on both sides, seventy of the Talook-

* Since this was written, I have ascertained that Captain Orr lost one Jemadar, and two Naicks killed, and one Havildar, four Naicks, and seven men wounded. The rebels, besides leaving thirty-four dead on the field, carried off a great many wounded. J. OUTRAM.

† Other accounts represent thirty-five of the King's troops to have been killed; the loss on the part of the rebels has not been ascertained.

dar's men, and fifty of the assailants, being reported killed. Reinforcements were then despatched to enable the Amil to reduce the larger fort of Chundrapoor, which held out until the 20th of January, when Sheadurshun Sing evacuated the place at night with all his followers. The fort was then destroyed, and the Talookdar is now a fugitive in open rebellion, at the head of a desperate band, reduced to the necessity of living by rapine and plunder; and doubtless he will repeat the same work of devastation in Salone, that has desolated Nanparah.

6. The other Talookdar of Salone to whom I have alluded is Ram Gholam Sing of Atcha, who, having been driven to resistance from the same cause, *i. e.*, over-exactions, held out against the Nazim's troops from the 18th to the 29th of November last, causing a loss of about seventy killed on the King's side and thirty on his own. He then fled with his followers, but on the 9th of January made a night attack on the Nazim's officer, who had been placed in charge of Atcha, and killed one and wounded twelve of the King's troops, leaving twenty-five of his own followers dead on the field. Where he now is, is not known; but further mischief at his hands may soon be looked for.

I have, &c.

J. OUTRAM.

Sub-Inclosure to Inclosure 4 in No. 1.

Appendix.

Narrative of the rise and progress of hostilities in the District of Nanparah.

MUNOUR ALLY KHAN died five years ago, and the management devolved on the elder of his two wives, who, for two years, ruled, without the slightest disturbance having taken place. In the third year, the district passed into the hands of Mhan Sing, Amil of Gondah Bharaitch. The younger wife of Munour Ally Khan, and the daughter of Mehdee Koolie Khan, through the intercession and good offices of Baharoon Nissa (dancer in the employ of the King's mother, the Jenab Aulea, and a Punjaubee by birth) received the management of Nanparah. Since then, the elder wife, together with her son Jung Bahadoor, commenced hostilities against the younger wife, who, receiving the support of the Jenab Aulea, the King's mother, caused a mandate to be issued by His Majesty on the Nawab Alee Khan, the Governor of Mehmoodabad, and on Alee Amjud, Governor of Gondah Bharaitch, to dispossess the elder wife and her son; but these orders could not be carried into effect. In March 1854, the Jenab Aulea Begum began to enlist Persians to send on service to Nanparah. The Resident wrote to the King to prevent the Jenab Aulea from interfering in the affairs of the district. The Resident said, in his letter, that the revenue was more than 2½ lakhs formerly, but that now it went to the Jenab Aulea.

The circumstances which occasioned the ruin and devastation of the estate are as follows:—The principal actress in the bloody conflict between the King's troops and the Zemindars, is the daughter of Mehdee Koolie Khan, brother of a Koomadan of a Nujjeeb Corps. Nearly six years ago Munour Ally Khan, the late Rajah of Nanparah, paid a visit to Lucknow, and, being a man of pleasure, became acquainted with the principal women of the city; and, amongst the crowd of fashionable females, he approved of Mehdee Koolie's daughter, whom he married, and shortly after returned to Nanparah, where a few days afterwards he died. The neighbouring Chiefs and Rajahs, on hearing of his death, assembled, and placed his son Jung Bahadoor, a boy of tender age, on the musnud, under the protection of the elder Ranee. The other wife of the deceased Rajah, the younger Ranee, however, refused to submit to the young Rajah's authority, and tried to usurp the Musnud, under pretext of favoring the claim of an infant cousin of the late Munour Ally Khan. Although the elder Ranee offered to her the Jagheer and the monthly allowance in cash which was settled on her by the late Rajah, yet she was determined to come to blows; and, through her brother, gained over the principal officers of the court on her side. Mehdee Koolie proceeded some time ago to Bharaitch, obtained military aid from Suddun Lall, with which he

marched upon Nanparah, and hostilities commenced. The young Ranee in the meantime repaired to the capital, where the fame of her beauty soon procured her the proposal of marriage from the King; but, fortunately, a superstitious belief that she had a mark like a snake on her back worked a sudden change on the royal mind, and the Ranee, being then disappointed, made interest with Baharoon Nissa, the favorite woman of the Queen Mother, with whose influence and money she is carrying on the work of destruction throughout the whole talooka of Nanparah. Mehdee Koolie Khan, after sustaining repeated loss and defeats, has returned for good to Lucknow; but Nawab Alee Khan, the powerful talookdar of Beswa, has been since ordered to assist the King's troops in the siege of Nanparah. Fazul* Ally, the commander of the old Ranee's force, has performed several most desperate deeds of valour during the depredatory warfare which is being carried on in that unhappy district. The combined troops of the King and Nawab Alee have been routed on several occasions, with serious loss in killed and wounded. The principal sufferers, however, in this destructive collision have been the agricultural class of inhabitants. The soldiers of the Ranees and of the King, each in turn, plunder them. The licentious soldiery have reduced to ashes hundreds of villages; men, women, and children wander over moor and marsh, hill and dale, without a home or shelter; and many have emigrated into the British territory.

By Captain Patrick Orr's accounts, and from other sources, it appears that some 40,000 ploughs alone have been taken by cultivators from Nanparah to Goruckpore. The grass waves over the sites of once flourishing villages, where nothing is now heard but the wild cry of wolves and jackalls—the revenue from *three lakhs* of rupees has dwindled down to 16,000, and the banditti of Fazul Ally have carried fire and sword throughout Nanparah, reducing that once peaceful, opulent, and prosperous country to one horrible scene of pillage, devastation, and wide-spread ruin.

The following is a translation of the letter addressed by Colonel Sleeman to the King on the 25th of March, 1854, alluded to above.

"I forward an official report stating that Zyroolabdeen Mogul is entertaining men of Iran, for the purpose of sending them to the district of Nanparah, at the instigation of Jenab Aulea. Of the disturbed state of that district I heard long ago; but I made no reference to your Majesty, in the expectation that such a state of things would soon come to a termination. Now that it has continued a long time, and day by day disturbances increase, I would represent to your Majesty, that Nanparah yields a large revenue; its income averaged from 2½ to 3 lakhs of rupees. Enmity having arisen between the elder and younger widows of the late Munour Ally Khan Talookdar, and your Majesty's mother having afforded assistance to the latter, and caused the expulsion of the elder widow and the son of the deceased, the district has been much devastated. In the many battles which have been fought between the troops of your Majesty and those of the Talookdar, many men have been killed and wounded; life and property of the subjects sacrificed; the country is desolated; and the income stopped. The father of the younger widow, who has proceeded thither ostensibly for the settlement of the country, is altogether unworthy, and incompetent to transact business with propriety; and the desolation of the district is daily increasing: under the circumstances, I would propose that a trustworthy person be deputed to introduce into Nanparah the system of Kham Tehseel, now in operation in Toolseepore, populate the district, adopt measures for the settlement of the Government revenue, and adjust the numerous disputes existing there; that the two widows and son be ordered to reside in some other district, and provided with subsistence allowance to be paid them regularly; and that Jenab Aulea be constrained to forego all connection with that district, inasmuch as it is contrary to custom; and that she should be reimbursed if she has laid out any money of her own therein. If these measures be carried out immediately, the district will prosper; but if any delay intervenes, the ryuts will desert their homes and take refuge in the surrounding jungles; and this district, like Khyreegurh and Kurchunpore, will be utterly desolated. When a country is depopulated, and is covered

* An escaped convict, one of the four men who wounded the former Minister, Ameen-ood-Dowlah.

over with jungles, it can with difficulty recover its prosperity even in one or two hundred years.

"Zyroolabdeen ought to be immediately prevented from entertaining people, and directed to disband and disperse those he has already collected. If the men of Iran get even a spot of ground to put their foot upon, they will do much harm to your Majesty's country, in the same manner as they have done in the principality of Hyderabad; and the root of their evil deeds will with difficulty be eradicated; though they are at present but few, they will eventually become numerous. The Nizam of Hyderabad originally employed but a few Arabs and Pathans; but, when he perceived their audacity, he dismissed them, and the troops of the Honourable Company expelled them from the country; they returned, however, clandestinely, with augmented numbers, into the districts of Hyderabad, and, when they could not obtain employment under the Nizam, they procured employment under the Talookdars. Whatever disturbances they have since committed are well known; to explain them is unnecessary."

To the above the King replied as follows on the 10th of April, 1854:

"I have received your letter of the 25th of March, 1854, on the subject of the district of Nanparah, and have carried out the measures proposed therein. Serajoolhug, whom I sent with Mahseeh-ood-Dowlah to wait upon you, and you approved of, has been appointed for the settlement of that district, and is about to proceed thither."

It appears, however, that no settlement has been attempted, founded on a recognition of the rightful claims of the dispossessed Rajah; consequently hostilities have never ceased.

I have, &c.
J. OUTRAM.

Inclosure 5 in No. 1.

Major-General Outram to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir, *Lucknow Residency, February* 14, 1855.

IN continuation of my letter, dated the 6th instant, I have the honour to request that you will draw the attention of the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council to the following notifications in subsequent diaries, reporting further defection and threatened hostilities against the Oude Government, under the influence of anxiety caused by which, the Minister came yesterday to ask my advice. A detail of what passed, drawn up at my request by Captain Hayes, who was present on the occasion, is herewith transmitted for the information of his Lordship in Council.

Extracts from Diary.

6th February.—"Zubber Sing, the Zemindar of Mouza Seorie, in Pergunnah Mahumdie, with other landholders, has refused to pay the usual yearly tribute to the Government, and is preparing to resist by force the demands of the Amil Kishen Sahai. He (the Amil) has marched against the Zemindar with a body of men and some guns, and on the 1st of February commenced an attack upon the Ghurhee. The Amil has already had four Sepoys and one Havildar wounded. The Zemindar has had one man killed by a round shot. It appears that the Amil commenced the attack with a very small supply of ammunition, which was expended the first day; but he has applied to the Talookdars of Meetowlee and Mahumdee for reinforcements, both of men and supplies of ammunition."

11th February.—"Goorbuksh Sing Talookdar, of Ramnuggur Dhansecree, has collected 6,000 followers with hostile intentions. He exercises his artillery every day, and receives reinforcements from his allies from every quarter. The Amil of the Elaka declares that, unless the Government adopts stringent measures against the Talookdar, it will be difficult to collect the revenue."

I have, &c.
J. OUTRAM.

Sub-Inclosure to Inclosure 5 in No. 1.

Notes of a conversation which passed between Major-General Outram, and the Nawab Alee Nukee Khan Bahadoor, Prime Minister, at the Residency, February 13, 1855.

THE Minister detailed the various reports which had reached him from the local authorities in the north of Oude, relative to the hostilities which had recently broken out between the Talookdar of Ramnuggur Dhanseeree and the King's Collector, and the inability of the King's servants to coerce the landholder, who, with some 6,000 peasantry, occupied a strong position in a large island in the River Gogra. He stated that reinforcements had been ordered to the Collector's army, which, from want of ammunition and men, had rendered it impossible for the local authorities heretofore to subdue the rebel. The Minister mentioned that the Talookdar, like many others in various parts of Oude, had refused to pay his dues, or wait on the Amil to balance his accounts. The Minister, therefore, hoped the Resident would be good enough to favour him with such advice and counsel as he might be kind enough to give, in order to repress the lawless audacity of the landowners and maintain tranquillity.

The Resident, in expressing his anxious desire to benefit His Majesty's Government by his friendly advice, observed that it was impossible to frame any general line of conduct on such occasions without becoming acquainted with the full particulars of the case, and more especially so, as the Resident was unaware what might be the amount of the Talookdar's rent roll, what he had been in the habit of paying to Government in former years, and what amount had in the present instance been demanded from the landowners, suggesting at the same time, for the Minister's information, that the Talookdar had been, in all probability, driven to despair, and had taken up arms in the hope of repelling by force that which otherwise would have been extorted by the rapacity of the Amil, and extracted from the revenue of a district already heavily assessed; that it was notorious that the extortion, oppression, and exactions of the local authorities, uncontrolled by any systematic surveillance of the central Government, were but imperfectly known by the Durbar, although they were the immediate cause of driving all the cultivators and the peasantry into rebellions, as the only resource of a crushed tenantry, from whom revenue was collected in the exact ratio of their inability to resist by force the lawless exactions of the King's subordinates.

The Resident illustrated his argument by a reference to the warfare, which had devastated the fine province of Salone only a few weeks ago, when a landholder of great property and influence in the district had been compelled to stand a siege and defy the King's troops, because Mehudee Husein, the King's Collector, had demanded an amount of revenue which the Talookdar was totally and helplessly unable to contribute; and, finding no escape by argument, reason, and appeal to former contributions to the State, had been obliged to collect his tenantry, and defend by arms his estate, fields, and farms. The Minister feigned astonishment at the possibility of such acts on the part of the King's servants, and declared that the amount demanded from the Talookdar of Salone was the very same which he had been able to pay the Government twenty years ago—that it was but a small amount, a light assessment, which, even trivial as it was, the Talookdar refused to pay. The Resident replied that the allusion to the amount paid twenty years ago was rather unfortunate, inasmuch as it was notorious to all, both the British authorities and the people at large, that unhappily the revenues of Oude had progressively deteriorated, during the last twenty years, to an alarming amount, such as to excite much regret and dismay among all who were His Majesty's best friends; that it was physically impossible for landowners in the present day to contribute the same amount as that which they had paid in former times of comparative prosperity, peace, and good government; that it was obvious that the claims on estates for revenue should be based on accurate estimates of the capability and resources of the various localities, without any arbitrary reference to former periods.

The Minister then observed that, in spite of exemptions, the landholders never paid a farthing, unless they were compelled by force to do so; that the troops were generally incapable of coercing them, owing to great numbers in

each regiment being children, and often old women, heirs or relatives of those who had been killed, or had died in the service; that he had no control over this vicious system of disorganizing the army at the expense of the State; and expressed his readiness to assess the lands and collect the revenue in any way the Resident might deem most expedient.

The Resident then remarked that he was unable to form any opinions, or give any advice, on any questions connected with the collection of the revenues, unless he was put in possession of that information which he had repeatedly sought and asked for, not only from the Minister, but through His Majesty's Vakeel; that he had repeatedly requested that the particulars of the revenue, customs, and resources of the country, together with details of expenditure, might be communicated to him; that his predecessors had received items and statistics of the same nature as that which he was desirous to possess; that as far back as Colonel Richmond's incumbency, the reports had been conveyed and recorded; that subsequently they had been in a similar form received, and that he deemed it necessary, for a full consideration of all the important questions which daily arose, that he also should receive, from the Durbar, the same amount of information; that, if it was withheld, and he saw no prospect of receiving it, it would be the Resident's unpleasant duty to inform the Government which he had the honour to represent, that he had been unsuccessful in his application; and in that case there was very little doubt that the motives for withholding the information would be estimated at their proper significance, and the impression resulting therefrom would be highly prejudicial to the best interests of His Majesty. The Minister endeavoured to excuse himself by assuring the Resident that no such accounts of income and expenditure could ever have been given by his Government, or communicated from the records of the Durbar; that they were, in all probability, the production of some private individual, and not official statements, communicated by Government servants, and transmitted through the usual channels. The Minister then begged the Resident to allow the Vakeels of some of the refractory landholders to wait upon him; but to this proposition the Resident felt compelled to object, stating that he had no faith in Lucknow Vakeels; that, if he (the Resident) has to interpose between the Durbar and the refractory Talookdars, he must see the Talookdars themselves; and that it behoved the Minister to procure their presence by sending to them such Bhandra as would induce them to come in, which, together with the assurance that their cases would be submitted to the investigation of the Resident, would, he was satisfied, suffice for that purpose. The Minister at once declared that he would take steps to effect this; but the Resident added that he had no wish to interfere until he was put in possession of the facts on both sides of the case, and that this never could happen as long as the Durbar persisted in withholding the statistics of the country from his perusal and cognizance; that he was by no means sure or satisfied that the demands of the revenue Collectors were not oppressive exactions; and that, in the absence of all details from the Oude Durbar, which might remove the unhappy impressions which were prevalent and public, the Resident could not fail to attach very much credence to the popular statements, many of which had been corroborated on unimpeachable testimony by the evidence of unprejudiced and respectable persons. It remained with His Majesty's Government to remove these impressions, by frankly confiding to the Resident the particulars of the resources and expenses of the Durbar, together with such details of former collections as might tend to place the truth or falsehood of the landowners prominently before himself. After some further remarks, in which the Minister endeavoured still further to avoid the subject of the production of the revenue details, he paid his respects to the Resident, and withdrew, and thus the interview terminated.

F. HAYES, *Assistant Resident.*

Inclosure 6 in No. 1.

Major-General Outram to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir, *Lucknow Residency, March 15, 1855.*

IN accordance with the instructions conveyed in your letter dated the 24th of November, 1854, I have applied myself, since my arrival at Lucknow, on the 5th of December last, to an inquiry into the present state of Oude; and have now the honour to submit the result of that inquiry.

2. In the absence of any personal experience in this country, I am of course entirely dependent for my information on what I find in the Residency records, and can ascertain through the channels which supplied my predecessor; but, deeply impressed as I am with the responsibility I impose on myself in placing before Government a representation, on which, as I am aware, very grave considerations and important measures may be founded, I have been most anxious to test the accuracy of the information so obtained by every possible means; and my endeavour to acquire evidence, whether counter to, or confirmatory of, that information, and of the representations of my predecessors, has so long delayed the completion of this report.

3. With this object, I availed myself of a question lately raised by the Lieutenant-Governor of the North Western Provinces, with regard to the present system of border police, &c., to submit a series of questions to the magistrates of the neighbouring British districts, which, though apparently intended merely to obtain information bearing on the matter under discussion (for to have put more direct queries might have raised embarrassing conjectures as to their object), were also calculated to elicit the opinions of those gentlemen as to the extent of misrule and anarchy prevailing within the Oude territory during the past few years, in so far as the prosperity, or otherwise, of their own districts is affected thereby; their position in the immediate vicinity,—the nature of their duties, which bring them into constant intercourse with the Oude people,—and their honourable characters,—rendering them peculiarly capable of forming a tolerably correct judgment, and insuring their giving an unbiassed opinion. Their replies are appended, Nos. 1 to 5 of A., and will be commented on hereafter.

pendix A, Nos. 1 to 5.

4. I also obtained, through Captain Hayes, valuable information as to the present state of matters in the districts; from Major Troup, of the Bengal Army, commanding the 2nd Oude Light Infantry, an officer of the highest character, who has been stationed within the Oude territory eighteen years; from Captain Bunbury, commanding one of the King's Regiments; from Captain Patrick Orr, commanding one of the King's Regiments; from Captain Alexander Orr, 2nd Assistant to the Superintendent of the Oude Frontier Police; and from Lieutenant Sinclair, of Sobha Sing's Regiment;—whose statements are given in Appendix B.

Appendix B.

5. For convenience of reference, I append also a précis of the history of our connection with the Oude Government from the earliest period, for which I am indebted to Captain Hayes (marked C). I have myself studied that history, as recorded in the Residency archives and elsewhere; and, with reference to the entire period of that connection, antecedent to the present King's reign, and subsequent to the Treaty of A.D. 1801, I cannot but feel impressed with the justice of the conclusion drawn therefrom by Colonel Sleeman, thus expressed three years ago:—

Appendix C.

"Fifty years of sad experience have shown that the hopes in which the Treaty of 1801 was founded, that Sovereigns of the reigning family of Oude would be disposed and able to form and carry out, by means of their own officers, a system of administration calculated to secure life and property,—to promote the welfare and happiness of the people of Oude,—and to render the alliance of the British Government, who were to protect those Sovereigns from all foreign and domestic enemies, if not honourable to that Government, at least irreproachable,—were altogether fallacious, and can never be realized."

Report dated cember 10, 1851. Paragraph 6.

6. Such a conviction being forced on my mind by the unsatisfactory results of the lax administration of previous Sovereigns of Oude, I have now

to examine how far the rule of the present King, during the seven years embraced in his reign, has been calculated to strengthen, or modify, that conviction; for, although directed merely to inquire "into the present state of this country, with a view to determine whether its affairs still continue in the state in which Colonel Sleeman, from time to time, described them to be," the object of that inquiry, as stated in the ninth paragraph of my instructions, imposes on me the duty of comparing the present state of affairs with what that gentleman described up to the date of his latest report (10th of December, 1851), which involves the necessity of clearly defining the nature of those representations, as well as those of his immediate predecessor, Colonel Richmond, subsequent to the accession of His Majesty, in order that a correct estimate may be formed of the actual state of Oude, at the present time, as compared with its condition previous to Colonel Sleeman's last report, but more especially as it existed at the end of 1847; that Government may thus be enabled to judge "whether the improvement which Lord Hardinge then peremptorily demanded at the hands of the King has in any degree been effected."

7. I am called upon, as I understand my instructions, simply to submit the facts. I do not presume, therefore, to intrude on Government any opinion of my own as to the duty now imposed on it, or measures to be adopted, in consequence of the unsatisfactory result of the further trial which Lord Hardinge afforded to His present Majesty in November, 1847; and, as the simplest mode of fulfilling this duty, *i. e.* of placing before the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council the present state of the Oude Government, I purpose in this Report to consider each branch of the Government, with the results of the administration in each, and the extent of crime, oppression, &c. now prevailing, under separate heads, as follows:

1. The Sovereign and his Minister.
2. Revenue and Finance.
3. Judicial Courts and Police.
4. The Army.
5. Roads and Public Works.
6. Statistics of Crimes, &c.
7. Oppression, Cruelties, &c.

1. *The Sovereign and his Minister.*

8. The incapacity of the King for the duties of his high position was early forseen by Captain Shakespear, the officiating Resident, who, on the 29th of September, 1845, thus alluded to His Majesty, then Heir Apparent:

"The prospect which the present reign offers is truly a melancholy one, and, in case of anything happening to the King, I should much dread that the future will become still more clouded. The Heir Apparent's character holds out no prospect of good. By all accounts his temper is capricious and fickle. His days and nights are passed in the female apartments, and he appears wholly to have resigned himself to debauchery, dissipation, and low pursuits."

9. His Majesty ascended the throne on the 13th of February, 1847, under the title of Mahomed Wajid Alee Shah Padshah.

10. Colonel Richmond, the Resident, after one year and nine months of intercourse with the King, thus describes His Majesty's character and habits. After quoting the above extract, he observes:—

"Captain Shakespear's long residence at Lucknow, in connection with the Residency, gave him ample opportunity to become acquainted with His present Majesty's character. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that the unexpected ascension of so young a prince to the throne, with the habits described by Captain Shakespear strong upon him, surrounded by low menials who had assisted him in his dissipation, and with only that degree of education which native princes receive, should have led His Majesty to consider himself as having arrived at the height of earthly felicity, and, wondering what bonds and laws were to curb the will of a King, to indulge in acts of favoritism to his attendants, without regard to the injury inflicted on his subjects." And the Resident, after detailing at length the misrule which prevailed, concludes by repeating his conviction of the correctness of the opinion he had previously offered, "to the effect that the evils existing in the present administration will

Letter dated November 24, 18

Letter dated March 21, 184

increase to such a degree as to necessitate the adoption of some decided measures of amelioration."

11. The evils here alluded to arose from the King allowing himself to be guided by low and incapable advisers, eunuchs, fiddlers, and songsters, against whose appointment to public offices of trust and responsibility Lord Hardinge had personally remonstrated with His Majesty, besides recording his objections to their employment in an official Memorandum which his Lordship presented to the King on the occasion of their interview in November, 1847.

12. In that and previous letters, Colonel Richmond strongly animadverted on the pernicious effect of the influence of these people over the King, to counteract which the Minister was, he stated, "helpless and incapable;" the Resident having "reason to believe that he (the Minister) was bound by some engagement not to molest the fiddlers and songsters, previous to his appointment to office; and he dare not bring forward any charges of interference against them, and invariably acts as their defender on any representations of their misconduct. * * * The King is so infatuated regarding these men, that he would sacrifice anything rather than oppose them in their intermeddlings, or punish them when acting contrary to his orders."

13. About three months after the passage above quoted was written, the Resident appears to have brought the King to a temporary sense of his folly in persisting in the course he had heretofore pursued with respect to these objectionable persons; for, on the 22nd of June, 1848, he transmitted to Government "a written agreement made by His Majesty the King of Oude with Colonel Richmond, C.B., as an assurance of His Majesty's intention to prevent eunuchs, singers, and other improper persons, from holding office under the Oude Government, either directly or indirectly," wherein His Majesty solemnly pledged himself, not only to exclude them from any Government office whatever, but also not to allow them to "interfere in the army in any branch, nor in any matter connected with it." Notwithstanding which pledge, not six months had elapsed when Colonel Richmond had to report its non-fulfilment, and handed up "a statement of offices and corps held by singing-men and eunuchs, which will show," he observed, "the uselessness of my endeavours to prevent their obtaining employ under Government."

Report dated November 24, 1848.

14. Colonel Sleeman, who assumed charge of the Residency in January, 1849, subsequently made repeated efforts to rescue the King from the ignominious thraldom of these despicable parasites; but to no avail. I extract some of his allusions to them, with a view to show that he was as fully alive as his predecessor to the injurious tendency of their influence:—

Letter dated June 21, 1849.

"His Minister sees him (the King) occasionally, but is the only gentleman that does see him. The only other men that see him, are the singers from Rampore and Delhi, against whom he was so earnestly cautioned by the Governor-General, and the eunuchs whose influence is, if possible, still more mischievous than that of the singers. * * * The Minister is obliged to succumb to these singers and eunuchs, and conform to their will, or he could not hold his place. They meddle in all affairs, and influence the King's decision in every reference made to him; and the responsible agents, in whose name the order is given, dare not complain."

Report dated October 10, 1851.

"In spite of all that I have urged upon His Majesty, he continues to confide the conduct of his affairs to the same worthless and incompetent characters; to devote all his time to personal gratifications and frivolous amusements; and to manifest the same utter disregard to his duties and high responsibilities. The same insecurity of life and property in all parts of his dominions is felt; the same maladministration and malversations prevail in all departments; and it seems to be the general impression that the system is too inveterate to admit of a remedy without the interposition of the British Government in some form or other."

Letter dated February 16, 1852.

"Not the slightest alteration has since taken place in His Majesty's conduct. His time is altogether occupied in the same frivolous amusements and personal gratifications; and I see not the slightest prospect of his ever devoting any portion of his time and attention to public business."

15. Under such influences, operating on the mind of a Sovereign physically incapable of appreciating or fulfilling the high duties of his position, nothing but the most lamentable consequences could result; and they have been

repeatedly brought to the notice of Government by my predecessor, as shown in the following extracts from his reports:—

"The King has not, since the Governor-General's visit in October, 1847, shown any signs of 'being fully aware of the responsibility he incurs,' if he neglects, during the interval then allowed to him, to introduce the requisite reforms in his administration. In fact, I do not think that His Majesty can ever be brought to feel the responsibility of sovereignty strongly enough to be induced to bear that portion of the burden of its duties which must necessarily devolve upon him; he will always confide it to the worthless minions who are kept for his amusement, and enjoy exclusively his society and confidence. * * * During former reigns, the King always held a Durbar once a week, and often more frequently. At this all his relations, and the native gentlemen in the city, had an opportunity of paying their respects to their Sovereign, and speaking to him. This custom was continued for the first three or four months of the present reign, when it was discontinued, and has never since been resumed; and the only persons, save the females, who now see and speak to the King, are the Minister, the singers, and the eunuchs. * * * Under all former Sovereigns, the Resident's written communications at least were sure to reach the King, and receive his consideration and orders; but I am satisfied that, under the present reign, very few ever reach him, or are made known to him." Report dated June 21, 1849.

"His Majesty has utterly disregarded the advice then given by the Governor-General; he has done nothing to improve the administration; abstained from no personal indulgence; given no attention whatever to public affairs. He had before that time tried to imitate his father, attend a little to public affairs, and see occasionally the members of the royal family and aristocracy of the city, and heads of Departments; but the effort was painful, and soon ceased. He had from boyhood mixed in no other society than that in which he now mixes, and will never submit to the restraints of any other." Report dated July 7, 1851.

"The Resident is helpless for purposes of good. His advice is disregarded, or his efforts to secure redress for wrongs, or remedies for wide-spreading evils, are thwarted, or the Sovereign's orders founded thereon are perverted, for their own vile and selfish purposes, by those who have his ear and confidence, and persuade the Minister that he may continue to disregard the advice and remonstrances of the British Resident, since he has done so with impunity so long. * * * Numerous instances of all these evils and sufferings, and of the apathy with which they are viewed by the Oude Government, are contained in the diaries which it is my duty to submit every month to Government; but they are not a tenth part of what every month takes place. The Resident has every month to report flagrant instances of some sort, after careful investigation, for the consideration and orders of the Governor-General, all tending to show an utter disregard of the solemn duties imposed upon the Sovereigns of Oude and their Ministers by the Treaties of 1801 and 1837, and the most earnest admonitions and warnings of the different Governors-General who have visited Lucknow for the especial purpose of impressing them more strongly upon these Sovereigns and Ministers in personal conferences. All have been of no avail, and I am persuaded that they must continue to be so while the administration continues in the hands of the Sovereign of Oude and this family." Report dated October 10, 1851.

16. The evil consequences of the King's incapacity and subserviency to the sycophants who alone have access to him, might have been averted, to some extent at least, by the exertions of the able Minister, and his father, who was in power when His Majesty ascended the throne; but, ere he had reigned four months, that Minister was dismissed, and Nawab Alee Nukee Khan, the present Minister, appointed, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of the Resident, who, under instructions, thus protested against the measure, on the 3rd of August, 1847:

"If, after mature consideration, your Majesty should still desire a change of Ministry, the act will rest solely with yourself; but I consider it my duty clearly to point out to your Majesty that, in the appointment of a successor, I have a right by solemn Treaty to offer you my advice; and, by the same Treaty, your Majesty is equally bound to follow the advice that may be tendered. On this point there can be no doubt whatever; and, if your Majesty is desirous of acquiescing in my opinion and advice, good and well; but if, on the other hand, you persist in acting otherwise, I am instructed by the Right

Honourable the Governor-General pointedly to inform you that, by the dismissal of the Minister appointed by his late Majesty, and the selection of a successor, you are about to incur the responsibility of the consequences which may result from this act; and, as it will be your Majesty's duty to establish such an administration, to be carried on by your own officers, as shall ensure the prosperity of the people, any neglect of this essential principle is an infraction of the Treaty; and the Governor-General must, in the performance of his duty, require your Majesty to fulfil your obligations to your subjects."

The result is thus reported by Colonel Richmond:—

Letter dated August 5, 1847.

"It only remains for me to observe that no sooner was His Majesty informed at the interview that the selection and its consequent responsibilities rested with him, than he, without the slightest hesitation, took the entire responsibility on himself, and named the Nawab Alee Nukee Khan as the person whom he wished to place in the Ministry. I declined any answer to the King's proposal, until addressed in writing, lest His Majesty should hereafter, in the event of any maladministration, plead that the new Minister was appointed with my entire approval."

The Resident's written acknowledgment of the act, addressed to His Majesty, was as follows:—

"I have received your Majesty's letter of this date (4th August), in reply to mine of yesterday, intimating that it is your wish and intention to nominate the Nawab Alee Nukee Khan as the Minister to conduct the affairs of your Government, notwithstanding my friendly advice. In following out your Majesty's pleasure in this important matter, it is only necessary for me to remind you that this is your own selection, and that the whole responsibility of the consequences rests with yourself, as fully explained to your Majesty during the audience yesterday, and in the letter which I presented to you."

17. It has been shown how utterly the King had disregarded the responsibilities of the Sovereign; and I have now to examine how far the responsibilities of the Minister have been fulfilled, of which His Majesty thus unhesitatingly assumed the burden.

18. After upwards of a year's experience of the Minister, Colonel Richmond thus reports of him:—

Letter dated November 24, 1848.

"One of the first acts of favoritism, having an evil effect upon the state of the kingdom, was the appointment of the present Minister, whose entire unacquaintance with the commonest principles of Government rendered him an improper person for his office. * * * In addition to incapacity, the Nawab Alee Nukee Khan had, as formerly reported, to struggle against the improper interference of other favorites in the best manner he could, as any opposition to such conduct on their part subjected him to the displeasure of the King, and, in due course of time, his want of energy, and fear of losing office, caused him to consider the necessity of making friends with those parties who, I have every reason to believe, have so entangled him that he is unable to oppose them in any of their acts."

19. And Colonel Sleeman, after the lapse of another year, and subsequently, thus testifies to the Minister's dishonesty as well as inefficiency:—

Report dated September 24, 1849.

"In collusion with the Dewan, he (the Minister) frames a plausible balance-sheet to satisfy the King that all is as it should be, while more than one-third of the revenue remains uncollected at the end of the year; all the public establishments and stipendiaries are deeply in arrears; the treasury is empty; scores of landholders are in open rebellion, with large armed forces; and life and property are nowhere secure. * * * The Minister's perquisites are estimated at seven lakhs of rupees a-year, over and above his salary of 9,500 rupees a month, or one lakh and fourteen thousand rupees a year. They often exceed this sum, and seldom fall below it."

Report dated July 7, 1851.

"Of the Minister I shall say nothing more, than that he appears to me to be the most deeply interested of all in maintaining the worst abuses of the present system of administration; and that I consider it painful and humiliating to be obliged, by my public duties, to hold any longer communication with such a person, on the subject of the many evils which he could, but will not, remedy; of the many wrongs which he could, but will not, redress; and of the many fearful sufferings which he could, but will not, relieve."

Letter dated January 4, 1851.

"I shall not take advantage of a report upon this particular case, to trespass on his Lordship with any general remarks on the present state of the

administration in Oude, but merely mention, that the King leaves all power ostensibly to the Minister; that he (the Minister) is interfered with in the exercise of that power by many worthless characters, male and female, who have access to the King, and make themselves agreeable or convenient to him, and in return pervert his orders and sell his favours; that the Minister is wanting in character and ability, and feels little regard for the reputation of his Sovereign, or welfare of the people; and that he, and all under him, appear to be making the most of the present opportunities, in the expectation that the threatened interposition of the British Government cannot be much longer deferred, when all will be permitted to keep what they have got, without the scrutiny which usually follows the demise of an Oriental Sovereign."

20. And again, with reference to an atrocious murder perpetrated by a high officer of the State, Colonel Sleeman reports:—

"In spite of the fullest proof of his guilt that an honest Court could desire, the Nazim has been acquitted by the Mujtahid; and I am persuaded that he has been so, solely under the pernicious influence of the Minister. The Mujtahid himself, his son, and brother, hold high and lucrative offices, and almost all the members of his family enjoy stipends at the pleasure of the Sovereign and his Minister for the time being; and the present Minister has certainly been an accessory to this murder after the fact, while there are strong grounds to believe that he was so before the fact." Letter dated September 20, 1851.

21. The misrule which prevailed under the apathy of the Sovereign and incapacity of the Minister above described, is forcibly pourtrayed in the reports of my predecessor, up to the 10th of December, 1851, the latest general report which Colonel Sleeman appears to have submitted; but I am assured by Captain Hayes that, up to the day of giving over charge of his office (12th August, 1854), no modification had taken place in that officer's sentiments. That they were strengthened, on the contrary, by subsequent experience and further intercourse with the King and Minister, may be gathered from the whole tenor of Colonel Sleeman's official correspondence. And that he did not fail to make known those convictions to His Majesty himself, is shown by a letter which he addressed to the King on the 17th of August, 1853, which, for convenience of reference, I append below,* though a copy was transmitted to Government with his dispatch, dated the 21st of October, 1853, No. 36.

* Letter addressed by Colonel Sleeman to the King, on the 17th of August, 1853:—

"I have received your letter of the 9th of August, on the subject of the dismissal of Buzlor Raheem, and your surprise that I have not represented the merits of your administration in such a way as to satisfy the Governor-General, and bring about a return to former usages and correspondence. I have submitted to His Lordship in Council all the correspondence on these subjects. As regards the merits of the present administration of affairs in Oude, as set forth in your letters, I have no doubt that you believe them to be a truthful picture; but I have reason to believe them otherwise. They appear to me to be drawn up by persons interested in deceiving Your Majesty as to the real state of your affairs. I believe that Your Majesty is anxious to see your affairs well managed, and your country prosperous, and that you would not willingly give pain to any one; but the fact is that, while the Sovereign of the country never looks into his own affairs, or sees that his servants do their duty, and protect his people—on the contrary, devotes himself to his pleasures, and abandons his affairs and his people entirely to his servants—his country can never be well governed. I know that Your Majesty pays no regard to the state of your country, or the condition of your people, and that the representations of the state of your administration, contained in the documents submitted to the Government of India, are altogether erroneous; and, as long as I believe them to be so, I shall never declare them to be otherwise. Although some of the districts, which were formerly held in contract, have now been put under trust management, yet this has afforded no relief to your suffering subjects, nor has it brought more revenue into your treasury. To secure your subjects from oppression, it is necessary that they should be able to make their distresses known to you, and that you should have servants over them who would afford redress when ordered to do so by you. But here your Minister has dismissed all the newswriters who were formerly attached to Amils of districts to report their proceedings, on the ground that such officers are unnecessary in districts under the amanee or trust management system, so that you can never learn the sufferings of the people, much less afford redress. All the Amils pay largely to your officers at Court, and, as long as they do so, they feel they can plunder your people with impunity under their shield, and without any fear of punishment from their Sovereign. It is erroneous to suppose that the local officers take less from your people under the trust, than under the contract, system. They take more under the trust system, and that alone is their motive for putting more districts under that system.

"In regard to affairs in the city of Lucknow, your eunuchs, your fiddlers, your poets, and your Minister's creatures, plunder the people here as much as your Amils plunder them in the distant districts. They all have their separate courts of justice, and, on the pretence of adjudicating claims under your authority against them, they imprison and ruin whomsoever they please. For instance, the house and family of Sah Rugburdial, and those of the Raja Ruttun Sing, are being utterly ruined by the selfishness of these people, who take care that their disputes shall never be adjusted while they have anything left worth preserving. In the same manner they are trying to rob

22. After upwards of three months of careful scrutiny into the state of affairs at this capital; after acquiring trust-worthy information as to the state of affairs in the provinces; after reviewing the correspondence which has passed between the Residency and the Durbar, since Colonel Sleeman's report above referred to; after examining the details of crimes perpetrated in Oude, subsequent to that date, recorded in the diaries, which I know to display far short of the truth; and, after obtaining such insight as I could acquire into the financial circumstances of the State; I find it impossible to form any other opinion, with respect to the conduct of the King and its consequences, than that recorded by my predecessor three years ago, whose very words, as then expressed, I here repeat as equally applicable now:

Report dated December 10, 1851.

"His Majesty continues to confide the conduct of his affairs to the same worthless and incompetent characters, to devote all his time to personal gratifications and frivolous amusements, and to manifest the same utter disregard of his duties and responsibilities. The same insecurity to life and property in all parts of his dominions is felt; the same maladministration and malversations prevail in all departments."

23. The malversation and misrule here adverted to will hereafter be exemplified in my consideration of the different branches of the administration; but, before entering into those details, it is but due to His Majesty to state that, while so lamentably regardless of the interests of his own people, he appears ever to have been anxious to meet the wishes of the British Government, so far as its interests were concerned; as, for instance, in establishing the frontier police—from which great benefit to the neighbouring British districts has been derived—at a cost annually to the Oude State of rupees 77,062. And, in justice to the Oude Government, I would beg to draw the attention of his Lordship the Governor-General in Council to the nineteenth paragraph of Colonel Sleeman's Report dated the 23rd of February, 1849, giving a detail of useful institutions maintained by that Government for the benefit of Europeans, at a monthly outlay of rupees 3,919, or rupees 47,028 per annum.

24. In concluding these strong animadversions on the public conduct of the King of Oude, I hope I may be pardoned for quoting the testimony borne by my predecessor to the claims which His Majesty's family possess to the generous consideration of Government, while at the same time, in expressing his sense of our obligations to the Sovereign, he submits his opinion as to our duty to the people of Oude:

Colonel Sleeman's Report dated December 10, 1851.

"I believe no native Sovereigns in India have been better disposed towards the British Government than they have been, or have, in time of difficulty, rendered aid, to the extent of their ability, with more cordiality or cheerfulness. Though it is in vain to hope for a just and efficient administration, such as a British Government has a right to expect from the hereditary Sovereigns of this family, no reigning family in India has, I believe, a juster claim to the protection and consideration of the paramount power. But this claim cannot be considered to embrace the privilege of rendering wretched in perpetuity 5,000,000, whose welfare and happiness the British Government is pledged to promote, and whose lives and properties it is bound by solemn treaties to protect. It can only be considered to embrace the claim, under

the children of the late Prince Hoomaoon Bukht, of their inheritance, under pretence of authority to adjudicate the claims of his childless widow. Thus your people in the city are plundered by your favorites and parasites, while those in the districts are oppressed and ruined by your disorderly troops and your local officers, the favourites and creatures of your Minister. As to the arrest of robbers and great offenders, your Majesty is aware of the great efforts made by many of your officers to prevent their arrest, and conviction when arrested. As to what you say of your Ministers having adopted many of my suggestions for the good of the people, I shall not dwell upon the many important ones which they have neglected. I merely mention some of the more obvious ones, your grandmother's, that of the family of Raja Ruttun Sing, and that of Sah Rugburdial. What have they done in these? I would mention the difficulty I have had in securing the repair of the only metalled and bridged road in your Majesty's dominions, extending only a distance of fifty miles, from Lucknow to Cawnpore, while so many lakhs of rupees are squandered every year in idle pleasures and pomp. Your Majesty appears to me to have abandoned your people entirely to the discretion of your Minister, and any advice that I may offer to you for your own good, and that of your people, can do no good while your Minister prevents its being acted upon. I reply to your Majesty's letter thus fully and frankly, because I think it to be my duty to do so as your disinterested friend; but I cannot indulge the hope that any good will result from it, because I cannot persuade myself that you will yourself seriously consider what I have written, and exert yourself to follow the advice given."

any arrangement that the paramount power may deem necessary for the effectual performance of its duty towards the people, of such a provision, out of the revenues derived from these people, as shall enable them, and their families and dependants, to live, in perpetuity, in suitable dignity and comfort."

2. Revenue and Finance.

25. The territorial revenues of Oude are derived from four sources:— 1. The Khalsa, or Crown Estates; 2. Huzoor Tehseel, wherein the landholders pay direct to Government; 3. Districts comprising the estates of Talookdars and Zemindars, the revenues of which are held in izarah, or under contract; 4. Districts, similarly composed, held under amanee, or trust management.

Khalsa land.

26. The first ought to be the most advantageous to the King, as being, in fact, personal property; but the following extract from a letter, received from an intelligent and experienced local officer but a month ago, too faithfully displays how shamefully His Majesty has been defrauded in that branch of his property, under the total absence of supervision which now prevails. In this extract one district alone is instanced, wherein the State has been deprived of its proprietary rights, or direct control over some 625 out of 650 villages; but I have reason to believe, with Captain Orr, that "all over Oude it is the same case," as respects Khalsa property.

Letter from Captain Orr dated January 5, 1855. No. 4 of Appendix B.

"Another cause of defalcation can be traced to the following source. Not many years ago there were hundreds, nay thousands, of villages, not belonging to Talookdars, but directly under the Crown, called the Khalsa villages. Since several years, the Chuckledars, in consideration of large bribes, have been in the habit of making these villages over to Talookdars, without sufficiently increasing the Jumma of former Puttahs. In this manner, the whole of the Bharaitch Khalsa, consisting of upwards of 650 villages, has been given over to the Pyagpore, Ekona, Churdah, and Bourhee Rajas, &c., and is now dwindled down to twenty or twenty-five villages; and all over Oude it is the same case. The revenue of the Khalsa villages was easily collected at a small expense to Government, very few men being required; whilst, to force the Talookdars to pay, the King is obliged to entertain a large standing army; and the Talookdars, in their turn, spend immense sums of money to keep up their own men in order to resist the Chuckledars' extortions. The greater part of this money could be saved to the King under a better system."

Huzoor Tehseel Estates.

27. The Huzoor Tehseel system, under which the Zemindars pay their revenue to the King without the intervention of local agents, has always proved more successful and popular in Oude than any other mode of management. When a Zemindar has been lucky enough to transfer his property from the superintendence of the local authorities to the "Huzoor Tehseel," he pays a certain amount of revenue, and no more, into the treasury, though a few bribes may possibly be given amongst the "Omlah" of the Huzoor Tehseel office. When the village is under the Huzoor Tehseel system, the Chuckledar is unable to increase the "jumma," or rent—has no power to seize any of the villagers as "begarees," or to press the people into his service—nor has he any power to make use of their services without payment for their labour; and his soldiers can no longer tear down the doors and windows of their dwellings for fuel, unroof their houses, or carry off the grass and fodder stored for the cattle of the villagers. In short, the villagers are in comparative comfort and security. Any acts of depredation are immediately reported to those by whose influence the village has been placed in the Huzoor Tehseel, and the Chuckledar is generally afraid to excite the hostility of Dewan Balkishen, who has its superintendence, and people about the Court. Out of the Huzoor Tehseel, the villages and their inhabitants are at the mercy of the Chuckledar. In the present day, however, many abuses have crept into the Huzoor Tehseel management, and almost as much oppression takes place as under the Chuckledaree system, because the Dewan and his subordinates are now in the habit of increasing the rents, and if this is not quietly acquiesced in, the Dewan threatens to make over the estate to the Chuckledar, and to subject its proprietor to all the miseries and extortions of the wretched farming system.

Colonel Low's Report dated July 15, 1841.

28. Colonel Low brought to the notice of Government the superior working of this mode of management, and stated, "The King seems quite sensible of

the advantages of that system, and wishes to extend it; but this is not always practicable, because zemindars of sufficient wealth and respectability of character cannot always be found. The system in question is only applied, and only considered to be applicable, by the Oude Government, to small portions of lands." In that year (1841), the amount of Huzoor Tehseel revenue was represented at rupees 8,87,316, and it is scarcely to be supposed that, if the more energetic monarch of that day, Mahomed Alee Shah, then found difficulty in extending the system, it can have since been very greatly increased, yet I observe among my predecessor's notes a statement of the Huzoor Tehseel revenue for 1260 fuslee (1852-53), which displays an amount of rupees 22,76,711. Whence derived, or how far Colonel Sleeman relied on the correctness of this statement, I know not, and I have been unable myself to obtain any trustworthy information on the subject; but I cannot believe that Huzoor Tehseel estates can have increased to such an extent during the six years which intervened before the present King ascended the throne, during whose feeble reign they are more likely to have decreased. I am credibly informed, for instance, that, in the Sultanpore Elaka, where formerly many villages were held under Huzoor Tehseel, none such now exist, Agaie Alee Khan having stipulated with the Minister, when he became Chuckledar four years ago, that no land was to be therein held under that system, which agreement is said to have been strictly maintained.

Izarah or Contract System.

29. The third—the contract, or farming system—so obviously disadvantageous to any Government, and so injurious to the people subjected to the exactions of the Contractor, whose object it must be to extort as much as possible during the term of his contract, without regard to the future, and which has generally prevailed throughout the Oude territory, had frequently been objected to by the Representatives of the British Government; and the substitution of the fourth, amanee, or trust system of management, had been repeatedly recommended, and occasionally tried, in previous reigns, with what result is thus stated by Colonel Sleeman:—

Amanee or Trust Management.

Colonel Sleeman's Report, dated September 24, 1849.

"Several experiments have been made of converting the contract into the amanee system over extensive districts of Oude; but the result has been always the same—a falling off in the revenue, and disappointment to the Government and the people. These experiments have been made at the earnest representation of the British Government and Representative. Under Ghazee-ood-deen, while Colonel Baillie was Resident, the contract system was converted into amanee all over Oude; but, in two years, the attempt was given up in despair, and the whole country was again let out to Contractors. Under Nusseer-ood-deen Hyder, while Hakeem Mehudee was Minister, and Mr. Maddock and Colonel Low Residents, a similar attempt was made on an extensive scale; but with the same result. In less than two years, all that was amanee was given to Contractors. Under Mahomed Alee Shah, the experiment was again made on an extensive scale, while Colonel Low and Colonel Caulfield were Residents. The Minister, Shurf-ood-Dowlah, to gratify them, made districts yielding an annual revenue of thirty-five lakhs of rupees amanee, and did all in his power to make the system work well. In two years, he was superseded; but his successor, Ameen-ood-Dowlah, did all he could to sustain the system. He was soon removed; and, under his successor, the system soon became nominal, and gave place openly to the old one of contract."

30. After so many failures, nothing but the strongest conviction, resulting from half a century's experience of the injurious effect of the prevalent contract system, could have induced the Government of India again to advise a recurrence to the amanee experiment.* But such was the lamentable state

* Colonel Low, when Resident in 1841, (*vide* his Report dated the 15th of July of that year,) expressed himself at that time averse to urge the substitution of the amanee for the farming system, which latter, he observed, "with many defects, has still something to recommend it under a native Government, where it is almost impossible to find honest men to conduct the amanee system;" and he stated his reasons at length. One of the most essential conditions on which they were founded, however, *i. e.*, that the farmer should have faith in the Government allowing him to retain his farm during the lease that had been granted to him, though applicable then, when, "if he pays regularly, he may really feel confident on that point with the present King," certainly would not have been applicable at any time during the present reign, when no one could have such reliance; for, as observed by Captain A. Orr, (Appendix B, No. 5,) "at the present time, how few Nazims reckon on holding their districts for more than one, or at the utmost two years, so much depending on Durbar intrigue or Durbar interest."

into which the people and country of Oude had been brought by the continuance of the contract system, when Lord Hardinge visited Lucknow, at the termination of 1847, that his Lordship was induced to urge the King again to have resort to trust management, as the only possible chance of effecting any amelioration and improvement.

31. There can be no doubt that, if fairly carried out, trust management is the most equitable for the people, and advantageous to the state; but, in order to insure its being properly carried out, not only was it incumbent on the King to select honest Amils to manage the amance districts, but also, to insure their honesty, that a strict supervision should be maintained over those Amils by the Government; and, in the vain hope that the King might be induced at last, by the exigencies of his position, to look into his affairs, so far as requisite to that end, and to effect the other ameliorations then indicated, a period of two years was given to his Majesty to carry out those objects, with the solemn warning of the consequences of failure referred to in the fifth paragraph of my instructions.

32. I have now to examine how far the obligations thus imposed on the King have been fulfilled.

33. The Governor-General's object in introducing the amanee system, as stated in the Memorandum he presented to the King, was the "fixing of a fair and moderate assessment," and that "when once fixed for a period of not less than five years, the assessment shall not be disturbed, unless with the advice and concurrence of the British Government." Yet, within six months of Lord Hardinge's communication, the Resident reported that he had "reason to believe that the changes made have been for personal pecuniary benefit to the Minister and those associated with him in the administration; the oftener, therefore, these changes take place, the greater the profit. A fixed assessment for five years has not yet been attempted."

Colonel Richmond's Report dated March 21, 1848.

34. Subsequently, Colonel Sleeman showed how the spirit of the arrangement had been evaded. "Some of the large Contractors, who have not been able to pay up their balances, have had their districts broken up, and the parts have been distributed in amanee, among persons who are ostensibly merely Collectors of revenue upon salaries, on a percentage of from five to seven per cent. upon the collections, for themselves and the establishments they require. The greater part of these persons are, however, virtually Contractors, pledged to pay into the Treasury a certain sum for the districts under their charge."

Colonel Sleeman's Report dated September 24, 1849.

35. And, after two and a half years further experience of the working of the so-called "amanee system," he thus showed that it was but a change of name; for that, in reality, the same evils were maintained in the one as in the other.

"Much stress is laid, in His Majesty's letter, on the circumstance of the land formerly under the contract system having been put under trust management. But in reality this change does not in the smallest degree benefit the people of Oude. The same abuse of authority and neglect of duty prevails under the one as under the other system. The same troops are employed in support of the local authorities in the one as in the other. There is the same rack-renting in the one as in the other, and the same uncertainty prevails as to the rate of the Government demand. The Manager under the amance, or trust system, demands the same secret gratuities and nuzzuranas for himself and his patrons at Court, from the landholders of all degrees, as the Contractor does; and, if they refuse to pay them, they are attacked, plundered, and cut up, and their estates desolated in the same manner. The Trust Manager knows that his tenure of office depends as much upon the amount which he pays to the public Treasury and influential persons about the Court, as that of the Contractor; and he exacts and extorts as much as he can in the same manner. Unless he pays his patrons the same, he knows that he will be soon removed from his charge, or driven to resign it, by the want of support and means to enforce the payment of the revenues justly due."

Colonel Sleeman's Report dated February 16, 1852.

36. It is here shown that, so far from Lord Hardinge's desideratum of a "fixed assessment for a period of not less than five years" having been effected, there had been no assessment at all, "the same uncertainty" still prevailing "as to the rate of the Government demand."

37. Colonel Sleeman then considered, apparently, that the exactions under the pretended amanee system were but as bad, and no worse, than those

which had heretofore existed under the contract system. Such may have been the case when he wrote three years ago; and I have nothing before me to show that he latterly had gained any further insight into the even greater exactions and oppressions that are now exacted under the amanee cloak, which my recent inquiries have brought to light.

Appendix B, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

38. The statements of Major Troup, Captain Bunbury, and Captains Patrick and Alexander Orr, forming Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 of Appendix B, establish this fact. Those gentlemen are unanimous in declaring that the ryuts are far worse off under the present amanee system than they were before; and they each support their assertions by incontrovertible figures and facts.

Major Troup observes, "The amanee system was introduced under the impression of its proving a blessing to the zemindars and ryuts; and doubtless it would have proved a great one, were the Amil an honest man; but the contrary is the case. Both Government and the ryuts suffer; and the only party who derives any benefit from the arrangement is the Amil. Under the izarah (contract) system the ryuts suffered (not more than under the amanee), but the Government did not. By what I have been able to learn from the people, the district of Sultanpore is more oppressed, and the conditions of zemindars and ryuts are worse, under the amanee system, than they were under the famous Raja Durshun Sing."

39. The district of Sultanpore,* and also those of Deriabad Rudowlee, are held in amanee by Agaie Alee Khan, who was appointed, at the instance of his close ally the Minister, almost immediately the latter attained office, in 1847. Before him, these districts were held in izarah by Raja Durshun Sing and his nephew Mhan Sing. They comprise upwards of one-third of the Oude territory,† and should provide at least a fourth of the revenue of the State, or from thirty-one to thirty-two lakhs annually. Were Agaie Alee an honest Amil, there is no servant of the King who is more capable of rendering the amanee system, under which he holds his vast charge, the blessing to the people, and advantage to the State, which it ought to be, for he is a very able man, and has unbounded power, owing to his influence over the Minister. But the following very full details of Agaie Alee's administration show that he is as regardless of the interests of his master as of the welfare of the people, and that his sole object is to enrich himself by the most dishonest means.

Captain A. Orr's Statement dated January 9, 1855. No. 5 of Appendix B, Paragraphs 2, 3, and 5.

"Bad as I have represented the revenue settlement on the izarah (contract) system to be, yet I have no hesitation in saying that, practically, if not theoretically (with very few exceptions indeed, one, however, shall be given), it is far preferable to the amanee system. The latter requires to be in the hands of far more honest Nazims than I am afraid Oude possesses, and whereas under the former system, *i. e.*, the izarah, the ryuts alone are oppressed, and Government, comparatively speaking, no loser, in the latter, *i.e.*, the amanee, still greater oppression is made use of, and the Government is robbed. * * * The amanee system has had a fair trial, during the Nizamutship of Agaie Alee Khan, in the Sultanpore district; and, if the experiment was tried in the hope of its being a blessing to the ryut, by lessening (as it should have done) the exactions to which they were subject under the izarah, it has met with a signal failure. Considering the amount of oppression experienced by their weaker brethren, the more powerful chiefs, such as those of Amoythee, Daoodpore, Kuppradee, and Dayrah, have fared well, though it must not be imagined that even they escaped the general fate of the district; they paid the revenue to the full, but *no more.*

"In order to be more clear, I must state that the annual balance of revenue against each landholder, as exhibited in the revenue account books at Lucknow, is far different, and far inferior to the sums in reality levied on the zemindars by the Nazims. Each Nazim endeavours to make some addition to the assessment, and this additional amount is in most cases extorted by his

* Including Fyzabad, Uldaymhow, Jugdeespoor, Pertaubgurh, Punchum Rant.

† Extending from the river Gogra and the Deriabad district, to the British frontier of Jounpore, about ninety miles, and from East to West, about eighty miles; in all about 7,500 square miles, or nearly one-third of the Oude territory, which is computed at about 25,000 square miles. Revenue of Sultanpore, 25,50,000; Deriabad, 4,00,000; Rudowlee, 2,00,000. Total, 31,50,000, or about one-fourth of the entire revenue of the State.

successor, or is, perhaps, even still further increased by fresh exactions. This addition made by the Nazims to the Government assessment is styled 'Izafah,' and to this izafah are each year added the nuzzuranas, which of course are not accounted for to Government. To give a few instances:—The Lucknow assessment of the zemindaree of Chundose in Sultanpore amounts to rupees 5,338.

	Rupees.	
Agaie (the Nazims') assessment ..	.. 7,200	to which add
Agaie's nuzzurana	.. 1,500	
Aga Hyder's nuzzurana (the Nazim's brother)	.. 1,200	as Chuckledar subordinate to Agaie.
Bunday Husein's ditto	.. 1,100	as Naib to Aga Hyder.
Rambuksh's ditto	.. 113	as Dewan to ditto.
Total Rupees ...	.. 11,113	

"In comparing this sum of 11,113 rupees with that of the Durbar assessment, or 5,338 rupees, some idea will be formed of the truth of what I stated above, regarding the great difference of the two assessments, of the nominal and the real one."—(Here follow further instances, *vide* Appendix B, No. 5, paragraph 4.)

* * * "The tushkerries (collection bonds) of Sultanpore, by Agaie, amount, in round numbers, to thirty-six lakhs. Subtract nine lakhs for Huzoor Tehseel lands, Nankar, &c.; of the remaining twenty-seven lakhs, seventeen lakhs are accounted for to Government, and ten lakhs reserved by the Nazim for his own purposes. To these ten lakhs may be added one lakh, which is obtained by adding fresh items to the assessments agreed upon, and by many other modes of extortion—seizure of nankar, or certain sums allowed by Government to each zemindar as subsistence money; so that the Nazim's share amounts to eleven lakhs. Besides this enormous sum, there are many other sources of profit, of which mention will be made in the proper place. Out of the seventeen lakhs accounted for to Government must be deducted what is termed 'Sumjowta,' *i. e.*, pay of the troops employed in the collection of the revenue; cost of repairs of the Government forts (fixed sum), amounting, in each fort, to from 200 to 500 rupees; expenses of grain, salt, &c., for artillery cattle; food for Nizamut elephants; cost of repairs of artillery carriages; construction of temporary or permanent chupper chownies (cantonments); and expenditure in shot and powder in case of any attack having been made against a fort (expenditure always exaggerated). Besides these deductions from the total jumma or revenue, not a small item is the portion of revenue which, it is supposed, has not been collected from the zemindarees of certain notoriously bad characters, represented to Government as 'Feraree,' although not only do they pay full rent, but also a douceur, in order to be allowed to carry on their lawless mode of livelihood."—(Other sources of illegal profits realized by the Nazim, and modes of extorting money from the ryuts, are subsequently enumerated, *vide* paragraphs 6, 7, and 8, of No. 5 of Appendix B.)

40. In his 20th paragraph Captain Orr draws a comparison between the contract management of Rajah Durshun Sing, under which Sultanpore had previously sufficiently suffered, with the present amanee management of Agaie Alee Khan; and, bad as the former undoubtedly was, the latter is thus shown to be still more unfavorable, both to the Government and the people:—

"It may be curious to compare the acts of the most celebrated Nazims under the izarah and the amanee systems. We will choose Rajah Durshun Sing and Agaie Alee Khan.

"Rajah Durshun Sing is cited as having levied under izarah, the highest amount of revenue, thirty-two lakhs.

"Agaie has levied on amanee thirty-six lakhs.

"Durshun Sing taxed rich and poor in equal proportions.

"Agaie fears the one and ruins the other.

"Durshun Sing was the sworn enemy of dacoits, thieves, &c.

"Agaie has ever spared them.

"Durshun Sing never gave, on the average, to Government, less than twenty-two lakhs.

"Agaie gives ***nominally*** seventeen lakhs.

"Durshun Sing made for himself, by oppression, a vast estate, styled the Bairamah, assessed at two and a half lakhs, and yielding from five to six lakhs; but ruled it with the utmost leniency.

"Agaie, instead of seizing on lands, seized hard cash.

"Durshun Sing, though a tyrant to all powerful zemindars, was, as Nazim, kind to the poor, and ever protected the ryut, and, above all, was true to his word in most instances.

"The very contrary may be said of Agaie. See his having seized the Thakoor of Budaon, who came in under Captain Magness's bahr (pledge of protection), and endeavoured to seize the Thakoor of Dayrah, who was hazir (present) on Captain Bunbury's bahr.

"Durshun Sing, in all his innumerable 'dours' (expeditions) shared the fatigues of the common soldier.

"The very reverse may be mentioned of Agaie."

41. That this very unfavorable representation of Agaie Alee Khan, in his official capacity as Nazim, is by no means exaggerated, I have reason to believe from what I have learned of his proceedings from various sources, independent of the confirmatory statements of Captain Patrick Orr, Captain Bunbury, and Major Troup, which, written almost simultaneously from different places, and without the possibility of previous communication with each other, all, more or less, reflect on this functionary, the most favoured and trusted of the servants of the State.* And I believe that Agaie Alee Khan may be regarded as a fair specimen of almost the entire body of Government employés throughout Oude, who, when not enjoying the personal influence at Court which he possesses, purchase that influence by bribing the Court favorites, and pursue the same course of peculation, extortion, and oppression, as that by which Agaie Alee is enriching himself. In fact, as stated by Captain Orr, "a Hakeem in Oude *cannot* be honest; for he must pay for his office." I have not the same facilities for obtaining trustworthy information from other districts (with the exception of the glaring, but isolated, cases of Nanparah and Toolseepore, adduced by Captain Patrick Orr, in his 13th paragraph, *vide* No. 4, of Appendix B.), which the local experience of the officers above referred to has afforded me, with respect to Sultanpore and that neighbourhood; but, from what I can gather from the office records, from the official diaries, and from my assistants, it is but too evident that similar misrule, and consequent evils, prevail more or less in every quarter, whether the amanee or the izarah, or whatever system of revenue management is in force.†

Note Appendix B.

42. Captain Alexander Orr points, however, to one comparatively honest Nazim, and he is, I apprehend, almost the only—if not *the* only—exception to the corrupt class of officials, who now, owing to the laxity of the Government, exercise power throughout Oude.

No. 5 of B, Paragraphs 17 and 18.

"Leaving the Sultanpore district, and turning to that of Gondah, it is pleasant to observe the contrast. The nominal Nazim, or rather, his Naib, Suddun-Lall, who is the Nazim, *de facto*, gives on amanee seventeen lakhs (I think), and governs with extreme leniency. He has made efforts to rebuild

* Agaie Alee Khan, though so regardless of his duty to his Sovereign, has ever displayed the utmost anxiety to cultivate the good opinion of the neighbouring British functionaries. And such is his tact and plausibility, and apparent zeal for the promotion of public objects, suppression of infanticide, opening of roads, &c., that he has succeeded pretty well, I am informed, in deceiving those officers as to his real character, and has obtained from some of them written testimonials of their esteem, &c.

† Colonel Low, in his report dated the 15th of July, 1841, represented that, "at least one-half of Oude is at present in a state of very great disorder and misrule; but expressed his belief that there were many other parts of this kingdom in which the people, generally speaking, are well contented with their lot in life." And he specified the districts of Fyzabad, Jugdespore, Russoolabad, and Suffeepore, as coming within the latter category. Such, doubtless, was the case at that time; but the ample illustrations I have given of the present state of Agaie Alee Khan's charge, in which are included the Fyzabad and Jugdespore districts, show how lamentably different their condition is now. And that the town of Fyzabad has equally deteriorated, will be seen on reference to the 15th paragraph of Appendix B, wherein Captain Orr furnishes details which fully bear him out in stating, that "the town of Fyzabad, once so flourishing under the rule of the Bahoo Begum, is now almost in a ruined state." Of the other districts of which Colonel Low makes favorable mention, i.e., Russoolabad and Sultanpore, I have been unable to obtain any information as to their present state; but I see no ground for hope that they have fared better than the others during the present reign.

what the infamous Rugburdial destroyed; and, under his rule, the Gondah Bharaitch district is rapidly progressing in cultivation and prosperity. * * * It must be added that, although the district is amanee, yet I suspect the amanee savours a great deal of the izarah; that is, the Chuckledar has been given to understand that so much must be given! Besides this, all those checks on the Chuckledar's rapacity, which Agaie has managed to do away with, exist in the Gondah district in full force. In short, Suddun Lall collects the revenue under very different circumstances, which are, in general, more favorable to the interests of the Government—less so to his own. The Gondah district was ruined by Rugburdial, and it will require much good management and care to again make it what it once was—the garden of Oude, and one of its quietest districts."

43. In the above estimated revenue of Sultanpore is included, I believe, every description of town and road taxes, 'customs,' 'shop' taxes, &c. On reference to Captain Alexander Orr's 15th paragraph (No. 5 of Appendix B), it will be seen that the grinding fiscal operations in the towns are as systematically conducive to their impoverishment, as the exactions of the zemindars have been shown to be ruinous to the landed estates.

No. 5 of Appendi B, Paragraph 15.

44. I cannot better conclude this lamentable picture of the revenue management of Oude, or rather, mismanagement, than by quoting Captain Alexander Orr's 21st paragraph, which may, I am assured, be accepted as a faithful description of the present state of the Oude Government, as regards its revenue collections:

"Lastly, it must be asked, if the districts are thus heavily taxed (as described in previous paragraphs, 1 to 8), how is it that the revenue does not find its way into the Treasury? Because it is swallowed up by the Durbar officials; because of the heavy nuzzuranas given to them by every Nazim of Oude; because, besides this nuzzurana, they receive large sums to 'pass' the Nazim's accounts, however deficient and false. Corruption reigns paramount. A Hakeem in Oude *cannot* be honest, for he must pay for his office; and this system is carried on, link by link, from the highest authority to the lowest—the subordinate paying or bribing his superior—and the whole weight at length falls on and crushes the ryut. In former years (dishonest) Amils were imprisoned; some—as Mirza Abdoola Beg—died in confinement; some suffered the dreadful punishment of the 'Balla-roopie'—as Eucha Sing, Nazim of Gondah. But now a much milder custom prevails, with what success it is evident! Mahal (palace) influence, too, is now all-powerful—a proof is in the ruin of the Nanparah Raj. The revenues of the kingdom are not lessened; but corruption is, indeed, at head-quarters, sadly on the increase."

45. I now turn to the consideration of the financial condition of the State, which, under such a system of revenue management, cannot be supposed to be very flourishing. But, I regret to say, I am unable to afford any certain insight into the present state of the finances of Oude. All my inquiries at Head Quarters have been baffled. Those really possessing any knowledge on the subject dare not communicate it; and a high officer of the Durbar, who enjoyed Colonel Sleeman's confidence, and formerly supplied the information which he furnished to Government, begged me, when I questioned him on the subject, not to require it of him, lest he should get into trouble,—at the same time declaring that he no longer possessed the means of obtaining such information. Neither does Colonel Sleeman appear latterly to have obtained it, he having recorded nothing whatever on the subject, subsequent to his report of the 10th of December, 1851. Under these circumstances, I applied to the Minister, on the ground that I, as a new Resident, was bound to acquaint myself with the financial condition of the State, in order to judge of its prosperity or otherwise, and that I wished to communicate to my Government the opinion I could then form. He demurred, on the plea that he believed it had not been customary heretofore to furnish any accounts of receipts and expenditure; but that, if any precedent could be shown, he would, of course, be happy to give them. On inquiring, I cannot ascertain that my predecessors had ever obtained their information officially, and I have not, therefore, pressed the point. The Minister admitted to me, in the course of conversation, that the receipts last year had fallen short of the expenditure by about five lakhs; and he accounted for the great outlay in previous years by the enormous cost of the palaces and

gardens which have been constructed during the present reign, amounting, he declared, to about two crores of rupees.

46. I can only, therefore, draw such general deductions from the imperfect and unofficial data before me, as may enable Government to form some conjecture as to the present state of the Oude Exchequer.

47. Assuming that Colonel Sleeman, who had so long devoted his attention to the subject, and was so painstaking in his inquiries, must have thoroughly satisfied himself of the correctness of the details which he then submitted, we find that, when the present King's father ascended the throne, in May, 1842, he "was known to have found 35 lakhs of rupees, and 1 lakh and 24,000 gold mohurs, in his reserved treasury; and when he died, on the 13th of February, 1847, to have left in the treasury 92 lakhs of rupees, and 1 lakh and 66,000 gold mohurs, having saved out of his income, in a space of less than five years, 57 lakhs of rupees and 42,000 gold mohurs, or at the rate of about 12 lakhs of rupees a year; while he paid the troops, the stipendiary members of his family, and the dependants of his house, punctually; that His Majesty, since he ascended the throne, on the 13th of February, 1847, had expended the whole of this reserved treasury, except 6 lakhs and 11,000 rupees, and a few gold mohurs, or at the rate of 22½ lakhs a year above the income; while the troops were for the most part greatly in arrears, and the stipendiary members of his family, and dependants of his house, whose pensions amounted to rupees 22,65,943 a-year, had not, on an average, been paid for the last year and a half; that to pay all that was recognised to be due would require at least 50 lakhs of rupees, and in two months there would not be one rupee in the treasury, while the Minister was known to have anticipated the revenues of the next year to the extent of about 20 lakhs, and no one would be found willing to lend money on any security that His Majesty or the Minister could give." And, in less than two months afterwards, Colonel Sleeman reported: "The little that remained in the reserved treasury has, I believe, since been expended, without any of the arrears above mentioned being paid off."

Colonel Sleeman's Report dated October 20, 1851.

Report dated December 10, 1851.

48. It thus appears that, three years ago, the reserved treasury was exhausted; that the troops and establishments were greatly in arrears, and fifty lakhs were due to the stipendiaries; that the annual receipts fell far short of the expenditure; and that the King could obtain no credit. Such being the case,—and the facts were not disputed by the King or Minister, when placed before them by Colonel Sleeman (*vide* his letter, dated the 20th of October, 1851), —the marvel is, how the Government has since been carried on, and that the financial crisis, which Colonel Sleeman so long since prognosticated, has not yet taken place; for there can be no doubt that the income never has equalled the expenditure during subsequent years. No reduction has been effected in the troops* and establishments, as far as I can learn, and no retrenchment in the palace expenditure. The principal source of former outlay has, however, I believe, now closed, *i. e.* the buildings and decorations of the new palaces and gardens, which are said to be finished, and to that score chiefly, perhaps, may be debited the one crore which His Majesty found in his reserved treasury, and the twenty-two lakhs of annual deficit of the first five years of his reign. Still, the subsequent deficiency has had to be met; and how it has been so is a mystery. It is said the King has latterly become greatly involved in debt to all who supply his personal luxuries and the requirements of the palace; and the stipendiaries, troops, and establishments are represented to be now as deeply in arrears, if not more so, than when Colonel Sleeman wrote. The non-liquidation of such demands upon the Royal Exchequer may, perhaps, be the real solution of the enigma.

49. Though I have no official data to guide me, and the more trustworthy sources from which Colonel Sleeman formerly obtained his information, have so long been closed, I believe the following details of the present state of the finances of Oude to be pretty accurate. Captain Hayes has furnished me with an estimate of the receipts for the last two years, obtained from a person who has access to the Durbar accounts, and on which he thinks reliance may be placed, exhibiting rupees 1,21,66,214, and 1,22,03,082 as the entire

Vide Précis, Appendix C., Part III.

* On the contrary, the army appears to have been augmented by one regiment; for, though Captain P. Orr's regiment was raised a year ago as a substitute for Captain Barlow's mutinous regiment, which was to have been disbanded, the latter is still maintained, notwithstanding.

revenues of the years 1853 and 1854, of which only forty lakhs for the first, and thirty six lakhs for the second year, have actually been paid into the Treasury; but he has been unable to obtain any details of the expenditure. He has also submitted a table of estimated revenue, and actual collections, for ten years (A.D., 1838 to 1848), drawn up by Colonel Sleeman, displaying an average of estimated revenue of rupees 1,82,53,491, and of collections rupees 1,24,90,772. Thus it appears that, while the revenue realized during the ten years terminating with the first year of the present King's reign, was 125 lahks per annum (including district disbursements), it has now dwindled to about 122 lakhs of revenue, of which from thirty-six to forty lakhs have actually been received. To the latter receipts has to be added, however, the amount of receipts given in by the Nazims for sums said to have been disbursed in the districts on account of Government, but which, as has been shown in my thirty-sixth paragraph, "is far inferior, and far different, to the sums actually levied on the zemindars by the Nazims." Thus the difference between the cash received and revenue collected, which has doubtless been represented to His Majesty as having been disbursed in the districts on account of the State, would amount, for the last year (*i. e.*, 1,22,03,082 minus 36,00,000), to upwards of eighty-six lakhs. Colonel Sleeman has afforded no data, and I have been unable to obtain any, whereby to compute the real amount of these district disbursements; but Colonel Richmond stated, that the sum debited under that head in the accounts of 1837-38, was rupees 53,47,711, and certainly, as the revenue has decreased since then, that amount ought not to be exceeded now. Colonel Richmond then considered, however, that even that amount was overrated, and exposed* the object with which the present minister had introduced the practice (not heretofore followed) of accepting the Nazim's receipts as revenue realized. Admitting, however, fifty-three lakhs to be a fair computation of the district expenditure out of a revenue of 121 lakhs said to have been realized in that (a very bad) year, then, surely, in the debit of eighty-six lakhs out of last year's 122 lakhs of revenue, His Majesty must have been grossly defrauded by his Minister and Nazims. And this goes far to confirm Captain Orr's statement, that "the revenue does not find its way into the Treasury, because it is swallowed up by the Durbar officials, because of the heavy nuzzuranas given to them by every Nazim of Oude, and because they receive large sums to 'pass' the Nazim's accounts, however deficient and false."

Colonel Richmond's Report, dated November 24 1848. Paragraphs 10, 11, and 12.

50. I have said that the stipendiaries, troops, and establishments, are represented to be as deeply in arrears, if not more so than when Colonel Sleeman wrote three years ago. That gentleman then stated, "the revenues now due to the public military and civil establishments, and to the stipendiary members and dependants of the Royal family, the Government can never pay; and it is in vain I urge upon it the necessity of paying even that portion which is due to those members of the family whose stipends are guaranteed by the British Government, under the solemn assurances of the Sovereign, Ghazee-ood-Deen Hyder, who pledged himself that they should be paid in perpetuity without diminution or interruption. They (the stipendiaries) have not received their stipends for more than two years. Few of them complain, from the dread that the little they receive after such long intervals will cease altogether if they do so; and the recent case of Jaffir Alee Khan, which was submitted in my letter of the 1st instant, shows that every effort will be made to punish the person who does so complain. The military establishments, though they have not been paid for equally long periods, dare not importune the Oude Government, from the dread that they will be instantly dismissed

Colonel Sleeman's Report, dated December 10, 1851.

* Extract, para. 12, from Colonel Richmond's report:—"Whether the sums represented by the Amil's receipts have, or have not, been paid by them, remains to be seen. The plan was resorted to by the Minister, for the purpose of concealing from His Majesty the small amount of revenue which was paid in ready money to the treasury, by affording him an excuse that the balance not paid in was disbursed by the Amils on Government account, in payment of troops, &c. This measure of the payment of the army in the interior by the Amils is of a most injurious tendency: for, should they embezzle the pay of the troops, the unfortunate cultivators would be plundered to make good the amount, and thus not only be compelled to pay a double revenue, but any opposition to this oppression would be interpreted as a resistance to the King's troops in the collection of arrears of revenue. The circumstance that the regiments in Lucknow are in arrears from six to ten months, and the Kotwalee police also ten months, gives fair grounds for supposing that the forces in the interior are in something of a similar state."

the service, without any chance of ever recovering any portion of the arrears due to them; and they cannot venture to proceed to any violence to extort, from the unprincipled officers of the Oude Government, what is their due, while a brigade of British troops is at hand to put down mutiny and disorder among the Oude troops, and protect the person of the Sovereign under all circumstances." Again, two months later, "the minister has paid up some portion of the arrears due to the stipendiaries of the Royal family, but he does so with difficulty; for the expenditure has exceeded the income by more than twenty-five lakhs a year for the last five years. The King cannot be induced to curtail his own expenses; the minister is unable, or unwilling, to reduce the Civil and Military Establishments; and there is no longer any reserve treasury to draw upon."

Letter dated December 16, 1852.

51. From 1847 to the end of 1849, none of the Royal family had received a farthing, and Colonel Sleeman then reported:—"The Minister has often promised me, as he had promised Colonel Richmond, that they should forthwith receive their pensions, with all their arrears, with a reduction of one-third from the rate they received from the King's father; but nothing has yet been paid. Under his grandfather, they received 53,700 rupees a month; but, under his father, they were cut down to 13,600, and have received nothing since." It appears, from the previous extract, that some portion was paid up in the beginning of 1852—but that was little; and I have ascertained that, up to the close of last year, Azeem-ooshan, uncle to the King, had not received any portion of his stipend for three years, upwards of 70,000 rupees being then due to him; and the rest are as badly off in proportion. One of the first petitions I received was from the surviving ladies of the families of Asuf-ood-Dowlah and Shuja-ood-Dowlah, to which the seals of 216 of those unfortunate persons were affixed, representing that their stipends were over-due for periods averaging from three to four years. They are, I am informed, literally starving, and have been driven, by the extremity of their distress, to seek the interposition of the Resident. I spoke to the Minister on the subject, who promised to see that their wants should be immediately relieved; but I cannot ascertain that anything has yet been done for them.

Letter to Government dated September 24, 1849.

52. With regard to the arrears due to the troops, Captain Hayes, who has devoted much attention to the subject, specifies three regiments which, being paid by assignments (kubz) on the district revenues, are, consequently, better off than their comrades; but, with respect to the rest of the army, he states that "Captain Patrick Orr's corps, which has been raised about twelve months, has never had any of its accounts adjusted up to this day; and about eight months' pay is due to the regiment. The regiments which furnish the guards to the various palaces, public buildings, and Residency houses, have not received pay for seventeen months, and it may be easily imagined what must be the condition of the other regiments which are quartered at a distance from the Capital." As to the Civil Establishments, however, no great amount of arrears can, I think, be due to them; for, with few exceptions, they obtain but nominal salary from the State—generally, on the contrary, paying largely for their situations, which afford so rich a harvest in bribery and peculation.

Vide his Précis, Part II, Appendix C.

53. I have no means of ascertaining to what extent the Civil Establishments are in arrears. The annual charge to the State, on account of Police and Civil Establishments, was estimated by Colonel Sleeman at rupees 12,59,838 for the former, and for the latter rupees 38,09,237—total rupees 50.68,687.

N. O.

3. *Judicial Courts and Police Establishments.*

54. Colonel Sleeman thus described the Judicial Courts of Oude, on the 24th of September, 1849:—"Of Judicial Courts there are none, save at the Capital; and those which are there maintained are of no value. The Judicial Officers and their Establishments, as will be seen in the annexed tables, amount, for all Oude, to sixty-one persons, whose aggregate pay is rupees 1,306 a month, or rupees 15,672 a year. There are, it is true, seventy-two Ameens for detached duty, ready, ostensibly, to start to any part where their presence may be required, or to investigate and decide any case that may be

Report dated September 24, 1849.

made over to them. But they get their places by purchase or favour, and few of them are fit for their duties, or any duties whatever."

55. Colonel Richmond had previously represented that these Courts were notoriously venal, and furnished illustrations of their subserviency to such influences; and, subsequently, Colonel Sleeman handed up to Government the proceedings of the highest Court at Lucknow, in the case of a high functionary of the State, tried for an atrocious murder, who was acquitted, in the teeth of the clearest evidence, under the pressure of such influences; in remarking on which he observed:—"In a question of inheritance, according to Mahometan law, the Mujtahid (Judge) might resist the influence of the Minister, as any decision contrary to law would expose him to popular odium; but he could not resist it on any other question, and much less on the trial of a Mahometan and a Syud of the Sheea or predominant sect, for the murder of a Hindoo. Indeed, it is certain that he would not have sentenced him to capital punishment, if he had found him guilty of the murder."

Report dated November 20, 184[illegible]

Report dated March 21, 1848.

Report dated September 20, 1851

56. The gross perversion of justice exhibited on this occasion, coupled with previous instances of evasion of justice, reported from time to time, elicited the following instructions from the Government of India to their Representative at this Court:—"You will demand an audience of the King. You will represent to His Majesty the indignation with which the Governor-General views the scandalous denial of justice, which has just been exhibited at Lucknow, in the acquittal of this murderer, in the face of the clearest proofs of his guilt. And you will add that such acts are rapidly filling up the measure of the King's misgovernment,—misgovernment which, His Majesty has been already warned, must end in the entire subversion of his kingly power."

Letter dated October 6, 1851.

57. I beg to refer Government to Appendix D, wherein I have transcribed a passage from Colonel Sleeman's diary, describing the character of Ramdut Panday,—the victim in the murder above alluded to,—written just after personal intercourse with him, in December, 1849; to which, in a note appended a year later, is added, a full detail of the murder, and consequent proceedings of the Oude Government. The murderer, Mahomed Husein, would, doubtless, long ere this have been restored to the power and the position he had so shamefully abused, but for the opposition of the Resident.*

Appendix D, No. 1

58. After such repeated instances of the futility of seeking justice in the Oude Courts, when the criminals occupy high positions in the State, the Resident could no longer confide to the sole adjudication of those Courts any case of a similar nature, in which British subjects were sufferers. Accordingly, when a highway robbery, attended by murder, was perpetrated on a party of highly respectable merchants, British subjects, on the 20th of March, 1853, by the armed retainers of the Amil of Poorwa, acting under the orders of his Deputy, and with his own connivance, Colonel Sleeman insisted on the investigation being conducted before himself; requesting His Majesty, at the same time, "to appoint a respectable person to sit as an Assessor, with the first Assistant, in the conduct of the preliminary inquiries,"—it appearing to him, "from the feelings manifested by the influential persons about the Durbar, on the occasion, that, unless the Resident took, himself, a prominent part in the inquiry, the truth could not possibly be come at, and the offenders would escape with impunity, in the same manner that the Governor of the Gondah district escaped, after the deliberate murder of the banker, Ramdut Panday."

Report dated February 7, 1854.

59. The result was the conviction of Shunkur Lall (the Deputy), who was sentenced to imprisonment for life; and of the Amil, Kashepershad, to a minor extent, who was sentenced to imprisonment until he should refund the 20,000 rupees of which the victim had been robbed, and banishment for two years after the termination of that imprisonment. But in the course of the trial the Resident experienced much obstruction. "The anxiety of the Durbar to screen these two criminals from the punishment due to their crimes has been manifested throughout this investigation; and I believe that nothing but the apprehension that His Lordship in Council would award a still heavier

Report dated February 7, 1854

* Since writing the above, I have received a petition from Toolseepore, representing that Mahomed Husein has been reinstated in power. To a communication I have in consequence made to the Durbar, I have yet received no answer, but I have reason to believe that such is the fact.

punishment, or hold the Government of Oude itself responsible for the outrage, would have induced the friends of the accused, at the Durbar, to permit the King to acquiesce in that which I have passed; for I cannot consider His Majesty to have, in reality, any judgment of his own in the conduct of his public affairs." A brief account of this atrocity will be found in Appendix D, No. 2.

Appendix D, No. 2.

60. I will yet adduce another instance, of still more recent date, wherein the influence of one of the highest district Officers, the Nazim Agaie Alee Khan, of whom frequent mention has already been made, has, evidently, been employed with his friend, the Minister, to screen certain Government Officers (his own brother and son-in-law, and other subordinates), from the consequences of their complicity in the massacre of nine persons (men, women, and children), and plunder of a village, perpetrated with the aid of Government troops, and within his own jurisdiction,—not one of the parties concerned in which cold-blooded atrocity has been brought to justice. As no report of this case, which occurred on the 11th of February last year, was made to Government, I beg to refer to No. 3 of Appendix D, wherein the details are given.

Appendix D, No. 3.

61. The cases above referred to sufficiently display the shameless working of the criminal courts of Lucknow. And the civil courts of the capital are, if possible, even more grossly corrupt; for therein justice is *openly* bought and sold. Colonel Sleeman strenuously remonstrated, but to no purpose, against the nomination, to the supreme control of these courts, of one of the obnoxious class whom the King had so solemnly pledged himself to exclude from any Government office whatever. And, in handing up to Government the correspondence which had passed "on the subject of the virtual appointment of his (the King's) favorite fiddler, Mosahib Alee, as supreme head of all the Civil Courts of Oude," he stated that "the person ostensibly appointed is Asud Beg, a Dome, who married the sister of Mosahib's wife; but the person in whom authority is virtually invested is Mosahib Alee, one of the two singers who now have the entire ascendancy over the King's mind, and make him do what they please, and go where they please." This individual and his creature Asud Beg have continued unchecked in their sway over the civil courts to this day, and all subordinate judges are equally and notoriously corrupt. A case in illustration of the manner in which they prostitute their judicial powers to extort money, is herewith appended, as affording a fair sample of their proceedings—only the victim in that case got off more cheaply, perhaps in consideration of his being the father of a Residency employé, than others generally do. He compounded for half the amount of the false claim brought against him, while others probably would have been imprisoned until the whole had been extorted.

Letter dated August 8, 1851. No. 1106.

Appendix D, No. 5.

62. A brief summary of the judicial courts at this capital, with the names and character of the judges presiding over them, for which I am indebted to Captain Hayes, will be found in Appendix D, No. 4.

Appendix D, No. 4

63. That the administration of justice is at this day equally base and corrupt in the districts—that those who administer justice there are equally venal with the judges of the capital—and that the so-called police establishments are equally inefficient and corrupt, the following extracts will demonstrate:—

"There are no Courts of Justice of any kind in Oude, out of Lucknow, nor in fact any Police Establishments (leaving the Frontier Police out of the question), unless the thannahs placed in some of the principal towns can be called by that name. These thannahs are farmed out in the same manner as the news-writerships. The Thannadars—a most disreputable and corrupt set—have no power of punishing criminals, unless in minor cases. When they do sometimes seize an offender, if the latter can afford to give a bribe, he is released; otherwise, sent to the Nazim, to be dealt with as he likes. The Chuckledar (Nazim) has almost unlimited power in his district. Besides being the Revenue Officer, he is supposed to act as Judge and Magistrate; but, knowing too well the instability of his own position, his only aim and object is to make the most money in the shortest space of time. His orders are decisive, and the ryuts have no appeal against his decisions."

Captain Patrick Orr's Report, dated January 5, 1855.

No. 4 of Appendix B.

"It would be next to impossible to ascertain the expense of the Police Establishment, as this Establishment is merely nominal, and under the total guidance and management of the Nazim. It is, however, pretty well known that this is another source of oppression—they (the Police) strictly avoiding to

Captain Bunbury's Report, dated January 1, 1855. No. 3 of Appendix B.

come into collision with notoriously bad characters, but seizing those who are possessed of money, and (not having influence in the Durbar) are incriminated under false pretexts. Moreover, I am told that the sum allowed by the Government yearly for this Establishment is appropriated by the Nazim; and, for the actual pay of the Police, a certain percentage is added on the revenue to defray the expense."

"To the best of my belief there are no Courts in this district (Sultanpore) cognizant of revenue questions. Formerly a Dewan was indeed sent from Lucknow as controller of receipts, but I believe he has long since returned to Lucknow, disgusted at having merely nominal power. A Mootsuddie from the Lucknow Dewannee Duftur is supposed to be attached to every Tehseeldar's office in the amanee districts, and perhaps a few of these Mootsuddies may be found in that of Sultanpore, but I am credibly informed they have but little power. As to Courts cognizant of criminal matters, there is a Police Officer attached to the Nizamut under the control of one Meer Tuckey; 500 men are placed under his orders. Of these men, some are portioned out, and stationed in the principal tannahs of the district, but are, I firmly believe, a nuisance to the country. They are strong to seize and mulct unfortunate bunneeahs and poor tradespeople under false or frivolous pretexts, to seize and fine persons for crimes of 'Failee Shemiah,' &c. &c., but they religiously avoid collision with those really bad characters with whom it might be dangerous to meddle. Meer Tuckey is a creature of Agaie, and follows his camp; however, all Foujdary cases are referred to him (Meer Tuckey), and you may imagine what is the result, without my being more explicit. Suffice it to say that this is another source of income to those concerned. Dewannee cases, *i. e.*, those relating to money transactions, &c., are made over to a Mooftee who is attached to the Nazim's camp; but, generally, all these cases are settled by Punchayet, or referred to any Hakeem who may take the trouble to investigate the matter, and who is generally paid for his trouble by either the one or the other of the disputing parties. The poor man, however, seldom obtains justice, and is a prey to the rich and powerful. * * * In towns, kusbahs, &c., there are Kotwals, who are supposed to distribute justice within the jurisdiction of their town or kusbah; but they are almost always a most corrupt set. In fact, how can it be otherwise, when they either pay for the situation, or hold it on contract? In a word, whether in the Nizamut, or whether in towns, it may be laid down as a general rule, that the verdict will be given in favour of the party that pays best; and so well known is this, that when boundary disputes occur between zemindars, they settle the case among themselves by an appeal to arms. Much blood is thus annually shed in Oude."

Captain A. Orr's Report, dated January 9, 1855. No. 5, Appendix B

64. After such a lamentable picture of the internal Police of Oude, it is satisfactory to turn to the "frontier" Police, the only efficient public establishment maintained under the Oude Government; but that it is so efficiently maintained is to be attributed to its being placed under British officers independent of the Durbar, and under the immediate control of the Resident.

65. The Oude frontier Police was originally established in January 1845, to the extent of 500 Sepoys and 100 horsemen, which force was subsequently augmented by His present Majesty to the total strength of 750 Sepoys and 150 horsemen, at a cost of rupees 77,062 per annum. The object with which this force was raised, was for the seizure of refugee British criminals, for whom application should be made by neighbouring magistrates and officers of the Thuggee Department, and for the capture of Oude criminals on requisitions made by the Durbar through the Resident; and it has been most efficient and successful in the performance of those duties, as frequently represented both by Colonel Richmond and Colonel Sleeman: the latter officer thus reported of this body on the 14th of March, 1849:

"The frontier Police is very efficient, and of great importance. Border crimes were, I believe, never more rare than they are at present in the conterminous (British) districts of Jounpore, Azimgurh, and Goruckpore; the Magistrates of which districts express themselves highly satisfied with the successful exertions of Captain Orr, Captain Hollings's Second Assistant, who commands this police on the eastern border. Hardly any criminal who commits a crime in either of these districts, and seeks refuge in Oude, escapes his vigilance. Captain Hearsey, the First Assistant, who commands the frontier Police on the western border, adjoining Shahjehanpore, has also exerted himself success-

fully; but the difficulty experienced in securing criminals in that quarter is greater."

66. And, with reference to this subject, it is satisfactory to find some meed of credit assigned to the King's Government, the only instance in which my predecessor had ever had it in his power to give any credit to His Majesty. On the 16th of February, 1852, Colonel Sleeman thus reported:—

"The roads in Oude have been much more secure than they were when I took charge of my office in January, 1849; and, in this, the Durbar certainly attended to my wishes, and adopted many of my suggestions for the benefit of the people, some time after I had aided them with troops for the purpose of putting down formidable leaders of banditti and disturbers of the public peace, in March, 1850. It has also shown occasionally a wish, as stated in His Majesty's letter, to cooperate in disputes about boundary between the landholders of Oude and those of our own border districts."

4. *Army of Oude.*

67. I can find no reliable data on which to form an estimate of the present strength and cost of the army; but Colonel Sleeman's estimate, obtained from what source I know not, displays a total of all arms of 58,904, at the cost of rupees 41,99,390, and to this force another regiment has since been added, raised about a year ago.

Vide Précis, Appendix C, Part II.

68. As I have myself had no opportunity of inspecting any portion of these troops, or forming any opinion as to their efficiency, I beg to refer to Colonel Sleeman's Report to Government, dated the 6th of April, 1850, quoted by Captain Hayes in his "Précis," which "appalling picture," that officer, it will be observed, considers "not in the least exaggerated, being the result of much observation by Colonel Sleeman." As Captain Hayes is himself so well qualified to judge of the condition of this army, I will also quote from that paper his concluding words:—"It is impossible to conceive a greater curse to a country than such a rapacious, licentious, and disorganized army as that of Oude is, and such as it has ever been, from the earliest records extant of its cowardice, inefficiency, and extortion."

Précis, Part II, Appendix C.

69. In support of Colonel Sleeman's opinion, as reported five years ago, and of Captain Hayes's now expressed, and as abundantly illustrating the quality of these troops, and the means by which they are supported, and abuses arising therefrom, I may here quote the testimony of the local officers now serving in the Oude army, which is so full and conclusive as to leave me nothing further to remark on this subject.

Captain Bunbury's Statement, Appendix B, No. 2.

"Regarding the Nujjeeb regiments and soldiery, it is well known that they are almost nominal, as the majority are invariably allowed to purchase their continued residence at home, and some portion of the personal attendants of the Commanders are put down as effective men. Moreover, as every Nujjeeb soldier has to pay from twenty to thirty rupees for entering the service, it is some time ere they can expect pay; and the plunder, &c., committed by them in marching through the districts, is a sort of indemnification, but all at the expense of the unfortunate ryuts. This can hardly be wondered at, in consequence of the above circumstance and the small amount of pay, from which they have also to furnish themselves with arms, ammunition, &c."

Captain Patrick Orr's Statement, Appendix B, No. 4.

"As to the troops, they are all, more or less, badly off, for want of pay and proper accoutrements. Those regiments who took Kubz last year, (districts for payment), have succeeded in getting paid. The corps under my command was raised in October, 1853, and, up to the present time, (5th of January, 1855), the men have not received a month's pay at a time; they only get, with the greatest difficulty, just enough to pay for their food, *i.e.*, two rupees a month. Upwards of seven months' pay is now due."

Captain Alexander Orr's Statement, Appendix B, No. 5.

"The Pay Department, (and for that matter, the head establishment at Lucknow), is in a most infamous state, and by it Government is robbed to an enormous extent; the petty Bukshees (Paymasters) sent to the districts, and attached to each corps, receive their office on *contract*, each man paying to the Lucknow Head Bukshee so much per annum, according to the strength of the corps or detachment paid by him. Besides the perquisites of his office, he receives douceurs from the Nazim for giving *receipts before* the corps are paid, *i.e.*, before the Nazims give wherewith to pay. These receipts are

orwarded to Lucknow, where it is, therefore, supposed the troops are paid. The artillery attached to the Nizamuts is generally very numerous, and consists of guns of all calibre; some purchased by Government, some cast in Oude, others seized from zemindars, who generally buy up old ship-guns brought up by merchants from Calcutta. Many of these guns are excellent, many useless, either from being honeycombed, or from their unwieldy size; but, generally speaking, all the artillery carriages, tumbrils, &c., are in a wretched state, from a cause already mentioned. Ammunition, from the same cause, is almost always scarce. The really efficient corps, whether as regards discipline, men, arms, accoutrements, or artillery, are the corps commanded by European officers. Most of the Nujjeeb corps are below their proper strength; but the full pay is drawn by the Bukshees, (except in the Sultanpore district, where Agaie is Paymaster, and the regimental Bukshees only receive according to the actual strength.)* Were the population disarmed, and forts demolished, there would be no longer need of such a large army as the one now in Oude. In fact, reduction of the troops would be a blessing to the poor (as matters now stand); for all the troops have no shelter in the rains, and all Nujjeeb forces are never furnished with tentage. On the approach of the rainy season, the chuppers of the adjacent villages are quickly taken off, and a chownie (cantonment) is constructed in a miraculously short time. Government should pay for bhoosah levied *free* on each village; this system of seizing on forage for Government cattle is one of the curses of the present system, and gives rise to innumerable abuses. I know from experience that, however an officer may wish and endeavour to alleviate the misery endured by the ryuts, in giving up this bhoosah, or straw, yet he is often helpless. What command can a man have over soldiers sent on foraging parties often to a distance of ten to fourteen miles? But this evil is rendered a thousand times more cruel in a Nazim's camp, where not only troops, but numerous camp-followers and others, pass themselves off for Sirkaree (Government) people, and help themselves accordingly. Then the mass of useless creatures swarming about a Nazim's camp, chobdars, chuprassies, khasburdars, &c., and more than I can well remember, all receiving pay from Government; if they do not plunder bhoosah (which in many cases they do), yet, each and all, in some unheard-of manner, extort their 'huq' from the poor who may be anxious to complain to the great man of the plunder not only of their forage, but also of any other article the soldiery may have taken a fancy to. Without giving this 'huq,' the poor man has little chance of being heard. Many scoundrels, servants of Foujdars, Tehseeldars, Nazims, and Kotwals, derive a handsome profit by pressing men, carts, and bullocks, &c., &c., avowedly on the public service, and releasing them 'for a consideration.' Then comes the 'Begaree System.' The Chamar, Lodha, Koormee, and all inferior castes, are the prey of all, caught at every hour of the day and of the night, made use of as beasts of burden, beaten and abused, treated as if incapable of feeling pain or humiliation, never remunerated, but often deprived of the scanty clothes they may possess; they, indeed, are deserving of pity."

70. The above extracts sufficiently establish the fact, that no improvement whatever has been effected in the condition, or in the conduct, of the Army of Oude, since Colonel Sleeman so fully described its state and conduct, as he found it to be in 1850.

Vide Part II of Appendix C.

* The pay management of the portion of the Army under Agaie Alee Khan is, elsewhere, thus described by Captain Orr (*vide* his 6th paragraph). "Since the last two or three years, Agaie has taken the Paymaster's Department into his own hands; and from this Department he must realize a large income. What the amount of this income must be, I should be afraid to say; but you may judge of its extent, when you remember that every Nujjeeb soldier pays for his entrance into the service, pays for leave of absence, pays for not being dismissed on account of old age, infirmities &c., and his name is kept a long time on the rolls of his corps after his own decease, and that very seldom, indeed, do his wife and children, or heirs, obtain his arrears of pay; and, lastly, full pay is always drawn by the Bukshee (in this case Agaie himself) for each corps, even should it be below its proper strength."

5. *Roads and Public Works.*

Colonel Sleeman's Report, dated September 24, 1849.

71. On the 24th of September, 1849, Colonel Sleeman represented that, "of the large sums annually allowed for the repair and construction of palaces, tombs, temples, forts, bridges, roads, &c., not one-fourth, or I may say one-tenth, is ever expended. Five-tenths are taken by those who get the superintendence of such constructions and repairs, by purchase or favour. So many are interested in the abuse, that it is exceedingly difficult for the Resident to prevail on the Court to employ a European Engineer to superintend the construction of any great work, or to retain his services when they have them. Except that between Lucknow and Cawnpore, lately made under the superintendence of Lieutenant Sim, there is actually no road in any part of His Majesty's dominions, though very large sums are every year paid for the repairs of those supposed to exist."

72. On the 19th of August, 1853, Colonel Sleeman reported that the King had relieved Lieutenant Sim from the superintendence of this road, and made over the charge to one of His Majesty's own private servants. Since when, though the road is still kept up, it is not maintained in such good repair.

73. No new roads have been opened since Colonel Sleeman reported in 1849; and that to Cawnpore still remains the only metalled and bridged road in Oude. Shortly after my arrival, I urged upon the King the great advantage of making the road from Lucknow to Fyzabad, which had frequently been suggested, and His Majesty declared that it had been commenced, and promised that it should be carried on with vigour. But the following extract from a letter from an Officer, who has very lately travelled that road, shows how little is really being done to it:—"A specimen of which (road) I had an opportunity of seeing on my march from this to Jelalpore, a distance of eight coss. A couple of ploughs, in my opinion, would have done as much by scratching a couple of lines on each side to mark the road. He (the Nazim), however, gives out that it is his intention to have it kunkured; this, time will show, but I have my doubts."

Captain Bunbury's Letter, dated January 16, 1855. No. 3. of Appendix B.

74. The only permanent bridges in Oude, besides those on the road to Cawnpore, are the two bridges over the Goomtee river, at the Capital; five old bridges of masonry on the road to Fyzabad, so long neglected as to be now scarcely passable; and a bridge of masonry at Peernuggur, on the road to Seetapore, built about sixty years ago, in the reign of Asoof-ood-Dowlah, which latter is now so dilapidated as to be "even unsafe for foot-passengers,—and for hackeries, camels, or horses quite dangerous." On a representation to this effect from the Brigadier commanding in Oude, dated the 23rd of March last, a request was made to the Durbar to cause its repair; but nothing appears to have been done, as a subsequent communication from the Military authorities, under date the 26th of October, states that the bridge was then "in an impassable state."

75. With the exception of a few Government forts, there are literally no other public works in Oude; for the annual repair of which forts, though the Government allows a fixed sum of from rupees 200 to rupees 500 each, yet "but seldom is any Government money really laid out, the actual cost being defrayed by the Talookdars and zemindars."

Captain Bunbury's Report dated January 1. No. 3 of Appendix B.

76. But, while public works of utility are so scant throughout Oude, the Capital itself boasts of a greater display of palaces and tombs than any other city in India; on which, vast sums are lavished, though, I believe, Colonel Sleeman correctly estimates that not one-fourth, or perhaps one-tenth, of what is charged to the State on that account is actually expended. Thus it is difficult to believe that His Majesty's new palaces, gorgeous and extensive as they are, can have really cost the two millions of rupees which the Minister declares to have been expended thereon, though very probably that amount has been debited in the Government accounts.

6. *Statistics of Crime and Outrage.*

77. In Appendix E are given extracts from the diaries for the years 1848 and 1854, from which a comparison may be drawn of the extent of Crime exhibited during those years (the first succeeding that on which the present King ascended the throne, and the last), so far as recorded in those diaries. Appendix E. Nos. 1 and 2.

78. But the diaries are merely a transcript of the reports of the official news-writers (Akbar Nawiss) stationed throughout the country to communicate to the Durbar all crimes and offences committed within the jurisdiction of each Government functionary, and the official proceedings thereupon of such functionary; but the untrustworthiness of the information derived from such a source may be judged from the following description, by Colonel Sleeman, of the Akbar Nawiss Establishment of Oude:—"But, of all abuses or evils in Oude, that of the Akbar Nawisses is, perhaps, the worst. There are 660 of them employed, with Corps and Establishments, over the whole face of the country, and drawing an aggregate salary of rupees 3,194·8 a month, or less than five rupees a month each. It is their duty to make a true Report to the Durbar of all that occurs, through the Darogah, or head of the Department, Zakee-ood-Dowlah, who communicates what they write to the Minister, or to any person to whom he may intrust the duty. He passes such orders as may seem to him proper on their reports, generally assuming that they are true, to save the trouble and delay of inquiry. But it is the interest of the Akbar Nawiss generally to make a false report of what occurs—to suppress the truth, or misrepresent facts and circumstances. He sells his reports as monks sold their plenary indulgences. The Officer, Civil or Military, who neglects his duty, or abuses his authority, has only to give the Akbar Nawiss a fee, in proportion as the offence is to his emoluments, to secure such a report as will exonerate him from all blame. The honest man, who discharges his duty faithfully, is not secure till he fees this person, as his conduct and character are liable to be misrepresented; and the Akbar Nawiss, whose pay is less than ten rupees a month, commonly gets more than 300 rupees, after paying a liberal share of what he gets to the Darogah, with whom alone rests his appointment and dismissal. The Darogah in turn is obliged to share what he gets with the Minister and other influential persons at Court. Under Mahomed Alee Shah, a great economist, the Darogah paid above a lakh of rupees a year into the Treasury for his contract as head News-writer, till the contract was done away with at the suggestion of the Resident. He pays little less now to the Minister and Court parasites." And Colonel Sleeman gave the following illustration of the dishonesty of these News-writers:—"I have before me a case in which the wives and children of the landholders and cultivators of whole towns and villages were lately driven off in hundreds like flocks of sheep, and sold into slavery, by a rapacious and brutal contractor named Rugber Sing. A great many of these perished of cold and hunger before they were sold. The Hurkaras of the Akbar Nawiss were present the whole time, and received so much a-head on all who perished or were sold. The same person, and his brother Than Sing, sold off the whole stock in cattle and implements of husbandry, and made the district desolate; but the circumstances were not brought to the notice of the Durbar till some time after; and then, by the Resident." Colonel Sleeman's Report dated September 24, 1849.

79. Insufficient as the diaries *then* were for affording a judgment as to the extent of Crime perpetrated in Oude, they have since become still more so, by the removal of the News-writers from districts held in amanee, whose Amils are now released from even that lax supervision, which, bad as it was, was still a slight check upon them. And, consequently, the oppression, extortion, or crimes committed by them and their subordinates, are but seldom noticed in the diaries. This fact was brought to the notice of the King, in August, 1853. "Although some of the districts which were formerly held in contract, have now been put under trust management, yet this has afforded no relief to your suffering subjects, nor has it brought more revenue into your Treasury. To secure your subjects from oppression, it is necessary that they should be able to make their distresses known to you, and Colonel Sleeman's Letter to the King dated August 17, 1853.

that you should have servants over them who would afford redress when ordered to do so by you. But here your Minister has dismissed all the News-writers who were formerly attached to Amils of districts to report their proceedings, on the ground that such officers are unnecessary in districts under the amance, or trust management system, so that you can never learn the sufferings of the people, much less afford redress."

Colonel Sleeman's Report dated December 10, 1851.

80. Well might Colonel Sleeman declare, therefore, that the "numerous instances of all these evils and sufferings, and of the apathy with which they are viewed by the Oude Government, contained in the monthly diaries, are not a tenth part of what in any month takes place;" and thus much having been suppressed of the instances of oppression and extortion practised by the Amils, &c., it cannot be doubted that much of the loss of life arising therefrom, and of crime of various descriptions perpetrated by Government functionaries, has been concealed. With such imperfect data, then, as the diaries afford, it is astounding to peruse the vast amount of Crime which has been recorded, notwithstanding these suppressions, for the details of which, for the years 1848 and 1854, I beg to refer to the Appendix E, while I here submit an abstract of the totals of those and the intermediate years:—

Appendix E, Nos. 1 and 2.

ABSTRACT of Crimes perpetrated in Oude from A.D. 1848 to 1854 inclusive.

DATE.	Dacoitees.	Persons Killed.	Persons Wounded.	Persons Killed and wounded not separately specified.	Total Killed and Wounded.	Villages Burnt and Plundered.	Persons Forcibly Carried off.	Suttees.	REMARKS.
1848 ..	149	348	336	655	1,339	36	206	6	N.B.—Wherever in the Diary the word "several" is introduced, as "several murders committed in the country," they have been calculated in these Abstracts at *two* always.
1849 ..	222	798	948	126	1,872	86	150	6	
1850 ..	74	504	427	70	1,001	32	42	3	
1851 ..	158	654	622	170	1,446	69	99	7	
1852 ..	112	796	993	222	2,011	108	146	10	
1853 ..	104	755	668	531	1,954	88	391	9	
1854 ..	212	544	561	286	1,391	128	454	3	
Total of 7 Years..	1,031	4,399	4,555	2,060	11,014	547	1,488	44	
Average per annum	147 2/7	628 3/7	650 5/7	294 2/7	1,573 3/7	78 1/7	212 4/7	6 2/7	

81. From this table it will be observed that Crime reported has greatly increased, notwithstanding the more limited extent of country subjected to report. Thus, Dacoitees have increased from 149 of the first year to 212 of the last; killed and wounded, from 1,339 to 1,391; and this latter had been exceeded during the two preceding years, when the killed and wounded exceeded 2,000 in 1852, and very nearly reached that number in 1853, the annual average of casualties under this head, during the past seven years, being 1,573. The number of villages destroyed had nearly quadrupled, and of persons forcibly carried off for ransom or sale, more than doubled. And, when it is recollected that, awful as this display is, it does not depict the whole, nor nearly the whole, of what this devoted country has actually suffered in loss of life and property, it is, indeed, as I have already said, most astounding;—and the more so when the limited extent and population of Oude is considered—its favored situation in the midst of the quiet and well-settled British districts surrounding it on three sides, and the peaceable Nepal frontier on the fourth.

82. And still more astounding will it appear when compared with any other portion of India of similar extent and population. But, without applying the more disadvantageous test of a comparison with long-settled districts of Central Hindostan, I will here submit a comparison between the Kingdom of Oude and the recently acquired provinces of the Punjab; the former being 24,000 square miles in extent, with a population of five millions, the latter 134,000 square miles, with a population of ten millions. It has been shown that the killed and wounded in Oude average upwards of 1,500 annually; whereas the Punjab, with double the amount of population, six times the extent of country, and surrounded by marauding tribes, displayed last year only 265 cases of "murder, and wounding with intent to murder," and 621 cases of "homicides and felonies, attended with wounding and personal injury"—total, 886; the greater portion being merely wounded and injured; whereas the average of killed alone in Oude is 628, leaving out of consideration villages plundered and burnt, people carried off, and Suttees, &c., from which atrocities the Punjab appears to have been entirely exempt.

Page 59, 2nd Punjab Report, Paragraph 183; and page 61, Paragraph 189.

83. True it is that a large portion of the casualties in Oude are to be attributed to faction fights and collisions between the officers employed in the collection of the revenue and the landholders who pay it. But this is the consequence of the misrule of the Oude Government; too weak, or apathetic, to restrain its subjects, and too frequently driving them to resistance by over-exactions; the result of which is thus described by Colonel Sleeman:—"Every landholder, who has failed in his resistance, takes to plunder, burns down as many villages, and murders and robs as many travellers on the highway, as he can, to subsist his armed followers, and avenge himself on the Government authorities and all who aid and support them." And a forcible illustration thereof will be found in my letter to your address, dated the 6th ultimo, reporting on the hostilities now in progress between the Oude Government and four of its refractory chieftains.

Colonel Sleeman's Report dated February 23, 1849

84. I have just said that these tables do not display nearly the whole of the Crime which has really been perpetrated in Oude during the past year; and I will now show that I have more ground for my assertion than merely the obvious conclusion that, the amance Amils' proceedings being no longer reported, it necessarily follows that much evil which has occurred, and many casualties, have not been recorded.

85. That evil deeds have been suppressed will be amply illustrated in the ensuing section, under the head of "Oppression, &c." Here, I will merely demonstrate that the reported casualties of last year, amounting in "killed and wounded" to 1,391, are far short of the reality. Thus, in the entry on the 28th of March, it is reported that, in a contest between the King's troops and a refractory Talookdar, "many men were killed and wounded on both sides."

6th April. The Nanparah rebels "fought desperately for six hours" with the King's troops, "killed and wounded many of them, and took possession of the fort."

25th June. "On the 23rd of this month, the eunuch sent 400 of his men to punish the men of the Moonshee; and, a fight ensuing, many men were killed and wounded on both sides."

6th August. "A fight took place, &c. in which many men were killed and wounded on both sides."

1st December. "In two fights, &c. many men were killed and wounded on both sides."

4th December. "The former had many men killed, and wounded, and the latter (two persons named) killed, and a few men wounded."

24th December. "Seven of his followers were killed, and some wounded."

86. Here are eight occasions (and there may be others which I have overlooked) of "many" being killed and wounded, whose numbers, not being specified, are not entered in the numerical total; and there are other cases of killing and wounding not entered at all. I have positive proof of the following, *i. e.* 1st, that of Maheeput Sing, the Talookdar of Purruspoor, who, in November last, committed a dacoity in the village of Dhobye, and murdered eleven and wounded four persons. 2nd. The attack of the rebel Sahibjee on

Vide Lieutenant Sinclair's Statement, dated November 20. No. 6 of Appendix B.

the King's Thannah at Toolseepore on the 11th of November, thus described, nine days after the event, by an officer, then near the spot. "Sahibjee attacked him (the Tehseeldar) at night, took possession of two King's guns, plundered the whole of the treasure found in the fort, amounting to rupees 17,000, and established his Thannah. The Tehseeldar was wounded. He fled for safety to Bulrampore." 3d. The defeat, in December last, of 200 Sebundees under Nundkomar, Tehseeldar of Nanparah, with a loss of sixteen or eighteen killed, of which I have received an account from Lieutenant Adolphus Orr.* To omissions of this kind have to be added, moreover, many instances in which the losses have been under-rated. Thus, in the diary entry of the 26th of November, it is stated that, in the fight between the Amil of Salone and Shew Golam Sing, "still raging on the 19th of November, thirty-one men were wounded and three killed on the Amil's side;" and "on the 22nd, six more wounded;" and nothing further is said on the subject; whereas hostilities continued until the Talookdar evacuated his fort on the 26th of November, up to which date fifty-eight had been killed and twelve wounded of the King's troops, and thirty killed (besides wounded) of the Talookdar's followers. Neither does the entry in the diary of the 12th of December give anything like the real amount of slaughter on the occasion referred to, an account of which will be found in Lieutenant Sinclair's letter of that date. Another instance of such under-statements in the diary is afforded in its report of the last action at Nanparah, on the 15th of January (referred to in my letter of the 6th ultimo) wherein the loss on the King's side is given at two killed and none wounded; whereas Lieutenant Orr, who was present on the occasion, reports one Jemadar and two Naicks killed, and one Havildar, four Naicks, six Sepoys, and one Bheesty wounded, the loss of the enemy not being stated.

Vide my Letter to Government, dated February 6, 1855.

Vide No. 6 of Appendix B.

87. It is thus evident that the number of human beings slaughtered and wounded in Oude during the past year far exceeds what the diary represents, incredible though that number appears; and, as it may fairly be assumed that, in the same proportion as the 1,391 recorded casualties of last year fall short of the reality, the numbers of the two previous years are deficient, *i. e.* 2,011 for 1852, and 1,954 for 1853; the average, consequently, of the three last years, *i. e.* 1,785, must be regarded as much below the real amount, and may be more correctly estimated, perhaps, at above 2,000 annually. This is indeed a most frightful exemplification of the present state of affairs in Oude; and, when this estimate of casualties for the three years succeeding Colonel Sleeman's last report is compared with the average of the four years preceding (1848 to 1851) *i. e.* 1,415, during a portion of which period the Reporting Establishments were complete, which have since been withdrawn from the amance districts, thereby still further heightening the contrast, no other conclusion can be drawn than that, not merely has there been no improvement in the state of Oude in this respect, but that crime and outrage have actually increased since Colonel Sleeman last reported.

88. I am generally borne out in this conclusion by the testimony of the local officers, though one of them, Captain Bunbury, is of opinion that crime and atrocity "has been greatly checked, since Colonel Sleeman so judiciously made examples of Golam Huzrut, &c." The other gentlemen have recorded less favorably. Major Troup states, that "Crime has increased, and murders are more frequent than formerly. In a small village near the Sultanpore cantonment, a dispute arose about a mowah tree, some time last April; nine men were killed, and several wounded; but not the slightest notice was taken. This is one of the many instances which have been brought to my notice; for I have often been applied to by the villagers and travellers for protection. All the roads are more or less infested by Dacoits, men driven from their homes by oppression, who have no alternative but to live by plunder."

Captain Bunbury's Statement, No. 2 of Appendix B.

Major Troup's Statement, dated December 27, 1854. No. 1 of Appendix B.

Captain Patrick Orr declares that, "as regards the decrease of crime within the last six or seven years, I am of opinion that, if not actually on the increase, it is certainly as common as before; but, undoubtedly, it meets with

Captain Patrick Orr's Statement, dated January 5, 1855. No. 4 of Appendix B.

* Since the above was written, I have obtained a copy of the entries in the report book, kept in the Minister's Kutcherry, for two months during the past year (May and June,) which, having been compared with the diary, shows that, in those two months, eighteen men were killed, and forty-six wounded, who are not reported in the diary. *Vide* No. 3 of Appendix E.

much more impunity *now* than ever. It is seldom, indeed, that one hears of criminals being punished, or even apprehended; whereas formerly, especially in Mahomed Alee Shah's reign, though crimes were often committed, yet, in most cases, malefactors were apprehended and punished. Under the present *régime*, I do not think there is a shadow of security for life or property in Oude. In this part of the country it is almost impossible for people to travel, unless escorted by a large body of armed men. A few days ago, about thirty merchants were plundered of all their property, consisting of several carts, bullocks, ready money, grain, &c., on the border of the Toolseepore and Churdah Elakas. Murders are committed and people robbed, without the least notice being taken, or any attempt made to prevent the recurrence of such like offences. In fact, the Durbar seldom hears of the murders, or other atrocities committed. The state of ignorance the Government is kept in of nearly all that passes is easily explained: in former times, Akbar Nawisses, or News-writers, having Hurkaras and Chuprassies under them, were appointed to different Elakas, and duly paid by the King, to send in news from all parts of Oude. Their reports, or purchas, were sent direct to the King: this alone had a very good effect on all. Now the King sees no papers at all, much less purchas. * * * Latterly, most of the Nazims farm the appointment (of News-writers) themselves, and appoint their own men, who naturally cannot be supposed to injure their masters, by writing anything that might bring trouble to them. I have heard of numerous most atrocious murders and dacoitees; but, never having kept any note of them, I cannot just now recall the circumstances: crimes of all sorts are of daily occurrence."

Captain Alexander Orr says, "I conscientiously think that Crime of all species (and I speak more especially of the Sultanpore and Deriabad Rudowlee districts—the worst in this portion of Oude), has not *increased;* but, at the same time, it has in no way *decreased;* and under few Nazims have so little efforts been made to extirpate bad characters. I will give the names of the principal Dacoits, and a few instances of the Crimes committed. * * * In general, petty thefts are rife in all towns, * * and will ever continue to be so, as long as Thannadars, Kotwals, and Zemindars (especially) derive a handsome percentage from thieves. Other criminals and other instances of Crime might be cited; but I think I have mentioned enough to prove that Crime is not on the decrease. Agaie (the Nazim) has done nothing towards extirpating bad characters. On the contrary, he, his brothers and Tehseeldars, have always seemed to favour them, for very evident reasons."

Captain Alexander Orr's Statement, dated January 9, 1855. No. 5 of Appendix B.

7. *Oppression and Cruelties, &c.*

89. It is impossible to form a decided opinion as to whether the Oppression, under which the subjects of Oude now suffer, is greater or less in degree than what they were subjected to in the early part of the present King's reign, and which Colonel Richmond, on the 20th of November, 1847, reported to be then worse than during "such portion of the previous reign as had come under his immediate cognizance." Nothing certainly can be conceived more horrible than the Oppression and Cruelties reported by Colonel Richmond, as prevailing during the first year of His Majesty's accession; and nothing has, I believe, since been *reported* at all to be compared to the atrocities then perpetrated by Government functionaries. But it has been shown that the sources of information which were open to Colonel Richmond, have since been closed in a great measure, by the abolition of the News-writers in the amanee districts; and it will hereafter be seen that much oppression, at present therein enacted, does not now reach the Resident, for record in the official diaries, as formerly.

90. Some few of the Oppressive acts and Cruelties, to which I have referred, were thus reported by Colonel Richmond.

"On the 12th of October, 1847, an official note was sent by me to His Majesty, to the effect that it had been brought to my notice that Rajah Rugber Sing, Tehseeldar of Bharaitch, had forcibly sold the cattle and cultivating implements of the ryuts, and had, besides, seized their women and

Colonel Richmond's Report dated November 20, 1847

children, and sold 500 of them by auction, and requesting that stringent measures might be adopted, and a reply sent. No answer has been received."

"On the 25th of October, 1847, an official note was sent by me to His Majesty, stating that it had been reported that Lushkuree, the absconded Chowdry of Mahonna, had committed a dacoitee on Poorah Ramzanee, that four men had been killed, and the house of a man named Kunnee plundered, and himself carried off, buried in the ground up to his neck, powder filled in his ears and fired, from which he died. No answer has been received."

"On the same date an official note was forwarded to His Majesty, stating that it had been reported to me that, on the 2nd of October, Jaffir Alee and Maharaj, Karindahs of Rajah Rugber Sing, Tehseeldar of Gondah Bharaitch, with 1000 Sepoys of the Nizamut, &c., attacked the bazar, and plundered the ryuts of five villages, and carried off captives Ramdun and Suddasookh and thirty other persons, consisting of Mahajuns and Bunneeahs, and requesting that measures might be taken. No answer has been received."

"On the 14th of November, Jankee Sing, Jemadar in the service of Rajah Rugber Sing, tied Aleebuksh, a weaver, to his elephant's leg, in consequence of his having delayed to prepare some thread, and dragged him to the Nazim's camp, by which his body was lacerated in several places, after which he was confined, and compelled to give a razeenamah."

"On the 19th of November, Kurrun Husein, Jemadar in the service of Rajah Rugber Sing, Nazim of Bharaitch, sent for Akland Sing, farmer of the village of Hurkootnah, on the plea of arrears of revenue, burnt his body with hot ramrods, and had him carried about on a jackass, and then confined him."

"On the 7th of July, an official note was sent by me to His Majesty, with the Urzee of Buldee Sing, Sepoy of the 13th Native Infantry, complaining against Budreenath, Tehseeldar of Sufreepoor, who had killed the petitioner's father by cruelly beating him, although the proper revenue had been paid up. No answer has been received."

"On the 24th of August, an official note was forwarded by me to His Majesty, in the case of Ameer Sing, Havildar 49th regiment Native Infantry, complaining against the servants of Rajah Mahn Sing, Tehseeldar of Pertaubghur, who had sold into slavery the petitioner's seven children and grandchildren. No answer has been received."

91. It will be remarked that, in all the above cases (to the Resident's representations regarding which "no answer" could be obtained), the offenders were high Government officials or their subordinates, the greatest criminal among them being Rajah Rugber Sing, the Nazim of Bharaitch, of the atrocities perpetrated by whom the above do not form one hundredth portion. They are detailed at length in Colonel Sleeman's printed journal (vol. I, pages 61 to 83); wholesale cold-blooded massacres and plunderings are there recorded, besides torturings to death, and starving to death of human beings, to an extent that could not be believed, were the facts not so fully established. Yet this monster had openly perpetrated all these diabolical deeds for two years, unchecked by the Durbar, whose servant he was. And his crimes remained unnoticed until Colonel Sleeman took office in the beginning of 1849. Up to that time, Rugber Sing had not been called to any account; but had been quietly superseded by his nephew in the charge which he had so grossly abused. Subsequently, he had retired to the British territory, not from any apprehension of punishment for those crimes, however; but merely "to evade all demands for balances, and reside for an interval, with the full assurance that he would be able to purchase restoration to favour and power in Oude, unless the Resident should think it worth while to oppose him." Colonel Sleeman did, however, oppose him. He "had his agents arrested, and charges sent in against them, with all the proofs accumulated by Captain Orr; but they all purchased their way out, and no one was punished."* At the Resident's suggestion, however, "the King proclaimed Rugber Sing as an outlaw, and offered rupees 3,000 for his arrest. He never appeared, but continued to carry on his negotiations for restoration to power at Lucknow, through the very agents whom he had employed in the scenes above described."

Colonel Sleeman's Printed Journal, Vol. I, pp. 61 to 83.

Vide p. 83 of Colonel Sleeman's Printed Journal.

* In June, 1851, they were still holding office under the Oude Government. *Vide* note to p. 85 of printed journal.

92. Of so little account are such acts as those of which Rugber Sing was guilty, held by the Oude Government, that, undoubtedly, he would have been restored to power, but for the opposition of the Resident. And such good ground had Colonel Sleeman for apprehending that Rugber Sing might eventually attain his object, that he deemed it necessary to guard me against it by the following Memorandum of the 28th of November last:—

"This atrocious villain is still negotiating for his return to office with the Minister, and offers, I have heard, three lakhs of rupees. The Minister had sounded me on the subject, but was told that I should have him arrested, as soon as he set foot in Oude, and brought to trial for his many crimes. I made over charge of the office on the 12th of August, 1854, and, if my successor be not very watchful, the Minister will take the money, and give him charge of another district to commit similar atrocities."

93. Urged by Colonel Sleeman, the Government of Oude had been induced at one time to make an endeavour to procure the arrest of Rugber Sing, and then, *for the first time*, adduced Colonel Richmond's charges against him (having allowed them to remain unnoticed for two and a half years), on the plea—"now that Rugber Sing, independent of those heinous offences, has perpetrated outrages, attended with murder and wounding, you must rest assured that, if he is suffered to escape punishment, it will in future be most difficult to protect the life and property of the subject against him." But that the object of the Durbar was not really the one here assigned, but to extract Rugber's ill-gotten wealth, had he been surrendered, is transparent, from the fact that he had, while in the employ of the Oude Government, murdered and wounded, not merely individuals, but *actually hundreds of human beings*, without being brought to justice, or punished in any manner. That this was their object is further confirmed by the fact that, when informed that the man would be tried by the British authorities, the Durbar took no steps to prosecute their charges. And, were further evidence wanting that the Oude Government had no moral objection to Rugber's acts, and sought but to obtain his gold, it is afforded by the fact that the Minister has since endeavoured to obtain the man's restoration to power, with a view to obtain some portion, as a bribe, of what they can no longer hope to extort by force.

94. The prosecution of this great criminal was consequently abandoned; but Colonel Sleeman would certainly have insisted on his being surrendered for trial before the Oude courts, had he had any expectation that justice would have been administered; but, none of Rugber Sing's agents having been punished, what hope could the Resident have that Rugber himself, with his superior means of bribery, would meet his deserts? He thus recorded:—"Not one of the agents employed in the atrocities above described was ever punished. The people see that all the members of Government are accessories, either before or after the fact, in all these dreadful Cruelties and Outrages; and that, the more of these a public officer commits, the more secure is he of protection and favour at Court." Printed Journal p. 84.

95. A further evidence of the utter indifference with which the Oude Government regards the rapine and violence to which its subjects are exposed, and that, however enormous, the perpetrator can always compound therefor by a bribe to the Minister or his minions, is afforded in the case of Madhopershad, a refractory landholder, who, having fled to the British territory, from thence committed fearful outrages in Oude. The Durbar demanded his surrender, through the Resident, on the charges,—1st, of having in July last (1854) opposed the Nazim, and wounded nineteen of his men: 2nd, having committed a dacoitee in the ilaka of Chundepore, and pillaged and burnt twenty-six villages: 3rd, having committed a dacoitee in the village of Punchum ka purwa, plundered the property of the ryuts, set fire to their houses, and carried away two persons as captives: 4th, having committed a dacoitee in Bhadour and other villages, and plundered the property of the inhabitants. The Magistrate of Azimgurh, to whom the Resident had applied, exerted himself to effect the apprehension of the accused, until, on the 11th ultimo, he ascertained that Madhopershad was residing in the Nazim's camp, "with whom he had made his peace." Captain Bunbury reports that Madhopershad had actually received a khillut, or dress of honour, and that he and other Dacoits "continue their lawless life, privately supported by the Nazim, as they are a source of income to these people in authority." Captain Bunbur Statement, No. of Appendix B

96. These cases have been adduced to show that, even if the people be not now murdered, tortured, and sold into slavery, to the same extent as under Rugber Sing, it is not that they at present enjoy better protection than formerly, or that the Government is now inspired by any improved sense of justice and humanity; but I fear that, though such wholesale atrocities as those perpetrated by Rugber Sing may not be matched by any single Government officer of the present day, the people are still subjected in detail to similar persecutions, to an extent, in the aggregate, perhaps, equal to what they suffered in the first years of His Majesty's reign. On reference to the diary for last year, given in Appendix E, No. 2. Appendix E, it will be seen that, denuded though it be of the record of the proceedings of the amanee Tehseeldars, there is still a vast amount of tyranny, cruelty, and oppression, recorded on the part of Government officials, from which I select the following:—

16*th February*.—"The police of Mouza Deshora, in the jurisdiction of Eunuch Mobaruck, accused Mohun Passee of theft, and beat him to such an extent that he died."

23*rd February*.—"Pahulwan Khan, of Ubhar in Rudowlee, assisted by the men of Fazul Azeem, the Naib Amil of the district, attacked the house of his copartner Dabeedeen, killed him, with his three sons, two brothers, an uncle, and another relation, plundered his property,* drove away his cattle, and carried off the females of the house."

26*th March*.—"Gyapershad, Collector of Bulliapoor, confined Mahabut Sing, a Shareholder of Mouza Jaree, and, with a view to extort money, beat him to such an extent that he became senseless. He then sent him in a cot to his house, where he died."

28*th April*.—"" The servants of Nundkomar, Tehseeldar of Toolseepore, accused an insane traveller of theft, and dragged him about with a rope tied to his feet, which caused the death of the unfortunate man."

10*th May*.—"Ahmed Alee, Manager of the Pertaubgurh district, attacked the villages of Rahdotha and Newhalpore, for the arrest of Ajudia Sing and other Dacoits, but, finding that he had escaped, he forcibly brought away four of the female inhabitants. The relations of the females came to claim them from the Manager, but he put them also in durance, and sent the youngest and handsomest of the females to his seraglio. One of these unfortunate creatures is said to have died, and the remaining two are still in confinement."

29*th May*.—"Nundkomar, the Tehseeldar of Toolseepore, arrested one Bulda, a British subject, on a false accusation of theft, and, with a view to extort money from him, beat him to such an extent that he died thereof."

1*st June*.—"Nundkomar, of Toolseepore, released some Thug and Dacoit prisoners on receiving a douceur from them."

13*th June*.—"On the 28th of May, Ukber Beg, farmer of Saadutnuggur, seized upon the village of Karal, and carried away 500 head of cattle. On the 3rd of June, the same Ukber Beg, with 500 men and five field pieces, attacked the village of Kirurpore, killed one and wounded three of the inhabitants, plundered their property, and set fire to the village. Next morning, he attacked the village of Abadee. Kesree Sing, the landed proprietor of Ahroree, at his instance, set fire to the village of Lessore, and drove away about 500 head of cattle. It is said that Ukber Beg commits these depredations and outrages with the connivance of Mosahib Alee, fiddler, and Asud Beg, a judicial officer of the Court."

18*th June*.—"Mohun Sing, Jamugdar, of &c[a]., seized upon RaheemKhan, with a view to realize six rupees, due from him for rent, and beat him to such an extent that he died."

18*th June*. "The police officer at Ramnuggur arrested some Brahmins, with a view to extort a tax from them on account of their rent-free lands, and pressed them so hard to satisfy their unjust demands that two of the Brahmins poisoned themselves and died."

22*nd June*. "A party of Captain Barlow's men, at Nanparah, attacked the marriage procession of Udhoot Sing, killed him and seven of his followers, plundered the procession, and carried off fourteen prisoners."

* The official inquiry, subsequently instituted by Colonel Sleeman, established that Dabeedeen and his three brothers, one woman, three children, and a Chowhan Rajpoot, were killed, (total nine), and two persons wounded. *Vide* Appendix D, No. 3.

7th July. "On the same day, Golab Sing, Chowdry, of Nerwessee, turned out Bugwan Sing, father of Anund Sing, Sepoy of the Company's service, and had the Sepoy killed by one Girwur Sing, for demanding his due."

12th July. "Two Sepoys sent by Busarut Alee, the eunuch of the Minister, came to the house of one Abdool Kadur, whose case is pending in the Adawlut, extorted from him ten rupees, and demanded ten more. When the poor man failed to satisfy their unjust demand, they attempted to rush into his female apartments, but were prevented from so doing by the interference of Ameer Alee and Aga Alee. They then wounded the former, and inflicted a severe beating on the latter, and carried him a prisoner to the eunuch, who confined him in his own house."

30th July. "Koolfat Sing and other Gunners on duty in Pergunnah Esowlie, and Ramdyal, a shareholder in the village of Umra, seized upon Mungul Putwarree, and demanded 500 rupees from him. On his refusing to meet their demand, they burnt him with red-hot iron, and, inflicting a severe beating upon him, compelled him to give a note of hand for rupees 200, and to enter into a written obligation to forfeit 500 rupees, if he exposed their conduct to any of the authorities."

24th August. "The Tehseeldar, of Suffeepore, confined and inflicted such a severe beating upon the zemindar of Bohudpoor, that he died thereof."

9th September. "The Sepoys employed under Ata Alee, the Manager of the Buchra estate, shot Dabee Sing, Rajpoot, and carried him to the Manager, who cut off his head."

11th December. "The inhabitants of Bahraitch complained to Nundkomar (the Amil), against the Sepoys under his command, for oppressing and wounding four of them, but no notice was taken of the complaint."

97. Could all that has been perpetrated by the amanee Amils during the past year be produced, the calendar would display probably a more fearful amount of Cruelty and Oppression than even during the first, or any previous, year of this, or any former, reign in Oude. As they have not been reported, however, I am unable to say positively to what extent those Amils generally have oppressed their people, though a tolerably fair judgment of their practice may be formed from the following statements of British officers personally cognizant of what they write, descriptive of the proceedings of Agaie Alee Khan, the principal and most cherished among them.

"I regret to say the ryuts are most cruelly oppressed by the present Amil (Agaie Alee Khan). The following is an instance brought to my notice:— In the village of Narainpore, not far from the cantonment of Sultanpore, Zemindar Durshun Sing was compelled to sell three of his daughters to enable him to meet the exactions of the Tehseeldar; one of these girls was purchased by a Sepoy of my regiment for 100 rupees. The above village was pledged to a man named Peer Khan, who was responsible for the payment of the revenue, rupees 2,500. instead of which the Amil increased his demand to rupees 6,000; and Peer Khan, being unable to pay that sum, was put into prison, and, from frequent floggings and ill-usage, died. His brother is compelled to seek refuge in the jungles to avoid apprehension, as he was unable to meet the demand; and Zemindar Durshun Sing, to escape a similar fate, sold all his property and family, as stated above. I have been informed that the ryuts of the large zemindaree of Hussunpore Bundooah, belonging to Raja Husein Alee, are in a most pitiable state. It appears they had paid the revenue for the present year to the Raja, after which the Chuckledar insisted he should also be paid, and all those who were unable to meet this exaction were forced to sell their cattle, &c., thus being disabled from cultivating their lands the ensuing season. There are many more instances of Cruelty and Oppression which could be brought to notice, of men being tortured, and the females of their families being grossly insulted. The most frightful punishment is placing the wrist between split bamboos, which are daily tightened, till the victim either pays the demand or the hand drops off. Three men lost their hands in this cruel manner last year, in the villages of Peepapoor and Kullianpoor."

Major Troup, dated December 27 1854. No. 1 of Appendix B.

Captain P. Orr, dated January 5, 1855. No. 4 of Appendix B.

"The weak and the poor have no protection whatever afforded to them against the extortions and depredations of those stronger than themselves."

Captain A. Orr, dated January 9, 1855. No. 5 of Appendix B.

"Adverting now to another paragraph of your note regarding acts of Oppression committed by Agaie (the Nazim) or his subordinates, since his Nizamutship, I will mention the case of the village of Rae Beeja, situated on the banks of the Goomtee, plundered by the Nazim's Tehseeldar, Rahut Husein. Two women were killed, one being with child; one woman, dishonoured by one of the soldiery, threw herself into a well; her life was saved, but through shame she left the village. All grain, property, &c., was taken and sold, but the money realized was never carried to the credit of the zemindar. 2nd, The massacre of Neotee, near Rudowlee, where eight persons were cruelly slaughtered without cause. During five months, no notice of these atrocities, connived at by Agaie's brother, Aga Husein, was taken by Agaie; and it was at the expiration of that period of time that I was ordered by Colonel Sleeman to make investigation. A detailed account of this affair has long since been given by me. 3rd, A zemindar of Khyrabad, near Sultanpore, was flogged to death. 4th, Moonthaz Ahmed, Talookdar of Rudowlee, most unjustly ruined by Agaie, and his zemindaree made over to other parties. * * * Zoolum (oppression) has ever existed in Oude districts, with very rare exceptions, but in various degrees, Oppression increasing in proportion to the increase of favour enjoyed in Durbar; and the history of one district is more or less that of all. * * * In short, with the modification I have mentioned, of the more and of the less, Oppression has always existed, but has been carried to its maximum by Agaie."

Vide No. 3 of Appendix D.

Captain Bunbury's Statement, dated January 1, 1855. No. 3 of Appendix B.

"The Government revenue of the place is from rupees 60,000 to 64,000 annually, and I have been obliged to pay to the Nazim (Agaie Alee Khan) rupees 1,04,342, and, as you may naturally suppose, the Talookdars were obliged to double the assessment from the ryuts. Most of the Oude zemindars, being obliged to live from hand to mouth, owing to the number of their retainers, are, consequently, compelled to levy these heavy extra contributions on the unfortunate ryuts, in order to hold their own, as otherwise their zemindarees (estates) would be made over to the puttails or the highest bidders."

98. A further exemplification of the lamentable consequences of Oude misgovernment, will be found in my late letters dated the 6th and the 14th ultimo, reporting the formidable hostilities which are now devastating some of the richest districts in the country. In the same proportion as the landholders are compelled to maintain armed followers to repel over-exactions on the part of the Durbar, are they driven to overtax their ryuts to supply those retainers; and the Government again is obliged to maintain large forces to enforce payment of the revenue, gradually falling off in consequence of such a state of things. Thus, all classes suffer from the absence of faith in the Government, and of any ties of sympathy between the Government and the people.

99. It may naturally be supposed that the people of Oude, if so greatly oppressed as has been represented, would emigrate to the neighbouring British districts, which it does not appear from the replies I have yet received from the Magistrates, whom I questioned on the subject, that they do to any great extent. The Magistrate of Futtehpore says nothing on this point; while those of Azimgurh, Shahjehanpore, and Allahabad, have given no reply at all. The Magistrate of Jounpore is "not aware that the population of Oude has decreased of late, or that there has been any considerable emigration from Oude into British territory." The Magistrate of Goruckpore says nothing of emigrants, but that there are from 90 to 100 families who have possessions on both sides of the frontier, who live sometimes in Oude and sometimes in the Goruckpore district, and who are therefore constructively subjects of both Governments. The Magistrate of Furruckabad says the emigration from Oude into his district "is, he believes, very limited, though in time of difficulty many people from Oude take refuge there for a season." The Magistrate of Cawnpore furnishes a list of emigrants from Oude, "during the last six or seven years," amounting to 2,333, of whom 1,354 are agriculturists, and 1,294 non-agriculturists; and states, "these people have emigrated with their wives and families, and may be regarded as permanently established. The non-agriculturists, perhaps, may be looked upon as birds of passage, but still they are not likely to return to Oude."

Vide No. 1 of Appendix A.

Vide No. 2 of Appendix A.

Vide No. 3 of Appendix A.

Vide No. 4 of Appendix A.

Vide No. 5 of Appendix A.

100. But the condition of the people of Oude cannot fairly be tested by the extent of emigration; for, as stated by Major Troup, "although shamefully oppressed, they are much attached to their country." And it happens that the middling and agricultural classes especially, who otherwise might be driven to emigrate, obtain indirectly the protection of the British Government, to such an extent as preserves them from the necessity of having recourse to the extreme measure of abandoning their birthright, in the privilege, which their relatives in the Company's service enjoy, of petitioning through the Resident, who has thus the means of inquiring into grievances, and demanding redress in their behalf. To acquire this privilege, every agricultural family in Oude, perhaps without exception, besides many of other occupations, sends one of its members into the British army, and thus secures, through him, the right of claiming the Resident's interference. The number of Oude Sepoys in our service, consequently, who enjoy this privilege, is estimated by Colonel Sleeman at 40,000, and the relatives they represent may probably amount to ten times that number, or nearly one-tenth of the entire population of Oude.

No. 1 of Appendix B.

Letter dated March 21, 1851.

101. My circular letter to the neighbouring Magistrates referred to in the third paragraph, to which I solicited an answer at their "earliest convenience," having now been before those gentlemen upwards of three months, and yet only five of the eight gentlemen addressed having given any reply, I do not think myself warranted in longer deferring my report, pending the answers of the remainder, which, however, shall be submitted hereafter when received. A reference to the questions I put to those gentlemen will show that I might reasonably have hoped to elicit their opinion as to the degree of anarchy and misrule prevailing in a country, situated so near them, bordering on their own districts, and with whose people they necessarily must have frequent intercourse. But it will be observed that the five Magistrates, who have yet answered me, offer no opinion whatever on the subject, confining themselves solely to a consideration of the frontier of their own districts in conjunction with Oude. So far, the Magistrates of Jounpore and Goruckpore represent rather an improvement of late years. Both consider that Crime in the frontier has decreased; but, while the latter attributes "this satisfactory state of things to the active cooperation of the Oude Frontier Police," the former "would rather attribute it to the change of habits which has occurred in our own territory, than to any particular efficiency of the Oude local authorities." The Futtehpore, Cawnpore, and Furruckabad Magistrates, on the other hand, take a less favorable view. The former, while stating that the increase and decrease of crime in his own zillah "is a point not easy to be ascertained," declares that dacoitees are perpetrated by Oude subjects in British territory, with impunity, they invariably finding shelter with the Oude Talookdars, &c. The Furruckabad Magistrate furnishes a list of thirty-four Oude villages, situated near his frontier, "which have the repute of harbouring criminal offenders and bad characters," and states, "Oude no doubt affords facilities for the escape of persons who have committed crime in this district, and the concealment of stolen property." The Cawnpore Magistrate gives a list of thirty-one Oude villages near his border, supposed to contain bad characters who live by plunder; and, with respect to Crime, he observes, "I would sum up my opinion that reported Crime during the past six years cannot be said to be increasing, but that it is permanent, and this permanency is its worst feature. The cause of this permanency would appear to be, first, the facility for escape offered by foreign territory, and the river Ganges; second, the difficulty of tracing or recognising criminals who reside in Oude; third, the lawlessness and insecurity of life and property there, which induces the landlords and others to harbour absconded criminals from this side; and, fourth, the temptation, held out by the extorters to the landlords, to share in the plunder obtained from our districts. It is said that one-fourth of the property stolen is considered to be the 'huq' of the protecting zemindar. It has been even said that the Chuckledars participate in the spoils."

Vide Appendix A.

102. The testimony of the Magistrates (with one exception) is favorable to the efficiency of the Oude frontier Police, though not so generally to that of the Oude local authorities on the border. The Futtehpore Magistrate declares:—"Of the Oude frontier Police, I know little or nothing, and never have had a criminal absconded or property plundered, from this side, sent in by them; and, as for the 'local authorities on the border,' who and what are

they?" The Jounpore Magistrate states that he is so little acquainted with the details of the management in Oude, that he cannot say whether the efficiency of the local authorities has increased of late, or not; but he adds:—"I am bound to speak well of the Nazim of Sultanpore, who has always shown great willingness to assist me in every way." The Goruckpore Magistrate attributes the satisfactory state of his border to the "active cooperation of the Oude frontier Police." The Furruckabad Magistrate says:—"Oude, no doubt, affords facilities for the escape of persons who have committed crimes in this district, &c.; but I have always received the most cordial cooperation from Captain Hearsey, &c." *i. e.* the frontier Police; and the Magistrate of Cawnpore declares that, "with respect to the efficiency of the Oude local authorities, I should say that they do their utmost, in most cases, to arrest thieves and robbers, &c."

103. There can be no doubt, however, in my opinion, that the British districts bordering on Oude have, in reality, derived great benefit, of late years, from the Oude frontier Police; and full credit has been given by my predecessors to His Majesty on that score,—the only redeeming point in his Government, in fact,—to which I have referred in my 23rd, 64th, 65th and 66th paragraphs.

104. In all other respects—as regards its internal state—the condition of Oude is, as I have shown, most deplorable. And it has been my painful duty to demonstrate that the lamentable condition of this Kingdom has been caused by the very culpable apathy and gross misrule of the Sovereign and his Durbar. I have shown that the affairs of Oude still continue in the same state—if not worse—in which Colonel Sleeman, from time to time, described them to be; and that the improvement which Lord Hardinge peremptorily demanded, seven years ago, at the hands of the King, in pursuance of the treaty of 1801, has not, in any degree, been effected. And I have no hesitation in declaring my opinion, therefore, that the duty imposed on the British Government by that Treaty cannot any longer admit of our "honestly indulging the reluctance which the Government of India has felt, heretofore, to have recourse to those extreme measures which, alone, can be of any real efficacy in remedying the evils from which the State of Oude has suffered so long."

105. In pronouncing an opinion so injurious to the reigning family of Oude, I have performed what is, indeed, to myself personally, a very painful duty; for I have ever advocated the maintenance of the few remaining native States in India, so long as they retain any principle of vitality, and we can uphold them consistently with our duty, as the paramount power in India, and in accordance with our Treaty pledges. It is, therefore, peculiarly distressing to me to find that, in continuing to uphold the Sovereign power of this effete and incapable dynasty, we do so at the cost of 5,000,000 of people, on whose behalf we are bound to secure—what the Oude Government is solemnly pledged to maintain—"such a system of Government as shall be conducive to their prosperity, and calculated to secure to them their lives and property."

Treaty of A.D. 1801, paragraph 6.

I have, &c.

J. OUTRAM.

Appendix A.

Appendix A to Inclosure 6 of No. 1.

Circular Letter addressed to the neighbouring British Magistrates of Shahjehanpore, of Furruckabad, of Cawnpore, of Futtehpore, of Azimgurh, of Jounpore, of Goruckpore, and of Allahabad; with replies, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

Sir, *Lucknow Residency, December 13, 1854.*

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith a Memorandum of this day's date, and request you will favour me with the information therein required, at your earliest convenience.

I have, &c.
J. OUTRAM.

Memorandum.

HIS Honour the Lieutenant-Governor having addressed me on the unsatisfactory arrangements which at present exist relative to the cooperation afforded by the Frontier Police to the Police Authorities of the British Government, in the districts contiguous to the Kingdom of Oude, I do myself the honour to request your particular attention to the information which I am anxious to obtain, to enable me, in concert with his Honour, to establish such effectual reforms for the suppression of crime and the capture of offenders, as shall prove satisfactory and advantageous to the interests of both Governments.

2. I shall feel obliged, therefore, by your informing me, at your earliest convenience, from the records in your office, or from whatever sources you may deem authentic and trustworthy, whether, from your experience and the reports of your predecessors, you are of opinion that the crimes of murder, arson, cattle-lifting, and dacoitee, have, during the last few years (six or seven), been gradually on the decrease, or otherwise; and whether, if on the decrease, you attribute this to the efficiency of the Oude local authorities on the borders, or to the decrease of the population, consequent on the continued insecurity of life and property, the extortionate demands of the Revenue Officers, and the great inducements which the British territories adjacent afford for the immigration into our districts of the laborious and peaceful inhabitants of this kingdom.

3. You will have no difficulty, I imagine, in ascertaining from the statistics of your district such information as I now seek; and, if you will acquaint me with the particular localities which are known to your Police as the harbours of dacoits and other miscreants, and can point out whether they are countenanced by any landholders or other influential parties, you will afford much valuable information, which I have no doubt will materially assist the reforms which his Honour and myself have so much at heart.

4. The Police Officers and their subordinates are well acquainted, I doubt not, with the character and general pursuits of those who are in the habit of disturbing the peace in your district, and of effecting a retreat into asylums in Oude, to which your Police have no access, and of which the Durbar authorities apparently have no cognizance.

5. Many questions arise relative to the rights which subjects of Oude

assume to the title of a British subject; and, as these questions naturally affect the relations which exist between the British and Oude Governments, it would be as well to ascertain, as correctly as you can, in what numbers the inhabitants of Oude have availed themselves of the facilities which abound of entering our territories and settling therein, whether temporarily or permanently.

6. It will be obvious to you that the information which reaches the Resident, from the Court Reporters and Official Writers, cannot be thoroughly depended upon, and that it would be difficult to judge of the efficiency of the Police, or of the field in which their services are constantly required, without seeking for information from the gentlemen who are employed in the neighbouring districts, and who, from their well known zeal, vigilance, and intimate knowledge of the statistics of crime and the general interests of their districts, are enabled to afford information which it would be in vain to seek elsewhere.

No. 1 of Appendix A.

G. Edmonstone, Jun., Esq., Magistrate of Futtehpore, to Major-General Outram.

Sir, *Camp, Gunghole, December* 15, 1854.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to my address, No. 3808 of 1854, dated the 13th current, with a Memorandum inclosed, regarding the Oude Frontier Police.

2. To the best of my observation—and I write after a more than three years' residence in this district—the increase or decrease of crime in Zillah Futtehpore, as connected with the Oude territory, is a point not easy to be ascertained. Of the Oude Frontier Police I know little or nothing; and never have had a criminal absconded, or property plundered from this side, sent in by them; and, as for "the local authorities on the borders," who and what are they?

3. I will, therefore, proceed at once to point out how the neighbourhood of an independent, and, reputed to be, lawless state, affects us in these parts, viz. its being the resort of villains coming across the Ganges, to rob and plunder our Government subjects,—and of the latter, when guilty of crime, fleeing from the pursuit of justice;—for instance, of the several dacoitees that have occurred within my own knowledge in this district, all, with the exception of one, have been perpetrated on houses or residents within a stone's throw—I was going to say—from the Ganges, by parties from Oude, who cross over the river, do their work, and escape back again, long before our nearest Police-station have received information of the event, much more reached the spot. This has been proved; and, in one instance, our Police took the law somewhat into their own hands, and succeeded, under a fire of matchlocks, by which the Thannadar's horse was killed and some of his party wounded, in bringing away from a village, on the Oude side of the river, a dacoit and some of the plunder. Cattle-lifting is a crime not known in this district; and, with reference to crime in general, I can safely state that Oude, from its peculiar circumstances, is a most eligible hiding-place for offenders of all kinds.

4. The whole of the left bank of the Ganges opposite this district is possessed by Talookdars. These men have the character of omnipotence within the limits of their respective clakas, and are said to shelter criminals escaping from our side, in this way: the latter are seized, brought to the Talookdar, and are compelled to pay well, to escape the latter's *prison* and *fetters*. Rajah Hauwaut Sing, of Kaleh Kânkur, opposite Kurrah, in the Allahabad district, is a notorious character.

5. To make a long story short, then, establish a Police that shall *really* be a frontier guard; that is, always on, and located at, the boundary, whether land or river,* ever on the alert to detain, without further ado, men, at all of a suspicious appearance, presenting themselves at such boundary on either side. Get the Oude grandee borderers to cooperate actively with, instead of

* I should like to see a Police rowing guard up and down the river.

virtually against, this police; and, lastly, move his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to organize a similar Police Force on his own boundary (this district's side of the Ganges is perfectly undefended; a Jemadar's chowkee at one place—Sheorajpore—and a solitary Burkundauz at each ferry, is all the guard it can boast of); and the stoppage of outrages, and peace and safety to British subjects, will, I feel satisfied, be the consequence.

No. 2. of Appendix A.

C. T. Le Bas, Esq., Magistrate of Jounpore, to Major-General Outram.

Sir, *Jounpore Magistracy, January 5, 1855.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your letter of December 13, 1854, and inclosure.

2. Dacoitee has certainly decreased within the last few years. In 1853, there was one case only (and that not a serious one), and in 1854 there was no case at all.

3. Murder also has decreased. By "murder," I mean loss of life in affrays, in robbery by violence, &c. I presume that you do not allude to those acts of individual revenge, or outbreaks of sudden passion, which are common to all countries, and to all degrees of civilization.

4. Cattle-lifting is common in three of the frontier thannahs of this district, viz., Khatgurh, Tigrah, and Soojangunj. Of cattle stolen in the Khatgurh and Tigrah jurisdictions, as many are carried into the Azimgurh district as into Oude. In the case of Soojangunj, almost all the stolen cattle go into the Oude territory. This crime is seldom, or never, accompanied with violence. The cattle-lifters trust to their own skill and secrecy, and to the neglect and carelessness of owners and watchmen, not to open force.

5. I do not hear that the crime of arson on the Oude frontier has at any time been so common as to call for any particular remark. At any rate, there is very seldom anything of the kind now.

6. On the whole, I should say, there has been a very decided improvement within the last few years. This improvement I should rather attribute to the change of habits which has occurred in our own territory, than to any particular efficiency of the Oude local authorities. If dacoitee, for instance, was common throughout the whole of any zillah bordering upon Oude, the crime would naturally be most rife on the frontier. As dacoitee became less frequent in other parts, it would gradually disappear on the frontier also, though probably the crime would prevail there longer than anywhere else. Moreover, I am so little acquainted with the details of the management in Oude, that I cannot say whether the efficiency of the local authorities has increased of late, or not. But, although the above is my view of the case, I am bound to speak well of the Nazim of Sultanpore, who has always shown great willingness to assist me in every way. I have not had occasion to ask for his cooperation in any very important matters. I have not been a year in this district, and, in that time, there has not been any very serious difficulty, or any very heinous crime on the frontier; but, wherever anything has occurred, the Nazim has always been ready to do what I have asked, and has never shown any disposition to screen or encourage offenders.

7. I am not aware that the population of Oude has decreased of late, or that there has been considerable immigration from Oude into our territory.

8. If any case of dacoitee, or other heinous crime, should occur while I am in charge of this district, and if there should be reason to believe that the offenders come from Oude, and are encouraged and sheltered by influential persons there, I will not fail to let you know who are the parties suspected, or proved, to be guilty of harbouring the offenders. I can also, if you think it worth while, inform you which of the zemindars on the frontier were formerly notorious for these malpractices hitherto.

9. A few weeks ago I had an interview with the Nazim. He complained bitterly of the conduct of certain of the Oude Talookdars, who, he said, have purchased a small estate or two in this district, and, on the strength of this fact, claim the character of British subjects. These men, he said, often commit

excesses within the Oude territory, set the local authorities at defiance, and retreat into this district. Such persons would reply that, when the Nazim accuses them of crime, they are merely revenue defaulters, and, to a certain extent, this may be true; but I have no doubt that the practices which the Nazim complained of do prevail more or less. I have, therefore, sent a notice on this subject to several of the Talookdars (as pointed out to me by the Nazim) who hold land on each side of the border. I have warned them that "if any one of them is charged with a crime committed in the Oude territory, and refuses to give himself up to the local authorities, and takes refuge in this district, the Nazim will complain to me; that the individual so charged will then be summoned to Jounpore; that the Nazim will be requested to refer the matter to the Resident at Lucknow; and that, if the Resident, having investigated the case, shall request that the suspected individual be sent to Lucknow for trial, the demand will forthwith be complied with." I trust that this warning may have a good effect, and that it will serve to assist the Nazim, if that functionary is, as I believe, really anxious to improve the administration of his jurisdiction.

No. 3 of Appendix A.

C. Chester, Esq., Magistrate of Goruckpore, to Major-General Outram.

Sir, *January* 23, 1855.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 3811, dated the 13th ultimo, with a Memorandum, calling for information regarding Police and Crime on the Oude frontier, and in reply to report as follows:—

2. The tabular Statement A shows that Crime on the frontier is not increasing, but decreasing rather. I am not aware that the population on the borders is diminishing, and feel inclined to attribute this satisfactory state of things to the cooperation of the Oude Frontier Police. I have always found Captain Orr very helpful and obliging.

3. I have inquired from the Police-officers on the border as to the localities in Oude, in which dacoits and other criminals take refuge, and they profess entire ignorance. I am not surprised at this, because the Oude people do not trouble the peace of this district, and what they may do in Oude does not concern the police here.

4. The Oude nobility are sometimes troublesome: among them the most so have been the Toolseepore Rajah and his son; the three brothers, Rajahs Ramadheen, Rugburdial, and Mhan Sing; Kishoondat Ram Panday, the capitalist; and a few others.

5. From all the information, it seems that there are ninety to one hundred families, who have possessions on both sides of the frontier, who live sometimes in Oude, and sometimes in this district, and who are, therefore, constructively the subjects of both Governments.

6. I very much regret that your predecessor should have been dissatisfied with me for not giving up refugees on demand; but section 19, Act VII of 1854, although it warrants the apprehension of an accused person at the discretion of the Magistrate, forbids his surrender without an order of Government.

TABULAR STATEMENT A, showing the heinous Crimes which have occurred on the Oude Frontier during Six Years, from 1848 to the end of 1853.

Year.	No. of Cases.	Names of Parties.	Description of Crime.					
			Murder.	Arson.	Cattle Stealing.	Theft of Property	Highway Robbery.	Dacoitee.
1848	1	Hulahul Koormee, Plaintiff ..... Gooljar Sing, Belund Sing, Sinoath Sing, and Muhabeer Sing, Defendants	..	..	..	1	..	..
	2	Gheeseeawun and Jumna loll, Plaintiffs ..... Hunnumth, Meer Gheen, Brahmins, &c. Defendants	..	..	..	..	..	1
1849		None.						
1850	1	Merhey Buckal, Plaintiff ..... Kasheeram Panday, &c., Defendants	..	..	..	..	1	..
	2	Musst. Tookhnee and Seetul Buckal, Plaintiffs.. Ramjeeawun Dabeedeen Tewarry, &c., Defendants	..	..	..	..	1	..
	3	Musst. Memnee Tuaif, Plaintiff..... Ajoodheeapershad, son of Raja Hicheha Sing, Defendant	..	..	..	1	..	..
	4	Juohadh lall, Plaintiff ..... Shewenhye Sookul, Defendant	..	..	..	..	..	1
1851	1	Government, Plaintiff ..... Debeedeen Aheer, Defendant	1	..	..	..	..	..
	2	Guness Buckal, Plaintiff ..... Gyadut Patuck, Defendant	..	..	..	..	..	1
	3	Khodahuksh, Plaintiff ..... Ramchuru Geer Gossain, Defendant	..	..	..	1	..	..
1852	1	Shewdeen Sing, Plaintiff.....	..	..	..	1	..	..
	2	Hursuhye Kanoongo, Plaintiff ..... Kirpasung Kur and Saljee, Defendants	..	..	..	..	..	1
	3	Shewlal Panday, Plaintiff ..... Thakoor Panday, Defendant	1	..	..	..	..	..
1853	1	Government, Plaintiff ..... Umur Panday, Defendant	..	..	..	..	..	1
	2	Government, Plaintiff ..... Mudeh Khan, Defendant	1	..	..	..	..	..

Goruckpore Magistracy,
January 23, 1855.

C. CHESTER.

No. 4 of Appendix A.

W. C. S. Cunninghame, Esq., Magistrate of Furruckabad, to Major-General Outram.

Sir, *Furruckabad Magistracy, February* 15, 1855.

IN reply to your letter of the 13th of December last, No. 3,806, I have the honour to submit a list of crimes mentioned in your letter, which have been perpetrated within the jurisdiction of the Thannahs of this district bordering on Oude.

2. Oude, no doubt, affords facilities for the escape of persons who have committed crime in this district, and the concealment of stolen property; but I have always received the most cordial assistance from Captain Hearsey, whenever offenders were to be apprehended, or stolen property traced out.

3. The following villages have the repute of harbouring criminal offenders and bad characters:—Burwarra, Pergunnah Palee; Pithpalpoor, Pergunnah Saudee; Sursye, Pergunnah Palee; Dhurrumpoor Hathoura, Pergunnah Palee; Synjna Doolarpoor, Pergunnah Saudee; Kowseea Gyanpoor, Pergunnah Saudee; Betila Murdarpoor, Pergunnah Saudee; Saee Gowreea; Soondapoor; Nudkhireea Soorujpoor; Muzra Urjoonpoor; Bhanee Nugra, Pergunnah Palee; Nugla Synjna; Johajpoor; Bhahpoor, Pergunnah Palee; Soomanjhala Sursow, Pergunnah Saudee; Bheckimpoor Khashopoor, Pergunnah Palee; Maime Nugra, Pergunnah Palee; Urrowl; Mugroora; Chundunpoor; Hyderabad; Juguye; Bhikarree Khurrunpoor; Nurrooah; Gora; Jusmye; Burrown; Bursooeeah.

4. The emigration from Oude into this district, for the purpose of permanently settling here, is, I believe, very limited; though, in time of difficulty, many people from Oude take refuge here for a season.

I have &c.

W. C. S. CUNNINGHAME.

List of certain Crimes perpetrated in the Thannahs Imrutpoor, Khakutmoir, Qunnouj, Goorsuhaigunj, Station Kotwalee and City Kotwalee, in the neighbourhood of Oude.

Year.	Murder.			Arson.			Cattle Stealing.			Dacoitee.			Remarks.
	Number of Cases in which the Offenders have been apprehended.	Number of Cases in which no Offenders have been apprehended.	Total.	Number of Cases in which the Offenders have been apprehended.	Number of Cases in which no Offenders have been apprehended.	Total.	Number of Cases in which the Offenders have been apprehended.	Number of Cases in which no Offenders have been apprehended.	Total.	Number of Cases in which the Offenders have been apprehended.	Number of Cases in which no Offenders have been apprehended.	Total.	
1848	6	1	7	2	..	2	15	11	26	..	..	..	
1849	9	..	9	..	1	1	7	10	17	1	..	1	
1850	7	1	8	3	..	3	9	9	18	..	..	..	
1851	7	1	8	3	1	4	5	7	12	1	..	1	
1852	7	..	7	..	1	1	14	8	22	..	..	..	
1853	3	4	7	3	1	4	5	6	11	1	..	1	
1854	13	1	14	3	..	3	6	16	22	..	..	..	
Total....	52	8	60	14	4	18	61	67	128	3	..	3	

Furruckabad Magistracy, February 15, 1855.

W. C. S. CUNNINGHAME.

No. 5 of Appendix A.

R. Spankie, Esq. Officiating Magistrate of Cawnpore, to Major-General Outram.

Sir, *February* 28, 1855.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your letter No. 3,807 of 1854, with its accompanying Memorandum; and, in reply, beg to submit, for your consideration, the result of my inquiries on the points referred to therein.

2. The following table will show the number of reported crimes in this district, of the nature noted in the Memorandum, for a period of six years, viz., from 1849 to 1854, inclusive:—

	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.
Murder	19	11	15	12	18	19
Arson..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cattle-lifting	96	62	66	70	105	76
Dacoitee	1	..	..	1	1	3

Of the cases of murder in the year 1851, one, Heera Sing, absconded to Oude, but was arrested in that territory and convicted here. Chedar Sing and Sumber Sing, implicated in this murder, are still at large, and are said to be inhabitants of Mouza Karreea, in Oude.

3. In the same year, Ramdyal was arrested in Oude for cattle-lifting in this district, and was convicted.

4. In a case of theft of rupees 2,593 · 5, in the year 1852, Jowahir, Thakoor, inhabitant of Sundeela, in the Kingdom of Oude, gave information which led to the capture of Pem Kyuth, Laka Soonar, Doorga, Brahmin, and Shazadi, inhabitants of the Bunsia, in the same territory; and a large portion of the property was recovered. The other suspected persons were not arrested, owing, it is said, to a lukewarm Chuckledar.

5. Again, in a case of highway robbery of rupees 564 · 15 · 0, on the person of Dhuneeram and Heeralall, Beoparies, Mucka Sing, Thakoor gave information, which fixed the crime upon Bickarcah Pasi, who lives in Pergunnah Bangurmow, in the Kingdom of Oude. The party, however, was not arrested, owing to the negligence of the Chuckledar.

6. In 1853, in a case of theft from Ameen-o-deen Bisâti, of property to the value of rupees 392 · 6 · 0, four of the suspected robbers were inhabitants of Ahrowlee, Pergunnah Burmawa, in the Kingdom of Oude; they were arrested.

7. In a case of cattle-lifting, in the same year, the perpetrators, residents of Mouza Kuthapore, Pergunnah Belgraon, in the Kingdom of Oude, were arrested; and, in a second case of cattle-lifting, the thieves, residents of Mouza Sundeela, in Oude, were arrested. Again, in a case of theft, attended with murder, in 1854, Chedi and Beharee and Bowanidinewa, Sheodinwa, Punchama and Jowahira, residents of Beegassoor, &c., in Oude, were arrested by the Chuckledar of Dereakhera; these people lived on the lands of Ramlun, zemindar. But Madhow, implicated in this case, was not arrested.

8. In a case of murder in the year 1851, Sadhun absconded from this district into Oude, and has not been arrested.

9. In the same year Sumber Sing and Chedar Sing, charged with murder, absconded into Oude, and have not been arrested. In 1852, Heeroah fled, after committing murder, over the Oude border, and has escaped detection. In 1853, Hurkishna, Memnee, Thakoonoab, and Rugnath escaped in the same way. In 1854 Buldeo did, the same way.

10. In a case of theft, which occurred in 1854, Muckooa and Denoevah of Huttea Hurrun, and Bucktowrah of Nurhapoor, Gungooah of Futtehpore, Shunkur Sing of Rantahpoor, Pergunnah Rai Bareilly, and Sumber Sing,

Thakoor, Bais of Budaon, Pergunnah Russoolabad, and Sobha Aher of the same place, were arrested in Oude.

11. In the present year, Tuguera, charged with murder, was captured in Oude, and sent in to the Joint Magistrate.

12. The table above given does not exhibit any marked increase of crime. The year 1853, in which the largest number of cattle-lifting cases occurred, was an unusually severe one, from the failure of harvest from want of rain; and, whenever this happens, I have invariably found a large increase of crime. The most striking feature in it is the permanent character of crimes; they neither increase, nor decrease, materially. In the dacoitees, in 1854, parties resident in Oude were not implicated. The dacoits who have infested this and other districts, come from Gwalior and the South West.

13. With respect to the efficiency of the Oude local authorities, I should say, that they do not do their utmost, in most cases, to arrest thieves and robbers resident in that country on requisitions from this office. They succumb to the general misrule there, and they are very unsuccessful in the capture of absconding criminals from this district,—who are compelled to dwell in Oude for the remainder of their days; but I should attribute this to the fact, that the zemindars and others in that territory find the services of such men useful, and shield them from pursuit. To this I should also add, that the delay in making our requisitions, which is unavoidable, must also be taken into consideration, for it must operate in favour of fugitive offenders.

14. The following villages in Oude are supposed to contain bad characters, who live by plunder:—

Names of Villages.	Pergunnah.	Names of Villages.	Pergunnah.
1. Ahroree	,,	12. Pursoulah	,,
2. Ghousgunj	Sundeela	13. Shapoor	,,
3. Gowria	,,	14. Kutkamow	,,
4. Sadipoor	,,	15. Poonamow	,,
5. Kaus	Bangurmow	16. Deokheira	,,
6. Mulkurri	,,	17. Khyroodeenpoor ..	,,
7. Bhadah	,,	18. Bunsia	,,
8. Kotbapoor	Belgram	19. Dahri	,,
9. Surdarpoor	Sundeela	20. Biryachamow	,,
10. Mirwahkhera	,,	21. Gourah	,,
11. Turwah	,,	22. Ahree	,,

I do not vouch for the truth of this statement. The inquiries, however, regarding the people living in these, would more properly be made by you. I add the following:—

Names of Villages.	Pergunnah.	Names of Villages.	Pergunnah.
23. Muswasi	Sekundurpoor.	28. Jytoo	Sekundurpoor
24. Mugurwan		29. Huttiahurrum ..	Chukla Khyrabad
25. Bickrumpoor		30. Futtehpore ..	Whole Pergunnah
26. Behta		31. Nurhapoor ..	,,
27. Deweer			

15. Bujeung Sing, zemindar of Durea, Goorbuse, zemindar of Purnai, and Gungabuksh of the same place, Pergunnah Dereakhera, are reported to be in the habit of sheltering absconding criminals from this district. The following places are also said to be "Mushoor," nests of Thieves;—Pergunnah Baugar, Ruthari in Sandipali, Madhowgunj in Malaween.

16. The rule regarding the right which entitles a man to call himself a British subject is this, that he must have resided six months in British territory. When joint magistrate at Agra, I had occasion to bring this very subject before the Nizamut Adawlut. The point of reference was, whether a continuous residence of six months could alone entitle a man to the privilege of a British subject, or whether a residence in broken periods of six months was

sufficient. I am inclined to the former opinion; but the Court overruled it. The judges have, therefore, decided that a baby in arms, being for six months in British territory, must be considered to have resided, "subject to the laws of the said territories," (*vide* sec. 2, Act I of 1849), and to have acquired the rights of a British subject. If the law quoted contemplated such a view, it is, in my opinion, "Crowner's quest Law;" and its object must have been to complicate every case of crime that occurs in foreign territory, committed by persons calling themselves British subjects. I have put an extreme case certainly, but there are endless varieties. Under the same Act, persons, civil or military, are British subjects for six months after they have left the service of the Company.

17. I now proceed to supply, as far as I can correctly, the information which you desire regarding the number of inhabitants of Oude, who have entered this district and settled here temporarily or permanently.

18. Statement showing the number of persons from Oude settled in the district of Cawnpore.

Pergunnahs.	Agriculturists.	Non-agriculturists.	Total.
Bithoor	333	397	730
Ackherpoor	..	..	..
Bhogneepoor	..	..	..
Derapoor	6	3	9
Ghatunpoor	..	6	6
Russoolabad	72	15	87
Sheolie	34	37	71
Sheorajpoor	34	89	123
Sarh	700	607	1,307
Secundra	5	..	5
Jajurhour	110	Not detailed	110*
Bilhour	60	140	200

19. These people have emigrated with their wives and families, and may be regarded as permanently established. The non-agriculturists, perhaps, may be looked upon as birds of passage, but still they are not likely to return to Oude.

20. The city of Cawnpore contains a very large number of emigrants from Oude, both rich and poor.

21. It must be understood that the present return is that of the number of persons who, within the last five or six years, have established themselves in this district.

22. In conclusion, I would sum up my opinion, that reported crime during the last six years cannot be said to be increasing, but that it is permanent; and this permanency is its worst feature. The cause of this permanency would appear to be—1. The facility for escape offered by foreign territory and the river Ganges. 2. The difficulty of tracing or recognising criminals who reside in Oude. 3. The lawlessness and insecurity of life and property there, which induces the landlords and others to harbour absconded criminals from this side; and 4. The temptation held out by extorters to the landlords to share in the plunder obtained from our districts. It is said that one-fourth of the property stolen is considered to be the huq of a protecting zemindar. It has been even said that the chuckledars participate in the spoils.

23. The measures which I would suggest as checks upon the passage of thieves and robbers are, 1. To register suspected villages and their inhabitants.

* The Non-Agriculturists will be in the city.

2. To employ a line of Policemen along the river-banks on both sides. 3. The establishment of a River Police; the expense of which should be shared by both Governments, but which should be organized by our Magistrates. 4. The formation of a few Detective Police, if possible, from the suspected villages, for duty at the public ferries and for tracing robbers; and 5. The suppression of private boats, when there is no absolute necessity for their being kept.

I have, &c.

R. SPANKIE.

Appendix B to Inclosure 6 of No. 1.

Extracts from letters from Oude Local British Officers, descriptive of the present state of the Country.

No. 1.

From Major Troup, Commandant of the 2nd Oude Light Infantry, dated Lucknow, December 27, 1854.

"I HAVE much pleasure in stating the little I know regarding the Sultanpore district, in which I was stationed for the last four years."

1. "The amanee system was introduced under the impression of its proving a blessing to the zemindars and ryuts; and, doubtless, it would have proved a great one, were the Amil an honest man; but, the contrary being the case, both Government and the ryuts suffer, and the only party who derives any benefit from the arrangement is the Amil."

"Under the Izarah system, the ryuts suffered (not more than under the amanee), but the Government did not. By what I have been able to learn from the people, the district of Sultanpore is more oppressed, and the condition of zemindars and ryuts is worse under the amanee system than they were under the famous Rajah Durshun Sing."

"When I was stationed in Sultanpore, in 1835, the Chuckledaree of that district was held by Durshun Sing, and I am credibly informed that he paid Government from twenty to twenty-four lakhs yearly, sometimes more, but never less, than twenty lakhs; whereas, under the present system (amanee,) although the district is the same in extent, and equally well cultivated, and the present Nazim has more troops at his disposal, with greater power than Durshun Sing ever had, and, it is believed, realizes an equal revenue, it is reported Government do not receive above fifteen lakhs. Those of the people I have spoken to on the subject, declare they are more oppressed and worse off under the present reign than they have ever been, chiefly owing to their complaints not being attended to. It is the general opinion that the old contract system (till honest men can be got to carry out the amanee,) is the best for the Government and people, for an Amil that takes the district in Izarah is obliged to gain the confidence and good-will of the zemindars, for on them depends the fulfilment of his agreement; and, if an Amil is allowed to hold his district for several years, the ryuts are in general well treated."

"2. Crime has increased, and murders are more frequent than formerly. In a small village called Decanlie, near the Sultanpore cantonment, a dispute arose about a Mowah tree, some time last April; nine men were killed in open day, and several wounded; but not the slightest notice was taken. This is one of the many instances which have been brought to my notice, for I have been often applied to by the villagers and travellers for protection."

"All the roads are more or less infested by dacoits, men driven from their homes by oppression, who have no alternative but to live by plunder. The most formidable is the notorious Chuprassie, named Jggernath, who commits most fearful outrages."

"3. I am not aware that the natives of Oude ever emigrate, for, although shamefully oppressed, they are much attached to their country; large numbers of the Kahar, Looniah, Lodha, and Chamnar, and other low castes, do

seek service in the Company's provinces, and are employed on public works, but invariably leave their families at their native villages."

"4. I regret to say the ryuts are most cruelly oppressed by the present Amil. The following is an instance brought to my notice:—In the village of Narainpore, not far from the cantonment of Sultanpore, Zemindar Durshun Sing was compelled to sell three of his daughters to enable him to meet the exactions of the Tehseeldar; one of these girls was purchased by a Sepoy of my regiment, for one hundred rupees. The above village was pledged to a man named Peer Khan, who was responsible for the payment of the revenue, viz., rupees 2,500, instead of which the Amil increased his demand to rupees 6,000; and Peer Khan, being unable to pay that sum, was put into prison, and, from frequent floggings and ill-usage, died. His brother is compelled to seek refuge in the jungles to avoid apprehension, as he was unable to meet the demand; and Zemindar Durshun Sing, to escape a similar fate, sold all his property and family as stated above."

"I have also been informed that the ryuts of the large Zemindaree of Hussunpore Bundooah, belonging to Rajah Husein Alee, are in a most pitiable state. It appears they had paid the revenue for the present year to the Rajah, after which the Chuckledar insisted he should also be paid, and all those who were unable to meet this exaction, were forced to sell their cattle, &c., thus being disabled from cultivating their lands the ensuing season."

"There are many more instances of Cruelty and Oppression which could be brought to notice, of men being tortured, and the females of their families being grossly insulted: the most frightful punishment is placing the wrist between split bamboos, which are daily tightened, till the victim either pays the demand, or the hand drops off. Three men lost their hands in this cruel manner last year, in the villages of Peepapoor and Kullianpoor."

No. 2.

From Captain Bunbury, commanding one of the King's Regiments, dated Camp, Munsoorghur, October 2, 1854.

"1. TO commence with your first question: To my knowledge, the revenue of the Sultanpore district has been thoroughly realized from the Talookdars for the last few years, but I have every reason to believe it has suffered great defalcation in its liquidation to Government, and such in general has been, and still continues, the method pursued by Nazims and Ckuckledars in the amanee districts. As the Rukkum Nuzzurana (or the Nazim's perquisite, which is not a trifle,) is first taken into consideration, therefore the Government revenue becomes quite a secondary matter."

2. "As to crime and atrocity, which used to be so rampant in Oude, such has been greatly checked, I may safely aver, since Colonel Sleeman so judiciously made examples of Golam Huzrut and several other offenders, who committed depredations with impunity, and were the terror of their neighbourhood; but, nevertheless, it continues to exist, nor will it be thoroughly eradicated by the lukewarm endeavours of the Chuckledars, in consequence of their interested motives; for it cannot be supposed that, with such resources at their command, they are unable to effect the capture of a few individuals of bad character.

3. Regarding the Nujjeeb regiments and soldiery, it is well known they are almost nominal, as the majority in a corps are invariably allowed to purchase their continued residence at home, and some portion of the personal attendants of the Koomadans are put down as effective men; moreover, as every Nujjeeb soldier has to pay from twenty to twenty-five rupees for entering the service, it is some time ere they can expect pay, and the plunder &c. committed by them, marching through the district, is a sort of indemnification, but all at the expense of the unfortunate ryuts. This can be hardly wondered at, in consequence of the above circumstance, and the small amount of pay, from which they have also to furnish themselves with arms, ammunition, &c.: what with the severe extortions of the Chuckledars and their petty collectors, combined with the depredations of the soldiery, thousands of acres of

beautiful arable land lie waste and uncultivated. This, I hear, is more apparent in the Gondah Bharaitch districts, especially of late.

4. With respect to the Company's Frontier Police, my experience has been small, and the only instance I can adduce, is the repetition of the conduct of the Tehseeldar and Thannadars of Koelsa in the Azimgurh district, who still continue to harbour Madhopershad; and I am credibly informed that, in the face of the Magistrate's orders for his apprehension, the above *interested individuals* give timely intimation to Madhopershad to evade capture. There is not the slightest doubt, without some pecuniary considerations from the Oude people near the frontier, the Police should take such interest in the outlaws of Oude; but it would be impossible to thoroughly substantiate the facts. *S.O.*

5. The means adopted for the raising of revenue is entirely arbitrary with the Nazim or Chuckledar, who raise or decrease the revenue in accordance with their perquisites. If handsomely paid, a reduction is granted under some pretext or other, and *vice versâ*. I cannot exactly explain the sum received for fees, presents, &c., it not being a stipulated amount—but am almost afraid to say; in some cases the *Rukkum Nuzzurana*, taking all in all, is nearly equivalent to the Government revenue. After all the preliminary arrangements are settled by the Chuckledars, the different districts or talookas are portioned off, and given in *Kubz* to officers commanding corps, for the payment of themselves and regiments, which permanently secures the Chuckledar's revenue, but entails a heavy responsibility on the Kubzdars, in the event of their being withdrawn from the district ere they have realized the amount. I have met with great difficulties and opposition in my own case, from the depredations of Madhopershad, and the desertion of the ryuts into the Company's territories. Although *it is* a great responsibility taking the kubz of a place, yet it is the only method to ensure payment for the troops.

No. 3.

From Captain Bunbury, dated Camp Imlac, January 1, 1855.

1. TO commence with the revenue: I am credibly informed that it has in no way decreased since the time of Rajah Durshun Sing; but, on the contrary, the "Rukkum Nuzzurana" has been added, in excess, in many talookas. To give you an instance, my kubz* of last year of Birhur will sufficiently prove the assertion. The Government revenue of the place, I believe, is from rupees 60,000 to rupees 64,000 annually; and I have paid to the Nazim rupees 1,04,342; and, as you may naturally suppose, to realize the amount, the Talookdars were obliged to double the assessment from the ryuts. This will be an answer to one of your most important questions, relative to the condition of the ryuts. Most of the Oude zemindars, being obliged to live from hand to mouth, owing to the number of their retainers, are consequently compelled to levy these heavy extra contributions on the unfortunate ryuts, in order to hold their own; as, otherwise, their zemindarees would be made over to the puttails, or to the highest bidders: as an instance of this, of the truth of which I can vouch, coming as it does under my own immediate observation, I will give you the case of Baboos Kishoonpershad and Madhopershad, the latter of whom has received a Khillut for the present year. You will remember that this individual is the identical person, who was outlawed for committing the gross outrages in the Birhur district, and for whose apprehension you kindly wrote to the Magistrates on the adjoining frontiers. To prove that this vile system has ever existed, and still continues to exist, I will give a fresh and more recent instance of the present, Fuslee, year. The assessment of the Hussunpore estate amounts to rupees 45,000 above the Government estimate; this extra contribution, of course, falls on the ryuts; and, in short, such is the system carried on throughout the Sultanpore districts.

2. With regard to crime, I do not think it is on the increase. *Well*-known

* Kubz is the term applied to the charge of a district assigned for the payment of a regiment, the commandant of which contracts for, and levies, the revenue.

dacoits, such as Juggernath of Etonjah, Mahomed Husein of Baychoogurh, Surnam Sing of Kutteyaree, Purthee Pal Sing of Ramgurreeah, Madhopershad of Birhur, &c., continue their lawless life, privately supported by the Nazim, as they are a source of income to these people in authority. The feudal system, with all its irregularities, still continues; but on the same ratio as of old—private murders and cattle-lifting being the natural consequence. By the ill-treatment of Chuckledars, Tehseeldars, &c., murders have been more frequent of late, as there is no listening to any complaints against Agaie Alee Khan, possessing, as he does, the entire confidence of the Minister; in fact, people have given up all hopes of redress as a hopeless case.

3. The Akbar Nawiss system, though base enough, was some kind of check on the Nazims, &c., but even this, weak as it was, has been abolished since Agaie's reign.

4. It would be next to impossible to ascertain the expense of the Police Establishment, as this Establishment is merely nominal, and under the total guidance and management of the Nazim. It is, however, pretty well known that this is another source of oppression, they strictly avoiding to come into collision with notoriously base characters, but seizing those who are possessed of money, and (not having influence in the Durbar) are incriminated under false pretexts. Moreover, I am told that the sum allowed by the Government yearly for this Establishment is appropriated by the Nazim; and, for the actual pay of the Police, a certain percentage is added on the revenue to defray the expense.

5. From inquiries, I have been enabled to ascertain that the revenue of Sultanpore, realized by the present man, is computed to be about 38,28,908, exclusive of nuzzurana, fees, &c. &c., from which is deducted for nankar of talookdars, zemindars, &c., 9,50,532, leaving a balance of 28,78,376 R. The Government from *this* receiving, it is surmised, about seventeen lakhs, in which is included the pay of Government troops and the Mushrootees (or Sebundees),—also repairs of Government forts and thannahs throughout the district, besides other contingencies, such as powder, shot, &c., that may be expended in the yearly fights. Of these forts and thannahs there are several; but seldom is any Government money laid out for their repairs, the actual cost of which is defrayed by the talookdars and zemindars, in a similar manner to that of the Police. The above statement of the revenue is kept so strictly secret, that it is with much difficulty an accurate account could be obtained. Probably, there may be a difference of two or three lakhs.

6. The Government troops employed in the Sultanpore district are from 12,000 to 13,000 men of all arms; but, from the irregularities of the old Nujjeeb system, a number are passed men. The Mushrootees (or Sebundees) are about 2,400 men, more or less; but it is optional with the Chuckledar to retain any number he likes, and, as you may naturally conclude, it is not his interest to have too many on his list. The present kubz system effectually secures the entire revenue to the Nazim; but the responsibility of any balance remaining in the district is at the risk of the Kubzdar.

From Captain Bunbury, dated January 16, 1855.

HE (the Nazim Agaie Alee) has managed to settle the affairs in this district of Aldaymhow with, as usual, heavy nuzzuranas, and proceeds from hence, after one or two more mamlahs, towards Pertaubghur, which I hear is in a most wretched state from sheer exhaustion, as in some places the ryuts have already paid up the revenue of the present year 1262 Fuslee, and are made to give in advance, for the ensuing year, 1263 Fuslee. Another circumstance in the present administration is, that the allowance made by Government for the establishment of Tehseeldars, Mootsuddies, &c., is monopolized by the Nazim, and the Talookdars and Zemindars made to pay the expenses by an addition to the revenue, which of course is not returned in the Government accounts. * * * The Nazim (Agaie), from his own account, seems to have established himself in the good graces of Mr. Tucker, the Commissioner, to whom he has

promised making roads, and no end of improvements in Oude, a specimen of which I had an opportunity of seeing on my march from this for Jelalpore, a distance of eight coss. A couple of ploughs, in my opinion, would have done as much by scratching a couple of lines on each side to mark the road. He, however, gives out that it is his intention to have it kunkured; this, time will show, but I have my doubts.

No. 4.

From Captain Patrick Orr, commanding one of the King's Regiments, dated Segoulie, January 5, 1855.

1. AGREEABLY to your request, I now have much pleasure in answering the queries put by you on the affairs of Oude, to the best of my knowledge.

2. As regards the decrease of crime within the last six or seven years, I am of opinion that, if not actually on the increase, it is certainly as common as before, but, undoubtedly, it meets with much more impunity now than ever; it is seldom indeed one hears of criminals being punished, or even apprehended; whereas formerly, especially in Mahommed Allee Shah's reign, under the ministry of Shurf-ood-Dowlah, though crimes were often committed, yet, in most cases malefactors were apprehended and punished.

3. Under the present *régime*, I do not think there is a shadow of security for life or property in Oude. In this part of the country it is almost impossible for people to travel, unless escorted by a large body of armed men: a few days ago, about thirty merchants were plundered of all their property, consisting of several carts, bullocks, ready money, grain, &c., on the border of the Toolseepore and Churdah elakas. Murders are committed and people robbed very frequently, without the least notice being taken, or any attempt made to prevent the recurrence of such like offences. In fact, the Durbar seldom hear of the murders or other atrocities committed. The state of ignorance the Government is kept in of nearly all that passes is easily explained.

4. In former times, Akbar Nawisses, or news-writers, having Hurkaras and Chuprassies under them, were appointed to different elakas, and duly paid by the king, to send in news from all parts of Oude. Their reports, or purchas, were sent in direct to the King; this alone had a very good effect on all; now the King sees no papers at all, much less any purchas.

5. These Akbar Nawisses were in no respect dependent on the Amils, and used generally to report on the state of affairs with some colour of truth; and, if detected in making false reports, were often punished. This, being a lucrative berth, and much coveted, was gradually made a source of great profit by the head Akbar Nawiss, at Lucknow, who farmed the appointment out to the district news-writers, receiving a certain sum from them; of course these latter, to make up the money required, took bribes from offenders to suppress the report. Latterly, most of the Nazims farm the appointment themselves, and appoint their own men, who naturally cannot be supposed to injure their masters by writing anything that might bring trouble to them.

6. I have heard of numerous most atrocious murders and dacoitees; but, never having kept any note of them, I cannot just now recall the circumstances: crimes of all sorts are of daily occurrence. About eight days ago, a Koormee was murdered by a relation of his, in a village close to Bankee, twelve miles from this. The Tehseeldar of Bankee could do nothing towards the apprehension of the murderer. Not long ago, Kullian Khan, Fazul Ally, and others in the Nanparah district, amongst other acts of cruelty and dacoitee, cut off the noses of five or six unfortunate fellows, formerly in their service, whom they suspected of giving information against them to the Chuckledar. Last year, in a village near Bhinga, called Bingee, Gungapershad, Kanoongo of Gondah, was murdered most treacherously by some men sent for the purpose—it is supposed by Panday Kishoondat Ram; but, as there never was a proper inquiry made, the crime was not brought home to him.

7. The weak and poor have no protection whatever afforded them against the extortions and depredations of those stronger than themselves.

8. There are no Courts of Justice of any kind in Oude, out of Lucknow; nor, in fact, any Police Establishments (leaving the Oude Frontier Police out of the question), unless the Thannahs placed in some of the principal towns can be called by that name. These Thannahs are also farmed out in the same manner as the news-writerships. The Thannadars, a most disreputable, corrupt set, have no power of punishing criminals, unless in minor cases, when they do sometimes seize an offender; if this latter can afford to give a bribe, he is released,—otherwise, sent on to the Nizam, to be dealt with as he likes. The Chuckledar has almost unlimited power in his district; besides being the Revenue Officer, he is supposed to act as Judge and Magistrate; but, knowing too well the instability of his own position, his only aim and object is to make the most money in the shortest space of time. His orders are decisive, and the ryuts have no appeal against his decisions.

9. The revenue received by the King has undoubtedly decreased of late years, owing to several causes; first and foremost, the nuzzurana obtained by the Court people from the Nazims is, at least, four times as much as in former times; and, to make it up, the King's revenue must suffer. Another cause of the defalcation can be traced to the following source: not many years ago, there were hundreds, nay thousands, of villages, not belonging to Talookdars, but directly under the Crown—called the Khalsa villages. Since several years, the Chuckledars, in consideration of a large bribe, have been in the habit of making these villages over to Talookdars, without sufficiently increasing the jumma of the former puttahs. In this manner, the whole of the Bharaitch Khalsa, consisting of upwards of 650 villages, has been given to the Pyagpore, Ekona, Churdah, and Bourhee Rajahs, &c., and is now dwindled down to about 20 or 25 villages; and all over Oude it is the same case. The revenue of the Khalsa villages was easily collected at a small expense to Government, very few men being required, whilst, to force the Talookdars to pay, the King is obliged to entertain a large standing army; and the Talookdars, in their turn, spend immense sums of money to keep up their own men, in order to resist the Chuckledars' extortions. The greater part of this money could be saved to the King under a better system.

10. I am also convinced that the present amanee system is a very faulty one, and contributes very considerably towards the decrease in the revenue. The amanee Chuckledars are not responsible for the realization in full of the revenue of the districts under them, but only for whatever sums they actually collect on the King's behalf. Great scope is thus given them to cheat the king. They are in the habit of lessening the King's jumma, to increase their own nuzzuranas; for which no receipts or documents being given, consequently no proofs can be brought against the Amils.

11. These, in my opinion, are the principal reasons of the defalcations in the revenue; and, notwithstanding this defalcation, the ryuts have *now* to pay a great deal more than ever—the nuzzuranas being so very heavy from the number of persons to share them. Besides the Durbar people and the Nazims, the Sirkaree Omlahs—sent as a check on these latter,—must also be satisfied, and silenced.

12. As to the troops, they are more or less badly off for want of pay and proper accoutrements. Those regiments who took Kubzes last year have succeeded in getting paid. The corps under my command was raised in October, 1853, and, up to the present time, the men have not received a month's pay at a time; they only get, with the greatest difficulty, just enough to pay for their food, *i. e.* two rupees a month. Upwards of seven months' pay is now due.

13. It would indeed be a great blessing for the country if some proper system was introduced in the government of Oude, both in the Revenue and Military Departments. Rich and poor alike are daily praying for a better rule. Beyond the few who feed on the mass, no one is secure for a single day. Nanparah, one of the richest districts of Oude, with magnificent fertile plains, intersected in all directions by rivers and streams, and yielding Munour Ally Khan, the late Rajah, upwards of three lakhs of rupees yearly, since the Rajah's death is reduced to such a state that it does not now yield the King anything at all, though upwards of rupees 1,20,000 have been spent every year on the troops stationed here. The whole of the villages are deserted and in ruins; not a single Chupper is to be seen for miles and miles. Kullian Khan, the elder Ranee's Karindah, about four years ago, burnt down

the whole of the villages in the district. Barlow's corps was here for the last two years, but they did nothing towards restoring some kind of order; in fact they never troubled themselves about it. I have now received orders to apprehend Kullian Khan and Fzul Ally; this latter made his escape out of the Lucknow jail. He was concerned in the assault on Ameen-ood-Dowlah, the ex-Minister. I have taken some steps towards the settlement of the district, and hope, ere another month is over, to put an end to this dreadful state of anarchy. Toolseepore, the finest part of Oude decidedly, is going to ruins very fast, through mismanagement. Degraj Sing and his son Sahibjee are on bad terms: and the latter, having turned his father, the Rajah, out of the district, is now bent on destroying it, and threatens to burn the place to ashes, unless the Government allow him unmolested possession of the place. If some proper measures are not taken in time, Toolseepore will soon be as bad as Nanparah.

No. 5.

From Captain Alexander Orr, Second Assistant to the Superintendent of the Oude Frontier Police, dated Camp Fyzabad, January 9, 1855.

1. I HAVE now the pleasure of sending you all the information I possess relative to the district in which I am residing, *i. e.* the district of Sultanpore. This district consists essentially of five large divisions or elakas, viz.:—

1. Sultanpore (properly so called),
2. Aldaymhow.
3. Jugdespore.
4. Pertaubghur.
5. Punchum Rauth.

2. The collection of the revenue of these elakas, or chucklas, is effected according to the amanee system, the Nazim forwarding to Government whatsoever he is supposed to have been able to collect, without being bound to give, as under the Izarah settlement, any stipulated amount. It is easy to imagine, where so much depends on the moral character of the Nazim, and the great power he wields, to how much evil both these systems must be liable. In the Izarah settlement, the Nazim, in the first place, will make the necessary arrangements for fulfilling his contract with Government; and, in the second place, for enriching himself. In short, he will assess the zemindar to the utmost, short of ruining him, unless, indeed, he has strong hopes of holding the district for a certain number of years, when, naturally, it will become his interest to foster his charge as much as possible, and he will content himself with a moderate annual income for himself. Meer Hadee, who governed the Gondah Bharaitch district during twenty or twenty-two years, is a bright example of what I have just mentioned, and, though many years have now elapsed since his death, yet in the district his memory is still held in grateful remembrance to this day. But, at the present time, how few Nazims reckon on holding their districts for more than one, or, at the utmost, two years,—so much depending on Durbar intrigue or Durbar interest. Bad as I have represented the revenue settlement on the Izarah system to be, yet I have no hesitation in saying that, practically, if not theoretically, (with very few exceptions indeed, one, however, shall be given), it is far preferable to the amanee system; the latter requires to be in the hands of far more honest Nazims than, I am afraid, those Oude possesses; and, whereas under the former system, *i. e.* the Izarah, the ryuts alone are oppressed, and Goverment, comparatively speaking, no loser,—in the latter *i. e.* the amanee, still greater oppression is made use of, and Government robbed. Not having the dread of any *contract* before his eyes, the Nazim is at full liberty to enrich himself, Government has lost its hold on him, he actually pays at his own discretion; and his only care is to strengthen his interest at Durbar by timely donations. Again, the Izaradar Nazim *must* tax, in equal proportions, both weak and powerful Zemindars and Talookdars; the fulfilment of his contract will oblige him to do so; not so is it with the amaneedar Nazim: *he*, on the contrary, will, to

avoid danger, fatigue, and trouble, visit on the weaker Talookdar the shortcomings of the more powerful; thus, in most instances, (for the *weak* are *more* in number than the powerful,) the ryuts are a hundred-fold more oppressed. The amanee system has had a fair trial during the Nizamutship of Agaie Alee Khan, in the Sultanpore district; and, if the experiment was tried in the hope of its being a blessing to the ryut, by lessening (as it should have done) the exactions to which they were subject under the Izaradar, it has met with a signal failure. Considering the amount of oppression experienced by their *weaker* brethren, the more powerful chiefs, such as those of Amoythee, Daoodpore, Kuppradee, Dayrah, have fared well, though it must not be imagined that even they escaped the general fate of the district—they paid the revenue to the very full—*but no more.*

3. In order to be more clear, I must state that the *annual* balance of Revenue against each landholder, as exhibited in the Revenue Account Books, at Lucknow, is far different, and far *inferior* to the sums in *reality* levied on the zemindars by the Nazims. Each Nazim endeavours to make some addition to the assessment, and this additional amount is, in most cases, extorted by his successor, or is, perhaps, even still further increased by fresh exactions. This addition made by the Nazims to the Government Assessment is styled the "Izafah," and to this "Izafah" are each year added the "Nuzzurana," which, of course, is not accounted for to Government. To give a few instances:—The Lucknow assessment of the zemindaree of Chundose, in Sultanpore, amounts to rupees 5,338 (neglecting annas and pice).

	Rupees.	
Agaie's Assessment	7,200	to which add
Agaie's Nuzzurana	1,500	
Aga Hyder's ditto	1,200	as Chuckledar, subordinate to Agaie.
Bunday Husein's ditto	1,100	as Naib to Aga Hyder.
Rambuksh's ditto	113	as Dewan to ditto.
Total Rupees	11,113.	

In comparing this sum of rupees 11,113 with that of the Lucknow assessment, or rupees 5,338, some idea will be formed of the truth of what I stated above, regarding the great difference of the two assessments, of the nominal and of the real one.

4. Again, the Rajah of Hussunpore, Bundooah (Sultanpore), was last year assessed (together with the Izafah) at 60,000; this year, 1262, Fuslee one of the Nujjeeb Corps has taken the Kubz of the Raj for rupees 1,00,000, but on this condition, that the additional rupees 40,000 are to be paid during the first four months of the ensuing Fuslee year, 1263, *i.e.*, the revenue of 1263 Fuslee, will be encroached upon to the amount of rupees 40,000 to satisfy the exactions levied in 1262! The next year must, therefore, be doubly taxed! Again, the Pergunnah of Kujrahut, belonging to the Baboo of Bheetee (Sultanpore), was last year so heavily taxed, that that year's revenue is not yet completely paid up—this being the fifth month of the present year! This five months' revenue will again require to be collected to provide for the demands of the actual year. The zemindaree of Rampore (Sultanpore), near Fyzabad, was assessed at rupees 2,200; is now taxed at rupees 5,000. From these instances you will be able to judge of what takes place in the whole district, not only of Sultanpore, but of Deriabad Rudowlee, also held by Agaie. So that the Nuzzurana, together with the Izafah, forms a sum invariably equal to, if not greater than, the Lucknow assessment.

5. The "Tushkerrie" of Sultanpore, by Agaie, amounts to (in round numbers) thirty-six lakhs—subtract nine lakhs for Huzoor Tehseel lands, Nankar, &c., &c.,—of the remaining twenty-seven lakhs, seventeen lakhs are *accounted* for to Government, and ten lakhs reserved by the Nazim, for his own purposes; to these ten lakhs may be added one lakh, which is obtained by adding fresh items to the assessments agreed upon, and by many other modes of extortion—seizure of Nankar, or certain sums allowed by Government to each zemindar as subsistence money—so that the Nazim's share amounts to eleven lakhs. Besides this enormous sum, there are many other sources of profit, of which mention will be made in the proper place. Out of the seventeen lakhs accounted for to Government, must be deducted what is termed the "Sumjowta," *i.e.*, Pay of the Troops employed in the collection of the

revenue; cost of repairs of Government forts (fixed sum), amounting, for each Fort, to from 200 to 500 rupees; expenses of grain, salt, &c., for artillery cattle; food for Nizamut elephants; cost of repairs of artillery carriages; construction of temporary, or permanent, chupper chownies; expenditure in shot and powder, in case of any attack having been made against a fort, expenditure always exaggerated (all these items will be subsequently commented upon). Besides these deductions from the Total Jumma, or Revenue, not a small item is the portion of revenue which it is supposed has not been collected from the zemindarees of certain notoriously bad characters, represented to Government as "Feraree," although not only do they pay full rent, but also a "douceur" in order to be allowed to carry on their lawless mode of livelihood.

6. I have not spoken of the Nuzzur, received by the Nazim (in contradistiction to the "Nuzzurana"), *i.e.* the offering, generally in money, presented by Zemindars, Talookdars, and Rajahs, &c., &c., on their first interview with the Nazim, and amounting, in each case, from one rupee to several Ashar fees. Other sources of profit there are, which I will endeavour to note down here. Since the last two or three years Agaie has taken the Paymaster's Department, or "Nizamut Buksheegiree," into his own hands, and from this Department he must realize a large income. What the amount of this income must be, I should be afraid to say; but you may judge of its extent, when you remember that every *Nujjeeb* soldier pays for his entrance into the service, pays for leave of absence, pays for not being dismissed on account of old age, infirmities, &c., and his name is kept a long time on the rolls of his corps, after his own decease, and that very seldom indeed do his wife, or children, or heirs, obtain his arrears of pay; and, lastly, full pay is always drawn by the Bukshee (in this case Agaie himself) for each corps, even should it be below its proper strength. I have already alluded to the deductions made for expenditure of grain for Artillery bullocks; this grain is given, but in small quantity, though charged in full to Government, which allows one and a half seer per diem to each Artillery and Cart bullock. As to the forts, also alluded to above, I have never seen *in any district* a single Government Fort repaired, and, if a Thannadar or Tehseeldar does, for his own comfort, make any repairs to the fort in the Pergunnah to which he is attached, it is always at the expense of the ryuts. Large sums are drawn for the repairs of gun carriages, which, year after year, are seen mouldering and rotting away for want of proper repair, or if they *are* repaired, it is on a very poor scale. Again, deductions for purchase of Artillery bullocks, which either are not purchased at all (price of grain drawn all the while), or else very inferior animals are purchased, totally incapable of dragging the weight to which they are attached—poor unfortunate half-starved brutes, whom, in one instance at Budshahgunj, I *have seen* the Artillery men obliged in cold weather to cover over *with straw* at night, to prevent them dying with cold. When required to march, begaree, or pressed bullocks, are seized upon. Finally, "Saur" bullocks are constantly caught and yoked, and charged to Government as purchased cattle. Again, large profits are made on the distribution, by the Nazim, of Nankar money, or sums granted annually to Government to certain families on account of services rendered by some of their members. These items are either *partially* paid, or not paid at all. This year, Agaie has given out that the Durbar had passed an order that only "Shaee" families should receive the Nankar, of which "Soonnees" and Hindoos are to be deprived. You will easily conceive how much advantage will accrue to the Nazim by the issue of such an order. Not only will such of the Soonnees and Hindoos as receive their accustomed allowance have to pay heavily for the same, but they will be given to understand how much they stand under obligation to the donor, who, in their favour, has infringed upon the Government Orders.

7. I believe I have now enumerated the principal sources of the profits derived by the Nazim; at all events, I have pointed out enough of them to show that these profits must be very considerable. During my servitude in Oude, I have known no Nazim to possess such unlimited power as that Agaie now wields. Enjoying the entire confidence of the Minister, an unusually strong force under his orders, master of the Nizamut Buksheegiree, he alone has succeeded in abolishing the Nizamut Akbar Nawiss Establishment; and we now see him,

at the same time, Nazim of two districts, Commander of a large military force Akbar Nawiss, and Paymaster! You have desired me to write to you in full confidence, and I am doing so when I say that it seems to me that Colonel Sleeman was much deceived in this man, and the recommendatory letters given by that officer to Agaie were put to purposes far different from those they were ever intended for. These letters were paraded about by the Nazim everywhere, spoken of in every Durbar, until the district, supposing the Nazim supported both by Resident and Minister, fairly quaked. Agaie constantly boasted of the "friendship" (I make use of the equivalent in English of his own expression "mohubut") of Colonel Sleeman, of Mr. Tucker (who, little knowing his real character, and supposing him to be a true "khairkwah" to the Oude Government, received him ever with great kindness, and, on a late occasion, addressed him in a letter as "Nawab"—this letter was shown to me as well as to others by Agaie himself), and of Mr. Lowther. These were high authorities to be hourly quoted in the Nizamut Kutcherry, in the presence of Rajahs, Talookdars, and Zemindars, with what effect it is needless to add. Is it astonishing, then, that money came, and still continues to come, pouring into Agaie's hands? With consummate cunning, Agaie has made himself master of the whole machinery of his office, and has caused it to work in a manner entirely subservient to his own interests. He himself collects not the revenue; the whole country is under Kubz. Every corps must either consent to remain unpaid, or else take the kubz of some District, Raj, or Talooka, previously heavily assessed by the Nazim himself. Thus, under the best security possible, Agaie gets rid of the responsibility of collecting the revenue by more direct means, and has merely to forward to Lucknow the kubz bonds furnished by each corps. Never was the kubz system adopted to such an extent; and, here, you may ask whether this system, or mode of collection, is beneficial to the interests of zemindar and ryut. It is, in so far that, when an officer consents to take a kubz, he will bargain for a fair time to be given him, during which to collect the amount agreed upon; thus the zemindar obtains *breathing time:* whereas, in direct collection by the Nazim, the landholder is generally forced to give in his revenue in the shortest time possible. In either case, his extra expenses are about the same. To the Kubzdar he must give 5 or 6% Kubzawun; to the Foujdar, in the second instance, he must give about the same amount under various pretexts.

8. Agaie Alee Khan farms two districts, viz., that of Sultanpore and that of Deriabad Rudowlee; and his principal coadjutors are his own brothers or near relatives. The Chuckledars of Sultanpore, properly so called, and of Aldaymhow, are Aga Hyder and Aga Husein, his own brothers; the Tehseeldar of Punchum-Rauth is Allah Ally, his uncle. The Chuckledar of Deriabad Rudowlee is Syud Husein, his son-in-law, who became thus related by marrying the daughter of a prostitute in Agaie's service. All these persons must naturally play into each other's hands. The account I have given of Sultanpore will apply exactly to Deriabad Rudowlee—in the latter district is carried on the same system emanating from the same source.

9. Having mentioned so much regarding the collection of revenue, it will not appear extraordinary if I add that, to the best of my belief, there are no Courts *in this district* cognizant of revenue questions. Formerly, a Dewan (Ulbayleepershad) was, indeed, sent from Lucknow as Controller of Receipts; but, I believe, he has long since returned to Lucknow, disgusted at having but merely nominal, and no real, power. A Mootsuddie, from the Lucknow Dewannee Duftur, is supposed to be attached to every Tehseeldar's office in an amanee district; and, perhaps, a few of these Mootsuddies may be found in that of Sultanpore; but I am credibly informed they have but little power.

10. As to Courts cognizant of criminal matters, there is a Police Officer attached to the Nizamut, under the control of one Meer Tuckey. Five hundred men are placed under his orders. Of these men some are portioned out, and stationed in the principal Thannahs of the district, but are, I firmly believe, a nuisance to the country: they are strong to seize and mulct unfortunate Bunneeahs and other poor tradespeople, under false or frivolous pretexts,—to seize and fine persons for crimes of "Failee Shemiah," &c. &c.; but they most religiously avoid any collision with those really bad characters with whom it might be dangerous to meddle. Meer Tuckey is a creature of Agaie, and follows his camp; however, all foujdary cases are referred to him (Meer Tuckey), and you will imagine what is the result, without my being more

explicit. Suffice it to say, this is another source of income to those concerned. Dewannee cases, *i. e.*, those relative to disputes regarding money transactions, &c., are made over to a Mooftee, who is attached to the Nazim's camp; but, generally, all these cases are settled by punchayet, or referred to any Hakeem who may take the trouble to investigate the matters, and who is generally paid for his trouble by either the one or the other of the disputing parties. The poor man, however, seldom obtains justice, and is a prey to the rich or powerful. The poor, I am happy to say, generally find friends in the European officers, and with them are pretty sure to find redress and protection. In towns, kusbahs, &c., there are Kotwals, who are supposed to distribute justice within the jurisdiction of their town or kusbah; but they are almost always a most corrupt set: in fact, how can it be otherwise, when they either pay for the situation, or hold it on contract? In a word, whether in the Nizamut, or whether in towns, it may be laid down as a general rule, that the verdict will be given in favour of the party that pays best; and, so well known is this, that, when boundary disputes occur between zemindars, they settle the case among themselves by an appeal to arms. Much blood is thus annually shed in Oude.

11. Adverting now to another paragraph of your note, regarding acts of oppression committed by Agaie, or his subordinates, since his Nizamutship, I will mention, 1st. the case of the village of Rae Beeja, situated on the banks of the Goomtee, plundered by the Nazim's Tehseeldar, Rahut Husein. Two women were killed, one being with child; one woman, dishonoured by one of the soldiery, threw herself into a well—her life was saved, but through shame she left the village. All grain, property, &c., was taken and sold; but the money realized was never carried to the credit of the zemindar. 2nd, The massacre of Neotee, near Rudowlee, where eight persons were cruelly slaughtered, without any cause. During five months, no notice of these atrocities, connived at by Agaie's brother, Aga Husein, was taken by Agaie; and it was at the expiration of that period of time that I was ordered by Colonel Sleeman to make investigation. A detailed account of this affair has long since been given by me. 3rd, A zemindar of Khyrabad, near Sultanpore, was flogged to death. 4th, Moonthaz Ahmed, Talookdar of Rudowlee, most unjustly ruined by Agaie, and his zemindaree made over to other parties. Three or four years ago, the Thakoor of Kuppradee was driven out of his fort, after long resistance, under iniquitous resistance, *i. e.*, want of good faith on the part of Agaie, *S. O.* &c., &c.

12. You ask whether I think *crime, dacoitee, cattle-lifting* &c., has increased or decreased:—I conscientiously think that crime of all species (and I speak more especially of the Sultanpore and Deriabad Rudowlee districts, the worst in this portion of Oude) has not increased; but, at the same time, it has in nowise decreased; and under few Nazims have so little efforts been made to extirpate bad characters. I will give the names of the principal dacoits, and a few instances of crimes committed:—

1st. Mahomed Husein of Baychoogurh; three years ago, Mahomed Husein was driven out of his fort by Captain Magness, who destroyed a portion of the stronghold, and cut down some of the adjacent jungle, but, almost immediately afterwards, the Baychoogurh zemindaree was made over, by Agaie's orders, to the dacoit's son, a mere boy. A short time since, Mahomed killed a man by name Doongah Sing, and severely wounded his wife, and carried off his two daughters: for this crime, a dour was made by Mahomed Isaaq Khan, Agaie's Tehseeldar of Jugdespore, on Baychoogurh; but, evidently, some private understanding existed between the Tehseeldar and the dacoit, as not a single person was wounded on either side, and Mahomed Husein Khan, with all his followers, quietly escaped out of his fort.

2nd. Juggernath, Chuprassee, who, amongst his many crimes, lately killed the zemindar of Bawsyn, Lall Bahadoor Sing. A very short time since, Agaie sent a "dour" on this dacoit's fort, which, after some casualties occurring, was evacuated; but this advantage was not followed up, and Juggernath has taken refuge in other strong forts or places of refuge.

3rd. Purthee Pal of Ramgurreeah, 4th. Baychum Sing of Hulliapoor, 5th. Bassoo Sing of Pitlah, 6th and 7th. Rajawunt and Shew Golam of Bugorah, 8th, Surnam Sing of Kutteyaree, 9th, Oolund Sing of Joorium,	All friends and supporters of Juggernath, and joining him in all dacoitee expeditions.

10. Bhoolay Singh, of Ferozepore Rudowlee-hazir, in the Amil's Kutcherry.

11. Mukhdoom Buksh, of Bhuttee, two months ago, killed one Ameer Khan, of Hoosayen, and others.

As to crimes:

The Sair people, under Meer Usgurree, of Awudh, killed a pensioned Naick and his son. (A full report of this case was forwarded to Captain Beatson.)

A woman poisoned her husband at Rudowlee a few months ago. She was taken to the head of the Police, Meer Tuckey, but soon afterwards released. The husband had returned to his home after a long absence, during which time his wife had been living with one Golam Resool, of Rudowlee, who, it appears, persuaded the woman to adopt this mode of getting rid of her husband.

A prostitute, Luchumnia, was severely wounded at Rudowlee, and property to the value of 1,500 rupees stolen. This happened while Aga Husein was at Rudowlee, and close to the Tehseeldar's post: no redress given. A short time since a Fakeer was murdered at Awudh: no inquiries made.

Three years ago two travellers were found murdered at Budshahgunj, near Sultanpore.

Not two months ago, a dacoitee was perpetrated at Tandah, on the house of one of the King's Mirdahas, and a very large sum of money stolen.

Immediately afterwards, another dacoitee was perpetrated in the same town, on the house of one Bukshoollah, weaver, and property to the value of rupees 6,000 stolen. Three or four days since, the Rokum of a Fyzabad Mahajun stolen.

13. In general, petty thefts are rife in all towns, such as Fyzabad, Rudowlee, Deriabad, Sultanpore, (the town, not the cantonment,) and will ever continue to be so, so long as thannadars, kotwals, zemindars (especially,) derive a handsome percentage from thieves.

14. Other criminals and other instances of crime might be cited; but I think I have mentioned enough to prove that crime is not on the decrease. Agaie has done nothing towards extirpating bad characters; on the contrary, he, his brothers, and Tehseeldars, have always seemed to favour them, for very evident reasons. Glancing an eye over the districts of Sultanpore and Deriabad, it will be found that the spots infested by dacoits are,—1st, in the Jugdespore Elaka, the portion extending from Mhowna to Mosafir Khana; 2nd, the Chowhanee villages, situated in both Sultanpore and Deriabad districts, viz., Kulwapore, Joorium, Pitlah, Etonjah, &c.; 3rd, Kiar, in Deriabad, the Bahraylah and Bhuttianah pergunnahs in Deriabad. In most of these places ravines and jungle abound, and they are, generally speaking, denuded of troops. In the Chowhanee district above mentioned, travellers cannot proceed with any degree of safety. Close to Mosafir Khana, and in the immediate vicinity of the Lucknow road, is a belt of jungle, in which are to be found the forts of Kutteyaree, Kunkoopore, and Baychoogurh (I have named Baychoogurh, for, though at present destroyed, yet it will probably be soon rebuilt). All these forts belong to more than suspicious characters, and, were the Nazims to make their head-quarters at such places, instead of pitching their camp for months together in the more orderly and quiet portions of the district, ruined almost by the continual levies made on them by the troops for firewood and bhoosah, it seems to me much advantage would accrue. As matters go, the quiet districts thus suffer for being so peaceful.

15. Passing now to the Fiscal Department. All Gunjes and the "Sair" of the Sultanpore district are in the hands of Juggernath, alias Shurf-ood-Dowlah, of Lucknow. The principal Sair is that of Fyzabad, amounting to about rupees 32,000, and that of Tandah, amounting to about rupees 20,000, both on contract. The town of Fyzabad, once so flourishing under the rule of the late Bahoo Begum, is now in almost a ruined state. Situated, as it is, on the banks of a noble river proved navigable during the whole year, enjoying many resources, it would, under proper management, soon become a rich and flourishing city;

but, as affairs are now managed, from tyranny and oppression of Kotwal, Akbar Nawiss, Sair-wallahs, Purmut-wallahs, each constituting himself an authority, only accountable for his actions to himself, many Mahajuns, Bunneeahs, artificers, &c. have abandoned the place. I have now been for several years almost constantly residing at Fyzabad, and it seems to me that, year after year, it tends more and more towards decline. There is no appeal to any superior authority from the exactions of the above-mentioned harpies; and one cannot but regret to see such scoundrels plundering a city which, with a little care, might be made one of the most important in Oude. The population is principally Mahometan. Its manufactures are glass, paper, cotton cloths, hookah snakes, tazziahs, brass and copper vessels, gunpowder and fireworks, sword-hilts, dyeing, &c. Its imports are grain, from Goruckpore and the Nepal Terai; from Calcutta, wrought iron, cocoa-nuts, European cloths, cutlery. Its exports are opium, saltpetre, &c. The principal Government Establishments are,—1st, the Kotwalee, to which is attached a force of 450 Sepoys (Nujjeebs); but these are ill organized, and are mostly artificers and shopkeepers, &c. They are stationed in different parts of Fyzabad, and in the adjacent and ancient town of Awudh. To this latter city two annual pilgrimages are made from all parts of India; and it is mainly owing to the money thrown into Fyzabad on these two occasions that it now owes its existence. Splendid fairs might be held during these Nahans, and would prove a blessing to the country, and a source of revenue to the King; but, under the actual administration, such a thing could not be thought of; 2nd, the Mint; 3rd, the Akbar Nawiss's Office on contract; 4th, the Adawlut; 5th, the Sair; 6th, the Permit; 7th, the Imlak; &c. The ground around Fyzabad is very rich, and all species of fruit trees, flowers, vegetables, flourish in it remarkably well. The cultivation of the poppy is on a large scale. New opium sells at three rupees to 3·8 per seer. As to Tandah, once so celebrated for its manufacture of cotton cloths, it is also suffering from the same causes that are ruining Fyzabad. The Akbar Nawissee is there on a contract of 300 rupees per annum. As to the commerce carried on in the interior of the district, it is very insignificant, owing to want of roads and bridges. Grain, &c. is mostly carried on buffaloes, bullocks, and ponies. Carts in this district are comparatively few. Added to the want of roads, the general insecurity of life and property, the exactions of the Government Sair people, and the mahsool levied by each zemindar, through whose lands traffic is carried;—all these causes combine to ruin the trade and commerce that might otherwise be carried on. In former years, there was a great cotton mart at Budshahgunj, near the cantonment of Sultanpore, but, owing to the causes above mentioned, but little cotton is now brought.

16. If you wish to take a retrospective view of these districts, and examine how they fared under other Nazims, predecessors of Agaie, you will find that the nuzzurana and the izafah rukoomat ever existed, but were never, in any instance, so high as in present times. Former, and actual, Nazims had never so much power as Agaie now possesses, and were constantly in dread of being seized upon by the troops, and forwarded to Lucknow by order of Government. The Akbar Nawiss, however corrupt, was still a check upon the Chuckledar, for he had to be handsomely paid on certain awkward occasions; and, besides, it was always feared that reports might find their way to Lucknow through other channels. You are too well acquainted with the present state of the Durbar for it to be necessary for me to say that Agaie has no fear of King and Minister—his only dread is of the Residency.

17. Leaving the Sultanpore district, and turning to that of Gondah, it is pleasant to observe the contrast. The nominal Nazim, or rather his Naib, Suddun Lall, who is the Nazim *de facto*, gives on amanee seventeen lakhs, I think, and governs with extreme leniency. He has made efforts to rebuild what the infamous Rugburdial destroyed, and, under his rule, the Gondah Bharaitch district is rapidly progressing in cultivation and prosperity. The three elakas of Toolseepore, Bhinga, and Nanparah, formerly incorporated in the Gondah Bharaitch district, have latterly been made over to one Nundkomar, and they are in a sad state of disorder. Nanparah, I believe, is all but deserted, and is distracted by the quarrels between the elder and the younger widows of the late Rajah. *Right* would seem to be on the side of the former, but the younger Ranee possesses the powerful interest of the Queen Mother. The Rajah left a son by a prostitute; and, if I mistake not, in a

punchayet of several Rajahs, it was decided that the raj belonged to the son; and to this decision the elder Ranee subscribes. This is a beautifully fertile raj, and it is indeed a pity to see it thus ruined and destroyed. Nundkomar, I believe, will collect but little revenue, as Toolseepore also is in a disordered state, owing to serious quarrels having existed for years past between the Rajah and his son. As to the Bhinga Rajah, he has ever been a troublesome subject.

18. It must be added that, although the district is amanee, yet I suspect that this amanee savours a great deal of the izarah, that is, the Chuckledar has been given to understand that *so much* must be given. Besides this, all those checks on the Chuckledar's rapacity, which Agaie has managed to do away with, exist in the Gondah district in full force. In short, Suddun Lall collects the revenue under very different circumstances, which are, in general, more favorable to the interests of the Sirkar, less so to his own. The Gondah district was ruined by the infamous Rugburdial, and it will require much good management and care to again make it what it once was—the garden of Oude, and one of its quietest districts.

19. I will now make a few general observations. A proper survey of each talooka or raj in Oude is sadly required, and a suitable and fixed assessment of the lands. In *actual times* there is no certain assessment, each Nazim levying what he can: this is the main cause of the resistance made by zemindars to the district authorities, and of much bloodshed on either side. Were the boundary lines between the several zemindarees fairly settled, many lives would be saved, as quarrels and feuds on this score would naturally become more rare. But I think the greatest boon for Oude would be the demolition of every fort or fortified building in the various districts, and the disarming of the mass of the people; but, of course, this would require a far better system of Government in every respect. Zemindars should only be seized legally; and, if the chuckledaree system be continued, such men only should be chosen as are fit for so important a trust, and can give security for the amount of revenue required at their hands. The Nujjeeb troops should be organized on a far different footing, their pay properly defined, and secured to them, and they should be placed under the command of good men, and not under that of the minions of the Durbar, or of the Mahal. They should be entirely free from all dominion on the part of the Bukshees, who have more authority over the troops than it would be supposed; and, lastly, they should be regularly paid. The Pay Department, or Nizamut buksheegiree, (and, for that matter, the head Establishment at Lucknow), is in a most infamous state, and by it the Government is robbed to an enormous extent; the petty Bukshees, sent to the districts, and attached to each corps, receive their office *on contract*, each man paying to the Lucknow head bukshee so much per annum, according to the strength of the corps or detachment paid by him; besides the perquisites of his office, he receives "douceurs" from the Nazim for *giving receipts before* the corps are paid, *i. e.*, before the Nazims give wherewith to pay—these receipts are forwarded to Lucknow, where it is, therefore, supposed the troops are paid. The Artillery attached to the Nizamuts is generally very numerous, and consists of guns of all calibre; some purchased by Government, some cast in Oude, others seized from zemindars, who generally buy up old ship guns brought up by merchants from Calcutta. Many of these guns are excellent; many useless, either from being honey-combed, or from their unwieldy size; but, generally speaking, all the Artillery carriages, tumbrils, &c., are in a wretched state, from a cause already mentioned. Ammunition, from the same cause, is almost always scarce. The really efficient corps, whether as regards discipline, men, arms, accoutrements, or artillery, are the corps commanded by European officers. Most of the Nujjeeb corps are below their proper strength; but the full pay is drawn by the Bukshees, except in the Sultanpore district, where Agaie is paymaster, and the Regimental Bukshees only receive according to the actual strength. Were the population disarmed and forts demolished, there would be no longer need of such a large army as the one now in Oude. In fact, reduction of the troops in each district would be a blessing to the poor (as matters now stand); for all the troops have no shelter in the rains, and all Nujjeeb forces are never furnished with tentage. On the approach of the rainy season, the chuppers of the adjacent villages are quickly taken off, and a chownie is constructed in a miraculously short time.

Government should pay for the bhoosah levied *free* on each village: this system of seizing on forage for Government cattle is one of the curses of the present system, and gives rise to innumerable abuses. I know from experience that, however an officer may wish, and endeavour, to alleviate the misery endured by the ryut in giving up this bhoosah, or straw, yet he is often helpless. What command can a man have over soldiers sent on foraging parties, often to a distance of ten to fourteen miles? But this evil is rendered a thousand times more cruel in a Nazim's camp, where not only troops, but innumerable camp followers, persons aspirant for some situation, "Oomaidwars-Purwurish," and others, pass themselves off for Sirkaree people, and help themselves accordingly. Then the mass of useless creatures swarming about a Nazim's camp, chobdars, chuprassies, khasburdars, and more than I can well remember, all receiving pay from Government; if they do not plunder bhoosah (which in many cases they do), yet each and all, in some unheard-of manner, extort their "huq" (everything here is huq) from the poor, who may be anxious to complain to the great man of the plunder not only of their forage, but of any other article the soldiery may have taken a fancy to. Without giving this "huq," the poor man has little chance of being heard. Many scoundrels, servants of Foujdars, Tehseeldars, Nazims, and Kotwals, derive a handsome profit by pressing men, bullocks, carts, &c., avowedly on public service, and releasing them "for a consideration." Then comes the "Begaree system"—the Chamar, Lodha, Koormee, and all inferior castes, are the prey of all, caught at every hour of the day and of the night, made use of as beasts of burthen, beaten and abused, treated as if incapable of feeling pain or humiliation, never remunerated, but often deprived of the scanty clothing they may possess—they, indeed, are deserving of pity! Some check—real check—seems indeed most necessary on the conduct of the Chuckledar himself, to control his accounts, prohibit his waging war cruelly and unjustly, and whenever he may please, against Talookdars: to find such a check, I feel, must be most difficult, as the chances are that, unless the check is really efficient, the present evil will be redoubled. I have often thought that, of all the settlement systems adopted in Oude, the best, without exception, is that termed "Huzoor Tehseel," where the zemindar himself pays indirectly to Government. Under this system, the ryut is invariably more contented, less tortured, and *generally* exempted from furnishing forage. I speak not this from mere supposition, for an example of this is seen in the Baiswarra district, where all the great and powerful Talookdars are under Huzoor Tehseel; and it is a notorious fact that there is not in Oude 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; but many cannot afford *to pay* for the indulgence, and many have not the necessary interest. Again, it seems to me that it is not a wise plan to make over such large districts, in *such a country as Oude now is*, to the management of a single Nazim. The Sultanpore district is a large one; and I hold it impossible for one Hakeem to rule it, as it should be ruled. As the Fuslee year approaches its end, the collections are hurried; some zemindars have overpaid; some have not; a few may altogether escape payment; and, at the same time, a good Amil should be allowed to hold his district, as long as he shows himself fit for his office. The Oude Corps, whether Regular or Irregular, should have cantonments in the several districts; the troops should only be moved when absolutely required; thus both men and officers would derive much comfort; and arms, and accoutrements would not be so speedily destroyed; and the country, being no longer overrun with soldiery, the begaree system would be curtailed; and, in short, much benefit derived in every way. This, of course, would put an end to the *kubz* system—a wretched one, in my opinion—by which soldiers are turned into extortioners. The abolition of the "kubz" would, I think, be beneficial to the country, as then the Amil would be obliged, in some measure, to make more amicable arrangements with the zemindars.

20. To conclude, "Zoolum" has ever existed in Oude districts, with very rare exceptions (such as under the rule of Meer Hadee, of Gondah Bharaitch), but in various degrees—oppression increasing in proportion to the increase of favour enjoyed at Durbar; and the history of one district is more or less that of all. Here and there remarkable tyrants are found, such as Durshun Sing,

Nazim of Sultanpore, of Gondah Bharaitch, and of Salone, and who carved out for himself a vast estate, a full account of which will be found in Captain Beatson's Duftur; Rugburdial, Nazim of Gondah Bharaitch, of whose cruelties you possess an ample report; Khan Ally Khan, who, two or three years ago ruined the Salone district; and Agaie Alee Khan. The actual Amil of Hydergurh, or, rather, his representative—Rumzan Ally, has taxed his district heavily; but, on the other hand, he is the sworn foe of all dacoits, budmashes, &c.* In short, with the modification I have mentioned of the more and of the less, oppression has always existed, but has been carried to its maximum by Agaie. It may be curious to compare the acts of the most celebrated Nazims under the izarah and the amanee systems. We will choose Rajah Durshun Sing, and Agaie Alee Khan:—

Rajah Durshun Sing is cited as having levied, under *izarah*, the highest amount of revenue, *i.e.*, 32 lakhs.

Agaie has levied on amanee 36 lakhs.

Durshun Sing taxed in equal proportion rich and poor.

Agaie fears the one, and ruins the other.

Durshun Sing was the sworn enemy to dacoits and thieves.

Agaie has ever spared them.

Durshun Sing never gave, on the average, to Government less than 22 lakhs.

Agaie gives *nominally* 17.

Durshun Sing made for himself, by oppression, a vast estate, styled the Bairamah, assessed at 2½ lakhs, and yielding from 5 to 6 lakhs; but ruled it with the utmost leniency.

Agaie, instead of seizing on lands, seized on hard cash.

Durshun Sing, though a tyrant to all powerful zemindars, was, as Nazim, kind to the poor, and ever protected the ryut; and, above all, was true to his word in most instances.

The very contrary may be said of Agaie. See his having seized the Thakoor of Buddaon, who came under Captain Magness's bahr, and endeavoured to seize the Thakoor of Dayrah, who was hazir on Captain Bunbury's bahr, or protection.

Durshun Sing, in all his innumerable "dours," or "expeditions," shared the fatigues of the commonest soldier.

The very reverse may be mentioned of Agaie.

21. Lastly, it must be asked, if the districts are thus heavily taxed, how is it that the revenue does not find its way into the King's Treasury? Because it is swallowed up by the Durbar Officials; because of the heavy nuzzurana given to them by every Nazim of Oude; because, besides this nuzzurana, they receive large sums to "pass" the Nazim's accounts, however deficient and false. Corruption reigns paramount. A Hakeem in Oude *cannot* be honest, for he must pay for his office; and this system is carried on, link by link, from the highest authority to the lowest—the subordinate paying or bribing his superior; and the whole weight at length falls on, and crushes, the ryut. In former years Amils were imprisoned. Some—as Mirza Abdoola Beg—died in confinement; some suffered the dreadful punishment of the "balla-roopie"—as Eucha Sing, Nazim of Gondah; but now a much milder custom prevails, with what success it is evident! Mahal influence, too, is now all-powerful—a proof is in the ruin of the Nanparah Raj. The revenues of the kingdom are not lessened; but corruption is, indeed, at head-quarters, sadly on the increase.

Postscript.

In looking over attentively what I have written, I find I have forgotten to make mention of one or two subjects, which nevertheless possess some importance.

1. Since Nazims, year after year, represent certain zemindars to Government as bad characters, not paying their rent, why not deprive them at once of their

* I may also mention Fidda Husein, Commandant of a Corps stationed in the Bareilly district, and who, though not a Nazim, yet is attached to one of the Chuckledars—last year Khan Ally Khan—this year Mehudee Husein,—and whose very name is execrated in the district (Bareilly is in the Salone district).

zemindarees, and make the lands over to others more worthy of them, who would cultivate the estate, destroy the jungle in which their predecessors found refuge, and not only benefit the Government but the public at large? Thus an end would be put to a great evil injurious to *all* with exception to the Nazim himself.

2. Regarding the extortion of forage from the ryut, in former years, under the Vizierat of Hakeem Mehudee, Tehseeldars of districts were obliged to make collections of bhoosah at a certain spot within their respective pergunnahs, levying the contributions equally, and in fair proportion, from each ryut, and the troops were provided from these depôts: this plan at least saved the poor man from losing other property besides bhoosah, as the soldiery had no longer need to ransack villages; bloodshed too was spared, for it must not be imagined that forage is always obtained with impunity.

3. Why should not the jungle of the Mosafir Khana and Chowhance districts be *entirely* cut down, or, rather, be made over to speculators under the protection of troops? In a short time, the jungle would disappear, and beautiful arable lands yield, in its stead, revenue to the Sirkar, and bread to the poor; and, above all, the nests would be destroyed of those scoundrels who slaughter and plunder, and live the life of outcasts in these jungles. I would most willingly undertake to clear these wilds, were I sanctioned by Government to do so, under proper support.

4. Another class of Officials there is, servants of Government, who remunerates them by grants of land, and whose functions are too important to be passed over, in a paper like this, without notice. I allude to the district Kanoongoes. These men possess, in virtue of their office, accurate knowledge of the amount of revenue to be paid by each village, zemindaree, or talooka in their district; they know exactly what sums have been annually paid to Nazims by the zemindars; and, as, by imparting this knowledge to, or in some measure withholding it from, the newly arrived Nazim (who can obtain such information but from the Kanoongoes), they can either benefit, or ruin, the zemindars, the latter hold them in dread. When a Nazim, as for instance, Agaie, has held the district during several years, the services of these Kanoongoes are not so much valued, as the Nazim himself becomes *au fait* in such matters, and then it is that the Kanoongoes, generally rich and respectable people, undergo the oppression common to all, and are plundered and looted by the Nazim.

Thus, then, the zemindar has innumerable foes to contend with; and the instant a Chuckledar, Amil, or Nazim enters the district, a deep game of cunning commences betwixt the official and those over whom he rules—each endeavouring to defraud the other—no such thing as confidence exists, or under actual circumstances indeed can exist, between the ruler and the ruled; and, in the unequal contest, deprived as he is of all support, and debarred from all appeal (unless indeed he can parley from behind the strong walls of his fort), the zemindar has but his own wits to befriend him, and, in most cases, I must confess they are wonderfully sharp!

Almost all the Government institutions, for the rule of the districts and the collection of its revenue, clash with each other; seldom is any one of them subordinate to any acknowledged superior district authority, so as to form one entire system, well defined and well organized. On the contrary, these institutions may, perhaps, not inaptly be compared to the various portions of an ill-contrived, ill-constructed edifice, in which, without regard to any definite plan, addition is heaped on addition as necessity urges, or deductions as rudely made when this necessity no longer exists, till at last the fabric becomes an useless, infirm mass—no longer serviceable from want of organization and unity. Here, indeed, is universally put into practice the old motto, *Chacun pour soi et Dieu pour tous.*

No. 6.

From Lieutenant Sinclair, of Sobha Sing's Regiment, dated Bharaitch, November 20, 1854.

"TOMORROW morning we pursue our march direct to Toolseepore, where the greatest misgovernment prevails. Sahbijee, son of the Talookdar, an old man, now at Lucknow, quarrelled with his father, and wished to take possession during the life time of the old man. They both went to Lucknow last year, and were confined, and the Elaka was left Kutcha. The Chuckledar (Nundkomar), having no opponent, collected handsomely, and made a small fortune for himself; he expected to double the proceeds this year, but, unfortunately, Sahibjee escaped from confinement, has come to the Elaka, collected a force of about two thousand men, and attacked the Thannah of Toolseepore, where Nundkomar left his uncle as Tehseeldar. Sahibjee attacked him at night, took possession of two King's guns, plundered the whole of the Treasure found in the fort, amounting to seventeen thousand rupees, and established his thannah. The Tehseeldar was wounded; had about thirty-five men killed and several wounded; he fled for safety to Bulrampore, and from thence communicated the news of the disaster. Sahibjee is plundering and burning the Elaka, and Nundkomar is going there to re-establish his authority. He is a relation of Raja Balkishen, and collected last year from Toolseepore nearly five lakhs of rupees, about the quarter of which was credited to Government; he promised to send to the Treasury one lakh more this year, if Sahibjee was kept under restraint; but the time was changed, and Nundkomar disappointed. Toolseepore, with proper management, can yield five or six lakhs with ease; and Nanparah, which we have just left, ten lakhs of rupees; but the Government never gets from the latter upwards of a lakh and a half, including the Rajah's nankar."

No. 7.

From Lieutenant Sinclair, dated December 12, 1854.

"I FORMERLY informed you of the Rajah of Toolseepore being abroad: we have destroyed all the buildings in his fort; but this, of course, is of no avail; he has concealed himself in the forest at the foot of the hills, but it is difficult to find him; his adherents and confederates take every opportunity of collecting the revenues, and the ryuts, being under his control, though a feraree, are afraid to come forward before the Chuckledar. This man, Nundkomar, had every facility imaginable last year to collect a handsome revenue, and a fortune for himself, there being no one to oppose him. This year the Rajah, being in the district, has connected himself with the brigands of Nanparah, and all together they have formed a formidable band, who will not allow a single Tehseeldar of the Chuckledar to establish himself. You know by my letters what destruction they have caused; there is no prospect of subduing them, or bringing the country into any kind of settlement, with the inefficient force the Chuckledar has at his command; and I am sure the King will not have in his Treasury from this Elaka a single rupee. I am dubious if the troops out here will ever be able to be paid. As for these, there are about 1,500 Sebundees—a totally useless set—and our regiment,—if the few men in comparison to its full complement may be called a regiment, for, on the whole, we do not muster in the district upwards of 400 doing any duty; two full companies are on duty with the Minister, two more at Baiswarra with Heerahlall, many in Sobha Sing's private establishment, and others in the Adjutant's. The Adjutant* is well known as a man only using every method of making money, and has not the least interest in employing a moment of his time towards the improvement of anything for the good of the Government. This Elaka extends eighty-four coss, is quite deserted of inhabitants, though the whole country appears perfectly well cultivated, scarcely any ground left; but the Rajah enjoys the whole of the produce. How is it possible the Chuckledar can get it except out of a few spots adjoining his camp! Instead

* Bhopal Sing.

of going in a body in search of the fugitive Rajah and his men, and subduing them by force in such a manner as to render them powerless, they are left to roam at large, threatening the ryuts from coming. A few men of the Sebundees are sent with a Tehseeldar to establish a thannah at places where, on account of the Rajah's men, he cannot be firm; the Tehseeldar is obliged to run away with his Sebundee, many are killed and wounded, and matters are made worse. I have myself experienced in full the dangers of such a situation. The Chuckledar ordered two companies of ours to go to Bhugwanpoor and assist his Tehseeldar, who accompanied us. We came as far as this village, which is twenty coss from Toolseepore, and halted, as the Tehseeldar wanted to make his arrangements with the zemindars and others; some appeared reluctantly, others would not come for fear of the Rajah. As we proceeded on our journey, a gang of about 700 men followed us in an opposite direction along the jungles, under the hills, which are distant about four coss from our present camp. We received from the village people, particularly from gosyns, accounts of their movements; and these gosyns warned us to be very careful, because we would certainly be attacked. It happened that, about four o'clock in the morning of Sunday, the 10th, a dreadful attack was made upon us by these people of the Rajah. They came in three directions, but we were only assailed in two. After keeping up a hot fire on both sides for about an hour, and having little ammunition left, we were obliged to charge at the point of the bayonet, with one company of about sixty men, leaving the remainder, about seventy men, to protect the property in the camp. This last resource succeeded famously, as the rascals, after a few had been bayoneted, dispersed as fast as they could, leaving their shoes, &c. behind; but, it being rather dark, we did not think proper to pursue. Amongst the wounded were three persons of note: Omrao Sing bhuya of Bankee, a Sirdar commanding two hundred men, and receiving a rupee a day, besides some villages: this man died in camp next day, and gave account of what was intended to be done by them, and how; it will take too much time to relate all that he disclosed:—Teja Sing, who was called Captain, received a grape shot, by which his thigh was broken; he commanded 400 men, and was reckoned a remarkable warrior:—a jemadar, son of the Chowdry of Bhinga, was wounded, of Teja Sing's party. These three are known; but of the remainder who fell, and were carried away on charpoys, there is no account. The village people say every charpoy was in demand, and coolies or begarees could not be procured in sufficient numbers, so that it occupied two days to remove the killed and wounded from the jungles to their homes; forty charpoys were taken from one village. This is the first affair of any consequence that has struck some terror into these fellows, having had to do with the Collectoree, as we are called. I forgot to add, that a hundred Sebundees, who were with the Tehseeldar, and of course with us, ran away to a man, the Tehseeldar all the time running about like a madman. Had such an affair taken place, with such odds, under the command of our fat Adjutant, he would have been blazoned forth as the bravest, or a great bahadoor, and the case would be brought to the notice of the Minister without delay, being Sobha Sing's relation. On coming to this place, we sent Hurkaras to Bhugwanpoor, to ascertain the state of the Thannah; they returned, and said the Rajah's men were there, with two guns, in great force to oppose us, and also preparations were rapid and strong for maintaining Bankee, one of the head quarters. The Adjutant came in, two days after the battle, with the regiment, and after two battles had been fought and won by the small brave detachment under my command. Though this has caused much sensation among the Rajah's men, they are much subdued. It is the duty of the Chuckledar to make a few dours in person with us to effect anything like authority or executive, so as to enable him to collect any revenue for Government. The Rajah should be driven to the utmost bounds, taken or killed, or nothing will be done under the best of native management, who have nothing in view but to fill their pockets. I am quite sure that one of the Captains in the King's service would do more good than all the Nundkomars and Chuckledars. Captain Orr, with his new regiment, assisted by ours, would be preferable to have that authority which Nundkomar has; and he is a soldier who would not allow the Rajah to rest quietly in his haunts, but altogether independent of native control. Captain Bunbury has too much to do at Sultanpore; and the former is the only Commander in the King's service whose corps is disengaged from other Elakas.

Appendix C, to Inclosure 6 of No. 1.

Part I.—*Memorandum as to the connection of the British Government with that of Oude.*

A.D. 1739. THE founder of the dynasty of Oude was Mahomed Ameen, better known as Saadut Khan, and also as Boorhan-ool-Moolk: the treachery of this subordinate to his Sovereign of Delhi is familiar to all who have read the Annals of Ferishta. In the invasion of India and the sack of Delhi, by Nadir Shah, the King of Persia, Saadut Khan, the Governor of the Province of Oude, was summoned to defend Delhi, and assist the Emperor: his first act was to seek refuge with Nadir Shah, in order to supplant another arch-traitor and servant of the Emperor—the Nazim. When Nadir Shah captured Delhi, he sent for the Nazim and Saadut Khan, and, reviling them in language the most foul, exclaimed, "But I will take revenge on you with all my wrath, which is the instrument of the vengeance of God!" He then spat upon their beards, and dismissed them with all possible ignominy. The Nazim then turned to Saadut, and swore that he would never survive the indignity; so did Saadut Khan; and both agreed to swallow poison. The Nazim, having concerted his measures in the presence of his friends, having said his prayers most solemnly, drank off the potion presented by his servant, and presently fell overpowered. Saadut, who had carefully watched his great rival, and had been carefully informed of his apparent death, immediately swallowed poison, and expired:—the Nazim, who had played his part well, survived for years.

Saadut Khan was succeeded by Seifdur Jung, his nephew: he expired in
1754. **1754**, and was succeeded by Shuja-ood-Dowlah, who is described as the infamous son of a still more "infamous Persian pedlar, and who enjoys the extensive province of Oude, as a reward for a service of uncommon villanies."
1764. He was defeated ignominiously by the British at the battle of Buxar; and, in
1765. May of the following year, Shuja-ood-Dowlah surrendered himself into the hands of the British Commander. Thus, by the defeat of an enemy in a pitched battle, and the unconditional surrender of the Monarch, was the country of Oude at the feet of the conquerors: instead of taking possession of his fertile domains, the districts of Korah and Allahabad were made over to the Emperor of Delhi; and the Vizier of Oude was likewise prevented from molesting Rajah Bulwunt Sing, the Rajah of the important provinces of
1774. Benares and Ghazeepore. Nine years afterwards, the Ruler of Oude was obliged to importune the British Government against the Rohillas, who refused to pay to the Ruler of Oude a tribute of forty lakhs of rupees, which had been promised if the Governor of Oude assisted in expelling the Mahrattas from Rohilcund. As Shuja-ood-Dowlah never gave any assistance, the Rohillas naturally objected to pay the tribute. Shuja-ood-Dowlah now importuned Mr. Hastings to assist him with a portion of the British Army, on the understanding that forty lakhs were to be paid for the necessary assistance:—the
April 23, 1774. glorious victory won on St. George's day by the British, *and by them alone*, prostrated Rohilcund at the feet of the Vizier, who, very soon after his return from the campaign, died at Fyzabad on the banks of the Gogra.

anuary 31, 1775. He was succeeded by his only legitimate son, Asuf-ood-Dowlah, who governed Oude for twenty-two years, and died at Lucknow. He was succeeded by Vizier Alee, who was soon afterwards deposed, as it became notorious that he was not the son of Asuf-ood-Dowlah; and his own brother,
Sept. 21, 1797.
nuary 21, 1798. Saadut Alee Khan, was placed on the Throne, and proclaimed without opposition. He made a Treaty with the British, wherein he agreed that the annual subsidy should be raised to seventy-six lakhs of rupees, and that the fort of Allahabad should be made over to the English; the amount of the British troops, it was declared, should never be less than 10,000, including all descriptions; that, if at any time it should exceed 13,000, the expense of all the troops above that number should be defrayed by the Nawab; if it should fall below 8,000, a proportional deduction should be made. The Nawab further agreed to pay twelve lakhs (12,00,000) to the English for the expenses of placing him on the Musnud, and, without their consent, to allow of no Europeans entering his service, or to permit any to settle in his dominions: he agreed to allow R. 1,50,000 as an annual pension to Wuzeer Ally. At a later

period, the Nawab, by a Treaty formally ratified by the Contracting Powers, yielded to the British Government a country producing rupees 11,35,23,474. Nov. 14, 1801.

Saadut Alee Khan died, and was succeeded by his son, Ghazee-ood-deen-Hyder, who died at Lucknow, on the 26th of October. He was the first Governor who was raised to the rank of a King by our Government, in the year 1819. July 12, 1814. 1827.

His successor and son, Nusseer-ood Deen, died on the 7th of July, 1837, not without suspicion of foul play; and, on his death, an attempt was made to place the son of the Padishah Begum on the throne; his name was Moonah Jan, a perfect image of his father, though repudiated as illegitimate. 1837.

The revolt and mutiny was put down by the decision and vigour of Colonel Low, the Resident, who employed troops on the occasion.

His successor was Mahomed Alee Shah, the third brother of Ghazee-ood-deen, who died on the 16th of May, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, Umjud Alee Shah, who departed this life on the 13th of February, when his son, Wajid Alee Shah, ascended the throne. 1842. 1847.

FLETCHER HAYES,
Assistant to the Resident.

Revenue and State of the Country.

THE revenues of Oude were estimated in the time of Shuja-ood-Dowlah at two crores of rupees; and, owing to the distracted state of the country, hundreds of acres must have been uncultivated. 1764 to 1775. Mill.

It has been stated, by a high authority, that the revenue of Oude, before any connexion with the English, had exceeded three millions sterling; but, subsequently, it did not exceed one-half of that sum, and in subsequent years fell far below it, while the rate of taxation was increased, and the country exhibited every mark of oppressive exaction: 1779. in this year, the Nawab stated that the pressure was more than he was able to endure; "the expense occasioned by the troops, &c., has much distressed the support of my household, insomuch that the allowance made to the seraglio, and children of the deceased Nawab, has been reduced to one-fourth of what it has been, and they have subsisted in a very distressed manner for two years past: my attendants, writers, and servants of my Court have received no pay for two years past: and there is, at present, no part of the country that can be allotted to the payment of my father's private creditors, whose applications are daily pressing upon me: the country and cultivation was abandoned: remissions of revenue have been made to the amount of 2,50,000, and the revenues were deficient to the amount of 1,50,000:" he importuned that the assignments for the new brigades might not be required. The Governor-General, in reply, "declared that the disorder of his State, and the dissipation of his revenues, were the effects of his own conduct, which had failed, not so much from the casual effects of incapacity, as from the detestable choice which he had made of the Ministers of his power and the participators of his confidence." The Governor-General likewise asserted that, by the Treaty made with Asuf-ood-Dowlah, upon the death of his father, "he became eventually, and necessarily, a vassal of the Company."

The debt of Asuf-ood-Dowlah to the British Government amounted in this year to £1,400,000, and his inability to discharge that sum was unreservedly admitted by the Viceroy: this led to an interview with the Governor-General and the Nawab, when it was agreed that the Nawab should be relieved from the expense which he was unable to bear; and he, on his part, engaged to strip the Begums of their treasures and jagheers. 1780. These Begums, or Princesses, lived at Fyzabad; one was the mother of Shuja-ood-Dowlah, the other was the widow of the late Nawab, and the mother of Asuf-ood-Dowlah.

In this year the Resident at Lucknow reported that £500,000 had been received by him for the Company, and there yet remained on the extorted bond a balance of a further sum, according to the Resident, of £50,000. February 22, 1782.

At the conclusion of the Treaty formed at Chunar between the Governor-General and the Nawab, the balance in favour of the British appeared to be 40 lakhs, £400,000: the Resident, however, instead of 80 lakhs, which before was the maximum of the annual payments by the Nawab, realized 1 crore and 46 lakhs of rupees, £1,460,000. 1782. By demands urged by Major Palmer to the amount

of 82 lakhs, and claims of unknown balances which appeared on the books of the Presidency, the sums of which payment in that year was required of the Nawab, exceeded the sum of two crores and a half, equal to twice the annual revenue of the country: the Governor-General, however, disallowed many of the demands, and made considerable remissions, the Resident at Lucknow having declared that "to his certain knowledge, the revenue never exceeded a crore and a half, but generally fell very far short of that sum." If any credit can be attached to this statement, it is a proof of the incapacity of the Nawab, and of the rapacity of his servants, as that portion of Oude, which was ceded to the Marquis of Wellesley, yielded considerably more than one crore per annum under the management of British officers.

The condition of Oude at this time may be judged from the following extract from a dispatch:—"But such were the disorders of his administration, and such the effects of those disorders upon the population and produce of the country, that, without great reforms, the payment seemed impracticable, and, without the virtual assumption of the powers of Government into better hands than those of the Vizier and his agents, all reform was an object of despair."

1786. In Lord Cornwallis's Minute it appears "that, during the nine preceding years, the Rajah paid to the Company, under different titles, at the rate of eighty-four lakhs of rupees, though, by the Treaty of 1775, he was bound to pay only rupees 31,21,000, and, by the Treaty of 1781, only rupees 34,20,000." His Lordship, therefore, resolved to limit the claim on the Nawab to fifty lakhs per annum, which should embrace every possible claim.

1787. Lord Cornwallis, writing on the 16th of November, said, "I cannot express how much I was concerned, during my short residence at the capital of the Vizier, and my progress through his dominions, to be a witness of his finances and government, and of the desolated appearance of the country."

1793. Six years afterwards, Lord Cornwallis addressed the Vizier a solemn letter of expostulation and advice: "On my return from the war in the Dekhan, I had the mortification to find that, after a period of five years, the evils which prevailed at the beginning of that time had increased; that your finances had fallen into a worse state by an enormous accumulated debt; that the same oppressions continue to be exercised by rapacious and overgrown Amils towards the ryuts; and that not only the subjects and merchants of your own dominions, but those residing under the Company's protection, suffered many exactions, contrary to the Commercial Treaty, from the Custom House officers, from zemindars, amils, and others.

"As in a State the evils that are practised by the lower classes of men are to be attributed to the example held out to them by their superiors, and to their connivance, or to their weak government; so am I obliged to represent, that all the oppressions and extortions caused by the Amils on the peasantry take their source in the connivance and irregularities of the administration of Lucknow."

"Though the Company's subsidy is, at present, paid with regularity, yet I cannot risk my reputation, nor neglect my duty, by remaining a silent spectator of evils, which will in the end, and perhaps that end is not very remote, render abortive even your Excellency's earnest desire that the subsidy should be punctually paid."

His Lordship wrote again to the Vizier from Madras:—"The effects of an expensive Government are two,—firstly, the oppression and misery of the people; and, secondly, the fall of the Government itself. It is known not only to Hindustan, but to all Europe, that the revenues of your Excellency's dominions are diminished beyond all conjecture. Are not these decisive proofs of tyranny, extortion, and mismanagement in the Amils? Your Excellency knows that the prayers of the oppressed are attended to by the Almighty, and call down his vengeance upon their oppressors. History confirms the observation, by exhibiting innumerable examples of monarchies overturned, and families effaced from the earth, by a violation of justice in the sovereign, or neglect in him to enforce its laws."

"The revenues are collected, without system, by force of arms; the Amils are left to plunder uncontrolled; the ryuts have no security from oppression, nor of redress for injustice exercised upon them."

1794. Sir John Shore writes:—"It has long been my anxious wish to prevail upon the Nawab Vizier to arrange the internal administration of his country,

and establish it upon principles calculated to promote the happiness of his subjects and the permanency of his own authority. I cannot, therefore, observe without regret, that his Excellency does not appear to adopt any measures for this purpose."

The Vizier expired, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Mirza Alee, better known as Vizier Alee. He was, however, deposed, and, on the 21st of January, Asuf-ood-Dowlah's eldest brother, Saadut Alee, was proclaimed. 1797. 1798.

In January of this year, the Governor-General wrote to the Vizier, urging on him to reduce his expenditure, and reform; but, before the close of the year, in the month of November, the Vizier formally expressed his intention to resign; upon which his Lordship writes that "the proposition of the Vizier is pregnant with such benefit, not only to the Company, but to the inhabitants of Oude, that his Lordship thinks it cannot be too much encouraged, and that there are no circumstances which should be allowed to impede the accomplishment of the grand object which leads to it. This object his Lordship considers to be the acquisition by the Company of the exclusive authority, civil and military, over the dominions of Oude." 1799.

In February, the Governor-General addressed the Vizier, reproaching him with his evasive conduct and illusory promises, and thus commented on his acts: 1800.

"The conduct of your Excellency, in both instances stated, but more flagrantly in the last, is of a nature so unequivocally hostile, and may prove so injurious to every interest both of your Excellency and the Company, that your perseverance in so dangerous a course will leave me no other alternative than that of considering all amicable engagements between the Company and your Excellency to be dissolved, and of regulating my subsequent proceedings accordingly."

"I trust that my next accounts from Lieutenant-Colonel Scott may enable me to view your Excellency's conduct in a more favorable light; but, lest my wishes in this respect should be disappointed, it is my duty to warn your Excellency, in the most unreserved terms, that your Excellency alone will be responsible for all the evils which cannot fail to result from any further perseverance in the fatal and imprudent course of measures which you have recently pursued; the least omission, or procrastination, in either of those important points must lead to the most serious mischief."

The Governor-General, writing to the Resident, states "that the causes of increasing defalcation of the revenue are manifest, and daily acquire new strength. Had the territorities of Oude been subject to the frequent, or occasional, devastations of any enemy, had they been visited by unfavorable seasons, or by other calamities which impair the public prosperity, the rapid decline of the Vizier's revenue might be imputed to other causes than a defective administration; but no such calamitous visitations have afflicted the province of Oude; while, in consequence of the protection which it derives from the presence of the British forces, it has been maintained, together with all the Company's possessions on this side of India, in the uninterrupted enjoyment of peace. A defective administration of the Government is, therefore, the only cause which can have produced so marked a difference between the state of his Excellency's dominions and that of the contiguous territories of the Company: while the territories of the Company have been advancing progressively, during the last ten years, in prosperity, population, and opulence, the dominions of the Vizier, although enjoying equal advantages of tranquillity and security, have rapidly and progressively declined. None of the evils have been diminished under his Excellency's Government; on the contrary, their daily increase and aggravation are notorious, and must be progressive, to the utter ruin of the resources of Oude, unless the vicious system of native administration be immediately abandoned. The Vizier must now be prepared for the active and decided interference of the British Government in the affairs of this country." 1801.

The Governor-General again writes, "I declare to your Excellency, in the most explicit terms, that I consider it to be my positive duty to resort to any extremity, rather than to suffer the further progress of that ruin, to which the interests of your Excellency and the Honourable Company are exposed by the continuance of the evils and abuses actually existing in the Civil and Military Administration of the Province of Oude. Your Excellency has recently seen, within a few miles of your capital, an Amil employing the military force under his command to seize a number of Zemindars, who, with their families and their April 5, 1801.

inhabitants, have deserted the villages, which the Amil proposed to destroy by fire. If such violent measures of extorting the revenues are employed under the walls of your Excellency's palace, what must be the condition of your remote subjects? From such a system the general desolation of the country must rapidly ensue, while the revenue and population of the districts are failing in every direction; and on what foundation rests the security for the payment of the subsidy to the Company?"

November, 1801. Saadut Alee Khan, being unable to pay the augmented subsidy, and the other sums of money now chargeable to his Excellency, on account of the Company's defensive engagements with his Excellency, ceded to the Company, in perpetual sovereignty, certain portions of his territories, amounting in the gross revenue to one crore and thirty-five lakhs of rupees.

1806. The landholders were, nevertheless, exposed to the systematic extortions of the Contractors, to whom the Nawab farmed the assessments, and whom he authorized to levy their demands by the most violent and oppressive means; their exactions were as systematically resisted; the Contractors rarely benefited by their bargains, as Saadut Alee Khan was well versed in the art of squeezing the sponge, when it had done its office.

As soon as the Contractors were thought to be sufficiently gorged, complaints against their oppression, which were never wanting, were readily listened to, and they were seized and imprisoned until they had poured into the Nawab's Treasury the whole, or greater portion, of their spoils.

1807. The Resident stated that there were fourteen farmers of the revenue in prisons in Lucknow, some of whom had been confined for years.

1812. The misgovernment in Oude still increased, until at length the Governor-General wrote to the Vizier, "earnestly recommending him to institute a reform which should be based upon the fundamental principles of a moderate assessment, to be made by the officers of Government immediately with the landholders, without the intervention of a contractor or farmer of the revenue."

1813. The Nawab being unable to make any reform, the Governor-General wrote to him, and "reminded him that the British Government had a right, founded upon the basis of the subsidiary Treaty, to propose such reforms in his internal Government as it deemed essential, and that he was held under the same Treaty under an obligation to follow such advice. The Nawab was assured that no lapse of time, no change of circumstances, would ever induce the British Government to relinquish a measure which it considered essential to the happiness and prosperity of Oude, the care and reputation of the Nawab, and the best interests of both States. He was also warned that, if he persisted in his refusal, he would violate an express stipulation of the Treaty; and he was requested seriously to consider the consequences in which he might involve himself by such a course of conduct."

July, 1814. Saadut Alee died, without carrying into effect any of the reforms which Lord Minto had determined to introduce: the Marquis of Hastings, perceiving that the Nawab's consent and cooperation in the proposed measures of reform were not to be hoped for, and believing that to insist upon their being carried into effect without his cordial concurrence would amount to a dissolution of the existing relations between the two States, determined to relinquish the plan proposed by Lord Minto, and to confine the object of the Government to obtaining from the Nawab such measures of reform as he himself should propose. In the short space of eleven years, Saadut Alee had amassed by his exactions treasure amounting to thirteen millions sterling.

1815 to 1822. Such was the anarchy in Oude, during these years, that the British troops were constantly employed against the refractory zemindars, and, in the beginning of 1822, more than seventy of their forts were occupied and dismantled by the British troops. Nor were the unassisted means of the Oude Government able to suppress gangs of armed robbers, who haunted the jungles and made frequent and desperate inroads into the British territory; their lurking places were occasionally penetrated, and their villages destroyed, but the connivance of the Oude Police, and the secret encouragement of the neighbouring zemindars, sheltered them from any pursuit or punishment.

Between 1815 and 1820, there had been forty gang robberies on the frontiers, adjacent to Oude, in which forty persons were killed and 170 wounded, and property carried off to the amount of 1,14,000 rupees. In 1820, 400 of these marauders traversed the British territory for more than 300 miles

from the Oude frontier, and, near Moonghir, plundered the boats of a merchant of Calcutta, carrying bullion to the extent of a lakh and a half of rupees.

The Governor-General had an interview with the King of Oude, in the hope of inducing him to amend the administration of his country, but in October of the following year he died. 1826. 1827.

The Resident reported "that the country had reached so incurable a stage of decline, that *nothing but the assumption of the administration could preserve it from utter ruin.*" 1828 to 1830.

In April, 1831, when at Lucknow, the Governor-General distinctly apprised the King, in a speech composed for the purpose, and afterwards communicated in writing, "that, unless his territories were governed upon other principles than those hitherto followed, and the prosperity of the people made the principal object of his administration, the precedents afforded by the principalities of the Dekhan, the Carnatic, and Tanjore, would be applied to the Kingdom of Oude, and to the entire management of the country; and the King would be transmuted into a Pensioner of State." 1831.

Hakeem Mehudee, the able Minister of Oude, was dismissed, and all hope of permanent improvement departed with him; he was succeeded by Rushun-ood-Dowlah, a person of little talent and unused to business, and the real authority devolved on the personal favorites and associates of the King, who were recommended chiefly by their subservience to his passions: the Court of Oude was apprised "that instructions to assume the Government of the country, if circumstances should render such a measure necessary, had arrived; their execution was suspended merely in the hope that the necessity of enforcing them might be obviated;" but the internal condition of Oude continued to be a source of continual anxiety. Anarchy and confusion were produced in Oude by the misgovernment of the Monarch, so much so that the Governor-General was induced to make some preparations for transferring the management to the English authorities. The King, however, died on the 7th of July, generally supposed to have been poisoned; an attempt was made by the Queen to place the King's son, Moonah Jan, on the throne, and nothing but the employment of the British troops succeeded in quelling the insurrection. 1831.

In this year, the last Treaty was made with the King of Oude, on the one part, and by the British Government on the other: the Treaty consisted of IX Articles, and was executed on the 11th of September. 1837.

The VIIth Article states—

"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, 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 whatever portions of the Oude territory, either to a small or 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."

The Home Authorities disapproved of that part of the Treaty which imposed on the Oude State the expense of the auxiliary force; and, on the 8th of July, the King was informed that he was relieved from the cost of maintaining the auxiliary force, which the British Government had taken upon itself.

With respect to the remaining articles of this Treaty, the Court at Lucknow consider that they are binding on the contracting powers, and it appears that they have received no intimation that the Treaty has been cancelled; nor are they aware that it is valueless in the estimation of the British Government.

An officer who had many excellent opportunities of becoming acquainted with the state of Oude in this year thus wrote[a]:— 1839.

[a] Dr. Butter.

"The administrative state of the country may be summed up in a few

words: a Sovereign, regardless of his kingdom, except in so far as it supplied him with the means of personal indulgence; a Minister incapable, or unwilling, to stay the ruin of the country; local Governors, or, more properly speaking, farmers of the revenue, invested with virtually despotic powers, left, almost unchecked, to gratify their rapacity and private enmities; a local army ill-paid, and, therefore, licentious, undisciplined, and habituated to defeat; an almost absolute denial of justice in all matters, civil or criminal; and an overwhelming British force distributed through the provinces, to maintain the faith of an ill-judged Treaty and to preserve peace."*

1839 to 1847. No improvement whatever took place, notwithstanding all the solemn warning and earnest advice offered by the British Government. In 1847, Lord Hardinge had an interview with the King, who was solemnly assured by the Governor-General that "the British had, as a paramount power, a duty to perform towards the cultivators of the soil, and, unless the King adopted a proper arrangement in the Revenue and Judicial Departments of his Government, so as to correct the abuses now existing, it would be imperative on the British Government to carry out the orders of the Court of Directors, at any time when the necessity of the case compelled a result which his Lordship assured His Majesty he was anxious to avoid; also that, if His Majesty cordially entered into the plan suggested by the Governor-General for the improvement of his administration, he 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 his sovereignty, and the native institutions of his kingdom, uninjured; but if he does not, if he takes a vacillating course, and fails, by refusing to act on the Governor-General's advice, he is aware of the other alternative and of the consequence. It must then be manifest to the world that, whatever may happen, the King has received a friendly and a timely warning." Two years afterwards, the Resident reported: "The King has not, since the Governor-General's visit, in October, 1847, shown any signs of being fully aware of the responsibility he incurs; in fact, I do not think that His Majesty can ever be brought to feel the responsibilities of Sovereignty strongly enough to be induced to bear that portion of the burthen of its duties which must necessarily devolve upon him; he will always confide it to the worthless minions who are kept for his amusements, and enjoy exclusively his society and his confidence."

Colonel Sleeman, 1849.

July, 1851. The Resident reports to Government that "His Majesty has not in any way changed his course; he continues to show the same utter disregard of his duties, and responsibilities of his high office, and of the sufferings of many millions of those subject to his rule. His time and attention are devoted entirely to the pursuits of personal gratification; he associates with none but those who can contribute to such gratifications, women, singers, and eunuchs; and he never, I believe, reads, or hears read, a report or complaint, or public document of any kind; he takes no interest whatever in public affairs, nor does he seem to know anything, or care anything, whatever about them. It will become a subject of grave consideration for His Lordship, whether the Government of India can any longer faithfully discharge towards the people of Oude the duty to which it is pledged by many solemn Treaties: but His Majesty has utterly disregarded all the advice then given by the Governor-General; he has done nothing to improve the administration, abstained from no personal indulgence, gives no attention whatever to public affairs. So inveterate is the system of misgovernment, so deeply are all those now employed in the administration interested in maintaining its worst abuses, and so fruitless is it to expect the King to remove them and employ better men, or to inspire any man with a disposition to serve him more honestly, that I should not do my duty were I not distinctly to state that the impression is now general in Oude, and throughout India, I believe, that our Government can no longer support the present Government, without seriously neglecting its duty to the people of Oude. The systematic disregard of his duties and responsibilities has now become known, not only to the people of Oude, but to the chiefs and people of India generally; and, were the Government of India to interfere to relieve the suffering people of Oude from so intolerable a yoke, it would, I believe, carry with it their best wishes and sympathies."

* Statistics of the southern districts of Oude, by Dr. Butter, printed by order of Government.

The Resident reported—"That no person now in Oude, however exalted in character, station, or circumstances, who is not protected by the guarantee of the British Government, or by some of the base favorites about the Court, is a day safe from plunder; and, when any pretext arises for plundering any one, some one or other of these favorites canvasses for the Royal Commission to inquire into the case in which he or she has unhappily been involved. In the city, the eunuchs, poets, buffoons, and strumpets monopolise the profits of these commissions; but, in the districts, where people are equally unsafe, the Minister issues these Commissions, and he and his creatures and favorites monopolise the profits liberally with the reigning favorites about the person of the King, in order that they may aid in blinding him to the iniquities which they commit in his name." August 12, 1853.

No improvement whatever has taken place, and, on the contrary, everything in Oude proves that misgovernment, anarchy, and crime are more than ever rampant. 1854.

FLETCHER HAYES,
Assistant to the Resident.

Appendix C, to Inclosure 6 of No. 1.

Part II.—*The Army of Oude.—Its inefficiency, cruelty, and expense.*

AT the great battle of Buxar, with the exception of one battalion of Nujjeebs, the troops of the Vizier, though some 60,000 in number, showed no spirit. 1764.

When the British troops under Colonel Champion defeated the Rohillas, in a desperate action near Bareilly, the Commander-in-chief thus describes the cowardice and misconduct of the Nawab's army:— 1774.

"I wish I could pay the Vizier any compliment on this occasion, or that I was not under the indispensable necessity of expressing my highest indignation at his shameful pusillanimity; indispensable I should say, because it is necessary that the administration should clearly know how little to be depended on is their ally. He promised solemnly to support me with all his force, and particularly engaged to be near at hand, with a large body of cavalry, to be used as I should direct:—he remained on the ground, which I left in the morning, and did not move thence till the news of the enemy's defeat reached him:—then, however, his troops began to be active, and effectually plundered the camp; we gained the honour of the day; and these banditti the plunder."

In the beginning of this year, Asuf-ood-Dowlah, in consequence of the great disorder which prevailed in his country, and the want of discipline and regularity in his army, applied to the Governor-General for European officers, sufficient for six regiments. He stated in his application, "that this would be a complete check upon the rest of his army, and greatly strengthen his Government." 1775.

The protection of the Nawab's dominions rested solely upon the British troops, and, without loss of time, they would have been overrun by the Mahrattas, had these troops been withdrawn; and the Nawab was distinctly informed by the British Government, "that he was bound to maintain the English army, which, at his own request, has been formed for the protection of his dominions." 1781.

The Nawab Asuf-ood-Dowlah entreated that the British brigade at Futthegurh, might be disbanded; but the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, refused to comply with the Nawab's request, recording "that it is well known, that the forces, in the service of the Nawab Vizier, are under no discipline, and barely sufficient to preserve the internal peace of his dominions; that his own immediate subjects are retained within the bounds of duty and allegiance by the respect inspired by the Company's troops alone." 1786.

Sir John Shore, speaking of the Afghan invasion of Zeman Shah, thus recorded his opinion of the Nawab's troops; "on this occasion, we had fresh experience of the Vizier's Government, and of the insufficiency of his Military 1797.

Establishment: the troops under Almas were respectable; the other troops of the Vizier, with little exception, would rather have proved an encumbrance, than an assistance, to the British troops."

1798. Writing from Bengal, the Earl of Mornington stated—"the Right Honourable the Governor-General has now under his consideration the best means of reforming the Nawab's army. The state of the Vizier's troops is a most pressing evil; I need not enlarge on their inefficiency and insubordination; my intention is to persuade his Excellency to disband the whole of his army. In the place of the armed rabble, which now alarms the Vizier, and invites his enemies, I propose to substitute an increased number of the Company's regiments of infantry and cavalry," &c.

1799. The Court of Directors wrote to the Governor-General, "that the large useless and expensive military establishment, within the Oude dominions, appears to us to be one of the principal objects of reform; and we have much satisfaction in finding that the subject has already come under your consideration."

The Resident at Lucknow was directed by the Governor-General "to remind His Excellency that his Military Establishment was represented by himself to be not only inadequate to contribute any assistance towards the defence of his dominions, but that, at the moment when the services of the British army were most urgently demanded on the frontier, he required the presence of a part of that force in his capital, for the express purpose of protecting his person and authority against the excesses of his own disaffected and disorderly troops."

1798. The Governor-General had, in the previous year, received the reports of Major General Sir James Craig on the Vizier's troops; "your Lordship judges most rightly that no sort of service can be expected from the Nawab's army, in its present shape; and I am confident that, without a total change in the policy of the court, and the manners of the people, there exists no possible means by which it can ever be rendered such as can merit that the smallest degree of confidence should be placed in it."

In the memoir presented to the Governor-General, by Sir J. Craig, he thus writes of these troops:—

"In the field, it is obvious that no sort of reliance can be placed on them, or any species of service expected from them; totally undisciplined, equally inefficient in numbers, insolent, disaffected, and licentious, they would embarrass their friends infinitely more than they could injure their enemies. It is undoubted that no real use can ever be made of the Nawab's army in the field."

1801. The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors thus spoke of the Nawab's troops:—"We entertain a sanguine hope that the Vizier, relieved from the embarrassment, as well as the charge, of a licentious, and worse than useless, army, and rescued, by the dissolution of that force, from the most abject dependence on his own powerful subjects, at whose disposal those mutinous and disaffected troops chiefly were, will now, supported and defended by a disciplined and orderly force, apply himself with energy to the internal administration of his affairs."

1801 to 1806. The inefficiency of the Nawab's troops was such in these years, that they were totally unable to reduce the numerous landholders; and, "in this emergency, it became necessary to have recourse to the Company's battalions, who were employed to reduce refractory landholders, and to collect revenue."

1806 to 1812. The frequent applications made by the Nawab for the services of the subsidiary force, occasioned extreme disaffection in the minds of the local and home authorities, the Nawab's troops being utterly useless and powerless; and, at length, in 1812, the Government, with regard to the employment of British troops against the zemindars, confirmed a resolution, to which they had previously come, of not allowing their employment, without an investigation by the Resident of the occasion which demanded it.

1814. Notwithstanding the partial reform introduced in this year, "troops were still required to compel payment of the revenues:" from this period to the

1827. death of Ghazee-ood-deen in the year 1827, the army of His Majesty the King was nothing more than an undisciplined rabble, and, with every other part of the machinery of Government, continued to be in such a deplorable

condition, that, in the year 1835, the Court of Oude was apprised that instructions had arrived to assume the Government. 1835.

Two years afterwards, the King died, when a daring attempt was made by the Padishah Begum, to place her son Moonha Jan on the throne: this was not put down without bloodshed and the employment of British Artillery and Infantry. 1837.

In this year, the Resident, Colonel Low, reports to Government, "I have ascertained, after full and minute inquiry, that the late King of Oude's army amounted to the enormous number of 69,958 men. The late* King had also several thouand cavalry, and also a vast number of artillery guns utterly useless, and without carriages, with artillery men paid for by him, but who performed no duty whatsoever. The present King gave orders that his army should be reduced to 40,000 men, and the reduction is gradually going on." 1837.

The Resident further says:—

"It is the name of the British troops, and the knowledge, on the part of the refractory zemindars of Oude, that the British Government will support the native Government in any case of actual warfare, that has, generally speaking, been, and always will be, in Oude, almost sufficient of itself to induce the rebellious to be obedient, without a shot being fired; and the threat alone of our support being given, several times during the reign of Saadut Alee Khan, was found sufficient, after some examples had been made in former years." The Resident gave, as an illustration, "that a fortnight ago a corps of 700 well-armed Nujjeebs mutinied, and took possession of a village eight coss from Lucknow; a couple of companies, with some Indo-Briton officers on horseback, led the mutineers to mistake them for Company's troops, and the former fled forthwith." 1839.

Dr. Butter, in his valuable report, thus speaks of the Oude army:—

"The army of Oude, excluding the brigade raised by Local Colonel Roberts, is an ill-paid, undisciplined rabble, employed generally in coercing, under the Chuckledar's orders, the refractory zemindars of his districts. The nominal pay of the sepoy is four rupees; but he receives only three, issued once in every three or four months, and kept much in arrears. He has also to find his own arms and ammunition. The army has no fixed cantonments, no parades, no drill, and no tactical arrangement. There is no pension, or other provision for the severely wounded, who, *ex facto*, lose the service, and return to their homes as they can. They have no tents; but when they make a halt, if only for two days, they build huts for themselves, covering them with roofs torn from the next villages."

In this year and month, the Resident, Mr. Davidson, was obliged to call upon Brigadier Webber, commanding the British troops in Oude, to detach a portion of Artillery and Infantry to coerce a mutinous regiment; and, on the arrival of the detachment into the city, the mutineers threw down their arms. May, 1846.

Again, in the month of February, Colonel Sleeman called upon Colonel Gray to hold a detachment in readiness to move against a mutinous regiment which had threatened to march upon the capital. From this, it would appear that His Majesty's troops can never be trusted, nor have ever been trusted, on any crisis or emergency. There are seven parks of Artillery, in the immediate vicinity of the capital, containing a variety of honeycombed guns, and of every calibre and age. All the regiments of His Majesty which mount guard at the various palaces, imambarahs, and public edifices, have neither any respectable arms, accoutrements, nor clothing. Their horrible state of disorganization and inefficiency is only to be equalled by the derision which their raggedness excites, and the contempt with which they are regarded by the landowners and subjects of the King. No man has a whole coat to his back—few have hats, or muskets which could be discharged. Every visitor at Lucknow is horror-struck at their forlorn and wretched condition. I do not believe that there is one single regiment in His Majesty's service which, according to the standard of our armies, can be said to be in any degree efficient as a corps of drilled and disciplined soldiers. The two best are those commanded by Captain Bunbury and Captain Patrick Orr. That under the nominal command of Captain Barlow is notoriously mutinous and disorganized, and utterly unfit for any military duties. His Majesty has an Army and Police of nearly 80,000 men, not half of whom are ever present, but whose salary is enjoyed by the 1853.

* Ghazee-ood-deen.

Commandant for the time being. The regiments of Captains Bunbury, Magness, and Barlow, are paid from an assignment of districts, and hence they are better off than the rest of their comrades.

Captain Patrick Orr's regiment, which has been raised about one twelvemonth, has never had any of its accounts adjusted up to this day; and about eight months' pay is due to the regiment. The regiments which furnish the guards and escorts to the various palaces, public buildings, and residency houses, have not received pay for seventeen months. It may be easily imagined what must be the condition of the other regiments, which are quartered at a distance from the capital. As a general rule, regiments on the march seize on the unfortunate cultivators and villagers by force, and make them carry their bundles and kit, levy contributions from the villagers, plunder their granaries for food and rations, and tear off the thatch and door-posts from villages and houses for fuel and hutting.

Colonel Sleeman, after minutely inspecting Oude, at the termination of his tour, thus described the army in a report to Government:—

"Of the guns themselves, not one-third are fit for service. More than half I found lying on the ground for want of carriages; and the carriages of the rest were so bad that the guns could not be fired with safety. The carriages had not been repaired for twenty years, though the King is charged for repairs annually."

"Of the regiments on duty with officers in charge of districts, not one-half ofthose borne on the muster rolls, and paid for, are present; and, of those present, not one-half are fit for the duties of soldiers; and a landholder with 500 retainers, is equal to 5,000 of them. As an instance, I may mention a report from the officer in charge of the Salone district, which was sent to me last month in a letter from the King:—'That the spring crops were becoming ripe, and he had sent persons to take care of them till the landholder, Sheodutt Sing of Dhamooa, should consent to pay the revenue due: that Sheodutt Sing, regardless of the authority of His Majesty, attacked them, killed one man, and wounded another: that he then sent a Tehseeldar to punish them, with the Futteh Aish Regiment, and another with six guns; both sides prepared for action; batteries were formed for the King's guns, and two were mounted upon one under the Futteh Aish, and four on another battery under the Nizamut, and six guns besides. This was near the Company's territories, and a crowd from that quarter rushed down upon the batteries, and fired into them. The Futteh Aish Regiment immediately fled, abandoning its guns. The crowd took possession of their guns, and attacked the others under the Nizamut, who retired before the crowd for four miles.' This district officer, in attempting to coerce another landholder, was shot through the breast, and his body was brought into Lucknow.

"Three-fourths of the officers commanding regiments are singers, eunuchs, or their creatures, or the creatures of the court favorites. They are men, or boys, who never saw their regiments, and never intend to see them, or leave the court in whose favour they bask. A great part of the half of the men who are absent, are in attendance upon them, or their friends or favorites. Another part are 'papermen,' whose pay is the perquisite of the Commanding Officers and their favorites. Another part are those who get enrolled through the Commandants and their friends as a provision, and are never expected to do duty, or stand muster. Those who are present, but are unfit for the duties of soldiers, are termed 'sifarishees,' men put in by the favour of the Commandants and court favourites, who attend merely to receive their pay, on condition of giving away a share of it to their patrons. Even Captains Bunbury, Barlow, and Magness, are obliged to receive a good many such men, or they could not get the pay, arms, and accoutrements for the rest, or retain their commands.

"But the troops and establishments on which the collection of the revenue and the peace of the country depend, are not only inefficient for the purpose: they are amongst the worst enemies that the people of the country have. They dare not face a formidable landholder, or gang of robbers; but are for ever engaged in pillaging the farmers and cultivators of the land, and this with the knowledge and acquiescence of the Government and its officers. For many years past, the Government has refused to allow any outlay for grass, wood, bhoosah, or fodder and fuel of any kind, for its troops on detached duty with officers in charge of districts, and directed that they shall forage for themselves. Every corps and establishment, on reaching its ground, sends out a foraging party, to

plunder the villages around, and the covering of houses, doors, and windows, and stores of grass, and bhoosah, are seen moving off towards camp from every village within two or three miles. If the camp remains for many days on the same ground, there is not a village within five miles of it that has a store of bhoosah or grass left for cattle during the hot and rainy season, or a house with a covering, door, or windows. The officers of districts, who have, every one of them, a host of these useless soldiers, are obliged to be constantly moving to distribute the burthen of the plunder equally upon all, and all are in turn plundered. Not one house in a hundred, throughout the peaceable parts of the country, is to be seen with a thatched or tiled covering or a decent door or window. They are all of temporary mud walls; and those which are covered at all, have miserable mud coverings, supported by wood neither fit for fuel, nor any other purpose. Hardly any dwellings can be conceived more wretched than such as are occupied by the village communities in Oude. The peasantry every where told me that rebels and robbers did spare them sometimes, when the destruction of their houses and crops was not necessary to their purpose; but that the King's troops, who could not breathe freely in the presence of such men, never spared them. They trod down their fields, and tore down their houses, as if they were their enemies, to be destroyed by every possible means, and not King's subjects to be protected by his soldiers."

This appalling picture of the Oude troops is not in the least exaggerated, being the result of much observation by Colonel Sleeman.

The soldiers of Hindoo Sing's regiment, who are on duty at the Residency buildings, have received no pay for seventeen months, and, at this moment, there is due to each private seventy-two rupees;—almost every other regiment under the command of native officers is in the same deplorable condition.

The regiment commanded by Captain Patrick Orr was raised about twelve months ago, and, up to this moment, no adjustment has ever been made of their pay and allowances; more than eight months, is still due, small advances having been made; but there is no chance of the balance being paid for many months.

Captain Barlow's and Captain Magness's regiment, together with Captain Bunbury's, is paid by an assignment of land, from the produce of which the regiment is paid, and the balance nominally made over to the Government. It is in reality swallowed up by the Chuckledar, who not only profits by the balance, but charges Government for "collection," and pockets a large sum, of which he has never spent a shilling. It is impossible to conceive a greater curse to a country than such a rapacious, licentious, and disorganized army as that of Oude is, and such as it ever has been from the earliest records extant of its cowardice, inefficiency, and extortions.

Colonel Sleeman estimated the amount of the Army, and of the Police, to be as follows:—

Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry, Nujjeebs, and Police.

	Men.	Yearly Pay. Rs.	a.	p.
Sowars, dressed in the native fashion	3,416	8,90,392	8	0
Toork Sowars, dressed in the English fashion	3,131	2,31,033	0	0
Telingas, armed and equipped in the English fashion	17,274	11,85,147	0	0
Nujjeebs	29,180	15,42,129	2	0
Camel Rissala, or Zumboorkees	115	18,858	15	0
Miscellaneous Infantry, not included in the above	154	20,688	0	0
Artillery	5,634	3,11,141	7	0
	58,904	41,99,390	0	0
Police of Lucknow	1,988	1,21,632	0	0
Fyzabad Kotwalee	432	23,039	0	0
Baiswarra	89	4,608	0	0
between Sultanpore and Jounpore	100	4,742	0	0
Special Guard at Lucknow	15	540	0	0
Huzrutgunj	333	20,808	0	0
Khasburdars	623	36,294	0	0
Purtala-wallahs	74	4,428	0	0
Puchasa at the Residency	66	3,456	0	0
Ghat on the Goomtee	167	7,668	0	0
Khasburdars—Pay Office	23	1,104	0	0
Khasburdars	45	2,700	0	0
Kurawal	42	2,460	0	0
Palace at Fyzabad	22	967	0	0
at Sundeela	500	26,940	0	0
at Deriabad	30	1,080	0	0
Special Police	350	18,348	0	0
	4,929	2,80,816	0	0

S. O.

Mushrootee Sepoys in attendance on Contractors and Collectors, whose pay they debit in the accounts.

	Yearly Pay. Rs.	a.	p.
At Salone	50,426	1	3
„ Baugar	1,09,073	6	3
„ Khyrabad	52,888	10	9
„ Russoolabad	29,754	13	9
„ Sandee	20,844	9	0
„ Shahabad	9,843	12	0
„ Suffeepore	16,634	13	9
„ Kakorree	4,043	6	6
„ Gondah-Bharaitch	18,837	0	0
„ Mahomdee	53,929	11	0
„ Gunjeet	7,471	15	9
„ Huzoor Tehseel	20,592	6	0
„ Sultanpore	1,447	0	0
With Amils and Magistrates ..	1,092	10	6
Boatmen	354	6	0
Rupees	3,97,234	10	6

Police kept by Contractors, and paid by themselves at the rate of two rupees, three rupees, or four rupees, each.

	Men.	Yearly Pay.		
		Rs.	a.	p.
Sultanpore	3,000	1,08,000	0	0
Gondah Bharaitch	2,000	72,000	0	0
Khyrabad	1,500	54,000	0	0
Salone	2,500	90,000	0	0
Russoolabad	500	18,000	0	0
Sandila	1,500	54,000	0	0
Bangor	1,000	36,000	0	0
Baree Biswa	1,000	36,000	0	0
Dewa	400	14,000	0	0
Deriabad	700	25,200	0	0
Pertabgunj	200	7,200	0	0
Nawabgunj	100	3,600	0	0
Mehdowna	1,000	36,000	0	0
Gosaengunj	100	3,600	0	0
Lucknow	150	5,400	0	0
Mahoundee	500	18,000	0	0
	16,150	5,81,000	0	0

Abstract of the Army and Police.

	Men.	Yearly Pay.		
		Rs.	a.	p.
Cavalry Sowars	3,416	8,90,392	0	0
Toork Sowars	3,131	2,31,033	0	0
Infantry Telingas	17,274	11,85,147	0	0
Nujjeebs	29,180	15,42,129	0	0
Guns on Camels	115	18,858	0	0
Miscellaneous Infantry	154	20,688	0	0
Artillery	5,634	3,11,141	0	0
	58,904	41,99,388	0	0
Police	4,929	2,80,816	0	0
Mushrootee Sepoys (Sebundees)	..	3,97,234	0	0
Police kept by Contractors	16,150	5,81,400	0	0
Total ..	79,983	54,58,838	0	0
The cost of Civil Establishments and Stipendiaries	..	38,09,237	0	0
		92,68,075	0	0

Expenditure—ninety-two lakhs, sixty-eight thousand and seventy-five rupees.

FLETCHER HAYES,
Assistant to the Resident.

Appendix C, to Inclosure 6 of No. 1.

Part III.—*Remarks on the Revenues of Oude.*

IT is almost impossible to obtain any estimate of the Revenues and Resources of Oude, on which any kind of dependence can be placed. The Ministers and Financiers of the State are deeply implicated in all the existing malpractices, which deprive their Sovereign of his money, and enrich their own pockets. The statements and figures, which are volunteered by the ex-Ministers residing at the capital, can be received with very great caution only: they are, one and all, naturally anxious to enhance the prosperity and ability of their own administration, at the expense of the financial management of their predecessors or successors.

As each Farmer General, or Chuckledar, is incessantly occupied in enriching himself, and in bribing those who, at Court, might interfere with his gains, I do not believe that any correct statement of the Revenues of Oude can be procured from any trustworthy source. Underneath, I have detailed the estimate of
S. O. the Revenues for ten years from 1838 to 1848, which was submitted to Colonel Sleeman, and which he placed faith in. It will be useful as a comparison with other statements in another place.

	Year.	Jumma.	Collected.	Balance.
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
	1245 Fuslee A.D. 1838	1,39,95,792 3 9	1,31,83,833 4 0	8,11,958 15 9
	1246 „ „ 1839	1,49,60,001 0 0	1,31,38,791 1 3	18,21,209 14 9
	1247 „ „ 1840	1,38,62,012 11 9	1,26,87,730 4 9	11,74,282 7 0
	1248 „ „ 1841	1,27,16,603 11 9	1,15,72,491 11 6	11,44,112 0 3
	1249 „ „ 1842	1,28,32,724 14 3	1,09,58,195 9 6	18,74,529 4 9
S. O.	1250 „ „ 1843	1,03,55,985 7 9	1,05,09,670 12 9	29,96,314 11 0
	1251 „ „ 1844	1,35,87,143 4 3	89,70,464 7 6	46,16,678 12 9
	1252 „ „ 1845	1,85,06,375 7 3	1,10,27,517 0 0	74,78,858 7 3
	1253 „ „ 1846	2,09,96,702 0 6	1,16,65,050 6 9	93,31,651 9 9
	1254 „ „ 1847	2,37,00,537 6 3	1,05,61,907 6 9	1,31,38,629 15 6
	1255 „ „ 1848	2,70,21,035 9 3	1,06,32,072 13 3	1,63,88,962 12 0
	Total ..	18,25,34,913 12 9	12,49,07,724 14 0	
S. O.	Average of 10 years ..	1,82,53,491	1,24,90,772	

At the end of the year 1256 Fuslee, A.D. 1849, the Revenue was estimated at rupees 1,41,42,412 : 15 : 0; but, in this year, Colonel Sleeman stated to the Commissioner of Benares, that the expenses of the Oude Government exceeded its Revenues by, at least, fifty lakhs per annum. *Vide* Published Correspondence relative to the Gogra Navigation.

Of the rupees 1,41,42,412 : 15 : 0, estimated as the Revenue of 1849, the sum of rupees 74,88,713 : 13 : 9 was never realized, and written down as a balance. For the Fuslee year, 1260, A.D. 1853, four years after the Fuslee year, 1256, the Revenue was estimated at rupees 1,21,66,214, and, in the following year, at rupees 1,22,30,082; but, of these sums, only forty and thirty-six lakhs, respectively, were paid into the Royal Treasury, in cash.

No Chuckledar, or Farmer General, is ever appointed without the connivance of the singers and Court favourites who surround the Minister and the Monarch; and, before he is appointed, he is obliged to pay large sums to secure his nomination: these sums he is necessarily obliged to extort from the landholders and cultivators. Then, again, the accounts of the Chuckledars are notoriously falsified. Thus, every year, each Chuckledar reports that he has expended from forty to eighty thousand, or a lakh, of rupees, in demolishing the fort of some refractory zemindar—80,000 or 70,000, in establishments and collections of revenue—whereas not one shilling has been spent in the payment of troops or establishments; because, in nine cases out of ten, the troops are paid by "Kubz," an assignment of land, and the Commandant is obliged to realize the Revenue as he best may, and, consequently, the Chuckledar is put to no expense for the collection. Then, again, large sums are written off to profit and loss, for contingencies, remission of Revenue, owing to failure of crops, or droughts; whereas the poor cultivators have been screwed out of their last farthing, and are often tortured to confess to what they do not in reality possess. Almost every Chuckledar is obliged to remit annually large sums for the Minister, for the Minister's wife, the chief eunuchs and singers, and others in high favour: moreover, he reserves for himself five per cent. on the Revenues of his district.

The estimates above stated all prove that, annually, a very enormous amount of Revenue is never realized for the benefit of the Government.

By the Treaty of the 10th of September, 1801, the Nawab Vizier ceded the half of his dominions to the British Government. That half of the Oude territory yielded rupees 1,35,23,474, and, under British management, thirty years afterwards, yielded, in 1831, rupees 1,75,00,000; and this is clear proof that, if the 25,000 square miles of Oude territory were subjected to the same able and excellent administration which flourishes in the British territories, the Revenue of Oude would, in less than five years, represent two crores of rupees annually.

The Regulation Provinces of the North West, or Agra Government, are by measurement estimated as follows:—

Square miles.		Land Revenue.	
71,972		4,04,77,661	rupees,
The charges on which are ..		35,00,000	
		3,69,77,661	surplus.

Whereas Oude, with its area of 25,000 square miles, furnishes the Royal Treasury with some forty or thirty-five lakhs only, annually.

FLETCHER HAYES,
Assistant to the Resident.

Appendix D to Inclosure 6 of No. 1.

No. 1.—*Extract from Colonel Sleeman's Diary, dated December* 15, 1849.

HERE Ramdut Panday, the Rajah of Bulrampore, and the Nazim of the district, have taken leave of me, this being my last stage in their district. Ramdut Panday holds two estates in this district, for which he pays an annual Revenue to Government of rupees 1,66,744: 13:3, as per note.* He holds, at the same time, a small in our district of Goruckpore, where he resides S. O. and keeps his family, till he obtains solemn written pledges, confirmed on oath, for their security, not only from the local authority of the day, but from all

* The Estate of Ramdut Pandee for this year, 1849, comprises

Sirgha Chunda, &c.	1,20,729	11	0
Akberpoor, &c.	46,015	2	3
Total..	1,66,744	13	3

the Commandants of corps and establishments, comprising the military force employed under him. These pledges include all his clients, who may have occasion to visit or travel with him, as the Rajah of Bulrampore is now doing. These pledges require to be renewed on every change in the local authorities, and in the military officers employed under them. He is one of the most substantial and respectable of the agricultural capitalists of Oude, and the highest of his rank and class in this district. He every year stands security for the punctual payment of the revenues due, according to the existing engagements, by the principal landholders of the district, to the extent of from six to eight lakhs of rupees; and, for this, he gets a certain percentage, varying with the character and capability of the landholders. Some are of doubtful ability, others of doubtful character, and he rates his risks and percentage accordingly. He does much good, and is more generally esteemed than any other man in the district; but he has, no doubt, enlarged his own landed possessions occasionally, by taking advantage of the necessities of his clients, and his influence over the local authorities of Government. The lands he does get, however, he improves, by protecting and aiding his tenants, and inviting and fostering a better class of cultivators. He is looked up to with respect and confidence by almost all the large landholders of the district, for his pledge for the punctual payment of the revenues saves their estates from the terrible effects of a visit from the Nazim and his disorderly and licentious troops; and this pledge they can always obtain, when necessary, by a fair assurance of adherence to their engagements.

Note appended to the above.

On the 8th of November, 1850, Ramdut Panday lent the Nazim rupees 80,000 on his bond, after paying all that was due to the State, for the season, by him and all his clients, and, on the 16th of that month, he went to Gondah, where the Nazim, Mahomed Husein, was encamped with his force, to take leave preparatory to his going to bathe at Ajoodheea, on the last day of the month of Kartick, as was his invariable custom. He was accompanied by the Rajah of Bulrampore, and they encamped separately in two mango groves, near to each other, and about a mile and a half from the Nazim's camp. About nine at night, the Nazim sent two messengers, with silver sticks, to invite and escort them to his tent. They set out immediately, leaving all their armed followers in their camps, and taking only a few personal attendants and palankeen bearers. No person is permitted to take arms into the Nazim's tent; nor does any landholder, or merchant, of Oude enter his tent, without the pledges for personal security above mentioned. Ramdut Panday and the Rajah entered with only a few personal servants, leaving all their other attendants outside the outer curtain. This curtain surrounded the tent at a distance of only a few yards from it, and the tent was pitched in the centre. They were received with all due ceremony, and in the same friendly manner as usual. The Rajah had no business to talk about, while the Nazim and banker had; and, after a short conversation, he took leave to return to his tents, and break his fast, which he had kept that day for some religious purpose. He left in the tent the Nazim, his deputy, Jaffir Alee, and his nephew, and son-in-law, Alee Husein, sitting together on the carpet, on the right, all armed, and Ramdut sitting unarmed, on the left, with a Brahmin lad, Jowahir, standing at the door, with the banker's paundan and a handkerchief,—Kurunjoo, a second person, with the banker's shoes,—and a third attendant of his standing outside the tent door.

The Nazim and Ramdut talked for some time together, seemingly on the most friendly and cordial terms; but the Nazim at last asked him for a further loan of money, and further securities for landholders of doubtful character, before he went to bathe. The banker told him that he could lend him no more money till he came back from bathing, as he had lent him rupees 80,000
S. O. only days before; and that he could not increase his pledges of security without further consultation with the landholders, as he had not yet recovered more than four out of the seven lakhs of rupees, which he had been obliged to advance to the Treasury, on the securities given for them during the last year. He then took leave, and rose to depart. The Nazim turned, and made some

sign to his deputy, Jaffir Alee, who rose, presented his gun, and shot Ramdut through the right side, close under the arm-pit. Exclaiming 'Ram! Ram!' (God! God!), the banker fell; and the Nazim, seizing and drawing the sword which lay on the carpet before him, cut the falling banker across the forehead. His nephew and deputy drew theirs, and together they inflicted no less than twenty-two cuts upon the body of Ramdut.

The banker's three attendants, seeing their master thus shot down and hacked to pieces, called out for help; but one of the three ruffians cut Jowahir, the Brahmin lad, across the shoulder, with his sword, and all ran off, and sought shelter across the border in the British territory. The Nazim and his attendants then buried the body hastily near the tent, and ordered the troops and artillery to advance and fire into the two camps. They did so, and the Bulrampore Rajah had only just reached his tents, when the shot came pouring in upon them from the Nazim's guns. He galloped off as fast as he could towards the British border, about twenty miles distant, attended only by a few mounted followers, some of whom he sent off to Bulrampore to bring his family as fast as possible across the border to him. The rest he ordered to follow him. His followers, and those of the murdered banker, fled before the Nazim's forces, which had been concentrated for this atrocious purpose; and both their camps were plundered. Before the Rajah fled, however, the murdered banker's son-in-law, who had been left in the camp, ran to him with a small casket containing Ramdut's seals, the bond for the 80,000 rupees, and the written pledges given by the Nazim and Commanding Officers of corps, for the banker's and the Rajah's personal security. He mounted him upon one of his horses, and took both him and the casket off to the British territory.

It was now about midnight, and the Nazim took his forces to the towns and villages upon the banker's estate, in which his family and relatives resided, and in which he kept the greater part of his moveable property. He sacked and plundered them all, without regard to the connection or relationship of the inhabitants with the murdered banker. The property taken from the inhabitants of these towns and villages, is estimated at from ten to twelve lakhs of rupees. As many as could escape, fled for shelter across the border, into the British territory. The banker's brother, Kishoondat, who resided in the British territory, came over, collected all he could of his brother's followers, attacked the Amil's forces, killed and wounded some forty or fifty of his men, and captured two of his guns. The body of the banker was discovered two days after, and disinterred by his family and friends, who counted the twenty-two wounds that had been inflicted upon it by the three assassins, and had it burned with due ceremonies.

The Nazim's agent at court, on the 18th of November, submitted to the Minister his master's report of the affair, in which it was stated that the banker was a defaulter on account of his own estate, and those of the other landholders, for whom he had given security—that he, the Nazim, had earnestly urged him to some adjustment of his accounts, but all in vain—that the banker had disregarded all his demands and remonstrances, and had with him five hundred armed followers, one of whom had fired his pistols at him, the Nazim, and killed one of his men—that they had all then joined in an attack upon the Nazim and his men, and that, in defending themselves, they had killed the banker. On the 19th, another report, dated the 16th, reached the Minister from the Nazim's camp, stating that the banker had come to his tent at ten at night, with his armed followers, and had an interview with him—that, as the banker rose to depart, the Nazim told him that he must not go without some settlement of his accounts; and a dispute followed, in which the banker was killed, and two of the Nazim's followers were severely wounded—that so great was the confusion that the Durbar news-reporters could not approach to get information.

On the 20th, a third report reached the Minister, stating that the Rajah of Bulrampore had come with the banker to visit the Nazim, but had taken leave and departed before the collision took place—and the Nazim urged the necessity of an immediate settlement of accounts; but the banker refused to make any, grossly abused the Nazim, and, at last, presented his pistol and fired at him, and thereby wounded two of his people; that he was, in consequence, killed by the Nazim's people, who joined the banker's own people in the plunder of his camp.

On receiving this last report, the Minister, by order of His Majesty,

presented to the agent of the Nazim a dress of honour of fourteen pieces, such as is given to the highest officers, for the most important services; and ordered him to send it to his master, to mark the sense his Sovereign entertained of his gallant conduct and valuable services, in crushing so great a rebel and oppressor, and to ensure him of a long continued tenure of office.

By the interposition of the British Resident, and the aid of the Magistrate of Goruckpore, Mr. Chester, the real truth was elicited, the Nazim was dismissed from office, and committed for trial, before the highest judicial court at Lucknow. He, at first, ran off to Goruckpore, taking with him, besides his own, two elephants, belonging to the Rajah of Gondah, with property on them to the value of 50,000 rupees, which he overtook in his flight. The Rajah had sent off these elephants with his valuables, on hearing of the assassination of the banker, thinking that the Nazim would secure impunity for this murder, as Hakeem Mehudee had for that of Ameer Sing, and be tempted to extend his operations. Finding the district of Goruckpore unsafe, the Nazim came back, and surrendered himself at Lucknow. Jaffir Alee was afterwards seized in Lucknow. There is, however, no chance of either being punished, since many influential persons about the Court have shared in the booty, and become accessories interested in their escape. Moreover, the Nazim is a Mahometan, a Syud, and a Sheea. No Sheea could be sentenced to death for the murder, even of a Soonnee, at Lucknow, much less for that of a Hindoo. If a Hindoo murders a Hindoo, and consents to become a Mussulman, he cannot be so sentenced; and if he consents to become so after sentence has been passed, it cannot be carried into execution. Such is the law, and such the everyday practice.

The elephants were recovered and restored, through the interposition of the Resident; but none of the property of the Rajah, or the banker, has been recovered.

May 18th, 1851.—The family of the banker has obtained a renewal of the lease of their two estates, on agreeing to pay an increase of rupees 40,000 a year.

	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Sirgha Chunda	1,20,729	11	0			
Increase	30,000	0	0			
				1,50,729	11	0
Akberpoor	46,015	2	3			
Increase	10,000	0	0			
				56,015	2	3
Total annual demand				2,06,744	13	3

They hold the Nazim's bond for the rupees 80,000, borrowed only eight days before his murder.

Appendix D to Inclosure 6 of No. 1.

No. 2.—*Highway Robbery, attended with Murder, on a party of highly respectable Merchants, subjects of the British Government, by the armed retainers of the Amil, or Governor, of Hurrah Poorwa.*

ON the morning of the 20th of March, 1853, Gungapershad, a wealthy and respectable merchant of Cawnpore, left that place to visit his eldest brother, the most respectable merchant and agricultural capitalist in Oude, who resided at Morawa.

Gungapershad had twenty thousand rupees, in bags of one thousand each; a small box of jewels; shawls and clothes, valued at 5,000 rupees more. He was attended by Bal Gobind, grandson of Chundun Lall, and by a few servants. They crossed the Ganges next morning, and, on the other bank, found an elephant and a palankeen, and ten armed men waiting for them. They had been sent from Morawa, as an escort; Bal Gobind

mounted upon the elephant, and Gungapershad got into the palankeen. Morawa is in the district of Hurrah Poorwa, and, as the party had advanced about one mile from the river, and into Oude, they were met by a party of the King's troops, under the Amil's orders, and commanded by Shunkur Lall, who called upon Gungapershad's retinue to halt, and to put out their matches. He then ordered Gungapershad to leave the palankeen, and Bal Gobind to dismount from the elephant; and directed both to follow him, on foot, to the presence of Kashepershad, Amil of Hurrah Poorwa, who was then at Runjeet Poorwa, twenty miles distant. The merchants begged hard to be saved from the disgrace of marching on foot to such a distance. Upon this Shunkur Lall flew into a passion, and ordered his party to fire upon the merchants and their people.

One of the soldiers fired a pistol at Gungapershad as he sat in the palankeen, and shot him through the right breast; another fired at a bearer of the palankeen, and shot him dead; the others, with the palankeen, then fled. Shunkur Lall aimed his matchlock at Bal Gobind, who was still on the elephant, but the ball missed him, and entered the breast of the boy who sat behind him, and he fell off dead. Another shot was then fired at Bal Gobind; it also missed him, but struck the sword-belt of the elephant driver. Shunkur Lall's soldiers and followers then plundered the merchants of their money, jewels, shawls, &c., and retired towards Runjeet Poorwa. Some of the bearers then came back, and helped Gungapershad on to the elephant; and, dreading pursuit, the party returned to the Ganges, and crossed it as fast as they could.

Gungapershad survived some fourteen days, and then expired at Nujufghur. On the 23rd of March, the report of this outrage reached the Resident from the joint-magistrate at Cawnpore; and, after a variety of delays, and an immense deal of correspondence, and all possible obstructions by the Durbar, the Assistant-Resident made his report, after a lengthened investigation, on the 24th of September, 1853, and submitted the result of his proceedings to the Resident, who, in his letter, dated the 7th of February, 1854, and in his 27th paragraph, asked the permission of Government to tell the King that Kashepershad is not again to be employed in any office under the King's Government; and that he be imprisoned until he had refunded 20,000 rupees; and Shunkur Lall should be imprisoned for life, in some jail in our own provinces.

The Government answered this letter on the 3rd of March, 1854; and, highly approving of the proceedings, the sentence was carried into effect immediately. Shunkur Lall was forwarded to Agra for confinemen for life; and Kashepershad, in addition to the fine, was banished from Oude, for a period of two years.

Appendix D to Inclosure 6 of No. 1.

No. 3.—*Massacre of Neotee.*

Translation of the News-writer's Report, dated February 23, 1854.

ON the 11th of February, Pahulwan Khan, of Abhar, in the district of Mhan Sing, and Bukhan Khan, of Hurhapoor, in the Rudowlee Estate, went to Syud Husein's Naib, Fazul Azeem, and represented that it was necessary to send a force to capture Dabeedeen and Partners, of the Tillowee Estate, in the Rudowlee Elaka. Fazul Azeem then directed men of the following regiments,—the Nizamut, Zoolfadar, Sufduree, and the Jan Nisar,—to accompany them. They instantly made an attack on Tillowee. The King's troops were posted all round the village. Pahulwan, with his own, dashed into the village, forced the zemindar's house, and slew three of his children, an uncle, two brothers, and a friend who happened to be in the house, seized upon all the women, and plundered the premises; all the cattle of the village were likewise driven off. Forty soldiers were then posted over the zemindar's house. Wuzeer Khan and Mudar Buksh, soldiers, were slightly wounded.

24th February, 1854.—It was ordered by Colonel Sleeman that a copy of

the foregoing should be sent to the Durbar, with a request that an explanation be given of the slaughter.

28*th May*, 1854.—The Durbar wrote back that orders had been given to seize the perpetrators, but that Yahseen Khan, and Murdan Khan, Toomandar, had represented that Pahulwan Khan and the others were innocent; and also a document had been procured from the scene of the alleged slaughter, which entirely freed the parties who were said to be guilty.

Captain W. S. Beatson, Officiating Superintendent of the Oude Frontier Police, Lucknow, to Colonel W. H. Sleeman, Resident at Lucknow.

Sir, *Lucknow Residency, August* 4, 1854.

WITH reference to your letter, No. 1698, of the 31st of May last, I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of my vernacular proceeding of this date, transmitting the copies of a letter, No. 18, of the 26th ultimo, from my 2nd Assistant, Captain A. Orr, of his Roobacaree, and of the depositions taken before him, relative to the outrage lately committed at the village of Neotee, in the Rudowlee Elaka.

2. It appears, from the papers received from Captain Orr, that Cazee Mooen-ood-deen, of Rudowlee, and Murdan Khan, a Toomandar in the Futtehjung Battalion, the person alluded to in your letter under reply, (the former because he had a zemindaree dispute, and the latter on account of a blood feud—haur—with the zemindars of Neotee) consulted together, and found an opportunity to introduce Mukhdoom Buksh, a relative of the Toomandar's, to Syud Aga Husein Khan (brother of Agaie Alee, the Chuckledar of Rudowlee), who, at the request of the Cazee and Toomandar, permitted Fazul Azeem, Naib of the Chuckledar, to give Mukhdoom Buksh a party of men, for the purpose of recovering the Government Revenue from the zemindars of Neotee, whom they both falsely accused of being rebellious. This Mukhdoom Buksh took the party of the Naib's men, and posted them outside the village, while he himself, collecting men from the villages of Achar and Hurhapoor, attacked the village of Neotee, killed the zemindar Dabeedeen Sing, his three brothers, one woman, three young children, and a chowhan rajpoot, and wounded two persons, and plundered their property, as well as that of all the zemindars and ryuts of that village.

The case has been most carefully investigated by Captain Orr, and his opinion, in which I fully concur, is that a more cowardly and brutal outrage was never perpetrated, even in Oude; and although Murdan Khan has truly said that he was not present at, or concerned in, the massacre, he is undoubtedly guilty of having instigated it.

I have, &c.

W. S. BEATSON.

Captain A. P. Orr, Second Assistant to the Superintendent of the Oude Frontier Police, to Captain Beatson.

Sir, *Fyzabad, July* 26, 1854.

ACCORDING to the instructions received, I proceeded, on the 7th instant, to Rudowlee, in order to institute inquiries relative to the outrage lately committed at the village of Neotee, near Rudowlee.

I have now the honour to forward to you all the papers connected with the case: from them, as well as from information derived from other sources, I have drawn up the statement which follows, and which, I trust, will meet with your approval.

The village of Neotee is situated at about three miles east of Rudowlee, in the Pergunnah of the same name, in the district of Deriabad, the latter being under the jurisdiction of Agaie Alee Khan, Nazim, by whom it has been

made over to the care of his son-in-law, Syud Husein; this person to be guided and directed in the management of the district by the more mature experience of the Nazim's brother, Aga Husein Khan, the Chuckledar of Aldaymhow.

It would appear—1. That the village of Neotee, belonging to rajpoots of the Bhalay Sultan tribe, was farmed by one Cazee Mooen-ood-deen, *alias* Cazee Bhoolay, a resident of Rudowlee.—2. That the Cazee had bought a "Puttee," or portion of the lands of the village, formerly the property of some Brahmins, by whom, however, it had previously been sold to Dabee Sing, the zemindar of the village, for a certain sum of money. On account of prior purchase, the zemindar above named resisted all the Cazee's efforts to become master of this "Puttee."—3. That, in the month of Phagoon of this year, the Cazee represented to the Nazim's brother, Aga Husein Khan, then at Rudowlee, that the zemindars of Neotee paid no attention to his remonstrances, and that they showed themselves most dilatory in paying the portion of revenue due by them to Government, and requested the aid of troops to seize them, and compel them to come to terms. In the meanwhile, Aga Husein Khan marched from Rudowlee towards Aldaymhow, and was accompanied by Fazul Azeem, Naib to Syud Husein, and by Cazee Bhoolay. The former returned to Rudowlee, from the encampment at Nowrahee, at which place he received orders from Aga Husein Khan to comply with the Cazee's reiterated requests, by furnishing him with troops whenever their services might be required by him. It was then that the Cazee introduced Murdan Khan, a Toomandar in the Futtehjung Pultan, to Fazul Azeem, with the request that the promised aid should be given to Murdan Khan, whom the Cazee had deputed to act for him during his absence from Rudowlee.—4. That Murdan Khan, Toomandar, is an inhabitant of the village of Ihar, situated about two short miles from Neotee: between these two villages there has long subsisted a deadly feud ("haur").—5. That, in the absence from Rudowlee of Syud Husein, and of Aga Husein Khan, Murdan Khan, Toomandar, came to Fazul Azeem, representing to him that he was unable, through indisposition, to carry out the Cazee's instructions, and, therefore, he begged that his relation, Mukhdoom Buksh (by whom he was accompanied), might be allowed to act in his lieu.—6. That the troops, a small detachment, under Bheek Sing, Jemadar of the Toolficar Sufdaree Pultan, were eventually made over to this Mukhdoom Buksh, and, under his guidance, were taken up to Neotee, where they were joined by a large gang of men from Ihar, who, confident of support from the King's troops, rushed into the devoted village, and committed revolting outrages: nine persons were killed, viz., the zemindar, Dabeedeen Sing, his three brothers, one woman, three young children, and one chowhan rajpoot. The children were killed with a refinement of cruelty. A woman, escaping from the village with a young child, which she was carrying in the native fashion, was wounded severely across the hip, the sword severing, at the same time, the leg of the unfortunate infant. Another brother of the zemindar, Dabeedeen, was also wounded.—7. That, when the King's Nujjeebs saw how matters stood, they returned to Rudowlee, where they reported to Fazul Azeem what had happened. The Naib immediately communicated the information to Agaie Alee Khan, Nazim, who, in return, sent orders for the capture of Murdan Khan, who, however, was not to be found, he having, before this, proceeded to the camp of the Nazim. Thus, at this critical moment, both the Cazee and Murdan Khan were absent.—8. That, when Agaie Alee Khan, Nazim, discovered that Murdan Khan was in his camp, he bound him down by securities to produce himself when required.—9. That, until very lately, no measures seem to have been taken to give redress to the surviving zemindars. A few days since, Agaie Alee Khan has reinstated them in their village, promising them a guard for their protection.

Having, Sir, given an outline of the principal occurrences, I will now endeavour to give a brief and clear statement of what seem to me to have been the motives by which were actuated the persons principally engaged in them. There seems to me not the slightest doubt regarding the guilt of the Cazee and of Murdan. They evidently acted in concert, the one to gain possession of the disputed portion of the village of Neotee, if not of the whole of it; the other, sympathizing with his brethren of Ihar, gained his object when,

thanks to the Cazee, he enabled them to take a cruel revenge on the zemindars of Neotee.

But it has been impossible for me to determine, without all doubt, which of the two objects, thus gained by the same means, was the principal one, *i. e.* whether the Cazee was gained over by Murdan Khan and the Khanzadahs of Ihar, or whether the latter were enticed (however willingly) by the Cazee to work out his own ends? I am inclined to believe, on the strength of the Brahmin Pursun's third deposition, which certain inquiries made by Seetul Panda, Havildar of this detachment, tend to verify, that the Cazee Mooen-ood-deen was the original projector of the cruel scheme; and that, to carry it out, he engaged the services of the Khanzadahs of Ihar.

However this may be, it seems to me that the portion of guilt which falls to the share of each party, Murdan Khan and the Cazee, is so nicely balanced, that it would be difficult to say which of the two is the more guilty. Both hoped, by being absent from Rudowlee at the time these atrocities were being enacted, to clear themselves of all participation in the guilt. The Cazee, when examined by myself, evidently endeavoured to throw the whole blame of the transaction on Aga Husein Khan, or rather on Fazul Azeem, by stating that, by sending troops against Neotee, the Naib hoped to capture Juggernath Chuprassie and other dacoits there assembled; and that information of their presence had been furnished by Mukhdoom Buksh of Ihar. It is useless showing how very improbable is such a tale. Equally improbable is the statement made by the Cazee in his deposition, that Fazul Azeem had sent a "Razeenamah" to the Cazee, to be signed by the surviving zemindars of Neotee: in the body of this Razeenamah, it was said to be stated that Juggernath Chuprassie and other dacoits were assembled at Neotee; that, to seize them, a "dour" had been sent; that, unfortunately, the Ihar people, cooperating with the King's troops, had committed the outrage; that, consequently, no blame could be attached to Fazul Azeem, &c., &c. Is it probable that the zemindars would sign such a paper, if, even by doing so, they should be reinstated in their village? Had the murderers of their brothers and children received any punishment? Had they (the surviving zemindars) obtained the slightest compensation for all their property looted and destroyed, that they should sign themselves satisfied? Satisfied with what?—and declare themselves moreover the harbourers of dacoits? If Fazul Azeem had sent the Cazee any paper at all, it could not have been one of this nature.

I must add that, some days after his examination, the Cazee told me that he was afraid, under existing circumstances, to give a correct deposition; but that he would, when called for, answer for himself at Lucknow. I repeatedly asked him to furnish me with a true statement, to give me even privately a "Kyfeeut;" but to no purpose. I cannot, therefore, change my firm opinion of his guilt.

It now remains for me to allude to Aga Husein Khan, the actual, if not the nominal, Chuckledar of Deriabad Rudowlee, and to the Naib, Fazul Azeem. If, by the Cazee's mentioning to me that he was then afraid to give a true deposition, he meant me to suspect that he could implicate either or both of these persons, of course I have no means of ascertaining; but I have not obtained any proof that the Chuckledar, or his Naib, were aware of the intentions of the Cazee with regard to Neotee; and I cannot think that they could ever have given their consent to such wholesale murder; but that they acted with the most culpable indiscretion cannot admit of a doubt. No inquiries seem to have been made as to who was this Mukhdoom Buksh, to whom the troops were made over; it was quite sufficient that he was a relation of Murdan Khan! In fact, the whole affair seems to have been allowed to pass over without any examination—any inquiry whatsoever. Why were the Ihar people allowed to remain three days in the village of Neotee after this massacre, destroying and plundering the village at their ease? Why was not the Cazee made a prisoner, when Murdan Khan was in a manner deprived of his liberty? Why were five, or nearly six, months allowed to pass over, before the surviving zemindars were reinstated in their village? These, Sir, are points I cannot understand: to obtain a satisfactory reply to such queries, it would be necessary to submit Aga Husein to the test of a severe examination; but I did not feel authorized to take such measures. True, Aga Husein has forwarded me a "Kyfeeut," or statement sealed and witnessed; but this

is not sufficient. The obscurity that still attaches itself to the case must, therefore, be removed at a much higher tribunal.

Finally, it will be as well to state that Ihar is a large and strong village; a portion of which is inhabited by the Khanzadahs, so often mentioned, and the remainder, and by far greater portion, by Bais Rajpoots, who are in no manner concerned in the outrage. Ihar belongs to Raja Mhan Sing.

I have now, I believe, stated all that might be considered of importance, in order to lead to a proper view of the case forming the subject of this letter, and have endeavoured to give a correct and unbiassed statement of whatever has occurred. The task has not been a very easy one, and I can only hope it has been accomplished to your satisfaction.

Colonel W. H. Sleeman, Resident at Lucknow, to the King of Oude.

August 7, 1854.

ON the 24th of February last, I sent your Majesty an official note, requesting to know how, and for what reason, were the zemindar of Neotee, his sons, and brothers massacred. On the 28th of May, your Majesty favoured me with a reply, forwarding two Soomthals, such as proved only the innocence of Murdan Khan. This reply did not give a clear account of the affair; and I, therefore, requested Captain Beatson to institute an inquiry; and he has sent me his Roobacaree, a copy of which I inclose for your perusal. Your Majesty will perceive that Cazee Mooen-ood-deen, resident of Rudowlee, and Murdan Khan, Toomandar of the Futtehjung battalion, both were in enmity with the zemindars of Neotee, and conspired together to murder them; that both deceitfully insinuated into the ears of Aga Husein, Amil of Rudowlee, that the zemindars conducted themselves contumaciously, and solicited aid for their apprehension and punishment; that Aga Husein wrote to his Naib, Fazul Azeem; that the Toomundar presented one of his relatives, Mukhdoom Buksh, before the latter, and requested that, as he was going on Government business, the party required might be ordered to accompany him; that Mukhdoom Buksh conducted the party to the vicinity of Neotee; and himself, after collecting his adherents from the villages of Ihar and Hussunpore, proceeded to the attack of Neotee, and slaughtered Dabeedeen and eight other persons, and wounded two, and plundered the property of all the inhabitants. Under these circumstances, it appears to me necessary that Cazee Mooen-ood-deen and Mukhdoom Buksh ought to be subjected to condign punishment, that others may fear, and refrain from sacrificing the lives of the poor.

I consider it unprofitable to represent to your Majesty why your officers instituted not a proper inquiry into the affair, and wrote your reply in the abridged form which did not clearly state the subject, because, when I formerly represented the matter, no advantage was obtained.

In reply, the Durbar stated, on the 26th of August, that, ever since the crime was committed, orders have been repeatedly given to apprehend the criminals.

Though no official information of this fact has been received, it is well known that Mooen-ood-deen was brought into Lucknow, that Thifa-ood-deen, the King's Jailor, has pronounced that Cazee Mooen-ood-deen is guiltless, and that he ought to be let go.

No document whatever is extant which shows that Colonel Sleeman wrote to have Syud Husein (brother of Agaie Khan) seized; nor is there anything to prove that the Resident sought to have him punished; but the allusion, in the last paragraph of his letter to the King, clearly indicates why he did not do so, *i.e.*, his conviction of the uselessness of any endeavour to persuade the Durbar to punish the brother of so influential a person as Agaie Alee Khan, or suitably to notice Agaie's own dereliction of duty in having neglected to institute "a proper inquiry into the affair."

Appendix D to Inclosure 6 in No. 1.

No. 4. *Judicial Courts at Lucknow.*

1. *Adawlut-ool-Alia.* — The highest Court, presided over by the son of the Mujtahidoolasur.

THIS is the highest court of judicature for trial of cases in the first instance, presided over by Moonsif-ood-Dowlah. But, unfortunately, there is scarcely a man in the city who does not consider Moonsif-ood-Dowlah undeserving the important situation he fills, owing to the unmanly habit to which he is addicted. The integrity of his judgment is often perverted, by the base consideration of the private emolument of those sturdy adherents who are employed to serve his unnatural passion. This is one of the few courts which has power to receive plaints, and at once proceed with the investigation of the case, without its being referred to it by His Majesty's order passed on the petition of the suitor.

2. *Kotwalee, or Chief Police Court in the City.*

Mahomed Ally Ruza, a most profligate man, whose fitness for this lucrative and responsible post can be easily imagined from the circumstances that he is enormously in debt, and that only his formidable position as the Chief-Magistrate of the city saves him from the persecution of his creditors.

3. *Court of Requests*, in which claims for debt are instituted. Asud Beg is a creature of the vile Mosahib-ood-Dowlah, singer.

Asud Beg.—This court is entirely under the control and guidance of Mosahib-ood-Dowlah, a favorite fiddler, contrary to the repeated promise of the King to Colonel Sleeman and his predecessor, to the effect that he will never allow musicians to meddle with State affairs.

4. *Court for Civil Suits*, presided over by Unjum-ood-Dowlah, Darogah on behalf of the King.

Mosahiboos Sultan.—This, as well as many of the other undermentioned officers, have under them several Ameens, or Judges, whose names are not borne on the list of public servants; nor, of course, do they receive any pay. The manner in which these unsalaried servants are engaged is various; but, generally, a man who has a friend or relative in the service of an influential member of the Court gets the employment, or he who runs after the palankeen of an Ameer, or attends his Durbar for any length of time, and happens some fortunate day to please the Chief by his wit or flattery, has at first simply a place assigned to him to take his seat, and open his kullumdan. This done, a Chobdar presents him a petition of some devoted being, with orders under the signature of the great man to sift the matter between the plaintiff and defendant. Instantly the petition is delivered to the employé, he is converted from a starving wanderer in the street to the dignity of a judge extraordinary! He has people ready to advance him money to pay the usual present to the Chobdar; he finds a little establishment of Mootsuddies and Chuprassies around him (all without salary), eager to obey his command; and the work of exaction begins with uninterrupted vigilance—first with the plaintiff, and afterwards with the defendant; but the final decision is regulated according to the comparative value of the respective douceurs offered by the unhappy litigants.

5. *Court of Civil Suits*, over which the Minister presides nominally; in reality, all the cases are decided by his "Golam," Wuzeer Khan, whose assistant is Moonshee Mahomed Husein.

Wuzeer Khan and Moonshee Mahomed Husein.—There are many unsalaried Ameens in this Court: Wuzeer Khan, an illiterate slave boy of the Minister; and Mahomed Husein is the very identical man, who, at the request of one of the present Resident's predecessors, Colonel Caulfeild, if my memory serves me right, was prohibited entering the Durbar.

6. *Court for the recovery of Small Debts.*—This man is a tool of Mosahib-ood-Dowlah.

Omraojan.—This Court also is under the musician, Mosahib Ally, who exercises unbounded authority, and has all unsalaried Ameens.

7. *Chief Secretariat.*— The Rajah himself never attends his Court, or takes any interest in anything, save in making money. His right hand man is Poorrun Chunder, on whom all the duties devolve.

Rajah Koondunlall.—This officer is considered the oracle of the Durbar Council, in all grave matters between the King and the Resident. He is supposed to be well acquainted with the character and disposition of the English, and thoroughly conversant with the European Regulations, simply because, formerly, he was a Mootsuddie in the Judges' Court at Bareilly, and

afterwards raised to the lucrative and corrupt situation of Sheristadar. Whenever the King is found to hesitate to act up to the advice of the Minister, Koondunlall's knowledge of the European character is called into request. The inexperienced Prince lends a reluctant ear to his pernicious counsel, and assumes an unbecoming tone of opposition to the friendly remonstrances of the British representatives.

8. These three Courts were instituted for the hearing of Sepoys' petitions.

Ally Wajid, Mahomed Hyat, and Ameen Ally.—Together with the above Court, decide cases in which one of the contending parties is a British servant; and, consequently, all these Courts are placed under Koondunlall's order.

9. The highest Court of Appeal, Civil and Ecclesiastical.

Mujtahidoolasur, or the High Priest.—The highest Civil and Consistory Court of Appeal; but, whenever the High Priest feels interested in an affair, he condescends to take cognizance of the case in the first instance.

10. Secretary and Aide-de-Camp to the King. He presents papers to the King, which require his signature.

Tudbeer-ood-Dowlah.—This officer is generally known by the name of Moozuffer Ally, one of the Mosahibs.

Allusion to inferior Courts has been omitted, though, in corruption and cruelty, they are not the less remarkable. Individual sufferings, however, can alone place the conduct of the Oude officials in its proper light.

Appendix D to Inclosure 6 of No. 1.

No. 5. *Report of Mr. Phillips, submitted to Captain Hayes, on the 19th of September, 1854, on the case of Sheopershad, a Residency Clerk,* versus *Asud Beg, one of the King of Oude's Judicial Officers.*

SHEOPERSHAD complains that his father, Ajoodheeapershad, was, under the orders of Asud Beg, taken to his Court in December, 1852; that Asud Beg, on the suit of Ahmed Alee, who claimed rupees 1,000 from Ajoodheeapershad, kept him in custody, and suffered him to come home about 11 P.M., only on his giving Lulloomull as his bail; that Ajoodheeapershad attended the Court for several successive days, in the course of which he was told by Asud Beg that, if he gave him rupees 500, he would compromise the matter, and was persuaded by Joalla Sing to accede to the terms, and that Joalla Sing stood security for that sum, which was paid by an equivalent in property sent to Joalla Sing, through the agency of one Gungapershad; and submits a decree of the said Court showing the claim set up by Ahmed Alee to be false.

The witnesses named by the plaintiff are Chain Bearer, Bankylal, Khyrateemul, Mithoolal, Gungapershad and Mehtabroy.

Chain deposes that Ajoodheeapershad was taken to the Court; that Asud Beg mentioned to him there was a claim of rupees 1,000 against him; that the depositions of the claimant and Ajoodheeapershad were taken; that the latter was suffered to give bail, and return to his house about 11 P.M.; that Joalla Sing, on a subsequent day, told Ajoodheeapershad in Court that he had stood his security for rupees 500, and will have everything settled for him; that Ajoodheeapershad entrusted him with two gold chains and a bundle of shawls, on the day Joalla Sing sent his man for the money, and told him (deponent) to take them to Gungapershad, who will either give them, or their equivalent, to Joalla Sing and Asud Beg, and that he delivered the things with the message to Gungapershad.

Bankylal deposes that he was sent by the plaintiff to inquire after his father; that he went to the Court of Asud Beg, and there saw Ajoodheeapershad sitting; that Asud Beg told Ajoodheeapershad that he will not be released without paying the money (to what amount he—deponent—could not tell), but that if he liked he may give bail and go home; that Ajoodheeapershad consented to this proceeding, gave Lulloomull as his bail, and came home about 11 P.M.

Khyrateemul deposes that one morning two Chobdars and two Khasburdars came to Ajoodheeapershad's house, and took Ajoodheeapershad away to the Minister's, and that he returned home about 9 or 10 P.M.

Mithoolal deposes nearly to the same effect.

The evidence of Chain, the principal witness, corroborates the plaintiff's statement.

Ditto—of Bankylal corroborates the statement that Ajoodheeapershad was kept in custody, and suffered to come home only on giving bail.

The evidence of Khyrateemul simply corroborates the statement that Ajoodheeapershad was taken away.

Ditto, of Mithoolal, ditto, ditto.

The copy of the decree, mentioned in the plaint, has been compared with the original, which is genuine, and acquits Ajoodheeapershad of ever being indebted to Ahmed Alee.

The evidence in the case is not quite complete, as regards the amount actually paid. The parties through whom the money was paid to Joalla Sing are Gungapershad and Mehtabroy, who ought also, if deemed necessary, to be summoned to give their depositions. Lulloomull should also depose to the part he took in the affair.

If, however, there were any doubts as to any portion of the money, said to have been extorted, having been paid, Joalla Sing's deposition would remove it. He deposes to the effect that Ajoodheeapershad was apprehended, and kept in custody; that he stood his security; and that Ajoodheeapershad afterwards settled his case, and returned to him his security bond.

I deem it to be my duty here to record that, on the day following that on which Ajoodheeapershad was inveigled away to Asud Beg's Court, Sheopershad came crying to me, and related the whole circumstance, and begged of me to report it to the Resident; but I declined doing so, from the fear of offending the Resident.

In summing up the whole of the proceedings, I cannot help being fully persuaded in my mind that Asud Beg, as a Judicial Officer of His Majesty the King of Oude, has been guilty of an act the most arbitrary and oppressive, such as should not be tolerated by any Government, under which discriminating justice is expected to be employed in extending the protection of the law to life and property. This act on the part of Asud Beg amounts to public robbery, and should subject him to such punishment as would deter others, holding the same office with him, from committing such outrages on people who are so much at their mercy in this land, wherein every one, possessing any authority, is trying his best endeavours, by intrigue and fraudulence, to amass wealth from the innocent and the helpless. Asud Beg deserves to be dismissed from his office as unworthy of trust, and to refund the sum he has so feloniously extorted from Ajoodheeapershad, with interest at twelve per cent.

J PHILLIPS,

September 19, 1854. *Head Clerk.*

The whole of the evidence referred to in the above report was submitted therewith, but it will suffice here to give merely the statement of Sheopershad, as follows:—

"In December, 1852, two Chobdars and two Sepoys came to my father, in the name of the Minister, with orders to wait upon him without any delay; and, instead of taking him to his Highness, took him to Mosahibgunj, the residence of Mirza Asud Beg, one of the King's judicial officers. There a man, by name Ahmed Alee, came forward, and complained to the Mirza that, some ten or twelve years ago, he had given 1,000 rupees to my father for some other person, to whom he found the money was not paid, and, begging the Mirza to cause the restoration of his money, went away. Upon this, the Mirza confined my father, and released him about 11 P.M., on security for 1,000 rupees, with orders to attend upon him at his house every day: my father was compelled to do as he had been directed. On the third, or fourth,

day, the Mirza told him that, if he would give him 500 rupees—viz., 250 for the complainant, and 250 on account of fees,—he would settle his case, and issue a decree in his favour, to prevent the man from complaining again against him in any other Court; but my father refused to pay the money, and, consequently, was put in durance. Upon hearing of the circumstances, Joalla Sing, the King's auctioneer, apparently to oblige my father, but, in fact, to curry favour with the Mirza, went to plead my father's cause; and, after holding a short conference with the Mirza, persuaded my father to accede to what the Mirza had told him, and to pay him 500 rupees, for which he himself stood his security.

"When the Mirza had taken Joalla Sing's note, he began to investigate the case, and it was discovered that the complaint was false, as it was another person, by name Jumsheid Kadur, who had given my father, of his own accord, a sum of rupees 850, which the complainant had nothing to do with, as his (Jumsheid Kadur's) declaration in writing, annexed to the decree (the copies of which are filed in the Persian Office) will show.

"On Joalla Sing's becoming my father's security for 500 rupees, my father sent two gold chains and a bundle of shawls, &c., to Gungapershad, for the Surety's satisfaction. The chains were sold, and 200 and some odd rupees were paid by Gungapershad to Joalla Sing, who paid the money to the Mirza. The bundle of shawls was also made over to the said Joalla Sing for the purpose of paying off the money.

"Khyrateemul, the shopkeeper, and Mithoolal, are witnesses to the manner and pretence on which the Chobdars had taken my father away.

"Bankylal, whom I had sent in the evening to inquire why my father was detained, is an eye-witness to his having been released on security for 1,000 rupees, executed by Lulloomull, the King's Ice Contractor.

"Chain, my bearer, whom I had sent with my father when the Chobdars were taking him away, is also an eye-witness to the whole transaction.

"Gungapershad, Mahajun, and his Gomashta, are the persons through whom the money was paid to Joalla Sing.

"Mehtabroy, the Treasurer of Omrao Jan's office, through whom the money for the bundle of shawls, &c. was realized, and paid to Asud Beg, declines to give his evidence, through fear of losing his situation; and Gungapershad is so much threatened by Joalla Sing, Asud Beg, and Mosahib-ood-Dowlah, the fiddler, that he not only declines giving his own evidence, but refuses to allow his Gomashta and servants to move in the matter.

Appendix E to Inclosure 6 of No. 1.

General Abstract of Crimes committed in Oude, in the Years 1848-49-50-51-52-53 and 54.

Year.	Dacoitees Committed.	Persons Killed.	Ditto Wounded.	Ditto Killed and Wounded, indiscriminately given.	Total Killed and Wounded.	Villages Plundered and Burnt.	Persons forcibly Carried off.	Suttees.
1848	149	346	336	655	1,337	36	206	6
1849	222	798	948	126	1,872	86	150	6
1850	74	504	427	70	1,001	32	42	3
1851	158	654	624	170	1,448	69	99	7
1852	112	796	993	222	2,011	108	146	10
1853	104	755	668	531	1,954	88	391	9
1854	212	544	561	286	1,391	128	459	3
Total of 7 Years	1,031	4,397	4,557	2,060	11,014	547	1,493	44
Average of 7 Years ..	147 1/7	628 1/7	651	294 2/7	1,573 3/7	78 1/7	213 2/7	6 2/7

Detailed Abstract of 1848.

Month.	Dacoitees Committed.	Persons Killed.	Ditto Wounded.	Ditto Killed and Wounded, indiscriminately given.	Villages Plundered and Burnt.	Persons forcibly Carried off.	Suttees.
January	11	28	55	2	2	25	..
February	9	24	28	10	..	31	..
March	9	14	19	8	1	..	..
April	11	7	4	46	4	..	1
May	15	32	55	31	13	3	..
June	14	24	11	42	2	4	2
July	17	15	41	27	3	2	..
August	10	17	17	180	1	4	1
September	12	41	11	58	2	40	1
October	12	61	40	..	1	11	1
November	13	35	22	136	4	86	..
December	16	50	33	115	3	..	..
Total	149	348	336	655	36	206	6

Detailed Abstract of 1849.

Month.	Dacoitees Committed.	Persons Killed.	Ditto Wounded.	Ditto Killed and Wounded, indiscriminately given.	Villages Plundered and Burnt.	Persons forcibly Carried off.	Suttees.
January	40	24	76	74	28	..	..
February	26	142	102	9	4	28	..
March	30	60	111	13	6	51	..
April	19	73	84	15	12	20	2
May	30	60	92	..	17	18	..
June	27	61	67	..	6	25	..
July	11	59	26	..	2	..	..
August	16	92	152	..	3	2	2
September	7	36	115	..	3	3	..
October	7	65	7	15	1	1	..
November	7	106	111	..	3	2	..
December	2	20	5	..	1	..	2
Total	222	798	948	126	86	150	6

Detailed Abstract of 1850.

Month.	Dacoitees Committed.	Persons Killed.	Ditto Wounded.	Ditto Killed and Wounded, indiscriminately given.	Villages Plundered and Burnt.	Persons forcibly Carried off.	Suttees.
January	1	6	2	..	..	1	..
February	6	37	39	..	2	3	..
March	4	38	68	..	1	..	..
April	4	45	24	..	1	2	..
May	4	25	26	..	2	2	..
June	5	17	13	..	1	2	..
July	10	37	33	..	3	2	..
August	7	44	36	..	2	1	..
September	14	44	46	..	4	20	1
October	5	135	88	..	5	..	..
November	7	36	22	..	7	6	2
December	7	40	30	70	4	3	..
Total	74	504	427	70	32	42	3

Detailed Abstract of 1851.

Month.	Dacoitees Committed.	Persons Killed.	Ditto Wounded.	Ditto Killed and Wounded, indiscriminately given.	Villages Plundered and Burnt.	Persons forcibly Carried off.	Suttees.
January	9	25	19	..	2	..	..
February	7	51	20	13	2	3	1
March	12	23	50	..	4	..	..
April	13	42	66	64	3	2	1
May	19	71	65	10	4	13	1
June	23	63	39	10	10	14	1
July	13	74	48	10	15	10	..
August	19	84	86	..	7	28	1
September	13	38	31	30	3	18	1
October	12	51	65	8	4	6	..
November	11	78	87	..	4	2	..
December	7	54	48	25	6	3	1
Total	158	654	624	170	69	99	7

Detailed Abstract of 1852.

Month.	Dacoitees Committed.	Persons Killed.	Ditto Wounded.	Ditto Killed and Wounded, indiscriminately given.	Villages Plundered and Burnt.	Persons forcibly Carried off.	Suttees.
January	10	42	90	5	3	4	..
February	13	42	101	9	15	21	2
March	14	72	86	37	13	34	1
April	6	81	67	35	15	18	..
May	7	62	68	33	11	12	..
June	12	92	82	18	10	10	3
July	11	65	83	23	11	16	1
August	9	130	123	..	6	13	1
September	8	47	67	7	10	8	1
October	6	85	86	..	4	8	..
November	7	35	101	55	9	1	1
December	9	43	39	..	1	1	..
Total	112	796	993	222	108	146	10

Detailed Abstract for 1853.

Month.	Dacoitees Committed.	Persons Killed.	Ditto Wounded.	Ditto Killed and Wounded, indiscriminately given.	Villages Plundered and Burnt.	Persons forcibly Carried off.	Suttees.
January	3	39	38	..	1	..	..
February	7	28	30	..	2	26	..
March	7	36	66	115	9	11	2
April	3	24	86	57	2	..	1
May	..	75	98	125	1	2	..
June	10	60	51	..	9	17	..
July	18	87	57	4	10	15	..
August	13	69	62	12	16	262	1
September	16	109	59	39	17	25	..
October	12	158	53	31	13	8	2
November	6	31	34	148	5	2	..
December	9	39	39	..	3	23	3
Total	104	755	668	531	88	391	9

Detailed Abstract for 1854.

Month.	Dacoitees Committed.	Persons Killed.	Ditto Wounded.	Ditto Killed and Wounded, indiscriminately given.	Villages Plundered and Burnt.	Persons forcibly Carried off.	Suttees.
January	11	28	43	11	2	21	..
February	27	40	52	22	12	48	..
March	29	37	63	30	17	160	..
April	25	46	48	17	13	40	..
May	31	73	55	14	28	70	..
June	22	65	48	19	14	36	..
July	18	55	50	8	11	16	1
August	19	56	50	74	15	38	..
September	8	26	21	9	6	7	2
October	6	34	26	42	5	8	..
November	8	51	61	9	1	5	..
December	8	33	44	31	4	10	..
Total	212	544	561	286	128	459	3

Appendix E to Inclosure 6 of No. 1.

No. 1.—*Record of Crimes committed in Oude in* 1848.

1848,

January 1.—Two murders committed in the country.

„ 2.—The village of Para plundered by dacoits, who also set fire to it, and two of the dacoits wounded.

„ 3.—In a zemindaree dispute, five men were wounded in Pergunnah Futtehpore.

„ The zemindar of the village of Thuthuk committed a dacoitee in that village, and killed his Tufreekdar and his mother.

„ 5.—An invalid and his wife wounded at Nasimpore, and his property plundered.

„ 6.—On the 31st of December, in an attempt on the part of the Amil to seize Sheopershad, brother of the Talookdar of Ramnuggur Dhumeree, four men were killed and one man wounded.

„ 8.—On the 1st instant, in a fight between the Tehseeldar of Deriabad and the Talookdar of Rampore, four men were killed and seventeen wounded.

„ 9.—A dacoitee committed at Moorbaruckpore, in Sudhour, and two men killed, two wounded.

„ 10.—On the 3rd of January, a dacoitee committed at Joolapaee, and two women wounded. The dacoit was himself subsequently killed.

„ 11.—A Jemadar of Bildars, in the service of Raja Mhan Sing, beat to death the zemindar, on the plea of his being in arrears of Revenue.

„ 12.—A dacoitee committed at the village of Shookuroollah, and five persons wounded.

„ 13.—A dacoitee committed at Sarai Kheera, and the Mookuddum and seven persons carried off. In a dispute respecting drawing water in Pergunnah Kheiree, four men were killed and three wounded.

„ 18.—The Gurhee of Julore, in Deriabad, captured by the Amil, and seven of his men wounded.

„ 23.—A dacoitee committed at Ajwa, and two men wounded.

„ 24.—Two hackeries laden with cloth, coming from Mirzapore, for a Banker in Lucknow, plundered, in the district of Pertaubgurh, by dacoits, and a man wounded. A brother of the Talookdar of Birhun killed by Sahibjee, son of the Rajah of Toolseepore.

„ 25.—In the district of Salone, four men were wounded in a dispute between Mewatees and the Sebundie troops, respecting the distribution of pay.

Three men killed at Roepore, in Gondah, by the Tufreekdar of that place.

Two men wounded in a Mohurrum dispute in the city.

„ 26.—Mohamed Husein, the absconded Tufreekdar Mungorolie Khunie in Sultanpore, burnt with a hot ramrod the body of Fazul, chooree seller, and, after taking a security for rupees 200, released him.

„ 27.—The infant daughter of Bynauth, brother of Rughonath, Chowdry of Khyrone, was killed by himself, or some of his relatives, on the 20th of January, in the district of Byewarah. On the Intelligence-Hurkara asking Bynauth about the matter, he replied that this practice had prevailed for a long time. The King ordered that an inquiry be made by the Nazim.

On the 23rd of January, Bhooray Khan, Talookdar of Deogaon, in Jugdespore, accompanied by thirty match-lock men, committed a dacoitee in the house of Chowbay, Brahmin, inhabitant of Ooturgaon, in Rudowlee, plundered his property, and carried off his two nephews and three women; on which, two of the zemindars of Ooturgaon went to the zemindars of Deogaon, and wounded themselves, saying that they were concerned in the dacoitee.

„ 29.—On the 17th of January, Chaudka Buksh, Tufreekdar of Naen, in Salone, came to Baree, surrounded the zilladar, and carried off the Revenue Collections.

On the 18th of January, Khumanee, an inhabitant of the village of Kumaon, and another, committed a dacoitee at Ahmudnuggur, killed and wounded two men, and carried off the cattle.

„ 30.—On the 17th of January, Sookhdar Sing, the absconded zemindar of Chuleela, in Pertaubgurh, committed a dacoitee in the house of Eshreepershad and Sheopershad, Subadar in the Company's Service, residing at Nawabgunj, in Pertaubgurh, plundered their property, and carried off the wife of Sheopershad Subadar.

„ 31.—In a dispute between two rival zemindars of Tehdilpore, in Muhdowna, who are supported by the Amil, one man was killed, the village set fire to, and ten persons carried off.

February 7.—Two men killed, and two wounded, at Burnowlee, by dacoitee.

A dacoitee committed at Hoosaingunj, and three men wounded.

„ 8.—The wife of Sheopershad, Company's Subadar, released, after extorting rupees 200 from her.

„ 9.—In Pergunnah Gopamow, two men were killed on the 27th of January, owing to zemindaree feud.

„ 10.—Ten Hackeries, laden with grain, coming from Seetapore, for the use of the Lucknow Cantonments, plundered at Soojowlee, in Baree, by Neuput Sing, and fifty of his armed followers.

A paper of intelligence from Gondah states that, on the 27th of January, thirty-one Tharoos and Ahars residing in the Goorkha territory, while going to Oude for bathing, were arrested by Gyadut, zemindar of Nowlie in Pergunnah Gondah; these men he has detained, and wants from them rupees 16,000, and 1,000 cows, on what account it is not known. Ordered to be released, if nothing is the matter.

1848,
February 10.—In an attempt to commit a dacoitee on a boat belonging to Nawab Moonoowur-ood-Dowlah, one of the Nawab's men was wounded, and one dacoit killed.
In a dispute between the Amil's Sepoys for taking Begarees, and the zemindars of Owel, five men were wounded.
" 11.—A Dacoitee committed in Pergunnah Rudowlee, and a man killed and another wounded.
" 13.—In a dispute on the 28th of January, between Tudhil Sing, zemindar of Aheem, in Muhdowna, and the people of Raja Mhan Sing, nine men were killed and ten wounded (the King ordered proper measures on the subject).
" 16.—Several dacoitees committed in the country.
" 17.—On the 6th of February, ten men were killed and wounded in Hydergurh district, in consequence of one of the King's Chuprassies having been attacked by dacoits.
" 19.—On the 17th of February, the zemindar of Koonrowlee committed a dacoitee in the house of Aheer, and burnt his body with a hot ramrod.
" 20.—Several dacoitees committed in the country, and some people wounded.
" 22.—On the 14th of February, in a fight between two zemindars in Mohumdee (who had privately retired from the Amil's camp), and a toomandar, eight of the latter's men were killed, and several wounded.
The General ordered to send some troops for the coercion of the zemindars.
" 29.—Some Mahajuns remonstrated with the Zilladar of Maharajnuggur, for having confined Bechund, Brahmin, without any cause, in consequence of which a dispute took place between them; and in consequence of which, a fight took place on the 22nd of February, and several men were wounded and the Zilladar killed. Bechund and another prisoner left his cannon, and ran away, the zemindars carrying it off; rupees 11,000 received from the country.
March 4.—On the 12th of February, a dacoitee committed in the house of a Mahajun, at Mednee-gunj. On the 19th of February, the Tufreekdar of Mullawan killed his co-partner.
" 7.—On the 9th of February, two dacoitees committed at Shahabad and Misrukh, and two men killed and two wounded.
In a dispute respecting the irrigation of lands between two zemindars in Pergunnah Russoolabad, two men were killed and nine wounded.
" 9.—The followers of Juswunt Sing and Bophal Sing, Chowdries of Pergunnah Futtehpore Chowrassee, attacked the house of Sewkee Sing, another Chowdry of that Pergunnah, in consequence of which eight men were killed and wounded.
" 14.—Three men wounded by dacoits in Pergunnah Nawabgunj Barabunkee.
" 15.—Two dacoitees committed on the 4th of March, at Roostumgurh and Hoosamgunj, and in the latter one man was killed.
" 16.—On the 4th of March, a dacoitee committed in the house of an Abkar, at Begumgunj; a person killed, and his property plundered.
On the 2nd of March, Oomaid Sing, the Tufreekdar of the village of Cheitpore, in Pergunnah Juhowna, committed a dacoitee, killed a man and wounded two persons, plundered the villagers, and set fire to their houses.
On the 6th of March, two men were killed in Pergunnah Isowlee, in consequence of a zemindaree dispute.
" 24.—A man of the name of Jhao Khan, having complained in the Adawlut at Sultanpore, for the recovery of a debt from Mosahib, the latter was released on giving security, but shot Jhao Khan dead.
" 25.—A dacoitee committed at Inderwarah, and two men killed.
" 28.—Paper of Intelligence, dated the 10th of March, received from Manukpore, reporting that the wife of the Talookdar of Shumspoor seized the Talookdar of Tajpore, from motives of enmity, on a charge of theft. She sent for the inhabitants of the villages, and, sitting on a chair, ordered her servants to cut off his arms. On the victim complaining of this cruelty, she ordered his nose to be cut off, which was accordingly done. The King directed the Minister to take measures for preventing similar contumacy, and to afford redress.
" 29.—A dacoitee at Sura Mow, in Ramnuggur Dhumeree, on the 23rd of March, and two men wounded.
A murder committed at Kumlapore, in Aseewun.
April 3.—A paper of intelligence received from the Elaka of Mahomdee, stating that, on the 29th of March, a man named Dorja, inhabitant of Aleegunj, died, aged twenty-two years, and his wife burnt herself with his body, and would not attend to the remonstrances of the Kanoongo.
The King directed the Amil to pay a heavy fine, and the zemindaree and nankar of the parties concerned to be confiscated.
" 4.—A dacoitee committed at Earen in Pergunnah Asoha, the ryuts plundered, and a man wounded, and the houses of the villagers burnt.
A dacoitee committed at Alokapore, in Ramnuggur Dhumeree, and four men killed and wounded.
" 7.—Several murders committed in the country.
" 8.—A Padsee having commenced cutting the crops without coming to any understanding with the Tehseeldar of Banuggur, a son of the Chowdry of that place proceeded for his apprehension, in consequence of which four men were killed and wounded.
" 11.—A dacoitee committed at Deogaon, the houses burnt, and a man killed.
" 16.—A dacoitee committed at Poorun Bussuntpore, and two men killed and three men wounded by dacoits, at Sahabagunj.
A dacoitee also committed at Moozufferpore, in Aseewun, and three men killed and wounded.
" 21.—A paper of intelligence received from Bharaitch stating that, on the 10th of April, a dacoitee was committed at that place with lighted torches, and property worth thousands of rupees plundered.

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April 24.—In a zemindaree dispute in Bharaitch, sixtmen were killed and wounded, on the 10th of April.

A dacoitee committed at Tura Sara, some villages burnt, and several lives lost.

„ 25.—A dacoitee committed at Putkapoor on the 1st of April, and, on the 3rd, at Kullapore in Ludkoba.

„ 26.—A dacoitee committed at Jusmudda, in Mohan, and twenty-nine men killed and wounded.

May 1.—In a zemindaree dispute, two men were killed on the 19th of April, in Pergunnah Asoha.

„ 2.—Three men wounded near Fyzabad, by dacoits, and one of the latter killed.

„ 3.—On the 21st of April, in a zemindaree dispute between two joint partners, eight men and one woman were wounded.

„ 4.—In a zemindaree dispute between the joint partners of Jurra, in Rudowlee, eight men were killed and wounded.

„ 5.—The Karindah of the Talookdar of Hussunpore having gone to the village of Sumrowta, to press Begarees, ten men were wounded.

„ 8.—On the 25th of April, the absconded zemindars of Mukdapore and Pupuria, in Mahandee, set fire to five villages in that district, and the barn, by which one life was lost.

On the 26th of April, five men were killed and eleven wounded in a fight between two zemindars in Ramnuggur Dhumeree.

„ 9.—On the 25th and 26th of May, dacoitees committed in the districts of Mahomdee, Belgram, and Goorhaeegunj.

„ 11.—A dacoitee committed on the 28th of April, with lighted torches, in the house of Hurpershad, Kanoongo of Siddhour; and the Amil's Sepoys, who were close by, did not give any assistance.

„ 14.—In a dispute between two zemindars in Hamid Allee Khan's Elaka, one man was killed and twelve wounded.

„ 15.—A dacoitee committed in the house of the Mookuddum of Sohye, in Ramnuggur Dhumeree, and himself and his two brothers killed.

„ 16.—A dacoitee committed at Nuguia, and a man killed.

„ 18.—Three men killed in Sidhour, by dacoits.

„ 19.—The Talookdar of Sumhurpuha committed a dacoitee at Suryan; and, in the fight which ensued, about twenty men were killed and wounded.

A dacoitee committed in Bharaitch, and three men killed and wounded.

„ 21.—A paper of intelligence received from Manickpore, in Meer Hamud Allee's Elaka, dated the 2nd of May, stating that Eshree Buksh, nephew of the Talookdar of Shumspoor, committed a dacoitee in the villages of Gowna, in Hunderjeet, and Shakapore; set fire to the houses of the inhabitants; and carried off three men to his place of residence, in the Company's territory.

Another paper of intelligence, dated the 4th of May received, stating that the same Eshree Buksh set fire to the houses of the inhabitants of the villages of Kulkulee, Purian, Dabeepore, and Oodyadpore.

„ 22.—On the 7th of May, a dacoitee committed in the houses of two inhabitants of Sudhour, and after plundering their houses, the dacoits cut off a hand, and split the ears of a son of one of them for his ear-rings.

On the 8th of May, a dacoitee committed in the house of an inhabitant of Aama, and four of the ryuts wounded.

„ 23.—A dacoitee committed in Buddoo Sarai, and two men wounded.

„ 24.—On the 11th of May, a dacoitee committed in the house of Moonnoo, Tailor, inhabitant of Soodhiamon, in Ramnuggur Dhumeree, and himself and six other persons were killed, two men wounded, and his house, and the women who had assembled at a marriage, plundered.

Three men killed in the district of Bareilly.

May 25.—In a zemindaree dispute, four men were killed in Mohumdee.

26.—On the 10th of May, the absconded Chowdry of Sandila set fire to two villages.

28.—On the 11th of May, Shewdeen, an invalid of the Honourable Company, was killed by Goolab Sing, in the house of Dulloo Sing, in Pergunnah Khyrabad.

29.—On the 12th of May, a paper of intelligence received from Gopamow, stating that, a Mahajun, with three persons, having gone to Gudeeapore, the zemindar of Hurwaha came with twenty-five men, and cut off the hand of one of the Mahajun's followers.

30.—On the 12th of May, a dacoitee committed at Mulowlee, in Salunpoor, by Chowdry Sumsan Allee's people.

June 4.—A dacoitee committed at Gurh Ameethee, and a man wounded.

„ 5.—On the 21st of May, a dacoitee committed at Khoorunpore, in Khundosa, and three men killed and wounded.

„ 6.—A paper of intelligence received from Gondah, stating that Seetaram Khutra, inhabitant of Oude, died of fever at Bharaitch, and, on the 31st of May, his wife burnt herself at Gondah with his effigy.

„ 7.—On the 1st of June, the wife of Ram Golam, Brahmin, who died of cholera at Churdah, burnt herself, with her husband's clothes, at Bhyrone, in Gondah.

„ 12.—A dacoitee committed on the 23rd of May, at Oozmanpore, in Mohumdee, and the ryuts plundered. On the same day, a dacoitee was committed at Dhowethra, and the houses burnt.

On the 24th of May, a dacoitee was committed at Rujakh, and two women killed, and a young woman carried off.

„ 14.—Zalim Sing, the absconded zemindar of Seramee, committed a dacoitee at Taragunj.

„ 15.—Rushe-ood-deen, an absconded inhabitant of Amethee, committed a dacoitee at Busurenah, set fire to the houses of the inhabitants, and carried off three men.

„ 15—The zilladar of Nawabgunj having confined Sungram Sing, and other inhabitants of that place, and subsequently their daughters, and delivered them to an inhabitant of Kosheepore, the brothers of the zemindars, with 300 men, attacked him, and killed

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and wounded seven men. Eighteen persons took this opportunity of making their escape.

June 18.—A dacoitee committed on the 29th of May, at Mudowlee, in Sandila, and two men killed and wounded.

A dacoitee committed on a wedding procession in Deriabad, and three men killed, and all the property carried off.

" 21.—Several murders committed, and men wounded in the country.

" 22.—Mhan Khan, Sherishtadar of Sultanpore Thannahs, apprehended some dacoits and robbers, who were rescued by the neighbouring villagers; on which occasion one man was killed and three men wounded.

" 23.—In a paper of intelligence, dated the 8th of June, it was stated that two Company's Sepoys were murdered near Jesowlee, in Gopamon, and that the murderers had joined a wedding, at which the Amil sent 200 men for their seizure. An affray took place, one man was killed and two men were wounded; nine of the wedding people who had been seized were subsequently released, not being concerned in the murder.

" 24.—About fifty persons came from Imambaugh, to complain to Shurf-ood-Dowlah Golam Reza Khan, that at night a dacoitee was committed, the ryuts plundered, and a man wounded.

" 26.—A dacoitee committed at Seemudrah, in Asohur, and two persons wounded. Several murders committed in the country during the week.

" 27.—Chutta Sing, Tufreekdar of Nundowra, in Ramnuggur Dhumeree, killed his co-partner, his brother, and mother, for a village dispute.

A person killed on the same account at Isseowlee.

Munglee, a Sepoy in the Company's Service, murdered Baul-gobund, Brahmin, in a dispute regarding the Sepoy's marriage. He is an inhabitant of Nuthkoo, in Futtehpore, in the British territory. His regiment is not mentioned.

" 28.—In consequence of a zemindaree dispute, Kelesur Buksh, the Tufreekdar of Soojakun in Pertaubgurh, took refuge in the Pergunnah of Gurk Amethee, and, with other absconded zemindars, committed dacoitees. On the 14th of June, Madho Sing, with 800 men and two guns, established his Thannah at Kunthee, and plundered the ryuts; on hearing which, Duljeet Sing attacked Madho Sing, and, in the fight, about thirty men were killed and wounded.

" 29.—On the 9th of June, a dacoitee committed at Tekaitnuggur, near Deriabad, and two men killed.

On the 13th of June, Sheo Buksof Para, in Irtiza Husein's Jagheer, committed a dacoitee in Dalee Khera, and killed a person.

A dacoitee committed in Bijnom, and a man killed.

" 30.—Two murders committed in the country.

July 2.—A dacoitee committed at Mukhra Unsainee, and seven men wounded.

" 3.—On the 20th of June, Seetul Sing, zemindar of Kothia, in Khundasah, committed a dacoitee in the house of Hurdutt Tufreekdar, and killed his brother.

" 4.—On the 17th of June, a zemindar, who had absconded from Mukdapore, committed a dacoitee at Bhoondi in Mahomdee, wounded four men, and set fire to the village; one of the dacoits was killed, and another wounded.

" 5.—A dacoitee committed at Chilowla, and two men killed and wounded.

A dacoitee committed at Rampore, in Seetapore, and six men wounded.

" 6.—In an attempt at dacoitee, in Amawan, fifteen men were killed and wounded.

A dacoitee committed at Kumkrawan, and two men killed.

" 7.—On the 23rd of June, the zemindar of Rohsurree, in Pursundun, set fire to the village of Moharree, by which all the houses were burnt.

" 10.—An absconded zemindar, of Surus-puree, in Ulmasgunj, committed a dacoitee on the 24th of June, at Tajpore.

" 11.—A dacoitee committed at Deogaon, and some of the King's Sepoys plundered of their clothes, &c.

" 12.—On the 28th of June, a Passee killed the Karindah of the Talookdar of Poorah Tewaree, in Pergunnah Rumrahwan, on which the Talookdar cut off the hands, feet, and nose of the Passee. The Amil ordered to send the Passee to Lucknow.

" 13.—Three murders committed in the country.

" 14.—In Pergunnah Gorhaseengunj, in a fight between two Moostagers, four men were wounded on the 2nd of July.

" 16.—A dacoitee committed at Amoulee, in Pergunnah Ramnuggur Dhumeree.

" 18.—On the 11th of July, a dacoitee committed at Rudowlee, and a man killed.

" 19.—On the 10th of July, Zalim Sing, the absconded zemindar of Khumrawan, in Byswarah, committed a dacoitee, killed a man, and set fire to a village.

" 20.—A dacoitee committed at Taudah, and a man killed and another wounded.

On the 15th of July, the absconded zemindars of Gunja committed a dacoitee at Bhugwanpore, in Mahona, killed four men and wounded five.

" 28.—On the 16th of July, a dacoitee committed at Dukha, in Juhowna, and three men wounded.

A dacoitee committed at Alunopore, Enaitpore, in Gooshaeengunj, and nine persons wounded.

" 30.—In a zemindaree dispute between two Tufreekdars, in Pergunnah Subula, eleven men were killed and wounded.

" 31.—On the 17th of July, a dacoitee committed in Deriabad, and several men carried off.

August 1.—On the 24th of July, a woman burnt herself alive, with her husband's sword, at Mulihabad.

" 2.—Two men killed and four wounded, in Sumrawan, by the men of a zemindar.

" 3.—A dacoitee committed in a village of the Huzoor Tehseel, and two men killed and several wounded.

" 6.—A dacoitee committed at Untee, and the village set fire to.

On the 25th of July, the zemindars of Bhurrson, in Mundesor, at the instigation of the zemindar of Jhurriaon, who is in confinement, attacked the latter village, with 200 men, killed two brothers of the zilladar, and wounded a man, and took away all the

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property of the zilladar and his men, as well as the family of the zemindar of Jhuriaon.

August 11.—On the 21st of July, Toorab Alee, Tehseeldar of Sultanpore, had the zemindars of Kutaiwan (who were in imprisonment) hung upon a tree by the feet, for three days, and beat with martingales, and water sprinkled on the wounds. The Tehseeldar then had them dragged on the ground, and, when they bled much, they were again confined.

" 14.—A dacoitee committed in Pergunnah Suthruk, and one man wounded.

" 20.—A dacoitee committed at Gooshaengunj.

" 21.—A dacoitee committed at Chaud Sarae, in Gooshaengunj, on the 11th of August, and a man wounded.

On the 16th of August, in a boundary dispute, between Madho Pertaub Sing, Talookdar of Pourwar, and Raw Suroop, grandson of the late Hurpaul Sing, Talookdar of Suheepore, a fight took place. The former had 1,000 followers, and was assisted by 1,000 adherents of Seetul Sing and Ubdhool Sing, and 500 men of Raja Mhan Sing: 180 men were killed and wounded on both sides.

" 22.—Two hundred men of the absconded wife of the Talookdar of Shumspore, who is a refugee in the Company's territory, committed a dacoitee in Manuckpore and killed down.

S. O. " 25.—In a zemindaree dispute between two zemindars, in the district of Gopamow, one of them was killed and several men wounded.

On the 14th of August, Muheeput Sing, the zemindar of Tundowlee, in Khundasa, committed a dacoitee at Bubeer Mon, and three men were wounded.

" 27.—A dacoitee committed at Hoossainabad, in Sultanpore, and seven men killed.

" 29.—A dacoitee committed at Nawabgunj Barabunkee, and a man wounded.

" 30.—A dacoitee committed at Mahomedpore, in Busgawan, and two men wounded.

September 4.—Two men killed and one man wounded, in a zemindaree dispute between a Gohundang native officer and a zemindar in the district of Pertaubgunj.

" 5.—In a zemindaree dispute between landholders in Muleehabad, two men were killed.

" 6.—On the 23rd of August, it was reported, by the Vakeel of the Talookdar of Chaudee to the Tehseeldar of Sultanpore, that Amur Bishen Sing, Talookdar of Buragaon, took forcible possession of Hajeepore, his client's zemindaree, and put to death nearly forty of his servants.

" 7.—A dacoitee committed at the village of Burgada, and two women killed and wounded.

" 8.—In a zemindaree dispute in Bussoulie, in Sultanpore, four men were wounded on the 1st instant.

" 11.—On the 2nd of September, a dacoitee committed at the village of Lalee, Mohun Lall wounded, and rupees 2,000 carried off.

Another dacoitee committed on the 5th, at Shureefabad, in Sutrick, and a man wounded.

" 14.—Dacoitees committed at Rewulpore, and Mohan.

" 15.—Three men killed in the country by dacoits.

" 17.—A dacoitee committed at Raelpore, and the houses of ryuts set fire to.

On the 9th of September, the Talookdar of Baska and Dhunnowlee, with 700 armed followers, committed a dacoitee at Bhoorea, in Hydergurh, and carried off forty men and women.

" 18.—A dacoitee committed in Rudowlee, and one man killed.

" 20.—Muheeput Sing, zemindar of Guneishpore, committed a dacoitee in the house of Bulbhuddur Sing, Subadar, and Mukhun Sing, Havildar of invalids, and killed them.

" 21.—In a zemindaree dispute between the Talookdars of Pukhra Nusaree, in Hydurgurh, and the farmers of Barah, in Irtiza Husein's Jagheer, six men were killed on the 16th of September, and, on the 17th, nearly sixteen men were killed and wounded.

On the 16th of September, the wife of the son of Bukhtouree, Brahmin, inhabitant of Mousa, burnt herself on the funeral pile of her husband.

" 24.—In two fights between Suhugram Buksh, Talookdar of Pookhrao Onsaree, and Tukhoor Buksh, and Ram Sahaie, farmers of Bara, in the Jagheers of Irtiza Husein Khan, forty men were killed and wounded. Heads of three of the principal zemindars, who were in the Gurhee, were sent to the Tehseeldar of Hydergurh.

On the 22nd of September, the absconded zemindars of Russoolabad attempted to establish their Thannahs in the Jhullotur villages. The Tehseeldar went against them, with a gun and two Toomuns, but was repulsed. He was himself killed, with several of his men, and his gun taken.

" 25.—In zemindaree disputes in Pergunnah Chanda and Gossamow, four men were wounded and one man killed.

" 26.—Two dacoitees committed in Islamabad and Bijnour.

" 27.—A dacoitee committed at Mubeispoor, and a man killed.

October 1.—On the 11th of September, Muheeput Sing, zemindar of Guneishpore, committed a dacoitee at Rampore, killed Bulbuddhur Sing, Subadar, and Makhun Sing, Havildar of invalids.

On the 18th of September, the wife of the son of Bukhtouree Sing, Brahmin, inhabitant of Bausah, in Mullawan, burnt herself on her husband's funeral pile.

" 2—On the 24th of September, seven men were killed in a zemindaree dispute in Bisowlee, in Sultanpore.

" 3.—A dacoitee committed near the Lucknow cantonment, and a Passee wounded and his property plundered.

" 4.—The Vakeel of Rajah Run Bahadoor Sing, of Chandepore, preferred a complaint that Umur Bishen Sing, Talookdar of Buragaon, had taken possession of Hajeepore, belonging to his client, and had killed nearly 40 men.

" 5.—On the 28th of September, Sumbhur Sing, an absconded zemindar of Shohabad, committed a dacoitee at Kuthwan, and wounded six men, two of whom died subsequently.

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October 6.—On the 28th of September, two men killed in the district of Baiswarah.
" 8.—On the 1st instant, a dacoitee committed in the Bijnour Elaka, and a man killed and another wounded.
" 9.—A dacoitee committed in the Sutrick Elaka.
" 11.—Two murders and a dacoitee committed in the country.
" 12.—In a zemindaree dispute two men were wounded on the 11th of September, in the district of Sultanpore.
" 13.—On the 2nd of October, Daood Khan, an inhabitant of Sundoos, committed a dacoitee at Jawael, killed the Butwarree, and wounded his son.
" 15 & 16.—Dahee Buksh, the Talookdar of Gondah, plundered many of the ryuts.
" 17.—An inhabitant of Ulmasgung plundered, at Ethapore, and his son wounded, and an inhabitant of Serai, in Sufferpore, killed.
" 18.—In a fight between the Talookdars of Amawan, in Bareilly, and the Talookdar of Rujoodpore, five men were wounded.
" 19.—A Company's Sepoy and his uncle wounded on the 4th of October, at Ramnuggur Dhumeree, by dacoits.
On the 6th of October, in a fight between the troops of the Amil and the Talookdar of Umra, three Sepoys of the former were wounded.
" 20.—Great disorders prevail in Bharaitch and Sufferpore.
" 22.—The zemindars of Mohan have deserted their villages, in consequence of the extortions of the Amil Rugburdial, and twenty-four villages in the district remain uncultivated.
" 25.—A dacoitee committed in the house of a goldsmith, at Shahabad, and he himself wounded.
" 26.—A dacoitee committed at Oochgaon, and two persons killed.
On the 9th of October, a dacoitee committed at Tundiva, in Pergunnah Mohumdee, and two men killed.
" 29.—A dacoitee committed at Jarael, the Putwaree killed, and his son wounded.
On the 7th of October, two Sepoys of the Talookdar of Sadoollahnuggur, wounded by Dacoits.
On the 27th of October, Doonnea Sing, the Talookdar of Burrowta, in Pergunnah Mohan, came to that place, and was proceeding to some place, when the Naib of the Amil of Russoolabad surrounded the village with a large force and two guns, when a fight took place between the villagers and the Naib's troops. On hearing this, a Subadar of Mujd-ood-Dowlah, with a company of Sepoys and two guns, &c., were sent by the Tehseeldar of Amasgunj to protect the village. Some shots were fired, and the Sepoys of the Naib attacked them, and killed the Subadar; four sepoys and Golundazes set fire to the village, plundered it, and killed some of the villagers.
" 30.—A dacoitee committed at Huseeha, and the Talookdar, Banee Madho, killed.
On the 8th of October, the absconded zemindar of Hullowlee, in Pergunnah Mourawan, took away captive eleven Mahajuns of that place.
A fight took place between the people of the wife of Shumspore, who were taking some prisoners, when the Talookdar of Suriawan came to their rescue, and four men were killed.
" 31.—In a fight between the Talookdar of Onwar, in Salone, and the Amil's Sepoys, six men were killed and seven wounded.
In a fight between the Talookdar of Daoodpore and his son, eight men were wounded on the side of the latter.
November 1.—In a fight between some of the Nazim's zemindars and the absconded zemindars of Russoolabad, five men were killed and wounded.
A dacoitee committed at Bhutturmow, in Khundaisa; four persons killed and wounded.
" 2.—An empty boat coming from Cawnpore, for the purchase of saltpetre, plundered by dacoits on the 21st of October, at Dalamow, of rupees 150 in cash, and a man wounded.
On the 22nd of October, Mhan Khan, farmer of the Thannah of Sultanpore, accompanied by thirty of his own men and the Sufdurree Pultun, attacked the village of Bhaeen, and seized and confined Rughusth Sing, son of Goordutt Sing, a Subadar in the Company's service, on the pretence of his having been connected with a bearer woman for six years, and plundered the Subadar's property.
In a fight between the troops of the Nazim of Sultanpore and the Talookdar of Mahona, one man of the former was killed and five men wounded.
" 3.—Three absconded zemindars, of Dundia in Sudhow, beat to death a man of Chuttree caste, for not giving them 500 rupees.
In a fight between the men of the Amil of Russoolabad and the zemindars of Burrownah, in Mohan, fifty-two men were killed and wounded, and about eighty men and women carried away prisoners.
" 6.—Five days' fight between the zemindars of Toolseepore and Muchmee, in Belgrain; ten men were killed and wounded.
Alee Mahomed, a newly appointed Tehseeldar, of Sarrah, was attacked on the road by some zemindars, and twelve of his men were killed and wounded, and he obliged to return.
In a fight between the absconded farmer of Haman, in Mahomdee, and the troops of the Amil, who had gone to seize him, seven other of the Amil's men were killed.
" 8.—In a zemindaree dispute between two Tufreekdars, in Isrowlee, the Zilladar killed three men.
" 9.—Several men killed and wounded in the country.
" 10.—On the 26th of October a dacoitee committed at Oosaraon, in Sahurpore Mohan, and the village set fire to.

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November 10.—In Shahabad, the inhabitants of Soorjeepore plundered the village of Kuchalia, and set fire to it. The Amil of Mahomdee sent a force to attack the village of Goorgaon, but the villagers surrounded it on all sides, and repulsed it, and captured a tumbril. Captain Barlow was directed to proceed against the zemindars with his regiment and guns.

„ 11.—On the 31st, the mother of the Chowdry of Issowlee, had the wife of her son's Tufreekdar killed.

„ 12.—On the 24th of October, two Karindahs of Rajah Rugber Sing, with three men, proceeded to his (Amil's) villages to collect the revenues; the Amil, on hearing this, sent 100 men to prevent them from doing so, when a fight took place between them. Subsequent to this, the Amil dispatched two guns and some sowars to aid his men, and the Karindahs fled. In this affair, about forty-nine men were killed and wounded.

„ 14.—A dacoitee committed at Munsoornuggur, in Banugur, on the 28th of October, and the Kanoongo killed, and his brother wounded.

„ 15.—Seven men wounded in a zemindaree dispute, on the 14th of October, in Futtehpore.

On the 15th of October, Thakoorpershad, the Chowdry of Dewa, attacked the house of Omeed Sing, Talookdar of Puharpore, killed his son and eleven other men, wounded five others, and plundered his property. He further carried off the Talookdar and four of his men.

„ 17.—Several dacoitees committed in the country, one attended with murder.

„ 18.—On the 30th of October, Gungadeen the absconded Tufreekdar of Suhuspore, in Salone, committed a dacoitee in that village, killed the Mokuddum, and plundered his property.

A dacoitee committed at Rankhee, in the Saon district, and the ryuts plundered.

„ 19.—A dacoitee committed at Sunkapore, in Sikundurpore, and three persons wounded.

„ 21.—On the 3rd of November, a murder committed at Mahowna.

„ 23.—On the 8th of November, Khumur and Bodhee, with 100 men, all inhabitants of Goura, in Mullawan, murdered four zemindars and a woman.

„ 27.—On the 6th of November, Khooshall and others of Nursingpore, in Byswarah, committed a dacoitee at Soonaree, killed the Mookuddum, and set fire to the village.

Two dacoitees committed at Achynuth, and two men killed and wounded.

„ 29.—On the 15th a dacoitee committed in the house of Moonnee Banyan, inhabitant of Purseedeepore.

December 1.—A murder committed in Paharapore.

„ 3.—A murder committed in Sumrowta.

On the 16th of November a dacoitee committed in Pergunnah Pursudee, and two men killed and wounded.

„ 4.—In a dispute respecting the irrigation of land, one man was killed and five men wounded in Daoodpore.

„ 5.—A dacoitee committed at Syde Mahomedpore, and a man killed.

„ 8.—On the 18th of November, a force sent by the Tehseeldar of Roorsee, for the seizure of Mohun Sing and Burlee Sing, zemindars of Soondur. They attacked their Ghurree, and, in the fight which took place, thirteen men were killed and wounded.

On the 23rd of November, the Nazim of Sultanpore attacked the Ghurree of Bejegurh; ten of his men were killed and wounded. In both instances, the zemindars evacuated their Ghurrees and fled.

„ 11.—On the 23rd of November, a dacoitee committed at Mahrumpore, in Nanparah, and two men wounded.

A man killed and another wounded at Rajahpore, in Byswarah.

In Salone, the Talookdar of Rajapore set fire to Jaleepore, by which two women were burnt to death.

„ 12.—On the 22nd of November, Muchabul, the absconded zemindar of Cuchownda, in Bareilly, committed a dacoitee in the house of his Tufreekdar, wounded him and his brother, and killed another brother.

„ 13.—A dacoitee committed at Seemburpore, in Mullawan, and two men wounded.

„ 14.—A dacoitee committed at Bhugwuntnuggur, and four men wounded.

„ 15.—In Salone six zemindars were killed on the 27th of November, in an attempt by Seumber Sing, zemindar of Rajpore, to rescue Revenue defaulters.

„ 17.—Three murders committed in the country.

Omeid Rae, the absconded Kanoongo of Suffeepore, having received intimation that the Amil's troops were coming for his seizure, decamped from the place where he had been staying. The Amil's troops, being disappointed, fired cannon at the village, killed two men, and cut off their heads.

A dacoitee committed at Kusmowra, in Pergunnah Mahowna, and three men wounded.

On the 15th of November, the absconded Talookdar of Hoosainpore, in Pergunnah Jugdespore, committed a dacoitee at Nainpore, and killed three men.

Two murders committed in Tehseenpore. On the same date, in a dispute between the zemindars of Goolcha and the Chowry of Koodowlee, two men were killed and seven wounded.

„ 19.—Three dacoitees committed in Deriabad, and a thief killed.

„ 20.—On the 3rd of December, Juggurnath, Malgozar of Uskamon, committed a dacoitee at Mulhonmow, in Rudowlee, killed four men, wounded four, and set fire to the village, by which five women were burnt to death. The Talookdar of Deogaon, on hearing this, attacked Juggurnath, and killed and wounded fourteen of his followers.

„ 24.—Iman Buksh and Mukhdoom Buksh, two refractory zemindars of Cusahere, in Busowdhee, having given shelter to the absconded zemindars of Buhreta, Girdhara Sing proceeded against them, and stormed their Ghurree; in this affair seventy-six men were killed and wounded on both sides.

„ 25.—A man killed in Suffeepore.

1848,
December 26.—Two men killed by dacoits, in Pertaubgurh, and two men in Gopamon, in a private quarrel.
„ 27.—A dacoitee committed at Nutheepore, and the houses of the ryuts burnt.
„ 28.—In the district of Salone, several Talookdars are preparing to oppose the local authorities.
„ 29.—A dacoitee committed at Ghyla, and two men wounded.
In an attack made against the Ghurree of Toorheat Sing, in Gondah Bharaitch, nine of his men were killed and the Talookdar seized.
„ 31.—Dacoitees committed in Byswarah and Salone, and a man wounded.
Omitted above.
November 3.—By order of the Tehseeldar of Suffeepore, 600 men and 2 guns were sent against the house of Dold Khan, zemindar of Moostafabad, and his house plundered of valuable jewellery and other property, as well as 55,000 rupees, by digging up the ground in several places. They also plundered the house of Bahadoor Khan, a Residency Chuprassie, and the house of 100 other ryuts. In this affair, one man was killed and three men wounded.

Appendix E of Inclosure 6 of No. 1.

No. 2. Record of Crimes committed in Oude in 1854.

1854,
January 2.—6th December. In a fight between the landed proprietors of Bhowannypore and Talgaon, two men were killed and twelve wounded.
„ 3.—12th December. Doorga Sing killed his comrade, Vizier Mahomed, in a quarrel, which arose between them in the performance of their duty, and was put in imprisonment by the Amil of Suffeepore.
19th December. Ramdeen, Brahmin of Etonnjah, killed his co-sharer, and effected his escape.
„ 4.—5th December. Kour, and other inhabitants of Kunwanpore, attacked the house of one Madaree of Munglapore; but, one of them being killed by the owner of the house, the remainder decamped.
9th September. Some dacoits attacked the house of one Durga, in Gondah, and robbed him of his property.
Some thieves broke into the house of one Shewdeen; but, finding him awake, they wounded him, and effected their escape.
„ 6.—7th December. Hurnarain, Brahmin, of Kuwulpore, killed a female, by name Bhagunnea, and effected his escape.
12th December. Huseinbuksh and three others were wounded in an affray which took place between them at Fyzabad.
14th December. A Sepoy wounded a salt manufacturer at Rahwah, in Gondah, because he refused to pay him his fee, when he served a summons upon him from the authority of the village.
On the same day, Bhekharee, the refractory Chief of Sehgown, in Hydergurh, attacked the village, killed his co-sharer, wounded his father, and effected his escape.
„ 8.—11th December. In a fight which took place between the landed proprietors of Lonar and Nuktowree, in Sandie, for the privilege of irrigating their fields from a pond, the proprietors of the former village wounded one of the followers of the latter, who, in return, attacked his house and killed his grandson, a boy of seven years old.
On the same day, Bulwunt Sing, of Lamurjhalah, killed his step-mother, and effected his escape.
„ 10.—13th December. The troops employed under Agaie Alee Khan, the Amil of Sultanpore, attacked the village of Bundeh Kothee, wounded one, seized seventeen, and plundered all the other inhabitants, who, in their defence, wounded three of their enemies.
Three armed men came to the house of Kazim Ally Khan, a grandson of the late Shuja-ood-Dowlah, mortally wounded him, and effected their escape.
„ 12.—11th December. Lack Sing, a refractory landed proprietor, attacked the village of Kotubpoor, killed one, and wounded three, of its inhabitants, who, in return, wounded two of his followers.
13th December. Goleha, the daughter of Deena Lodh, plucked up some greens from the fields of Doorga, Brahmin of Doondea Khera. Upon this, the Brahmin struck her with such force with an iron-mounted club, that he broke her skull.
22nd December. Ahmed Khan, a Sepoy employed under the Tehseeldar of Salumpore, mortally wounded the wife of Munkoo Dawk Remner, in the Honourable Company's service.
25th December. Bustee Sing, the landed proprietor of Patabah, killed a Passee of Mitowlee, and robbed him of all his property: some policemen went to arrest him, but he turned them out of his gate.
„ 13.—23rd December. There arose a fight between Madaree and Lal Sahia, for the possession of a certain tract of land in Mohan, and it terminated in the loss of eight men killed and wounded on both sides.
13.—On the same day, Ateekoollah, a servant of the officer commanding His Majesty's Khas Resalah, went to demand his money from Punchum Sing, a landed proprietor in the estate of Jugesurbuksh, and, being attacked by him with a sword, he, in self-

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defence, shot him with a pistol. The servants of the proprietor pursued the man, and killed him with their swords and spears.

January 15.—22nd December. Bikurmajeet, the farmer of Gurh Amaithee, attacked the house of one Heeramun, of Narampore, and wounded his sons Golal and Benee, who, in return, killed one and wounded two of the farmer's followers.

26th December. Some highwaymen killed a traveller on the bank of the River Gogra, and robbed him of all his property.

About a week ago, the eunuch Feroze arrested Seetaram, Brahmin, for seizing one of the inhabitants of Chillawan on a charge of theft, subjected him to all sorts of torture, and demanded a fine of 1000 rupees from him.

„ 17.—25th December. Gyapershad, the Tehseeldar of Onaon, confined, and inflicted a severe beating upon, Ghazee Khan, a pensioned Subadar, on an ill-grounded complaint of the Tehseeldar's Grassentters.

31st December. The brother of the landed proprietor of Hussenpore killed a thief, and hung the body upon a tree, with the face downwards.

„ 18.—20th December. The Tehseeldar of Asho apprehended some of the marauders located in the Kanth Forest.

25th December. Ally Buksh and Mowlah Buksh, sons of Meer Khan Sowar, in the King's service, seized upon Goolzar, vegetable seller of Lalgunj, for preventing them from sitting at his gate, and kicked his old mother with such force, for pleading his cause, that she died on the spot.

„ 19.—21st December. A quarrel having taken place between the cultivators of Gunga Sour and Teysapore, the latter party complained against the former to the local authority, who summoned the defendants, and gave them a severe beating, without inquiring into the cause of the complaint. One of the injured party, from shame at the treatment he received, wounded himself; upon this, that authority ordered one of his servants to cut him down; the servant, however, did not, or could not, obey the order to the letter, but satisfied his infuriated master by inflicting a few sword cuts on his victim.

26th December. Bani Sing and Bhagoo Sing, the insurgent chiefs of Barar, attacked the village of Madhee, and drove away all the cattle belonging to the inhabitants.

30th December. Ramsahai, the Chief of Pathukpore, attacked the house of one Shimboo, plundered him of his property, and carried him off prisoner.

One Madara Shah poisoned himself, because he was shamefully abused and confined, without any cause, by Rumzan Khan, a servant of His Majesty's Rahur Company.

„ 20.—25th December. Some robbers entered the shop of Bulder, liquor-seller of Goshaengunj, robbed his property, wounded him and his servants, and effected their escape.

31st December. Ouseree and Shewbuksh, grain merchants of Sungrampore, were attacked, robbed, and murdered by some highwaymen, on their way home from Sumrowta.

„ 22.—21st January. Some high words having passed between Elakee Buksh and Nujfally, the former wounded the latter, and was taken into custody by the Police.

This morning it was reported to His Majesty that Thakoor, a Sepoy employed under Bundeh Alli, coachman, had shot one Esree Sing at the Palace gate, and effected his escape.

„ 23.—27th December. Mukhdoom Buksh, a gunner in the King's service, attacked the house of one Fakeeraycarder, at Mustowlie, plundered his property, stripped his wife of her gold and silver ornaments, and carried him away prisoner.

30th December. Some marauders attacked and wounded a tax-gatherer in Takutnuggur, and plundered the collections.

1st January. Ram Sing, the landed proprietor of Dehin Esowlie, shot one Soochit Sing.

„ 24.—1st January. Judnath Sing, the brother-in-law of the farmer of Mahywah in Khyrabad, attacked the village of Gondapore, plundered the inhabitants, drove away their cattle, and carried off them and their families as captives.

2nd January. Jayjay, goldsmith, of Sandila, was attacked, and robbed of his property, by some highwaymen on his way home from Mulawun.

4th January. Some highwaymen attacked and wounded Chundee, shopkeeper, of Amaneegunj, on his way home from Pukra, and robbed him of his property.

On the same day, the Passee marauders of Sadurpore attacked the house of Thakoor, a shopkeeper, of Halumnuggur, killed him, wounded his brothers and their wives, and plundered him of his property.

„ 25.—21st December. The son of Boday, shopkeeper, of Moostakeeingunj, beat Bhikharee Sodh to such an extent, for plucking some Indian corn from his field, that he died thereof.

28th December. Kaloma Sing, the manager on the part of Judut Sing, the farmer of Bhitaie, with 150 armed men, attacked the house of Mukhdoom Buksh, the landed proprietor of Elahoodpoor, and robbed him of his property.

On the same day, Khooshall, a cultivator of Tewarijpore, poisoned himself, because Basee Sharbuksh, his landlord, had confined his wife, with a view to make him pay land-tax at an increased valuation.

„ 26.—31st December. Some highwaymen attacked Kustooree, and some other inhabitants of Ushrufpore, on their way home from Seetapore, and robbed them of their property.

5th January. Some person or persons unknown, killed a traveller on the frontier of Mouza Barah in Hydergurh.

„ 27.—1st January. Some dacoits attacked the house of Dabee Kachee, in Kuntoor, and plundered his property. On the same day some dacoits also attacked the house of

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Gungadeen, banker, of Talgunj, robbed him of his property, and carried away his son and nephew as captives.

January 27.—3rd January. Bhoop Sing, the landed proprietor of Hya, in Sindula, attacked the grain merchants of Kakrabad, plundered them of their bullocks and grain, and made them prisoners.

„ 29.—2nd January. Gungadeen Hunwunt Sing, and others of Esowlie, let their cattle graze in the fields of Ganeish Brahmin, and, having been remonstrated with for so doing, mortally wounded him.

3rd January. Some highwaymen attacked and wounded Nahir Khan, Sepoy, on his way to the camp of the Governor of Salone, and effected their escape.

On the same day, Cheydee Sing, Sepoy of the Futteh Jung Battalion, shot Koodrut, an elephant driver, in the village of Omethee, and was put in custody by the Governor of the District.

At about 7 P.M., one Mahomed Ally wounded Mahomed Husein, a servant of Mohsoon-ood-Dowlah, and effected his escape.

February 2.—3rd January. Dyal Passee, with fifty or sixty armed men, issued forth from the fort, at Munkurosah, the asylum of marauders and freebooters, and attacked Jhavo, innkeeper, at Sufdurgunj, killed and wounded thirteen travellers, who had put up in the inn, and robbed them of their property.

5th January. A stranger came to the house of Pulichdoss Fakeer of Fyzabad, and stated that he had not eaten anything for three days, and begged of him to give him something to eat. The Fakeer had compassion, and accommodated him in his house, but, at night, the ungrateful wretch wounded his benefactor, and effected his escape.

7th January. Lack Sing, the refractory landed proprietor of Rankhoree, attacked the house of one Nanhoo, shopkeeper, of Dirgpalgunj, plundered his property, wounded his wife, and carried away his son and brother as captives.

Shah Mirza, a prisoner, charged with murdering the late Dhomun Byee, of Cawnpore, effected his escape from the jail, and managed to see his mistress, Punna, courtesan. In a quarrel which arose at her house about the string of his kite, he wounded one Mahomed Raheem with his sword, and escaped. It is said that Azeem Ally Beg, Superintendent of the King's Jail, is in the habit of taking something, and setting certain prisoners at liberty in the evening, on their promising to return to the jail in the morning. This has caused the commission of numerous thefts and robberies in the City.

„ 3.—4th January. Muthra Brahmin, of Amowlee in Ramnuggur Dhumeree, murdered his wife, because she had betrayed him for committing a theft in her father's house.

6th January. Some highwaymen attacked a party of cloth-merchants of Laharpore, on their way home from Ukberpore, wounded some, and robbed all of their cash and property.

„ 5.—6th January. The men of the Tehseeldar of Khyrabad attacked and killed one Nikka, a Passee marauder, who had re-established himself in his village.

9th January. Ojagur Brahmin, of Inhowna, wounded himself for having been unjustly confined and mulcted by the Police officer of the village.

10th January. Rugonauth, and others of Mouza Biswar, attacked the house of their co-partner, Ramseeroop, killed him and his son, and effected their escape.

11th January. Bhyroun, a landed proprietor of Gramow, killed Bieram Sing and Mohkum Sing, in a quarrel which arose between them for the possession of certain lands.

„ 6.—8th January. Nidhan, a sweeper of Mowrawan, murdered his wife, and effected his escape.

On the same day, Belusyan, a female Brahmin, of Ourungabad, killed her daughter, because she had been falsely accused, by Jhunnos and Sumkoura, of committing adultery.

10th January. Goorbuksh Sing, Sepoy in the service of the Tehseeldar of Gondah, wounded his comrade, Omrad Sing, and was in return killed by him.

16th January. Some dacoits attacked the mud fort of Surnu, in Hydergurh, and killed one, and carried off three of the Sepoys on guard as captives.

11th January. Seetlabuksh, the refractory zemindar of Hulyapore, attacked the house of one Gungadeen, plundered his property and carried off his daughter and uncle, Ramjeeawun. He released Ramjeeawun on the road, and told him to send him 100 rupees for the release of the girl from captivity.

The men employed under Nadir Husein, the Head Patrol in the city, requested Husein Ally, the brother-in-law of Azeem Ally Beg, to give up his arms, but the man refused, and in the scuffle slightly wounded one of the Sepoys, and took shelter in the house of one Budree Dass, till he received some succour from his brother-in-law.

„ 8.—15th January. Some dacoits attacked the houses of Balee Rajpoot, and Gungadeen, Brahmin, of Dewgaon, and killed one and wounded three of their servants.

On the same day, Dabee Sing, the son of Bhowani Sing, the landed proprietor of Bulhur, wounded Peerbuksh, his co-partner, in the village of Nearnow, and was put in confinement.

„ 9.—10th January. Mukwa, Passee, attacked the house of Chowkhy, Passee of Lahurpore, plundered his property, set fire to the house of his neighbour, and effected his escape.

„ 10.—16th January. Juggurnath, dacoit, attacked the village of Gownia, in Esowlie, and carried off twenty-two men as prisoners.

19th January. Subdhan Sing, the refractory landed proprietor of Beejapore, attacked the village of Behta, and drove away the cattle belonging to the inhabitants.

1854,
February 12.—25th January. Esree Sing, accompanied with some armed men from Mouza Behra, in the Honourable Company's dominion, attacked a party of the Sepoys employed under the Collector of Budhur, and rescued the prisoners they were escorting from Bundursah. In the skirmish, two of the Collector's men and six of the invading party were wounded.

20th January. Ubdool Ahmed, of Khyrabad, prevented Nageeun, a courtesan, from putting up at the house of Deena, an innkeeper, and, upon her saying that she would go away next day, he wounded her brother, dragged his daughter by the hair, and fired a pistol at her, by which he wounded the innkeeper.

23rd January. Ujrael Sing, and other dacoits, attacked the village of Khurgapore, killed and wounded seven of the inhabitants, plundered their property, set fire to their houses, and carried off one Gobray.

24th January. Some person or persons unknown killed Koosla, Chumar of Khyrabad, wounded his wife and mother, and ran away.

" 14.—18th January. Kooshall, a refractory shareholder in Mouza Bunsa, attacked his co-partner, Kour, on his way to Sandila, and robbed him and his followers of their property.

On the same day, in a fight between Ghesa Khan and Peergholaw, co-partners, regarding the possession of certain mango trees, one man was killed and four men were wounded.

On the same date, the Zeladar of Mutka, in Salone, seized upon the son of Lulloo, Brahmin, on a charge of theft, and made him over to Lukna, and other Passees, who beat him so unmercifully that he died.

" 15. Punah Ally, Sowar, employed under the eunuch Diamut, wounded his relation, Badoolah, in a quarrel. Both parties were arrested and sent to the eunuch by the Police.

" 16.—17th January. Bhugwunt Sing, the refractory landed proprietor of Geura, attacked one Madhoram, Brahmin, on his way to Utrowla, and robbed him of his property.

19th January. Some unknown person or persons killed Badul Khan, of Bawan, in Gopamow, and threw his body into a well. Adkuk Lall, Brahmin, was accused of the deed, and put in custody.

24th January. The Passil inhabitants of Mouza Bharowlie attacked Chedee Koormee, of Tandowrah, on his way home from Lucknow, and robbed him of his property.

25th January. Some highwaymen wounded Roop Sing, Sepoy of the Sandila Nizamut, and effected their escape.

On the same day, Radhay Lall, of Maleehabad, wounded his father, in a quarrel, and effected his escape.

The Police of Mouza Deshoar, in the jurisdiction of the eunuch Mobaruck, accused Mohun Passee of theft, and beat him to such an extent that he died.

" 19.—18th January. Some highwaymen attacked Salaree and Nooree, of Khyree, on their way home from Mehwa, and robbed them of their property.

26th January. Hurdut Sing, the landed proprietor of Deheepore, attacked the village of Sifleepore, plundered its inhabitants, and carried off Golall, Brahmin.

27th January. Juggurnath, the notorious dacoit, attacked the village of Khoorkee Ghat, killed one of the inhabitants, plundered him of his property, set fire to this and three other villages, and effected his escape.

" 20.—29th January. Some robbers attacked certain grain merchants at Biswah, wounded one, and robbed them all of their merchandize.

On the same day, some highwaymen attacked and robbed Fyzoollar and three other inhabitants of Lahurpore, on their way home from Makunpore.

From the 13th instant a fight is carried on between Goorbuksh and Bhagwanbuksh, zemindars, for the possession of Mouza Lutcheepore.

7th February. The landed proprietors of Bushonde attacked the house of Ameer Khan, Chowdry in Barowlee, where two men were killed and six wounded, on both sides.

" 21.—26th January. Balkeeshun, a co-sharer in Mouza Oogoo, killed his co-partner Nutha, and effected his escape.

27th January. The men of Juggernath-buksh, the farmer of Nain in Salone, attacked some travellers at Rajapore, robbed them of their property, and made them prisoners.

17th February. Gungadeen, trumpeter, being in a state of intoxication, wounded Fyz Ally, Thannadar of Sursya, and two of his subordinates, and was in return shot by them.

" 22.—1st February. The men of Odres Sing, Talookdar of Dhowhra, seized upon Goordut Ram, Malgoozar of Gowra, and were carrying him away, when his servants and the Police people ran to his assistance, and rescued him. In the collision between the parties, two of the Malgoozar's servants and one of the police were wounded.

On the same day, some highwaymen attacked Ramzan, butcher, of Jehangeerabad, on his way home from the camp of the Amil of Gondah, and robbed him of his property.

Some unknown person wounded Golam Mahomed in the city, and effected his escape.

Some unknown person or persons killed one Mussamut Kowsubya, of Hydergunj, in the city, and made away with her property.

Ameerun, a courtesan, was found strangled in her house, at Hosenbagh; but of her murderer no trace has been discovered.

" 23.—28th January. Some dacoits attacked the house of one Thakoor, an inhabitant of Dalmow, robbed him of his property, and wounded one of the inmates of the house.

9th February. The Passees and Chumars of Pakhuree, in Moohundee, attacked

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Prounauth and other grain merchants on their way to Lucknow, and robbed them of their property.

11th February. Pahulwan, Khan of Ubhar, in Rudowlee, assisted by the men of Fazul Azeem, the Naib Amil of the district, attacked the house of his co-partner Dabeedeen, killed him, with his three sons, two brothers, an uncle, and another relation, plundered his property, drove away his cattle, and carried off the females of the house.

Chotey Khan, a private employed under Bundeh Ally, and three other persons, mortally wounded one Ally Mahomed Khan, in the city, and effected their escape.

February 24.—21st January. Juggernath Buksh, the landed proprietor of Naen, attacked the house of Toolsee, a shopkeeper of Mouza Dewrie, in Salone, robbed him and his neighbours of their property, wounded some of the Sepoys who were on duty in the village, and carried off seven persons.

24th January. Some thieves mortally wounded Heeramun, Passee of Kathour, in Khyrabad, and carried off his property.

5th February. Some dacoits attacked the village of Jugta; but, resistance having been made by the inhabitants, they effected their escape, with the loss of one man killed.

Mahomed Ally, who had been mortally wounded by Choty Khan, private, died yesterday: but the offender escaped with impunity, his officers having sent him to Dil-Kosha, under the protection of his comrades.

" 26.—6th February. Esree Sing, of Baurah, in Orunbeerpore, attacked the house of Lao, Subadar of Meetowlee, plundered his property, killed and wounded two men, and carried off his daughter.

On the same day, Seetlabuksh, the refractory Talookdar of Naen, attacked some travellers and carried them off as prisoners.

12th February. In an affray between Sewkee, Brahmin of Saropan, and Jowahir Sing and others of Hamedpore, for the possession of the dry leaves of a mango tope, mortgaged to the former by the latter party, one man was killed and six were wounded on both sides.

" 27.—15th February. The refractory zemindars of Basodhee, in Deriabad, attacked the villages of Newarpore and Mahomedpore, plundered the inhabitants of their property, and set fire to their houses, by which many cattle were destroyed.

On the same day, some dacoits attacked the house of Jeealal, a shopkeeper, of Saadut-gunj, in Ramnuggur Dhumeree, plundered his property, valued at rupees 12,000, killed a grain merchant who had put up with him, and carried off his uncle as a prisoner. The Talookdar of Ramnuggur Dhumeree did not pay any attention to the complaints made to him by the sufferers and other shopkeepers.

7th February. Some dacoits attacked the village of Morapore, killed three of the inhabitants, plundered their property, went to Banowlapore, seized upon one of the cultivators, and drove away the cattle belonging to the inhabitants of the village.

11th February. Bundoo Beg and Ameer Ally, gunners, attached to a battalion of Artillery, on duty in Baree, escorted their prisoner, Himmut Khan, the landed proprietor of Hasunpore, to his farm, to witness the hewing of his trees and the demolition of his house, to make good, by the sale of the trees and materials, the payment of an order for the pay of the battalion, which was drawn on him by the Amil of the district, and allowed him to be killed by his copartners, who had been waiting a favourable opportunity to remove him from this world, without offering any opposition.

March 1.—5th February. Some forty armed men, employed under Odres Sing, Talookdar of Dhoorwa, attacked the house of Goordut Sing, the Custom Officer of Mobaruck-pore, and, not finding him, killed one and wounded two of his servants.

7th February. Subdhan Sing and Juggurnath, dacoits, attacked the village of Koom-rawun, in Hydergurh. Lall Sing, Havildar of the Honourable Company's Service, was killed, and many of the dacoits were killed and wounded. The dacoits took refuge in the fort of Golam Jafir, garrisoned by the Sepoys of the Amil of Deriabad.

17th February. Hurdut Sing, the landed proprietor of Valeepore, seized Golal, liquor-vendor, at Sifleepore, and subjected him to torture, with a view to extort money from him. The Amil of Sultanpore, on hearing of the circumstance, sent his men to get the liquor-vendor released. The proprietor, instead of obeying the orders of the Amil, inflicted further torture upon the prisoner, and plundered his and his brother's household property.

" 3.—4th February. Seetul, Brahmin, of Dhoondeypore, attacked the house of Anoop, Brahmin, of Gondah, with a view to plunder him of his property. The Brahmin opposed, and himself and his nephew were wounded.

" 5.—9th February. Some Passee marauders, of Bakurya, in Khyrabad, attacked Rhobun, an innkeeper, of Mahomdee, on his way home from Mitowlee, and robbed him of his property.

21st February. Some dacoits attacked and killed Peer Ally, confectioner, of Nawab-gunj, in the vicinity of the encampment of a detachment of the Goldbee Battalion and the Sowars on duty in that district, and robbed him of his property. The followers of the confectioner called out for help, but no one took any notice of the affair.

26th February. Some unknown person or persons killed a traveller in one of the groves, in Mouza Usyoon, and scorched his face with fire.

" 6.—1st January. Goorbuksh Sing, a refractory landed proprietor, attacked Lall Khyrah, and Pankour Khyrah, plundered the inhabitants of their property, and set fire to their houses.

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March 6.—19th February. A detachment of the Oude Frontier Police, under Runnun Khan, Subadar, attacked Shew Sing, a notorious dacoit, but the landed proprietors of Kunapore, with whom the dacoit had put up, offered resistance, and killed one of the Police. The Subadar, however, captured about twelve of them. The zemindars of Bulsur threatened to rescue the prisoners, but could not carry their threats into execution.

25th February. Symbur Sing, and other dacoits attacked the village of Ekdepore, plundered the inhabitants of their property, and carried off Muthra Sing, Naick of the Honourable Company's Service, and six other prisoners.

" 7.—10th February. The refractory Talookdars of Naen attacked, and set fire to, Mouza Sojee, in Salone, and carried off some of the inhabitants.

14th February. Sojan Sing, and other refractory shareholders of Mouza Sudha, with a great number of armed men, attacked the abovenamed village, plundered the inhabitants of their property, drove away their cattle, and carried off a female and a boy.

On the same day, Subdhan, the refractory Talookdar of Beejapore, attacked the villages of Pulice and Mulickpore, which are under the direct management of the King's Collectors, robbed the inhabitants of their property, and carried off two of them.

25th February. Symbur Sing, and other refractory Talookdars of Shahmon in Jyce, committed a similar outrage in Mouza Edee, and having carried off Goorbuksh, and four other respectable inhabitants of the place, seared them with red hot ramrods, to extort 200 rupees from each of them.

" 8.—20th January. Shew Mundun Sing, zemindar, of Pundarah, in Esowlee, forcibly confined Ram Sochit, son of Gumgapal, Havildar of the Honourable Company's Service, and six other persons, and released them all, except Ram Sochit, on extorting a ransom of fifty rupees from one, and obtaining security, bonds, and notes of hand for that amount from the rest. Ram Sochit, finding himself so unjustly detained, wounded himself, and was then restored to liberty without paying any ransom.

28th February. Some person or persons killed a woman in the vicinity of Mouza Dilsara.

On the same day, the daughter of Seetul, shepherd, of Behlapore, threw herself into a well, having been insulted by the grass-cutters of a detachment of Sowars, commanded by Yaseen Khan.

5th March. The followers of the notorious dacoit, Juggernath, made an attempt on the life of Jumshand Ally, the Tehseeldar of Esowlee, killed one and wounded two Sepoys, and effected their escape.

In an affray which took place between Kazun Ally and Meer Nawab, of Jhawarie Tolah, in the City, the former wounded three of the followers of the latter, and effected his escape.

" 9.—In a quarrel which arose betwen Aiwuz Beg and Vizier Beg, the latter severely wounded the former, and, having been in return slightly wounded, ran away and took shelter in the Kurbula, lately erected by the eunuch Diamut. The Policemen, who pursued the offender up to the gate of the Kurbula, and demanded the surrender of the offender, were sent away by the eunuch, and the criminal remained safe in the asylum he had sought.

" 10.—5th February. The shareholders of Mourza Dhoondi killed Goman, Brahmin of Jeapore, and threw his body into a well.

9th February. Some dacoits attacked and robbed the house of Sungum, Brahmin of Ramnuggur Dhumeree. The Police-officers, who were close by, did not take any notice of the affair.

18th February. Some persons killed Dabeedeen, a Collector of Customs, in Dhorehra, and effected their escape.

" 12.—20th February. Oree, a servant of Lultapershad, Thannadar of Misrukh, pressed Dyaram, a grain parcher, to carry his bundle, and on excuses being made, his wife was so unmercifully beaten that she fell senseless on the ground. The grain seller, finding himself so insulted, set fire to his own house, by which it was consumed. Upon this the man went and told a different tale to the Thannadar, who summoned the grain parcher, punished him severely, without instituting any inquiry, and extorted from him sixteen rupees.

23rd February. Symber Sing, a refractory zemindar, attacked the village of Mokudya, plundered the inhabitants of their property, and carried off twelve persons.

" 12.—3rd March. Some unknown person or persons killed Gyapershad, Kanoongo of Gondah, together with his servant.

" 13.—Ahmud Khan, of Ultaf Husein, in Lucknow, killed his comrade, Peerbuksh, by cutting his throat while he was sleeping, and effected his escape.

Aman Ally Beg wounded Mahomed Khan and Ally Husein, Policemen, for demanding his sword, and was, in return, himself wounded, and carried to the Kotwalee.

" 15.—15th February. Sobha Sing, and other shareholders in Mouza Adharpore, attacked the village of Goorbani, in Pertaubgurh, killed and wounded many of the inhabitants, and effected their escape.

9th March. Some highwaymen attacked Suktoo Syce, in the service of Jayjay Ram, the Dâk Contractor, and robbed him of his property, and the blanket of the Dâk horse. Though the Syce cried out for help, none of the watchmen on the road took any notice of him.

10th March. Some of the inhabitants of Mouza Oreywun, the estate of the eunuch Diamut, attacked and wounded Oree, and two others, of Beharpore, in Bijnour, on the road between Lucknow and Cawnpore, and robbed them of their property.

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March 15.—The guards on the road went to apprehend the offenders, but were insulted, and turned out from the village, by the Eunuch's soldiers.

„ 16.—17th February. Some unknown person killed Bhowaneedeen, of Mouza Dhumeree, who was endeavouring to enchant the daughter of Mungul Sing, zemindar, in the presence of her mother, and ran off with both the women.

27th February. Bhuggun Sing and others of Bharowlee, with 200 armed men, attacked the house of Imrut Sing, of Teesa, killed his brother, and robbed him of his property.

Yesterday, Gokaram Sing, Sepoy of Sobha Sing's regiment, wounded one Salaree, for interfering in his quarrel with Gungooa, a cowherd, and effected his escape.

In a quarrel which arose amongst a dinner party given by Dyaram Lodh, of Kanhye Khyra, six men were wounded.

„ 17.—27th February. Gyadeen and another Passee, with 100 inhabitants of Zydpore, attacked a marriage procession of Nunda, confectioner of Rudowlee, wounded two of the party, and robbed them of their property. Three of the dacoits were seized, and carried to the Police-officer of the village, who released the prisoners, and chastised the captors.

On the same day, Symber Sing, and other refractory Talookdars of Shahmow, attacked the villages of Bhunka and Bahulea, plundered the inhabitants, set fire to their houses, and carried off some of the cultivators.

Jankee, murderer of Bhya, the zemindar of Ookoo, killed Kishoree, a shop-keeper of the said village, and effected his escape.

Yesterday, Bhuggun, a boatman in the employ of the Minister, severely wounded his mother for refusing to give him some money.

„ 19.—27th February. Jowahir Sing, of Odeypore, killed Bejay Sing, Rajpoot, in a dispute which arose between them regarding a debt of seven pies, and effected his escape.

28th February. Gyadeen, the brother, and Bhowan Sing, the nephew, of Cheyda, a landed proprietor in Dabeepore, were killed in a fray which took place between them and Munsa, another landed proprietor, for the possession of a certain tract of land.

29th February. Dhonkul Sing, the refractory zemindar of Suhrawun, set fire to the Police Station of the place, and destroyed the rubbee crops belonging to the inhabitants.

On the same day, Shew Churn, a Sepoy of the Sultanpore Nizamut, pressed one Sookha, shepherd, to carry his baggage, and, having been insulted by the shepherd's friend, who came up to his assistance, killed the shepherd, and effected his escape.

„ 20.—18th February. Futteh Khan, Sepoy, went, on the part of Sanaoolla, to demand the payment of Government revenue due from Imdad Ally and Kassim Ally, the landed proprietors of Keshmeepore, in Sultanpore, and, in a quarrel which arose between them, wounded one Rumzan Ally, and was in return killed by a musket shot.

21st February. The nephew of the landed proprietor of Seedapore, killed one Dabeedeen, of Paychourya, without any cause.

„ 21.—19th February. Ubdooth Sing, a Sepoy in the employ of the Talookdar of Ramnuggur Dhumeree, bought some tobacco from Husnoo, a tobacconist of Rujnapore, and wounded him for demanding its price.

22nd February.—Ramsahai, the insurgent chief of Pathuckpore, set fire to the village of Nehadnow, and effected his escape.

19th March. The zemindars of Kharah and Hundoah attacked some washermen of Beebeepore, and wounded one of them, for refusing to give up the clothes in his possession. A Sowar, of the Eunuch Dianut's cavalry, who was returning from furlough to join his regiment, came up to the assistance of the washermen, and, receiving a sword cut from the robbers, he also wounded one of them, and brought him in prisoner. The Eunuch gave the offender a good horse-whipping, and had him confined.

„ 22.—2nd March. Subdhan Sing, the refractory Talookdar of Beejapore, attacked Sectul and others of Bulya, in Hydergurh, and drove away their carts laden with rice.

On the same day, some thirty Passee marauders attacked the house of Madaree, a Kardar of Hunra, in Hirampore, and robbed him of his property. One of the marauders was taken prisoner, and hung upon a tree.

15th March. The Amil of Sultanpore, with all the troops and artillery under his command, attacked the fort of the Talookdar, of Takree, who withheld payment of the Government revenue, killed and wounded many of his followers, and took possession of the fort.

The Police and the shopkeepers of Kishwengunj, on the estate of her Highness the Jenab Aliah, attacked the Police at Newazgunj, and rescued Rampershad, shopkeeper, who was confined for dishonouring one Gungia, in consequence of which she threw herself into a well, and died.

It is reported that the inhabitants of Singhowra and Gobray, in Oude, attacked Mouza Ghazee Kyra, in the Honourable Company's territory, and robbed the house of one of the inhabitants; that they were pursued by the Thannadar of the place into Oude; but that, aided by the assistance of their fellow-countrymen, they expelled the Thannadar, who succeeded in arresting only one of them. In the collision which took place between them, two men of the Superintendent of the Oude River Navigation, who came to the assistance of the Thannadar, are said to have been wounded by the dacoits.

„ 23.—1st March. The Passee inhabitants of Nynamow attacked and wounded Durjim, oil-seller, of Kush Beharee, who was on his way home from Mughretta, and robbed him of his property.

4th March. Ugrael Sing, the refractory zemindar of Kooshar, attacked the village of

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Bundpore, killed four and wounded five of the inhabitants, and having plundered them of their property, set fire to the village, by which some forty or fifty cattle were destroyed.

5th March. The notorious dacoit Juggurnath set fire to the village of Surnean, and effected his ecape, with the loss of one man killed on his side.

9th March. Madarbuksh, the landed proprietor of Lulha, confined his co-sharer, Jehanaeerbuksh, and others, in a well. Two of these unfortunate persons died of suffocation, and the rest are said to be in a dying condition.

March 24.—21st March. Some unknown persons killed Badul and Gopal, cultivators of Mouza Makha, in Russoolabad, and effected their escape.

2nd March. Chundee Sing, a refractory shareholder of Mouza Thannah, and the murderer of his co-partner Havunchul Sing, attacked, and set fire to, the village of Doonga Khyrah, wounded two men, plundered the inhabitants, and drove away their cattle.

3rd March. Some thieves broke into the house of Bachey, Brahmin, of Bharaitch, wounded one of his servants, and ran away.

4th March. Some unknown person or persons wounded Gunga Sing, the landed proprietor of Dhoolee in Bareilly, severely, while he was sleeping in his house.

In a quarrel which arose between Ghasie Sing, Sepoy, of Ikram-ood-Dowla and Goorbuksh Sing, employed under the Customs' Collector of Mosahibgunj, the former slightly wounded the latter, when they were arrested and confined at Moofteegunj; but the fiddler, Mosahib Ally, had them forcibly removed to his house from the Thannah.

„ 26.—1st March. Some dacoits attacked the village of Russoolpore, in Ramnuggur Dhumeree, plundered the inhabitants, set fire to their houses, by which many cattle were destroyed, and carried away some of the inhabitants.

3rd March. Gyapershad, Collector of Bulhiapore, in Esowlee, confined Mahabut Sing, a shareholder of Mouza Jaree, and, with a view to extort money, beat him to such an extent that he became senseless. He then sent him in a cot to his house, where he died. His brother had scarcely performed his funeral ceremony, when the collector had him also arrested.

4th March. Some dacoits attacked a party of grain merchants, who had put up for the night at the gate of Gooshaengunj, wounded two, and plundered them all of their property. The police did not take any notice of the affair, though the deed was perpetrated near them.

13th March.—Some one killed a traveller on the frontier of Sumrawan, and robbed him of his property,

„ 27.—25th February. Sahibroy, the Amil of Salone, attacked the fort at Ghoorha, for the arrest of Symbur Sing, a refractory shareholder of Shahmow, who offered resistance, and effected his escape, after wounding ten of the Amil's men.

12th March. Moonna, son of the Talookdar of Bumhnowtee, demanded a duty of fifty rupees on each of the horses belonging to Aloof Khan, a horse-dealer, of Jhujjrur, in the British territory; and, meeting with a refusal to so unjust a demand, killed him, and took possession of his horses and other property.

„ 28.—7th March. In a boundary dispute, between Tiloke Sing and Deena Sing, four men were wounded, on both sides.

24th March. Allybuksh Khan, the Amil of Baree, with all the troops under his command, attacked the fort of Shewdan Sing, the Talookdar of Buchra, and, a fight ensuing between the parties, many men were killed and wounded on both sides. The Talookdar, however, escaped unhurt.

Some twenty inhabitants of Jugdespore complained to the Minister against the Amil of Sultanpore, for oppression and extortion, but no notice was taken of their complaints.

„ 30.—22nd March. The Talookdar of Bhunka surrendered his guns and fort to the Amil of Gondah, after a short resistance, in which he lost three of his followers.

Dameer, an innkeeper at Bijnour, was arrested on a charge of killing the son of one Dyal, and selling his daughter to Mirza Takee, of Lucknow.

Kulloo and Hinga, bird-catchers, were attacked and wounded by some armed men, in Mouza Suthra, and robbed of some partridges which they had caught.

„ 31.—11th March. Shewdut Sing and Dhoukul Sing, Talookdars of Salone, with 400 armed men, attacked the town of Nawabgunj, plundered the opulent inhabitants for full three hours, and carried off about 100 prisoners. Dya Shunkur, the Tehseeldar of Ahladgunj, who was encamped in the vicinity of the town, knew of the occurrence, but did not adopt any measure for the arrest of the offenders; one of the offenders was, however, apprehended by the men of the Talookdar of Shumspore, and brought before the Tehseeldar. On the following day, the dacoits avenged themselves by ravaging the farm of the Talookdar, and carrying away his tenants as prisoners.

April 2.—3rd March. Bukhtawur Sing, of Poorah Bukhtawur, with fifty armed men, attacked a village in the district of Nanparah, plundered the inhabitants, killed one, wounded three, and carried off one of them.

7th March. The zemindars of Burya, in Pertaubgurh, killed a Sepoy in the employ of Ally Mahomed, Tehseeldar of Soojee Khyra, for plucking a sugar-cane from their field.

Rooghunpershad, a favourite of Mashook Mahul, confined one Parusram, in his house, and beat him unmercifully for the recovery of ten or twelve rupees.

„ 3.—7th March. Odwut Naraien, the refractory Talookdar of Duleeppore, attacked Gooseinpoorah, wounded two of the inhabitants, and plundered them of their property.

12th March. Ameer Ally, the son of Lushkuree, a dacoit prisoner, attacked the

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house of Rampershad, Brahmin, of Rajghutta, plundered him of his property, and carried off two persons. The inhabitants of the village pursued the dacoit; but he killed one and wounded two of them, and took refuge in the farm of Ally Buksh, Talookdar.

On the same day, some dacoits attacked the village of Amunabad, in Nawabgunj, plundered the inhabitants, and carried off three of them.

On the same day, some highwaymen attacked and killed Rumlall, of Hissanpore, on his way home from Rosehree, and robbed him of his property.

Rugonauth Sing, Sepoy in the employ of Uchey Zahib, the Minister's son-in-law, wounded one Ahmed, in a quarrel, and was confined at one of the Police stations; but his employer had him removed to his house, and sent one of the wounded man's friends to supply his place in prison.

April 4.—12th March. Some highwaymen attacked and killed Ouseiree, and wounded Shewbuksh, grain-merchants, of Sungrampore, on their way home from Sumrowtaw, and robbed them of their property.

15th March. Mattadeen, the refractory zemindar of Bilheree, in company with Juskurun Sing, dacoit, attacked the village of Sumhowlee, plundered the inhabitants of their property, set fire to seven houses, by which two females were burnt to death, and the property contained therein destroyed, and carrried off the son of the Chief of the village, and drove away his cattle.

One Dabeedeen complained to the Minister against Oseeree, Chuprassie of the Dewan Khana, for setting fire to his house, by which his brother was burnt to death.

Omeid Ally, and some other armed men, wounded Beharee Sing, a Sepoy of the Jaffree Battalion, and Dabee Sing, and Maddaree Sing, Brahmin, of Yahiagunj, and effected their escape.

" 5.—25th March. Shewgolam, a banker of Roypore, in Sultanpore, arrested a thief, who had entered his house, ordered one Jewun to strip him of everything he had about his person, and to behead him. The man took the thief to a jungle, tied him up to a tree, and cut off his head.

On the same day, in a boundary dispute, which arose between the landed proprietors of Neer and Aggaon, ten men were killed and twelve wounded on both sides.

" 6.—13th March. Esree Buksh, a refractory shareholder, of Domaypore, attacked the village of Madhopore, in Sultanpore, seized upon Bechoo, goldsmith, and Ramdeen, Brahmin, plundered their property, and drove away eight head of cattle.

15th March. Some dacoits attacked the house of Bholay Karder, of Bhowaneegunj, plundered his property, and carried off three men as prisoners.

1st April. Kullun Khan, the manager on the part of the elder widow of Munour Ally Khan, with 2,000 infantry and cavalry, attacked the fort of Nanparah, fought desperately for six hours, with the King's and the younger widow's Sepoys garrisoned in the fort, killed and wonnded many of them, and took possession of the fort. Ruza Koolee, the brother of the younger widow, finding his life in danger, effected his escape with his men.

" 7.—4th March. Some dacoits attacked some grain merchants, in Ramnuggur Dhumeree, wounded one of them, and plundered them of their property. The Police of the town took no notice of the affair.

5th March. Some highwaymen attacked and wounded Doorga, Brahmin, of Musrukh, on his way home from Seadutnuggur, and robbed him of his property.

17th March. Nazir Beg, the farmer of Mouza Kooslapore, in Kakoree, killed Teeluck and Ramdeen, the sons of Bhowannee, the landed proprietor of the village.

2nd April. Some highwaymen attacked an old woman in Bunthra, and robbed her of rupees 400, and 30 gold mohurs, which she had received from her sons in the service of the Honourable Company.

Some dacoits of Nawabgunj, attacked the family of Moteelall, wine-merchant, proceeding to Cawnpore in a waggon train, and robbed them of property valued at rupees 3,000.

Some twenty Sepoys, of Her Highness the Jenab Aliah's service, attacked and beat the Customs' Contractor of Saadutgunj, and rescued one Choonee Marwaree, whom he had confined for not paying duty on two seers of Churus.

" 9.—1st March. The Passee marauders of Mouza Rinchoa, in Dalmow, attacked the house of Ramdeen, Mahajun, wounded him severely, and plundered his property.

4th March. Chand Khan, of Bunbhoor, in Bangermow, beat a man so severely, on a charge of theft, that he died thereof.

3rd April. Ajoodheeah Sing, a landed proprietor of Ukburpore, has complained to some of his friends that it was the third year since he had been put in confinement without a single farthing of rent being due from him, and that, though he had paid 100 rupees to the Amil, by the sale of his only daughter, he was still kept in durance.

10.—16th March. Bhouna, and other Passees, of Khyjrah, in Suffeepore, attacked and broke into the house of Uchay, cowherd, whom they killed, wounded his nephew, and robbed him of his property.

19th March. Thakoor, Brahmin, of Barohi, in Hydergurh, killed Ram Sing, Jemadar of the Ally Ghole Battalion, and effected his escape.

On the same day, some dacoits attacked the house of one Chyn, of Bhowanigunj, in Ramnuggur Dhumeree, plundered his property, and carried him away as prisoner.

" 12.—8th March. Buggoo Sing, and other followers of Ram Sahaie, the refractory Chief of Pathukpore, attacked the village of Aeona, plundered the inhabitants, and carried off three of them. They were pursued by Enam Khan, the Contractor of Rahmutnuggur, and, in the collision which took place between the parties, one man was killed, two men were wounded, and four of the dacoits taken prisoners.

22nd March, Bhoga, Mahajun of Futtehpore, in the jurisdiction of Saadut Alee,

1854,

Amil of Russoolabad, preferred a false suit against Goondeue, Brahmin, for rupees 111. The man denied having borrowed any money; the son of the Mahajun abused him, and said that he would have his daughter sold to satisfy the claim. Upon this, the Brahmin took his daughter, a girl aged three years old, and killed her at the threshold of the Mahajun.

10th April. Fazul Ally, a follower of Kullun Khan, Manager on the part of the elder widow of Munour Ally Khan, of Nanparah, attacked, with 200 armed men, the houses of Kalay Khan, and other inhabitants of Newateepoorah, in Bharaitch, wounded three men, cut off the head of Kalay Khan, and plundered their property.

April 13.—2nd March. Ram Suhaie, the refractory Chief of Pathukpore, attacked the town of Eroha, plundered the inhabitants, and carried off some of the shopkeepers.

6th March. Pren Sookh, a refractory zemindar of Mahomedpore, attacked Poorah Ameenah, in Rudowlee, plundered the inhabitants of their property, and set fire to their houses.

" 14.—8th March. Some dacoits attacked and plundered the inhabitants of Ameenabad, in Siddhour, and carried away some of them.

On the same day, Salaroo, butcher, was attacked and robbed by some robbers in Salone.

" 16.—On the same day, Mohubbut, a weaver of Jagpore, seduced the wife of Moonnoo, of Ritkah, in Khyrabad. The woman refused to go with him from Maghpore, where he had brought her, and was severely wounded. The zemindar of the place sent for her, and kept her in his house, but the woman ran away from thence, upon which the zemindar had her arrested, and killed.

Bhowaneedun Aheer, killed his sister, who had become a prostitute, and effected his escape. The place where the murder was committed being in the estate of the Eunuch Busheer, the City Kotwal could not interfere in the case.

" 18.—25th March. Rujjub Ally Toomandar, of the Zoolficar Sufdurree Battalion, attended by three Sepoys, went to the village of Bursowan, in Deriabad, to collect the rent from which his men were to have been paid, and, a quarrel ensuing between him and Dubee Sing, the farmer of the village, he and a nephew of the farmer were killed, and one of his Sepoys was wounded. The officers of the regiment, on hearing these circumstances, proceeded to the village, and finding it deserted by the farmer and his men, plundered his granary, and set fire to the village.

29th March. Some twenty-six men in the employ of Symber Sing, the refractory Talookdar of Shamow, dressed in an uniform like those of the King's Sepoys, plundered all the travellers whom they met, and carried them as prisoners to their employer.

26th April. The Managers, on the part of the elder widow of the Talookdar of Nanparah, seized upon, and cut off the noses of, a surveying party deputed by the brother of the younger widow to survey certain fields.

" 20.—18th March. In a quarrel which arose between the Sepoys of Aga Husein, the Manager of Aldaymhow, and Golab Khan, a servant of the Nazim of Sultanpore, the latter was killed by the Sepoys.

19th March. Bulwunt, a rope-dancer, killed a female oil seller in Jugdespore. He was arrested by the Police of the place, but released, on paying fifteen rupees to the head men of the Police.

29th March. Ameer Khan, Husein Khan, and Omeid Khan, of Beharpore, in Berowlee, attacked Zoorawur Sing, rajpoot, of Rudowlee, and killed him. The attackers then retreated, one of them being slightly wounded, but were pursued by some Nizamut Sepoys, who succeeded in overtaking them, and beheading Ameer Khan and Husein Khan, after two of the Sepoys had been wounded by the offenders, and brought the heads to the Amil of Deriabad, who ordered them to be hung up to trees at the eastern and western gates of Rudowlee.

" 23.—18th March. Futteh Sing and others, co-partners of Dewanee Sing, zemindar, of Mahomedpore, attacked and killed him and his brother, for paying a higher land revenue than was usually paid. In this affair, seven other persons were killed and wounded on both sides.

19th March. Shewdut Sing and other refractory Talookdars, of Dhunnawun, in Salone, attacked the village of Dhurwa, plundered the inhabitants, and set fire to their houses.

20th March. Madarbuksh, an inhabitant of Nanparah, killed one Hyderbuksh, of Bumhnowtee. Some fifty vegetable vendors brought Mussamut Moonia on a cot to the Palace Gate, and complained against Bhowanee Sing and two other Sepoys of Terbedyees corps, for beating her till her skull was fractured and blood gushed out of her nose, owing to her being unable to pay a rupee which she owed to one of them.

" 24.—Husein Ally wounded one Ally Wajid, and was taken into custody, but Shurf-ood-Dowla Golam Reiza, sent a message to the Kotwal, and the prisoner was released without receiving any punishment.

It was reported to the Minister that, on the 1st of April, a party of dacoits attacked some thirty inhabitants of Goruckpore, who had come into Oude to see the fair held at Dabee Patun, wounded nine of them, and plundered them of their property, and that the authority of the place did not adopt any measures for the arrest of the offenders.

" 25.—20th April. Umree Sing, Odres Sing, and other refractory Talookdars in Aldaymhow, are said to have concentrated their forces for an attack on Tandah and Mobaruckpore, and to have spread so much alarm that no traveller dares pass through that district to Benares and Jounpore.

25th March. Rampershad and other Brahmins of Terha, in Doondya Khyra, beat Lao, the brother of Gungwa, zemindar, of Joordharee, to death, on a charge

1854,
April 25.—2nd April. In an attack made by the Tehseeldar of Gondah, on a party of offenders in Mouza Sobha Kour, one of the offenders was killed, and fourteen of their relations of both sexes, including children, were taken prisoners.

„ 26.—13th March. In a quarrel between Nasirbeg, the farmer of Lalpore, in Muleehabad, and Tiluk and Lack, the zemindars thereof, one of the farmer's followers was killed, and the zemindars were mortally wounded.

24th March. Toulsee, a cultivator, of Mouza Topapon, accused the mother of Shunkur Sing, Sepoy, 8th Company, 24th Native Infantry, of witchcraft, beat her unmercifully, and took her to the Chief of the village, who also inflicted a severe beating upon her. She went to complain to the Amil of the district, but, as she could not get access to him, she threw herself into a well and died.

31st March. Daod Khan and Pasheed Khan, refractory Talookdars, of Mouza Sundoo, in Barodhee, attacked the house of Omeidroy, Kanoongo of Luckeepore, killed his brother, plundered his property, and carried off his son as a prisoner.

2nd April. Sorujbalee and others attacked Mouza Rumdapore, plundered the inhabitants of their property, and set fire to their houses, by which eleven cattle were destroyed.

„ 27.—27th March. Some unknown person or persons killed Rampershad, Brahmin, of Ugyn, in Hurha.

On the same day, some armed men attacked and wounded Mooshtag Ally of Asewun.

26th April. Gahzunfur Ally, the Chief of the village of Juggour, with some armed men, attacked the village of Bilahrie and Allypore, attached to the farm of Shaik Kootbooddeen, killed Khodubuksh and wounded Sadik Ally, Sepoys of the proprietor, and plundered the inhabitants of their property.

Chidi Ajoodheea and three other persons were taken into custody, charged with murdering the son of Ram Suhai, shopkeeper of Muhie, and stripping him of his gold and silver ornaments.

„ 28.—19th March. The refractory Talookdars, Shewdeen Sing and Shewdut Sing, attacked the village of Mahomedpore, plundered the inhabitants, and carried off six of them.

27th March. A servant of the Talookdar of Mehmoodabad shot one of the gunners of the same.

30th March. Chedye Khan of Hyderabad, in Safeepore, wounded Fyz Mahomed, Sepoy of the Bhurmar Battalion, and escaped by flight. The Sepoy, in return, killed the father of the offender.

1st April. The servants of Nundkomar, Tehseeldar of Toolseepore, accused an insane traveller of theft, and dragged him about with a rope tied to his feet, which caused the death of the unfortunate man.

Sher Beg, a Sepoy of the City Patrol, called upon one Rustoom to surrender his arms. He refused to do so, and drew his sword. The Sepoy fired upon him, but missed him, when one of the Sepoy's comrades speared him, and took him prisoner.

„ 30.—25th March. Nunkoo, a servant of the farmer of Burya, in Khyrabad, killed Niddha Passee in a quarrel which took place between his and his victim's wife.

30th March. Byrum Khan, of Nanparah, killed three Sepoys of Moortza Koolee, the brother of the younger widow of the late Munour Ally Khan, and seized upon his Mootsuddie and two other servants.

May 1.—3rd April. Juggurnath, the notorious dacoit, attacked the village of Jurec, in Sultanpore, and carried off four of its inhabitants.

5th April. The refractory zemindar of Jalalpore seized upon the property of Kalee, shopkeeper of Enowha, and carried him away as a prisoner.

On the same day, the followers of Sahijrambuksh, Talookdar, attacked the village of Daryapore, and set fire to it.

„ 2.—1st April. Teijbahadoor, with twenty-five armed men, attacked Mouza Saree, of which he had been unjustly dispossessed by Aga Husein, the Manager of the Aldaymhow district, and, in the conflict which ensued between him and the present farmer of the village, two men were killed and four wounded, on both sides.

8th April. Some four horsemen wounded a goldsmith of Newabgunj, in the vicinity of a tank where a regiment of Infantry and a detachment of Sowars were encamped.

9th April. Soraj Balle and other refractory shareholders of Mouza Den Sakee, in Khyrabad, attacked and plundered the inhabitants, and set fire to their houses, by which seventeen cattle were destroyed.

„ 3.—3rd April. Subadar Sing, zemindar of Mouza Deh, in Esowlee, attacked the village of Bekhatmow, and set fire to the houses of the inhabitants.

6th April. Durshun and Mehpal, dacoits, seized upon Kalka, Brahmin, of Siddhore, and carried him away.

26th April. Some highwaymen attacked and wounded two travellers on the Cawnpore road, and robbed them of their property.

„ 4.—11th April. Soorujbulle and Roshun, dacoits, attacked the inhabitants of Rajapore, in Ramnuggur Dhumeree, killed one Koormee, wounded a cultivator, and robbed the other inhabitants of their property.

On the same day, Subdan Sing, the refractory Talookdar of Beejapore, attacked the village of Juggutpore, killed one and wounded two of the inhabitants, and set fire to their houses, by which five persons were burnt to death.

On the same day, a fight took place between Dheyra Sing and Dunial Sing, of Dekhowlee, for their rights and interests in some mowah trees, which terminated in a loss of nine men killed and eight men wounded on both sides.

„ 5.—7th April. In a fight between Busharut and others of Palee and the cultivators of Mouza Ramapore, Basharut and two of the cultivators were wounded.

1854,
May 5.—9th April. Bechadyal, the Collector of Customs of Gondah Bharaitch, arrested Goolzar, liquor-seller, beat him severely, and kept him confined for three days without giving him anything to eat or drink, or allowing him to satisfy the calls of nature. The prisoner was so much distressed that he wounded himself; but his persecutor had no compassion, and subjected him to further torture.

14th April. Ojaigur and other refractory zemindars of Behtar, in Hurha, attacked the village of Manohurpore, plundered and set fire to the property of the inhabitants, and carried off some of them as prisoners. They committed a similar outrage in Mouza Khyra, and carried off twenty of its inhabitants.

" 6.—A party of Abdool Husein's men on duty on the Cawnpore road, seized one Ramdeen for attempting to run away with a bag containing some valuable stones belonging to a traveller, and brought both parties, together with the stones, to their Commanding Officer. On their way to Lucknow, they also apprehended a traveller named Gungadeen, without any cause, and took the prisoners before the Minister, who made over the stones to Moonshee Mahomed Husein, and ordered the prisoners into confinement.

" 7.—4th April. Futteh Ally, zemindar of Mouza Kokha, arrested and confined Mithoo and Thakoor, Passees, for killing one Mindaee; but Shunkur Sing, of Juggutpore, stood security and got them released.

14th April. Five men were mortally wounded in a private quarrel at Bareilly.

One man was killed and one wounded in the city.

" 8.—14th April. Ajoodhia Sing, the refractory zemindar of Katawun, in Sultanpore, attacked the house of one Kaleechurn, plundered his property, and carried off his children.

16th April. The refractory zemindars of Mooie and Sundoo, in Rudowlee, attacked the village of Teekur, plundered the inhabitants, and carried off the Chief of the village and his son, and three other persons.

The Talookdar of Murarmow detained the cargo of a wrecked boat belonging to Ramanund, a merchant of Cawnpore, with a view to extort money from the owner.

" 9.—14th April. Makhun Sing and other inhabitants of Chotamow, in Russoolabad, attacked the village of Goordharie, set fire to the barns, wounded the nephew, and carried away the son of one Baseith.

On the same day, two persons were killed in a private quarrel at Hurha.

17th April. The refractory zemindar of Mouza Khagesur attacked Bhowanee, a traveller in Oounaon, and robbed him of his property.

On the same day, Bikhrum Sing and Seetul Sing, shareholders in Mouza Bholaee, killed one of their copartners.

" 10.—10th April. Ram Sahaie and Bisram, of Pathukpore, attacked the house of Hera, liquor-seller, plundered his property, and set fire to the house.

20th April. Basharut Ally and Ameer Ally killed the children of Mahmood Ally, and effected their escape.

24th April. Symbur Sing, the refractory Talookdar of Shamow, attacked the farm of Jynteepershad, made twenty-two prisoners, and drove away one hundred head of cattle belonging to the inhabitants.

26th April. Ahmed Allee, the Manager of the Pertaubgurh district, attacked the Mouzas of Bidehtee and Newhalpore, for the arrest of Ajoodhia Sing and other dacoits; but, finding that they had escaped, he forcibly brought away four of the female inhabitants. The relatives of the females came to claim them from the Manager, but he put them also in durance, and sent the youngest and handsomest of the females to his seraglio. One of these unfortunate creatures is said to have died, and the remaining two are still in confinement.

" 11.—16th April. Runzan Ally, the landed proprietor of Bilkhur, attacked the house of Bhugwa, liquor-seller, of Mouza Khamotee, plundered his property, and carried off two females, inmates of his house, as prisoners.

8th April. Symbur Sing, the refractory Talookdar, of Shahmow, set fire to three villages, by which one man and much cattle were destroyed, and the huts burnt down.

9th April. Lack Sing, the refractory Talookdar of Kotubpore, attacked the village, wounded three of the cultivators, robbed them of their property, and set fire to their rubbee crops.

12th April. Subdhan Sing and Ushruf Ally, attacked Mouza Bhulwarah, plundered the inhabitants of their property, set fire to their houses, and took shelter in the Moonpore fort.

" 14.—9th April. The followers of Chundee Sing, and other refractory shareholders in Bunthur, attacked the village of Manohurpore, set fire to the barns, plundered the inhabitants, and carried off many of them as prisoners.

20th April. Kalkabuksh, the refractory shareholder of Govowna, at the instance of the Talookdar of Ourangabad, set fire to the barns in Rampore, and wounded two female inhabitants of that village, and effected his escape.

" 15.—22nd April. Vazeer Sing and Buhman Sing, the refractory zemindars of Chundoopore and Khyree, in Shahabad, attacked these villages, and carried off all the rubbee crops belonging to the inhabitants.

30th April. The men of the refractory Talookdar of Shahmow set fire to the village of Hajeepore, and effected their escape.

Last evening, Kasein Ally, a Sepoy employed under Bundeh Ally, coachman, wounded his mistress, Mussamut Ladoo. The police came to apprehend the offender, but his comrades resisted their authority, and did not suffer him to be carried off by them.

Two other persons were wounded in a private quarrel in the city, and one female was killed at Khyrabad.

1854,
May 17.—7th April. Lack Sing, a refractory shareholder in Kotubpore, attacked the village of Neoporah, set fire to the barns of Parumsookh, cultivator, and wounded four men.

17th April. Chandka Sing, the refractory Talookdar of Rampore, attacked the village of Pindarah, killed a cowherd and wounded a Brahmin.

20th April. Symbur Sing, a refractory shareholder in Shahmow, set fire to the village of Takree, plundered the inhabitants, and wounded two cultivators.

Jawahur Khan, Subadar, and Ameer Khan, Jemadar, of a detachment of Artillery, under the command of Captain Roshun Ally, at the instance of the Captain, desired the Gunners under them to grant receipts in full payment of all demands on account of their pay, to Moonshee Moozuffer Ally. The men declined doing so, unless they received the arrears of pay due to them for 1259 and '60, Fuslee; and, on being pressed to do so, they confined the Subadar and Jemadar. The Captain became alarmed at their proceeding, and ordered them to be paid off from the sale proceeds of some of his property.

„ 18.—25th April. Some Passee marauders attacked the saltpetre manufactory at Kumlapore, wounded two men, and carried off five or six bullock-loads of the saltpetre.

On the same day, Runjeet Sing, the refractory shareholder of Mouza Rawut Seraie, attacked and set fire to Mouza Daudoopore, and plundered the inhabitants.

30th April. Hernam Sing, a shareholder in Mouza Del Pergunnah Esowlee, had Shewnath Sepoy shot for demanding his pay.

„ 19.—5th May. The Talookdar of Osmanpore attacked Mouza Koolee, plundered the revenue collections, and some property belonging to the inhabitants, and carried off a female and child.

„ 21.—24th April. Ausan Sing, an insurgent Chief, attacked the village of Bharowlee, and was wounded and taken prisoner by the Manager, on the part of Banee Madho Talookdar.

3rd May. Ghozunfur Ally, a relative of the late Golam Huzrut, with 125 armed men, attacked the village of Allypore, killed one, wounded two of the farmer's servants, and plundered the collections of the village and the property of the inhabitants.

On the same day, Moonnoo Sing and other servants of Moorlee Manohur killed Gobray and Runjeet Sing, Brahmin, and mortally wounded one Buktowree. Teeka, a cultivator of Mizzgunj, in the estate of Ahsun Eunuch, attacked the house of Gungadeen, of Hasungunj, and killed his brother.

„ 22. —Bholanath, a servant of Eunuch Bashur, arrested one Kishunlall, for a sum of fifty rupees due to him, and kept him confined in his own house for three days, without allowing him a morsel of bread or a mouthful of water. On the fourth day, he was allowed to go home, escorted by a guard of Sepoys, to take some food; but he had scarcely done bathing when he was pressed to return. With an excuse to put on his dress, the man went into his house and destroyed himself and his family, consisting of a wife and three children, by setting fire to a cell in which he had shut them up. Bholanath afterwards confiscated the property of the deceased, and placed some Sepoys on his house. Through the dread of the Eunuch, the authorities at Lucknow did not take any notice of the circumstance.

„ 23.—Yesterday, Velait Ally, a trooper of the African Cavalry, was summoned by the Police for maltreating and burning a boy with red-hot iron; but he resisted the summons, and forcibly detained the boy, who had gone over with the Police Officer to point him out.

„ 24.—10th May. Kalka Sing, the refractory landed proprietor of Govowna in Khyrabad, attacked the village of Peerie, set fire to all the barns in the place, and killed three and wounded four persons.

11th May. Some Passee marauders attacked a wedding party, at the house of Bukhtowrie Passee, of Khaleepore, set fire to the house, and killed thirteen persons.

24th April. Madhopershad, a refractory shareholder of Purhur in Aldaymhow, set fire to the farm of his brother, and drove away one hundred head of cattle belonging to the cultivators of Mouza Munduff.

10th May. Hirwa, the Chief of the Goordhurtee village, stopt the marriage procession of Runjeet Sing passing through the village, and demanded the release of his son, whom the latter had in prison. In the fight which ensued between the parties, the Chief was wounded, some of the followers of the procession killed, and the bride herself taken a prisoner.

„ 28.—7th May. Some dacoits attacked the house of Soonoo, shopkeeper, of Sultangunj, plundered his property, and carried him off as a prisoner.

On the same day, Gunesh Sing, the landed proprietor of Tukwamow, killed one Sunkra for stealing four seers of wheat from his barn, and confined Gujwa, a brother of the deceased.

9th May. Odut Sing and other co-partners of Takeerbuksh, the landed proprietor of Kakur Golah, killed the proprietor and usurped his land.

„ 29.—12th May. Some dacoits attacked a wedding-party, at the house of Holass, Passee of Kheeroun, killed and wounded fourteen persons, and set fire to the house, by which four others were burnt to death.

On the same day, Nundkomar, the Tehseeldar of Toolseepore, arrested one Bulda, a British subject, on a false accusation of theft, and, with a view to extort some money from him, beat him to such an extent that he died thereof.

„ 30.—5th May. The nephew of Ramsahaie, the refractory Chief of Pathuckpore, attacked and wounded some of the salt merchants of Hurya Khyrah, and threatened their lives if they did not desert the place.

9th May. Sunt Sing and Dhoukul Sing, the refractory landed proprietors of

1854,

Mahowlee in Rudowlee, attacked the village of Syndpore, wounded two of its inhabitants, and effected their escape. The men of the Zoolficar Sufdaree Battalion, who were stationed there, did not even attempt to arrest the offenders.

On the same day, Mahomed Stasun, and Mungul Khan, the insurgent Chief of Deogaon in Jugdespore, seized upon Shewdeen, a shopkeeper of Mouza Puttee, and demanded a ransom of rupees 1,500, threatening to brand him with a red-hot iron if he did not comply with their demand.

May 31.—10th May. Kootub Sing and Dial Sing, the refractory landed proprietors of Rampore, attacked the house of their co-partner, Adhun Sing, killed him and his son, plundered his property, and seized upon his land.

14th May. A Brahmin killed a writer in Chehra in Khyrabad, and effected his escape.

The men employed under Huseinbeg, patrol, wounded one Kasim, for preventing them from inflicting a beating upon one Tokie, his relation. Another man was wounded in the City in a private quarrel.

June 1.—11th May. Cheit Sing, a Sepoy of the Hurha Nizamut, killed one Purrum Sookh, and was put in custody.

12th May. Nundkomar, the Tehseeldar of Toolseepore, released some thug and dacoit prisoners, on receiving a douceur from them.

14th May. Kalka Sing, a refractory shareholder of Mouza Gorownah, set fire to the village of Khaspore, by which the barn and the property of the inhabitants were destroyed.

30th May. A robbery was committed on a waggon-train going to Cawnpore.

„ 2.—11th May. Two murders were committed in the Khyrabad district.

14th May. Some robbers broke into the house of Nundoo Koorme, of Pursadepore, in Salone, wounded him, and robbed him of all his property.

15th May. A man was killed in a private quarrel in the district of Salone.

A traveller died from the effects of dhatoorah, administered to him by some one at Ferozegunj.

„ 4.—16th May. A traveller was killed by some unknown person or persons in Moholee, in Mahomdee.

20th May. Teeka, a vegetable vendor of Mowhan, killed Gungadeen, of Hasun Khyrah, and wounded his brother.

„ 6.—Yesterday a boy was killed and stripped of his gold and silver ornaments at Hyderabad, in Lucknow.

A female was killed in the City by a Sepoy of the Uskaree Battalion.

„ 9.—13th May. A thief was beaten to death at Kootubpore, in Mahomdee.

15th May. Another was killed in a private quarrel at Rumberpore.

20th May. Dirbegay Sing, of Amuria, seized upon a blacksmith of Gungowlee, plundered his property, and released him after extorting a ransom of rupees 100 from him.

Buldee, Sepoy of the Honourable Company's Service, was killed in Oude, on his way home from Hydrabad, Scinde.

The son of Seedee Secuddur, of the African Cavalry, wounded Sudhan, Brahmin, a Sowar of the Tircha Cavalry, and refused to obey the Police when summoned.

„ 11.—19th May. Bhowannee Aheer, Contractor of Customs at Ismaeelgunj, seized upon Ramdeen, an opium-merchant, and robbed him of all his money.

20th May. In an affray between Jowahir Sing and Beeneedut, Shareholders of Mouza Behta, nine persons were killed and wounded on both sides.

Bikramajeet Sing, dacoit, with thirteen armed men, attacked the farm of Madho Sing, of Gurh Amaithee, and was killed, together with his followers, by the men of the farmer.

„ 12.—20th May. Shew Golam, a dacoit who had lately been reinstated in his farm, wounded one Golam Dustgur, and was in return killed by him and his relations.

21st May. Fakeerbuksh and Daood Khan, the refractory landed proprietors of Moee and Sundwa, attacked the village of Basodhee, plundered the inhabitants, and set fire to their houses.

On the same day, a female was killed at Khumrah, in Russoolabad.

23rd May. Nine men were wounded in a boundary dispute between Naraen Sing and Zalim Sing, Shareholders of Mouza Sukronee, in Gopamow.

„ 13.—28th May. Ukber-beg, farmer of Saadutnuggur, in Khyrabad, seized upon the village of Kiraee belonging to the landed proprietor of Sonah and Phoosree, and drove away 500 head of cattle belonging to them.

3rd June.—The same Ukber-beg, with 500 men, and 5 field-pieces, attacked the village of Hurhapoor, killed one and wounded three of the inhabitants, plundered their property, and set fire to the village.

The next morning, while he attacked the village of Abadee, and opened his fire on the inhabitants, Keisree Sing, the landed proprietor of Ahroree, at his instance, set fire to Mouza Sussee, and drove away about 500 head of cattle belonging to the inhabitants. It is said that Ukber-beg commits these depredations and outrages with the connivance of Mosahib Ally, fiddler, and Asud-beg, a Judicial Officer in the Court.

4th June. Seetlabuksh, and other refractory farmers of Sultanpore, attacked the village of Hurgaon, seized upon the Zilladar and his Mootsuddie, and plundered the collections of the village and the property of the inhabitants.

„ 14.—20th May. Husein Ally, Rujjub Ally, and Soojaut Ally, refractory Shareholders of Mouza Kunjoree, and Sheir-beg and Wasil-beg, dacoits, who were in jail, obtained their release through the influence of Turhut Ally, the eunuch of Her Highness the Jenab Aliah, and attacked the above-named village, plundered the inhabitants of their property, set fire to their houses, and carried off nine cultivators.

23rd May. One Ameer Ally attacked the town of Ehowna, and carried off two

1854,
June 14.—On the same day, Kalka Sing, a refractory shareholder in Gorowna, attacked the village of Gundeelah, and set fire to the houses of the inhabitants, by which all their property was destroyed.

24th May. Guneish Sing, Sepoy of the Honourable Company's Service, and one Mindaee Sing, were killed, and two other individuals wounded, in a private quarrel at Deriabad.

„ 15.—16th May. One Shewdeen Aheer was wounded and robbed of his property, by Toorsut and Kesho, inhabitants of Mouza Moreena.

„ 18.—27th May. Mohun Sing, Jamugdar of Pahoghurya, seized upon Rahum Khan, with a view to realize six rupees, due from him for the rent of certain lands, and beat him to such an extent that he died.

On the same day, Ruggho, Brahmin, of Jusruthpore, killed Kashee Aheer, for procuring information regarding the dead body of a boy whom he had formerly killed, with a view to possess himself of his gold and silver ornaments.

29th May. Odait Sing, the refractory farmer of Dhanawan, attacked the house of Ganeish Sing, the landed proprietor of Mootsuddeepore, plundered his property, and carried off two blacksmiths and the proprietor, as prisoners.

7th June. The Police Officer at Ramnuggur Dhumerec, and the Manager on the part of Sarubjeet Sing, Talookdar, arrested some Brahmins, with a view to extort a tax from them, on account of their rent-free lands, and pressed them so hard to satisfy their unjust demands, that two of the Brahmins poisoned themselves and died.

Lutchmun Sing, Sepoy, killed Hafiz Ibraheem, in the City, and effected his escape.

„ 19.—6th June. Ukber-beg, Talookdar of Saadutnuggur, set fire to Mouza Peerie, and plundered 400 maunds of wheat belonging to the inhabitants. He then attacked the village of Azeezpore, and sustained a loss of eight men killed and seven wounded, in the fight which ensued between him and the inhabitants, in consequence of the attack.

8th June. A Sepoy of the Honourable Company's Service was strangled by some unknown person, in the farm of Omrao Sing, of Muddeemow, in Russoolabad. Though the farmer had been strongly suspected of committing the deed, yet no notice was taken of the affair.

„ 20.—13th May. Kulwa Passee, with fifteen armed men, attacked the house of Badul Passee, and mortally wounded him.

29th May. Janukyee, dacoit, was killed in an attack made by him on the house of Ramboll, the landed proprietor of Bulkepore, and his remains were hung on a tree on the public road.

31st May. Shewbuksh, a refractory shareholder of Meheengaon, attacked, and set fire to, the house of Dabeeram, Mahaun, and drove away 100 head of cattle belonging to him.

Yesterday, Mokhun, a Passee marauder, who had lately been set at liberty by Mosahib Ally, fiddler, attacked the house of Buckshee Sodh, of Futtehpore, killed his son, wounded another relation, and robbed him of all his property. The corpse of the deceased was brought to the palace gate, and to the fiddler for redress; but no notice was taken of the complaint.

„ 21.—4th June. Oodait Nareen, the refractory Talookdar of Dhunawan, with a number of armed men, attacked the Daleppore market, wounded three shopkeepers, and carried off Ramgolam, grain-parcher, with his property.

6th June. Ameer Ally, a co-partner of Mukhdoom Ally, of Ehowna, attacked and plundered the house of Mehrban, Brahmin, killed his brother, wounded him, and carried off his wife.

10th June. Oomeid Sing, of Mooradoopore, in Bijnour, wounded Nikka, cowherd, who had lately returned from the Dekhan. The followers of this Oomeid Sing are said to be committing all sorts of depredations on the Cawnpore road with impunity.

11th June. Ally Buksh and Ishaee, of Bharaitch, killed one Ahmed Ally, and wounded his mother and sister, and were in consequence taken into custody.

„ 22.—28th May. Some dacoits attacked the house of one Behraitchee, of Ramnuggur Dhumeree, and wounded him severely.

2nd June. Doorga, a nephew of the landed proprietor of Tejeepore, attacked a party of money-changers on their way to Lucknow, robbed them of their money, and carried them off as prisoners.

3rd June. Juggurnath, dacoit, attacked and set fire to Mouza Surinam, in Esowlee.

On the same day, some dacoits attacked the house of one Heeraloll, of Naseempore, and robbed him of property valued at rupees 1,000.

14th June. A party of Captain Barlow's men, at Nanparah, attacked the marriage procession of Udhoot Sing, killed him and seven of his followers, plundered the procession, and carried off fourteen prisoners.

„ 23.—3rd June. Kalka Sing, an insurgent Chief, attacked the village of Gorowna, in Khyrabad, wounded one of the female inhabitants, and set fire to the village.

6th June. Bishunnauth, Brahmin, of Mouza Baroku, killed his mother, and burnt her dead body at the gate of Futteh Sing, farmer, for increasing the assessment of his land.

On the same day, the landed proprietor of Khaleemow, in Sandila, killed his partner, and effected his escape.

„ 25.—It is reported that, for the last few years, the men of Moonshee Ameer Hyder, who is in the pay of Prince Fareidoon Kadur, the General, and employed under the Eunuch Basheer, used to guard a certain mango tree, in a grove at Gooshaengunj, and send the fruit every season to Mashook Mahul; that Jowahir Ally, the Eunuch of her Highness the Jenab Aliah, sent some of his men to guard the tree this season, but that they were expelled by the men of the Moonshee. On the 23rd

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of this month, the Eunuch sent some 400 of his men, in company with Khoshall Sing and Mosahib Ally, dacoits, to punish the men of the Moonshee, and, a fight ensuing, many men were killed and wounded on both sides.

June 25.—23rd June. Kazim Ally, an officer in the Cavalry commanded by Mahomed Usgur, having received orders from Mahomed Khan, the Minister's Darogah, went to Dulgeet Sing, the Agent of Goorbuksh Sing, Talookdar, and demanded the payment of some money due from him, and, a fight ensuing, the officer and two of his sowars were severely wounded.

„ 26.—3rd June. Some robbers killed a servant of Beharee, a shopkeeper of Sandila, and effected their escape.

On the same day, Kishun-pershad, Talookdar of Purbur, attacked the farm of Gowrie Shumkur, of Tandah, plundered the cultivators of their property, and carried off one of them as prisoner.

6th June. Some dacoits attacked the village of Peeriepore, in Ramnuggur Dhumeree, wounded three of the inhabitants, and plundered all of them of their property.

„ 27.—Enaet Husein, a companion of Nadir Khan, an escaped offender, finding him arrested by the Police, wounded three of the Burkundauzes, one of whom died of the wound. He was afterwards taken into custody with his companion.

„ 29.—Yesterday, some dacoits attacked Mewateepoorah, in Allygunj, and wounded two of the inhabitants.

The dead body of a youth, bearing marks of sword cuts, was found lying wrapped up in a carpet at Khyaleegunj, in the city.

„ 30.—9th June. Shewdan Sing, a refractory shareholder of Bachera, in Sadurpore, attacked the village of Bhoorkoorah, wounded a cowherd, and plundered the inhabitants of their property. They were, in return, attacked by the chief of the village; but they effected their escape, with a loss of one man killed and two taken prisoners.

10th June. Bhowanin Sing, the son of the landed proprietor of Urjoonpore, insulted Sultabuksh, Rajpoot, by seizing his servant and shaving his head. The Rajpoot returned the insult by acting similarly, and a fight ensuing between them, both parties were wounded by each other, and the Rajpoot died of the wounds.

July 2.—8th June. Mahamund, Brahmin, of Chera, in Khyrabad, killed one Ramdeen Kyth, and effected his escape.

11th June. Jowahir, shepherd, of Bondair, in Khyrabad, killed a man whom he stated to be a thief, and threw his dead body into a pond.

13th June. Nohur Sing, the landed proprietor of Mouza Buninc, rescued Kamul Sing and Goorbuksh Sing, his bankers, from the custody of the Thannadar of Russoolabad, where they were confined, for causing the death of an infant child, by forcibly detaining and preventing its mother from giving it suck.

„ 3.—21st June. Boodhwa and Khirmaun, cowherds of Oura, in Shahabad, killed one Mokund, in his house at Madeena, in Mohumdee, and effected their escape.

On the same day, some of the soldiers of Sahijrambuksh, Talookdar, killed the son of Kalunder Sing, Havildar of the Honourable Company's Service.

The shopkeepers of Saadutgunj closed their shops, and came to the palace-gate to complain against Muthrapershad, for compelling them to buy his new iron weights, and were turned out by Shurf-ood-Dowlah Golam Raza, who is favourably disposed towards the oppressor.

„ 4.—15th June. Some highwaymen attacked and wounded Ameer Khan, of Fyzabad, on his way to Bharaitch, and robbed him of his property.

16th June. Goolzar and other Brahmins of Hushunpore plucked some fruits from the mango tope of one Madhopershad, and, on being prevented from doing so, mortally wounded the proprietor of the tope.

18th June. One man was killed, and another wounded, in a private quarrel at Mulleehabad.

„ 5.—9th June. Odwut Sing, the refractory Talookdar of Dhunda, in Sultanpore, attacked the hamlet of Daleeppore, wounded one of the inhabitants, plundered their property, and carried off five prisoners.

12th June. Madhopershad, the refractory Talookdar of Purhur, in Aldaymhow, attacked Ooskamow, and some other villages, plundered the inhabitants of their property, set fire to their houses, drove away 200 head of cattle, and carried off Gumgadeen and other cowherds.

Many of the inhabitants have already gone and settled in the British territory, and many are preparing to do so, to avoid outrage.

14th June. Kewul Sing, and other landed proprietors of Sandee, robbed one Yasoof Khan, in his way to Cawnpore.

„ 6.—10th June. The landed proprietor of Kuchwun in Sandila attacked Dabeedeen, shopkeeper, of Mahewa, and robbed him of his property.

11th June. Some thieves broke into the house of Misreeloll Brahmin, of Nawabgunj, wounded him, and robbed his property.

On the same day, Gokul and another Brahmin, of Ramnuggur Dhumeree, took one Sooruj Bullee to a mango grove, on pretence of buying some mangoes, and killed him, for fear of his making them restore the property which they had stolen from his house.

12th June. Some dacoits attacked the house of Kabindur, Brahmin, of Pauree, robbed him of his property, and carried him off as a prisoner.

13th June. Doorga Sing, a shareholder in Mouza Tejeemow, seized upon Heenga, liquor-vendor of Ulmansgunj, burnt his body with red hot iron, and made him promise to pay a ransom of sixty rupees for his release.

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July 7.—18th June. Rahine Sing, the landed proprietor of Huseinpore, attacked the family of Bahadoor Sing, Rajpoot of Mahomedpore, in a grove where they had gone to perform some religious ceremonies, wounded his sons, Chyt Sing and Chubbeelay Sing, and carried off his daughter, a girl of fourteen years of age.

" 7.—22nd June. Two murders were committed in the Ulmansgunj forest, at Mouza Bhowanina, Pergunnah Pertaubgurh.

On the same day, Golab Sing, Chowdry of Surwesee, turned out Bhugwunt Sing, father of Amund Sing, Sepoy, of the Honourable Company's Service, and had the Sepoy killed by one Girwur Sing for demanding his due.

" 10.—18th June. Mussummat Bunno, of Rudowlee, at the instance of her paramour, Khadim Russool, poisoned her husband, who had returned to her after a period of five years.

20th June. Dahun, a shareholder in Mouza Karunda, who is employed under the eunuch Dianut, killed his copartner Pahalwann Buksh, and effected his escape.

29th June. A fight took place between Madaree and Madro, Brahmins, of Daheepore, in Hurha, for the rights and interests of a certain piece of land, and it resulted in the loss of two men killed, and six wounded, on both sides.

30th June. Guneish, farmer, of Mouza Hamara, in Mohumdee, seized upon one Lahorie, a landholder, and insulted him, by getting his moustaches plucked by his servants. The poor man took the insult so much to heart that he stabbed himself and died.

" 11.—17th June. Some highwaymen attacked and wounded Moonna, and other washermen of Sandila, on their way home from Sonee Khera, and robbed them of their clothes.

18th June. Oree, cultivator of Mouza Bussoree, committed suicide, because he had been pressed hard by the Zemindar of Ramnuggur Dhumeree, to pay enhanced rent for his land.

On the same day, Lutchmun and Heeraloll, brothers of the landed proprietor of Hajeepoor, shot one Dhamur Ally, for taking the contract of their land from the Amil of Shahabad.

19th June. Ratee Sing, a refractory shareholder, of Mouza Jehotee, and Jorawur Passee, of Mugrampore, attacked the houses of Ramsahai and other landed proprietors, in the Mouza, killed and wounded eight persons, and drove away their cattle.

On the same day, some thieves wounded Kalay Khan, proprietor of a mango tope. Upon this, Mahomed Husein, a companion of the proprietor, shot one of the thieves, and hung his corpse upon a tree.

6th July. The wife of Oree Passee, of Ranapore, in Hydergurh, in spite of the Passee's entreaties, burnt herself alive, with one of his handkerchiefs.

" 12.—17th June. Dhunwa Passee, in the employ of Chowdry Gopal Sing, killed Purshadee Passee, of Nasirpore, without any cause. The Chowdry did not attend to the complaint of the son of the deceased.

18th June. Some highwaymen attacked and wounded Jhaoo and Buldan, blacksmiths, of Mouza Kalka, on their way home from Saadutgunj, and robbed them of their property.

26th June. Symber Sing, the refractory Talookdar of Shahmow, attacked Mouza Jugdewapore for plunder, but was repulsed by the inhabitants, with a loss of three men killed.

Two Sepoys, sent by Busarut Ally, the eunuch of the Minister, came to the house of one Ubdool Kadur, whose case has been pending in Adawlut-ool-Alia, extorted from him ten rupees, and demanded ten more. When the poor man failed to satisfy their unjust demand, they attempted to rush into his female apartments, but were prevented from so doing by the interference of Ameer Ally and Aga Ally. They then wounded the former, and inflicted a severe beating upon the latter, and carried him a prisoner to the eunuch, who confined him in his own house.

" 13.—Mussummat Choonia killed her husband, at the instance of her paramour, Fazul Ally, and threw his body into a well.

" 14.—Deenah Sing, and other inhabitants of Mouza Bomujh, attacked the house of Esree Sing, contractor of the Mouza, killed him and his infant child, and plundered all his household property.

24th June. Shumsoodeen, a servant of the Talookdar of Bulrampore, killed Bukhtawar Khan, Sepoy of the farmer of Toolseepore, and robbed him of his property.

29th June. Some thieves killed Ramdeen, the chief of Mokeempore, and effected their escape.

Busarut Ally, the eunuch of the Minister, had the prisoner, Daha, charged with kidnapping, removed from the city Kotwalee, without his being committed for trial.

" 16.—20th June.—Ata Husein, of Peasaypoor, attacked the house of his copartner, Kootub Ally, wounded Kalunder Buksh, brother of the latter, and plundered his household property.

21st June. Moonhoo Gosaeen, of Muleehatao, mortally wounded one Chunga Gosaeen, in a quarrel which arose in conversation between them.

" 17.—20th June. Ram Golam Sing, Talookdar of Eetah, in Salone, attacked the farm of Ubdoossobhan, killed one of his tenants, plundered their property, and drove away their cattle.

On the same day, Ajoodhia and Purmodh, copartners of Sireepal, a farmer in the Gondah district, attacked his house, and murdered his brother, son, and wife.

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29th June. Kour Ziladam and Rampershad, the landed proprietor of Mouza Butteesa, attacked, and killed, the landed proprietor of Khoosrapore.

July 18.—26th June. Sogan Sing, the refractory shareholder of Mouza Buroka, in Russoolabad, attacked the Mouza, plundered the inhabitants of their property, set fire to their houses, wounded two of them, and carried off a similar number as his prisoners.

" 29th June. Some one killed the son of Ghumsam, banker of Mahona, and threw the body into a ditch.

30th June. Ukbur Beigh, the farmer of Saadutnuggur and Diariah, attacked the house of one Bhola, plundered his property, and carried off his brother.

Bholay Sing, Rajpoot, of Mouzah Poee, in Sandila, beat Ramdeen, cowherd, to death, without any dread of consequences.

Daleep, and other inhabitants of Mouza Kharowlie, in Sultanpore, attacked the house of Mungul Sing, killed Shewcharun Sing, Havildar, and Shunkur Sing, Naick, 6th Native Infantry, and two other inmates of the house, and plundered his property. The authorities of the place took no notice of the case.

" 20.—20th June. Madhopershad, the refractory shareholder of Purhur, in Sultanpore, attacked the village of Turwa Punchum, plundered the inhabitants of their property, set fire to their houses, and carried off two of them as prisoners.

21st June. Jhubbos Sing and other zemindars, of Mouza Oosya, in Suffeepore, wounded Cheda and Rumzanee, Sepoys of the Zemindar of Mouza Molee, for stopping their carts laden with grain for duty.

25th June. Mukka Passee, of Kishunpoora, quarrelled with Gowree, Brahmin, for some mangoes, and wounded him with a sword. He was in return killed by the Brahmin.

" 21.—1st July. The men of Beharee Lall, the farmer of Nehoolee and Beebeepore, attacked and killed Oree Passee, who was carrying a sum of 200 rupees to Bahadoor Sing, Talookdar of Asudamow, and carried off the money.

2nd July. Bhola, and other tailors of Bajaygunj, attacked the house of Jodhue, tailor, of Bhugwuntnuggur, in Sandila, plundered his property, and carried off his daughter, a girl of twelve years old. The authority of the place did not take any notice of the outrage.

3rd July. Malek Mehrab and Amum Khan, of Palee, wounded each other in a quarrel which arose between them about planting a neem tree; and Asalut Khan, the nephew of the former, killed one Karamut, without any cause. The Tehseeldar of the district did not take any notice of the deed, in consequence of the offender being employed in the Nasree Battalion. Doark Sing, Sepoy in the employ of her Highness the Jenab Aliah, has been killed in her estate at Omithee, where he had been deputed to demand the payment of rent from a certain tenant.

Laljee, goldsmith, and a sweeper girl, were wounded in the city by an unknown person.

" 23.—Elah Yar Khan, and other refractory zemindars of Ukwanpore, attempted to drive the cattle which Roopun, Brahmin, of Kajorah, in Shahabad, had let loose to graze in the vicinity of Husnapore, and, having been prevented by the Brahmin from so doing, they wounded him, and effected their escape.

8th July. Leela Kahee, of Tilooe, murdered his wife without any fear of consequences, and the authority of the village paid no attention to the complaint of the father of the murdered woman.

On the same day, Shewbuksh, and other refractory characters of Sikrowrah, in company with Runjeet Sing, attacked the house of Goordeen and Esree Sing, wounded the former, and killed two of his relations.

12th July. Durriao Sing, a shareholder of Mouza Bhoor Koorah, attacked and killed Burwun, Brahmin, a servant of Bulbhudder Sing, and robbed him of his property.

" 24.—5th July. In a boundary dispute between Lultabuksh, a refractory shareholder of Balaymow, and the zemindars of Mouza Madar Behawree, two men were killed and twelve wounded on both sides.

6th July. Odwut Naraen, shoemaker, of Beerumpore, killed his countryman, Ramdeen, Brahmin, and effected his escape. The farmer of the village confiscated the offender's property.

10th July. Esree Sing, a refractory shareholder of Baduria, attacked that Mouza, killed his copartner, Roostum Sing, and his nephew, and effected his escape.

On the same day, some highwaymen attacked and wounded Becho, Brahmin, of Bunny, on his way to Hydergurh, and robbed him of all the money and jewels which he was carrying for one Choonneepershad.

11th July. A man was killed in a mango tope, at Doondia Khera.

Fakeer Buksh, dacoit, wished Koche and Unguoo, Passees of Tikaitgunj, to join his band, and, on their refusing to do so, he wounded the latter on the head and chest, and carried off the former to his gang, where he cut off his nose, hands, and the tendons of his legs.

25.—6th July. Madhopershad, refractory Talookdar, of Purliur, attacked the Mouza of Buksonpore and Mojahidpore, killed one of the inhabitants, and plundered their property. The inhabitants are deserting their villages for shelter in the British territories.

10th July. Some robbers wounded Huninut and three other watchmen in a mango tope, in Bilgram, and effected their escape.

11th July. Dal Sing, cultivator of Ourunga, poisoned himself, because he was unjustly oppressed and persecuted by the Kanoongo of the village.

" 26.—16th July. Futteh Bahadoor, brother of the late Sarabdoun Sing, dacoit, attacked the Mouza of Kumaon, and was driving away the cattle belonging to the inhabitants,

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when they pursued and killed three of his followers, and returned to their village with four men wounded on their side.

On the same day, Bhabootee Sing, zemindar, of Pawayan, in Muleehabad, killed Ramdeen and another cowherd of Mouza Kaden, and drove away their cattle.

17th July. Runjeet Sing, refractory Talookdar of Rawut Sarai, in Hydergurh, attacked the Mouza of Manpore, drove away the cattle, and carried off two of the inhabitants.

22nd July. The widow of Purhum Sing, rajpoot, of Dewrie, in Etowna, immolated herself on the funeral pile of her husband.

Mahomed Khan, Darogah of the Minister, sent for the prisoner, Mussamut Lutchmee, who was confined in the city Kotwalee, charged with kidnapping, and released her without trial.

July 27.—Bhaboot Sing, and other heirs of the late Goman Sing, murdered Shewcharun Sing, Jowahir Sing, Shunkur Sing, and Adheen Sing, of Jugdespore, in Sultanpore, and plundered their property.

„ 30.—13th July. Koolfut Sing, and other gunners on duty in Pergunnah Esowlee, and Ramdyal, a shareholder in Mouza Umra, seized upon Mungul Putwaree, and demanded rupees 500 from him. On his refusing to meet their demand, the gunners burnt him with red-hot iron, and, inflicting a severe beating upon him, compelled him to give them a note-of-hand for rupees 200, and to enter into a written obligation to forfeit rupees 500, if he exposed their conduct to any of the authorities.

On the same day, a woman was killed in Doondia Khera, in the urisdiction of Heeralall, the Amil of Dulmow.

17th July. Ally Mahommed, a kinsman of Ushruf Ally, zemindar of Mahomdee, killed the zemindars, Karindah, Vizeer Ally, and effected his escape.

20th July. Ameer Ally, dacoit, attacked the house of Mattodeen, private, 4th Company, 9th Battalion Artillery, killed his father, plundered his property, and carried off his daughter-in-law.

„ 31.—1st June. Iltifat Husein, Adjutant of the Zafur Mobaruck Battalion, attacked Symbur Sing, the refractory Talookdar of Shahmow; and, in the fight which ensued between the parties, the Adjutant killed the Karindah of the Talookdar, and two of his followers, and hung their heads on the frontier of Shahmow. Five persons were wounded on the side of the Adjutant.

4th June. The troops sent by the Amil of Sandila attacked the landed proprietors of Mouza Bukkher, who had withheld the payment of Government revenue; and, in the fight which took place, three men were killed, and two taken prisoners, on the side of the landholders.

15th July. The prisoner Munglee Sing, a shareholder in Mouza Bulsara, on pretence of collecting some money to pay the Government revenue, for which he had been taken into custody, gave his brother as a hostage, and obtained his release. About six hours after his release, he attacked Kalunder Ally, the Tehseeldar of Bachoha, with 500 armed men, killed one and wounded eleven of the Sepoys employed under the Tehseeldar, and plundered all the collections of the Elaka.

Some fifty dacoits attacked Fyzoollahgunj, the estate of Anees, fiddler, wounded three of the inhabitants, and plundered their property.

August 1.—14th July. A fight took place between Dabeebuksh Sing, Talookdar of Bishun Cheerpore, and Kishundut Panday, Talookdar of Dhanipore, in which six men were killed and wounded on both sides.

17th July. Kewul Sing, and other zemindars of Burwun, attacked and robbed some boats belonging to British subjects.

19th July. Rounuck Ally, Tehseeldar of Amethee, attacked Mouza Kurzundah, farmed by Jowahir Ally Khan, the Eunuch of her Highness the Jenab Aliah, and carried off twenty-five cultivators. In the resistance made by the men of the Eunuch, one man was killed and one wounded.

On the same day, Golam Ally, an officer of the Munsooree Cavalry, on duty in Mouza Dursawaun, destroyed the roof of a house belonging to Ram Sahaie, a refractory zemindar of the village. The zemindar, to avenge his wrongs, burnt and destroyed some betel fields belonging to some betel vendors of the village, who complained of the outrage to the Amil of the district. The Amil sent an order to the above officer, to redress the wrongs of the complainants; but, instead of obeying it, he confined three of them.

„ 2.—13th July. Emaum Khan, Sepoy of the Futteh Aish Battalion, killed Chobey, Jemadar of the Honourable Company's Service, because he did not allow him to take his cot.

14th July. A Sepoy of Captain Barlow's regiment, together with a Sepoy of the Contractor, Masoom Ally, came to the house of Teeluck, a confectioner of Bharaitch, and asked him for two pies worth of sugar, which the man said he had not in his shop. Upon this, about twelve Sepoys rushed into his house, insulted his family, and wounded and beat them unmercifully.

21st July. The Sepoys of Karamut Ally, Chowdry of Nawabgunj, killed the prisoner Buldes Passee, who attempted to effect his escape from their custody.

„ 3.—28th July. Some highwaymen attacked Keisree and Roopun, dâk-runners, on their way to Goruckpore, and robbed them of the mail and of their property.

„ 4.—15th July. Sooruj Balee and other Rajpoots of Mouza Gunga in Shahpoor, inflicted a severe beating upon the servants of Goor Naraen Mahunt, farmer of Mouza Rassolia, plundered his tenants, and set fire to their houses. In the affray, six men were wounded on both sides.

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August 6.—On the same day, the son of Bahadoor, a shareholder of Mouza Asifpoor, killed the nephew of his father's co-partner.

18th July. Shah Mahomed Hujjan, a Sepoy of the Nadree Regiment, killed one and wounded four of his caste, for refusing to dine with him.

17th July. Koonjun Sing, and other zemindars of Narwadah, stopped a dawk-runner, but were prevented from subjecting him to further molestation by the interference of some Sepoys.

20th July. Emam Buksh, butcher of Nusseerabad, killed another butcher without any cause.

" —21st July. In a boundary dispute between Kazim Husein, the Karindah of Feda Husein, and the proprietor of Mouza Tajpore, the former killed two relations of the latter, and carried off their heads.

On the same day, some dacoits attacked the house of one Kareenbuksh, of Gondah, and plundered his household property.

26th July. A fight took place between the zemindars of Mouza Gobra, in which many men were killed and wounded on both sides.

Bundeh Ally, coachman, inflicted a severe beating upon, and confined, Bhowannee, Motee, and Chooraee, Bildars, employed in cutting down some gint trees, for refusing to pay him three rupees per month, which he demanded from them.

" 8.—14th July. Madhopershad, the refractory Talookdar of Purhur in Sultanpore, attacked the Bahadoor Mouza, and plundered the inhabitants of their property.

17th July. Bechoo and Shew, Dass of Khijoiegaon, mortally wounded Doorga, Brahmin, of Mouza Pooranoor, in consequence of some enmity existing between them.

23rd July. Asaulut Khan, of Gokhur, who, on a former occasion, killed Karawmut and Bashawrut Khan, attacked and killed Amaun Khan, Jhubboo Khan, and Munsookhy of Shahabad, and effected his escape.

25th July. The followers of Baboo Rambuksh of Doondyya Khayrah, attacked the village of Porunderpore, killed and wounded three of the inhabitants, and set fire to the village, by which twelve cattle were destroyed.

Huseinbuksh, a Sepoy of the Mashookgunj Police, wounded his comrade, Misree Sing, in a quarrel which took place between them, and was in return severely wounded by him.

" 9.—20th July. Kaleedeen, Brahmin, of Bumbnowtee, killed Rumzanee, butcher, and plundered his property. The authority of the village did not take any notice of the deed.

On the same day, Symber Sing, the refractory Talookdar of Shahmow, attacked the house of Roop Narain, liquor-seller of Poorah Dirguj Sing, and set fire to all his household property.

21st July. Some dacoits attacked Mouza Buryarpore, plundered the inhabitants of their property, and carried off three of them.

23rd July. Subdhan Sing, the refractory shareholder of Mouza Beejapore, attacked the house of Mahamund, Brahmin, of Mouza Bamunhwa, plundered his household property, and carried off his son.

" 10.—16th July. Nurput Sing, zemindar of Mouza Pursoloh, attacked the Mouza of Busto, and drove away 400 head of cattle belonging to the inhabitants.

21st July. Sher Undaz Khan, the refractory farmer of Mouza Gopham, killed Holass Malgozar, of Mouza Kulkalee, and one Jewun; the latter for having advised the Malgozar to take the contract of the village.

26th July. Doorga Kachee, of Bidyapore, killed his brother Khagesoor, in consequence of some enmity existing between them.

" 11.—20th July. Some robbers attacked the tent of Runjeet Sing, Talookdar of Munthra in Biswah, who had come to pay his respects to the Amil of the district, wounded two of his servants, and effected their escape.

On the same day, a murder was committed in Mahmoodabad.

22nd July. Some dacoits attacked the house of Poorun, barber, of Raneepore, wounded him, and plundered his property.

" 13.—18th July. The followers of the refractory Talookdar of Shamow in Salone, attacked the village of Dirguj Sing, plundered the inhabitants of their property, and set fire to their houses.

25th July. Guneish Sing, the refractory shareholder of Mouza Ghonsoopore, in company with Subdhan Sing, dacoit, attacked the house of of one Gunga Sing, of the said village, wounded one of his servants, plundered all his property, and drove away his cattle.

On the same day, Jydyal, a servant of Enayet Ally, farmer of Mouza Bhamun in Sultanpore, killed Foulad Khan, a Sepoy of the Amil, and took refuge in the fort of the farmer. The Amil sent some troops, who besieged the fort; and, in the fight which ensued, they killed the offender, and seized upon three of his companions, who had wounded one of their comrades in the conflict.

A prisoner named Ojagur had been sentenced to death for murdering one Budla, but he saved his life by embracing Islamism, when the sentence was remitted.

" 15.—Mohib Ally, a servant of the Eunuch Dianut, was taken into custody by a Sepoy sentry, as he was coming out from the Mahal of Zeb Alum, one of the King's ladies of the Harem. The Eunuch, on hearing of the circumstance, sent for the Sepoy and the prisoner, and, having released the prisoner, confined the Sepoy.

" 16.—13th August. The Eunuch Basheer stationed some Peons and Sepoys at Sursy-ya-Ghat on the Ganges, to extort for him, from the merchants, an extra duty on their goods, equal to a moiety of the sum they pay at the King's Custom House.

1854

August 12.—6th July. Bhimma, a servant of the late Dabee, Brahmin, of Mouza Madunda, in Dhoruhra, killed one Doorga, who was in the habit of associating with the widow of the Brahmin, and absconded. The Amil seized upon some of the wdow's neighbours, and released them, after extorting money from them.

„ 18.—31st July. Some cultivators in the employ of Balee Sing, farmer of Mouza Ganoor, killed Booho, vegetable vendor of Mouza Gowra, and robbed him of his property.

2nd August. A murder was committed in Kusbeh Lahurpore, in the jurisdiction of Herpershad, Amil of Khyrabad.

7th August. Nawaz, Brahmin, zemindar of Mouzan Bhugwan, in company with Ajoodhia, his nephew, and twenty-five other armed men, attacked the house of one Rumzaun, of Baroha, and were carrying him off, when the man begged of them to let him go into the house to fetch a sheet to cover himself. Upon this, the nephew of the zemindar wounded Ramzaun with a sword; and, the latter having cried out for help, a fight ensued, in which the zemindar and his nephew were killed, and Ramzaun, with four of his friends, wounded.

„ 19.—It was reported to his Majesty that, last night, a Sepoy of the 34th Native Infantry was killed by some unknown person or persons, on the road leading to Alygunj.

„ 20.—22nd July. Sufdur Ally Khan, the Naib Amil of Hydergurh, attacked the farm of Doond Sing, of Behta, who had withheld payment of the Government revenue due by him; and, in the fight which ensued, twelve persons were killed and wounded on both sides. The farmer effected his escape.

„ 21.—26th July. Koshal, Brahmin, of Nownigasah in Sandee, killed his nephew, Heera Loll, and took shelter in Bilgram.

27th July. Jurbundhun and another brother of Shewdeen, landed proprietor, of Mouza Poor, let loose their cattle in the fields of Nohree and others, and, on being remonstrated with, they wounded three of them.

31st July. Some dacoits attacked the house of Lutchmun, a dancing-girl of Rudowlee, plundered her property, valued at rupees 3,000, and wounded her daughter. The Police did not take any notice of the outrage, though they were very near the house.

On the same day, some dacoits attacked the Mouza of Jumalpore, seized upon the cultivators of the place, and drove away their cattle.

Some robber broke into the house of Moorleedhur, banker, of Lucknow, and robbed him of rupees 15,000, and some gold mohurs and jewellery.

„ 21.—28th July. A beggar, named Satan, of Mouza Majidpore, in Aldaymhow, killed a boy, with the view of dispossessing him of his gold and silver ornaments.

31st July. Takeeray, a Passee marauder, having obtained his release from confinement, by bribing Goorpershad, Thannadar of Bharaitch, robbed Hupein Ally, and other inhabitants of the place, who attacked and beheaded one of his followers.

1st August. Khajabuksh, trooper, 11th Irregular Cavalry, killed his wife, at the instance of his mistress, and absconded with her.

„ 23.—25th July. Mussamut Dulloo, wife of the refractory landed proprietor of Doondia Kherah, in company with 300 armed men, attacked Mouzas Porundpore and Ecchiva, wounded Chundee, Brahmin, and his son, and two other persons, plundered his property, and set fire to the houses of the inhabitants, by which many cattle were destroyed.

31st July. Cheada, and other highwaymen of Bhoreygunj, attacked and wounded one Nabeebuksh of Gondah, on his way home from the shrines of Syud Sala, and robbed him of his property.

2nd August. Rahim Ally, the refractory Talookdar of Hasunpore, attacked the houses of Bhajun, and other cowherds of Poorah Doostdar Ally, killed and wounded three of them, and drove away their cattle.

12th August. Hurdeo Sing, a refractory shareholder of Mouza Nowgaon, attacked Mouza Huleepore, killed a washerman and a relation of his copartner, and wounded two potters of the Mouza.

„ 24.—31st July. Prog and other sons of Esree, Brahmin, of Mouza Bhurkee, mortally wounded Dhurkee and Sahibdeen, sons of Bhowanie, for cultivating a tract of land, and absconded.

5th August. The followers of Rambuksh, the refractory Talookdar of Doondia Kheyrah, attacked and plundered Doondpore, and four other villages, without any resistance being offered by the men of the Rifat Battalion quartered therein.

12th August. The Tehseeldar of Suffeepore confined and inflicted such a severe beating upon the zemindar of Bohindpore, that he died thereof.

„ 25.—6th August. Some dacoits attacked the houses of Zalim Sing and Joograj Sing, landed proprietors of Mouza Doothunie, wounded the former and killed his son, and plundered their property.

On the same, day, the followers of the refractory Talookdar Rambuksh attacked Mouza Puttee, wounded Jowahir, Brahmin, and plundered the inhabitants of their property.

7th August. The zemindars of Mouza Poorunpore killed one of the zemindars of Mouza Mulleepore, and wounded several of them.

9th August. Bhekaree, and other refractory zemindars of Mouza Marraee, attacked and wounded Thakoordeen and four other persons, and carried them away as prisoners.

„ 27.—9th August. The wife of Nidhan Sing, rajpoot, of Gondah, severely wounded the wife of Sahibdeen, in a quarrel which arose in conversation between them.

1854,
August 27.—On the same day, Guneish Sing, the refractory shareholder of Mouza Ghonspore, in company with Subdhan Sing, dacoit, attacked the house of one Teeluk, of Bhulsawrah, seized upon him and one of his servants, and drove away the cattle.

10th August. The brothers of Mehtun and Jeehangeer Buksh, cowherds, of Mouza Poorwa, were killed in a quarrel which arose in conversation between them.

11th August. Ameer Ally, the refractory shareholder of Ehowna, in Hydergurh, attacked the house of Bhowna, oil-seller, of Mouza Bhunjhora, and carried him and his niece away.

18th August. A pig belonging to a sweeper at Runbeerpore trespassed in a field belonging to Bukhtawar Sing, upon which the latter struck at the wife of the former with a club, and wounded a child which was in her lap, which died of the wound.

Seeta Ram, Brahmin, of Mouza Hydrabad, brought the dead body of his nephew Heera Loll, and complained against Rambuksh, and other shopkeepers, for getting him killed by mercenary ruffians.

Yesterday, about 200 inhabitants of Mouza Alumnuggur, in the estate of Mashook Mahul, complained to the eunuch Basheer against Sudhun Lall, contractor of the Mouza, for confining, and extorting five rupees from each of them, for mortgaging their houses to each other without his knowledge. They were turned out without obtaining any redress.

" 29.—19th August. Heera Loll, Amil of Dalmon, attacked the mud fort of Dya Shunkur, Talookdar, killed fourteen of his followers, and plundered all his property. The Talookdar, however, effected his escape, and the men of the Amil set fire to his farm.

" 31.—11th August. A young man was killed by some person or persons unknown in the farm of Umrood Sing, Talookdar.

17th August. One of the cultivators in the employ of Bulwunt Sing, of Kuntori, beat one Bodhwa, vegetable-seller, to death.

20th August. In a boundary dispute between Husein Buksh, Chowdry of Beswah, and the zemindars of Mouza Osra, forty men were killed and wounded, on both sides.

25th August. Some robbers broke into the house of Heera Loll, of Ulmagunj, and killed and robbed him of his property.

Karum Khan and Monowur Khan, Sepoys of Shurf-ood-Dowlah Golam Raza, seized upon a cloth-merchant of Kishwur, for selling some pieces without the stamp of the Custom House being upon them; and, in the quarrel which arose, the Sepoys and one of the shopkeepers were wounded.

September 1.—16th August. A murder was committed at Mouza Mushia, in Mohumdee.

19th August. The widow of the late Ramjeeawun, of Mouza Behdole, in Gondah, immolated herself on the funeral pile of her husband, without any opposition being made on the part of the local authority.

In an affray in the city, three persons were severely wounded.

" 3.—24th August. The widow of Heera Loll Kaiettee of Ramnuggur Uthgawan, in Pertaubgurh, immolated herself on the funeral pile of her husband.

" 5.—21st August. The Talookdar of Yakonna, with 200 armed men, attacked Mouza Burmi, the farm of the Talookdar of Bhinja, plundered the inhabitants of their property, and destroyed their houses.

23rd August. Some thieves wounded Parowta, goldsmith, of Hasunpore, and killed his wife for giving alarm when they were breaking into his house.

25th August. A party of armed men sent by the Talookdar of Ouringabad, attacked the house of Ungney, Brahmin, of Molaempore, plundered his property, killed one of his sons, wounded the other sons, and carried them off, together with their father, to the Talookdar.

" 6.—18th August. Shew Rulton, liquor-vendor, of Sultangunj, in Rudowlee, got Kasun Ally, Jemadar of the Zoolfikar Sufduree Regiment, to become his surety for the payment of customs. The liquor-seller paid the instalments regularly for some months: but something caused him to abscond from his house. The Jemadar then seized upon his wife, daughter, and an infant child six days old; and, though she promised to produce her husband in the course of two or three days, yet the Jemadar did not allow her to go home, and kept her in confinement, during which the infant died. Notwithstanding this sad occurrence, she is still in confinement.

" 7.—25th August. Rahum Ally, the refractory shareholder of Hasunpore, attacked the house of Mukwa, butcher, of Kuntoor, plundered his property and carried off his two sons.

27th August. Jowahir, and other marauders, attacked the house of Lulwa, oil-seller, of Bunthur, and, having plundered his property, wounded him mortally.

28th August. Chumroo, and Ubdoollah, Fakeer of Raigunj, in Ajoodhia, killed one Kalay Khan, and threw his body into a tank.

" 8.—25th August. Some robbers broke into the house of one Hashun, of Milowan, and mortally wounded him.

29th August. Some dacoits attacked the Kutra, Ramnuggur Dhumeree, and plundered the inhabitants of their property.

On the same day, some armed men attacked Ramdeen and Omeida, Dâk-runners, in the farm of Ushruf Ally, and mortally wounded one of them.

" 9.—6th September. The Sepoys employed under Ata Ally, the Manager of the Buchram estate, shot Dabee Sing, Rajpoot, and carried him to the Manager, who cut off his head.

1854,
September 10.—20th August. In a boundary dispute between Bhodur Sing, zemindar of Mouza Puttee, Shahpore, and Holass Sing, zemindar of Mouza Khajooreea, one man was killed and three men were wounded.

29th August. Ghunsam, Chumar, of Bangurmow, committed suicide by throwing himself into a well, because he had been unjustly maltreated by the servants of Teejroy and Gyapershad, contractors of the farms belonging to the Kanoongo of Bangurmow.

„ 11.—9th September. Nisaur Ally, Chowdry of Nullechabad, shot Madho, confectioner, for refusing to give him a pie worth of sugar, and demanding payment for the sweatmeats which he had bought from him before.

„ 13.—26th August. Doond Sing, the refractory shareholder of Talook Behta, attacked Mouza Korsya, farmed by his co-partners, and carried off four of the inhabitants.

On the same day, some thieves wounded Mindaree, butcher, of Amethee, severely.

31st August. Pahulwan Sing, and Shew Buksh, zemindars of Royppre Nawadha, in Baungur, killed Toga, cowherd, of Mouza Dewria, plundered his property, and carried off his wife.

„ 14.—Ally Mahomed, and Mahomed Mirza, the agents of Syud Mirza, who has charge of the repairs of the road from Lucknow to Cawnpore, forcibly extort an extra duty on goods from merchants bringing their commodities on carts from Cawnpore to Lucknow. The other day, they seized upon some travellers who refused to accede to their unjust demands, subjected them to a severe beating, and did not release them without extorting money. The owners of the carts complained to Shew Sing, Collector, the Superintendent of the Guards stationed on the above road for the protection of travellers, who sent them with his servants to the Agents, but they paid no attention to his remonstrance.

„ 15.—28th August. Soochitmun, of Burhur, killed one of the arbitrators in his case, for advising him to abide by the decision passed by the arbitrators.

29th August. Madhopershad, the refractory shareholder of Burhur, attacked the village of Sirsampore, plundered the inhabitants of their property, and mortally wounded one of them.

30th August. Rahum Ally, of Hasunpore, attacked the Kusbah of Kuntoor, killed one, and wounded two of the inhabitants, plundered their property, and drove away their cattle.

1st September. Newazee, zemindar of Mouza Buddee, in Mehmoodabad, seized upon Heeramun, one of the King's Dâk-runners, and, having inflicted a severe beating on him, placed a heavy block of timber upon his breast, by which he died. The dead body of the murdered man has been lying for some time at the murderer's gate; but no notice has yet been taken of the outrage.

„ 17.—2nd September. Some dacoits attacked the house of Lalloo, cowherd, of Mouza Murua, in Ramnuggur Dhumeree, wounded him, and plundered his property. The Police of the Mouza did not pay any attention to the complaint of the sufferer.

„ 18.—8th September. Jotee Sing, Talookdar of Churdah, attacked the house of Shewdeen Mahajun, and plundered his property, valued at 20,000 rupees.

On the same day, some of the Sepoys employed under Kulloo Khan, the Karindah of Nanparah, attacked and wounded a Sepoy of the Tehseeldar of the Elaka, and took away his arms.

„ 20.—1st September. Some dacoits attacked the house of Lutchmun Naraen, Brahmin, of Hareepore, in Gondah, wounded him and three other inmates of the house, and plundered his property.

2nd September. The dead body of a female, with wounds upon it, was found lying, with a child four months old, in the vicinity of the fort at Usvoon, in Suffeepore.

3rd September. A murder was perpetrated in a mango-tope, at Mouza Gobindapore.

4th September. Emaum Buksh, a servant of the Thannadar of Ramnuggur Dhumeree, mortally wounded Ally Mahomed, Sepoy, of the Burk Battalion, in a quarrel which arose in conversation between them.

„ 22nd.—Ram Sing, Sepoy, of the Koorshaidgunj Custom Office, commanded Fakeeray, and other Beoparees, to take their commodities to Koorshaidgunj, and, on their refusing to do so, he wounded one of them on the head with a lance.

One Daem, of Mendigunj, beat to death one Sobhan, his neighbour, in a quarrel which arose in conversation between them.

„ 24.—8th September. Vizeer Ally, the son of Ameer Khan, Talookdar of Burowlee, attacked the house of Mukhdoom Buksh, Talookdar, for whom he had stood surety, killed him and four of his friends, plundered his property, and seized upon his family, whom he subjected to much degradation and insult.

„ 27.—1st September. Purus Ram, a shareholder of Mouza Subree, attacked the village, and drove away the cattle belonging to the inhabitants.

2nd September. Ghunsam Chumar, of Bangarmow, threw himself into a well, because he had been unjustly maltreated by Badul Khan and one Moonowur. Ahmud Husein, the Police Officer of Bangarmow, received some bribe from the offenders, and suffered them to escape. He also released a prisoner, charged with murder, in the same manner.

4th September. Kewul Sing, and other zemindars of Mouza Burwun, at the instance of Bhabootee Sing, father of the late Kharuck Sing, who was murdered by the zemindars of Mouza Sulwaree, attacked the inhabitants of the latter Mouza, killed and wounded nine of them, plundered the village, and returned home, with a loss of one man killed.

Fida Husein, a servant of Ghazunfur-ood-Dowlah, wounded two or three Sepoys of the city patrol, for demanding his sword, and was, in consequence, taken into custody.

1854,
October 4.—23rd September. Some highwaymen attacked and plundered Bahadoor and other weavers, and Budloo, a dealer in cotton, on their way home to Lahurdore from the Makunpore market, and wounded the latter.

24th September. The zemindars of Burwun and Husnamow, attacked the boats belonging to some of the grain merchants of Cawnpore, and robbed them of their cargoes.

28th September. Murdan Sing, brother of Jyn Sing, zemindar, of Mouza Mal, in company with the zemindars of Ataree Mindowlee and Gabramow, attacked Mouza Parah, killed Gunga Sing, the farmer of the village, his two brothers, and their sons, wounded a female, and set fire to their houses, by which all their property was destroyed. The offenders are living at their homes, without any fear of consequences, and nobody will bring them to justice.

,, 5.—19th September. Busarut Sing and Juggurnathbuksh, Talookdars of Narem, in Salone, on receiving a letter from their agent at the Court, took possession of the farms of Dost Mahomed and Atabuksh, plundered the inhabitants of their property, drove away their cattle, and, having maltreated the inhabitants, extorted four or eight annas from each of them.

October 5.—21st September. The notorious Juggurnath, dacoit, seized upon Beni Kaieth, a servant of Beni Madho Sing, Talookdar of Hulyapore, and crushed his fingers to atoms with a stone.

,, 6.—3rd September. Some person or persons unknown killed the brother and two other relatives of the zemindar of Mouza Lukin, who were watching their fields in the night.

On the same day, Ram Sing, and Omras Sing, Sepoy of the Amil of Shahabad, wounded each other in a quarrel which arose in conversation between them.

7th September. The dead body of a man, with wounds upon it, was found in a well in Mouza Nowkhyrah, Pergunnah Hydrabad.

On the same day, Kooujim Sing, a shareholder in Mouza Jurun, Pergunnah Sandila, attacked the village of Bahadoorpore, with a number of armed men, seized upon some of the cultivators, and drove away their cattle.

8th September. Rujub, tailor, of Sidhore, killed his wife, and was taken into custody.

,, 8.—2nd September. Punchum, and Bhowanee Sing, Rajpoot, who had formerly committed a dacoitee in Mouza Karorah and wounded two persons, having attacked Mouza Zebamow, mortally wounded one Bhuggoo, and plundered his property.

4th September. About twelve, A. M., the zemindars of Dianutnuggur, Pergunnah Pertaubgunj, attacked Mouza Subeeha, in Sutrukh, and drove away the cattle belonging to the inhabitants, who pursued them, but were soon obliged to retreat, and had one man of their party wounded. The zemindars took advantage of their confusion, and plundered the inhabitants of a hamlet attached to the above village.

,, 10.—23rd September. Gunga Sing, Sepoy of Hurcharum Lal, Peshkar of Lahurpore, asked Sheopershad, shopkeeper of Mouza Rewtee, for a pie-worth of sweetmeat, and, on his saying that he had not any, the Sepoy inflicted such a severe beating on him that he became senseless. The wife of the poor man, on witnessing this cruelty, threw herself into a well and died.

25th September. Doond Sing, the refractory shareholder of Behta, wounded three of the cultivators of that village, who were cutting their crops.

12.—Some person or persons entered the house of Tilkoo, Brahmin, of Beni Bazar, in Lahurpore, killed him and his daughter, and stripped the latter of her gold and silver ornaments.

6th September. The head of Dabee Sing, dacoit, was cut off by the followers of Ally Mahomed, Collector of Fyzabad.

8th September. Ahsan Ally, of Muleehabad, killed Madho, confectioner, for refusing to give him sweetmeats on credit.

23rd September. Anoop Sing, and other zemindars, of Dhorehra, killed Ganeish Sing, and wounded Oudan Sing and Husein Ally, Sepoys of Captain Magness's Corps, who were deputed by Sirfraz, Tehseeldar, to realize revenue due from them.

,, 13.—20th September. In a boundary dispute between the Chief of Roghopore and the farmers of Naraenpore, fourteen men were killed and wounded. The dispute is not yet settled, and both parties are mustering troops for a regular contest.

23rd September. Matadeen, Sepoy, of the Madras Battalion, severely wounded Shewdut and Seetul, Brahmins, of Mouza Sursoo, Tikerya, in a dispute which took place between them about the erection of a well.

24th September. Kandar, a slave, of Ally Mahomed, Sepoy, of the regiment commanded by Yakoob Khan, severely wounded one Moonoo, of Bareilly, for refusing to send him some cucumbers.

29th September. Some dacoits attacked the house of Chotanee, liquor-seller, of Sidhore, and plundered his property.

,, 16.—9th September. Mahomed Husein, dacoit, of Beehaygurh, in Jugdespore, attacked the house of Doorga Sing, of Pirtheepore, killed him, wounded his brother, wife, and two other relations, plundered his property, and carried off his son and daughters.

11th September. The zemindars of Sreenuggur demanded payment of duty from one Alaf Khan on his cattle, and wounded two of his servants for refusing to accede to their demand.

15th September. Some person or persons unknown killed Bhabootee Sing, brother of Kulyan Sing, a shareholder in Mouza Sarora, Pergunnah Usyon.

8th October. In a boundary dispute between Bheekum Sing, Chowdry of Kachundo, and Jodhun Sing, Zemindar of Hernarainpore, twenty-one men were killed and wounded. The dispute is not yet settled.

1854,

Guneish Sing and Bhugwunt Sing, zemindars, of Mouza Tillee, killed one Hunwunt Sing in a zemindaree dispute.

October 17.—17th September. Juskarum Sing and Kishun Sing, zemindars, of Mouza Lodhowra, seized upon Meheenlall Passee, and killed him without any just cause.

23rd September. Nehal Khan, of Buragaon, and Ameer Ally, son of Lushkurre Chowdry of Ehowna, attacked the house of Raza Khan, of Bukhtawarnug e, in company with Mahomed Husein, dacoit, robbed him of his property, and ca gur. off his son. rried

On the same day, the dead body of a person, bearing marks of a sword cut and musket-shot wound, was found lying in the jungle of Gondah, and no trace of the murderer could be discovered.

„ 18.—28th September. In a fight between Keerut Sing and his copartner Makhum Sing of Tilwarree, five persons were killed on both sides.

30th September. Hunmunt Roy, of Shahabad, killed his nephew, Mehgolad, in a quarrel which arose in conversation between them.

On the same day, Bhoop Sing, Mokuddum of Kotubpore, mortally wounded Buchwa, cowherd, for letting his cattle graze in his meadow.

13th October. In the siege laid by the Karindah of Sufdur Ally to the fort of the Talookdar of Ourah, seven men were killed and wounded on both sides.

On the same day, Mahomed Isak, Tehseeldar of Mahalara, in Deriabad, attacked the fort at Becogurh, when six of the Tehseeldar's Sepoys were wounded by the fire of the besieged, who evacuated the fort at dusk in the evening and effected their escape.

Shewdeen and Sheebrattee, washermen, beat Goomanee, washerman, to death in a quarrel.

„ 24.—Iham Sing, Burkundauz of the Shahgunj Police, was taken into custody, for wounding his comrade, and drawing his sword upon the Police Officer, when enjoined to be vigilant in the performance of his duty.

One Mahomed Husein was taken into custody, for wounding one Chotaylall, who was in the habit of associating with his mistresss, Huseinee, but he was set at liberty by the intercession of Tickait Roy, the Secretary of her Highness the Khas Mahal.

„ 30.—8th October. Bodhan Khan, of Bharaitch, killed Mudobed and Khodabutesh, while they were going along with a Tazeeah procession, and effected his escape.

23rd October. A Sepoy, of the Honourable Company's Service, was murdered in Mouza Sobhan Gurhee, in Ulmasgunj, and his property, which is said to have been found in a well, was taken into custody by the zemindar of Mouza Behari.

November 1.—20th October. The Sepoys of Syud Uskaree, the Contractor of Customs at Fyzabad, seized upon the boys and girls of the inhabitants of Nawabgunj, who had crossed the River Gogra to cut grass. The men begged of the Sepoys to release their children, but no attention was paid to their prayers; they then attempted to rescue the prisoners by force, when two of them, and one Moonna Sing, Havildar of the Honourable Company's Service, were killed by the Sepoys.

27th October. The inhabitants of Mouza Rammuggur killed two of the inhabitants of the Seetapore Cantonment, for allowing their cattle to graze in the vicinity of their village.

„ 4.—14th October. Habeeboorrahman, the Amil of Suffeepore, put Juswunt Sing in possession of the farm of Berka Sing, on account of the latter withholding payment of Government Revenue. On receiving the Amil's order, the former sent his men to take charge of the farm, and, a fight ensuing, four or five men were killed and wounded on both sides.

„ 5.—1st October. In a fight which took place between a detachment of the Futteh Mobaruck Regiment and Thakoor and Mehrban, zemindars of Mouza Poorah Hatee, a Havildar and a Sepoy of the detachment were wounded, and one Sepoy and the zemindars killed. The men of Raja Urgoon Sing, who had come to the aid of the detachment, set fire to the farm of the zemindars, and went away.

On the same day, Ubhrain-balee, Kanoongo of Deriabad, on learning that Sahibdeen, zemindar, of Mouza Meeagunj, had come on a visit to the house of Heera Aheer, deputed some of his men to kill the zemindar, who wounded two of his assailants, but was overpowered and killed on the spot.

29th October. Bhowanee Sing, Sepoy, of the Honourable Company's Service, was attacked and robbed of his property, by Mutroo and other refractory inhabitants of Bunthur, on his way home from Cawnpore to Amethee.

„ 6.—4th October. Kewul Sing, and other zemindars of Mouza Barawun, attacked and robbed some boats belonging to Kulloo Khan and other beoparies of Peleebheet.

7th October. Shunkur, Brahmin, of Dhorahra, was taken into custody for wounding Meheelall severely.

7th October. A theft was committed in the house of Bundee, courtesan and mistress of Shewbuksh Sing, Talookdar of Beninuggur. Upon this, the Talookdar sent for Allad Passee, cut off his head, and hung it on a tree.

18th October. Some person or persons unknown killed Girdharee Putwaree, of Mouza Bhunna Pergunnah Suffeepore, contiguous to the Camp of the Amil, who did not take any notice of the deed, though the body had been lying there all day.

„ 7.—4th October. Lack Khan, of Bangermow, murdered his slave without any dread of consequences.

16th October. The Passees of Mouza Kilau, in Salone, killed Choonwa Passee, in consequence of some enmity existing between them.

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November 8.—19th October. Some person or persons unknown attacked and murdered Mussamut Lodama, mother of Tukeray Aheer, of Mouza Danapore, on her way home from Mouza Sundhoa, and robbed her of her silver ornaments and two rupees in cash.

15th October. Dowleet Sing, the refractory zemindar of Shahdeepore in Sultanpore, killed his co-partner, Binda Sing, and wounded Tajee Sing, nephew of the deceased.

26th October. The body of a traveller, in a mutilated state, was found lying on the boundary of Kasimpore, Pergunnah Jugdespore, and no trace of the murderer could be found.

30th October. Some dacoit attacked the house of Rowshun, butcher, o Sidhore wounded him, and plundered his property.

13th October. Some thieves broke into the house of Potee, Brahmin, of Russoolabad, and, on his giving the alarm, wounded him and his wife, and effected their escape.

On the same day, some highwaymen attacked and wounded Lala, cloth merchant, and other shopkeepers of Nawabgunj, on their way home from Jammida, Pergunnah Mohan, and robbed them of their property.

21st October. The notorious Juggurnath and Shewgolam, dacoits, attacked Kalkapershad Kaith of Rudowlee, who was escorting his sister home from Husunpore, and made them prisoners, with a view to extort heavy ransom from them.

„ 10.—12th October. Subdhan Sing and Doond Sing, dacoits, attacked Mouza Bodhee, in Hydergurh, and set fire to the houses of the inhabitants.

18th October. Bhoop Sing, and other zemindars of Burwun, attacked Mouza Sunwarree, killed three of the inhabitants, and robbed them of their property.

„ 11.—23rd October. Kolee Sing and other zemindars of Mouza Sikkalee Gurhee, attacked Mouza Samundpore, and attempted to drive away the cattle belonging to the inhabitants, but they were obliged to retreat, with a loss of four men killed and three wounded.

„ 12.—19th October. Some robbers broke into the house of Deena, innkeeper, of Milawan, killed his wife, and effected their escape. The Police, though quite close, did not take any notice of the affair.

20th October. Bulla, Passee, of Ugna, Pergunnah Mahmoodabad, killed Narain, a boy of four years old, with a view to possess himself of his gold and silver ornaments.

22nd October. Some person or persons unknown cut off the head of a woman in Mouza Tarah, Pergunnah Mahonna.

29th October. Some dacoits attacked the house of Hemga, Passee, of Futtehabad, killed him, plundered his property, and wounded Moorkham, Zilladar of the village, and one Koorga Koormee.

„ 14.—28th October. Becho Sing, zemindar of Bustee, in Satruk, attacked the farm of Hatim Ally, plundered the cultivators, and carried off some of them.

29th October. Kalee and Gungadeen, Brahmin, of Roypore, killed Jea, Brahmin, and wounded Rheraee, and effected their escape.

„ 21.—31st October. Goorsahaie, of Mohundie, was firing balls at an earthen pot floating in a tank; and, one of his balls having fallen near some of the servants of Kazim Husein, encamped on the opposite side of the tank, a quarrel ensued, when he killed two of them, and died shortly afterwards of the wounds which he had received from them in the combat.

6th November. In a fight between Seetlabuksh, Talookdar of Dhungurh, and his brother, Shunkur Sing, five men were killed and wounded on both sides, and the latter was taken prisoner by the former.

The remains of a female were found lying on the boundary of the estate of Mosahib Ally, fiddler.

In spite of the orders of the Oude Government, the Contractors of different markets in the City extort one rupee and eighteen seers of grain from each hackery load of grain brought for sale in the markets, and twelve seers of grain and one pie from each bullock or buffalo load of grain.

„ 22.—6th November. Khodabuksh, Huseinbuksh, and Madarbuksh, of Fyzabad, killed Joonnoo, Sepoy, of the Honourable Company's Service, and were taken into custody.

On the same day, Khodabuksh, of Bangermow, killed one Mahomed Khan, for visiting his mistress; and the landed proprietor of Kushimpore, Pergunnah Sultanpore, killed his co-partner, Sirnam Sing.

„ 23.—25th October. Nuck-chaid, and other pedlars and shopkeepers of Gondah, were attacked and robbed of their property, on their way home from the fair held at Bisramghat.

3rd November. The landed proprietors of Mouza Rajolee killed Maharaj Sing, the zemindar of Dhorahrah, and carried off his head.

Dowlut Sing, Sepoy, of Captain Feda Husein's battalion, was killed in a fight between Sheopershad and Moteepershad, co-partners.

„ 26.—The fight between the Amil of Salone and Shew Golam Sing, the Talookdar of Rampore, is still raging. On the 19th of November, thirty-one men were wounded and three killed, on the Amil's side. On the 22nd, the Amil succeeded in making a breach in the fort, and had six of his followers wounded by a cannon ball fired by the besieged.

„ 27.—7th November. Moonowur Khan, the refractory shareholder in Mouza Ungwan, Pergunnah Shahabad, attacked and killed his co-partner, Elahyar, and effected his escape.

8th November. A fight took place between the landed proprietors of Mouza Behta

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and the farmer of Fakurpore, regarding the cultivation of some disputed land, in which one man was killed and three were wounded on the side of the farmer.

16th November. A murder was committed at Mouza Maohi, in Gooshaengunj.

November 28.—14th November. The widow of Shewgolam, the late shareholder in Talooka Pindarah, on hearing that Goolzardoss, the other shareholder, had returned to the Talooka, after leading the life of a mendicant for three years, sent some of her servants, who took him to a jungle and cut off his head.

16th November. Dirgajoy Sing, zemindar of Mouza Buchwara, wounded Lal Sah, zemindar of Sahmudpore, and killed his son, for taking the part of Heeralall, Brahmin, in a quarrel with him.

21st November. The zemindars of Mouza Bustia, in Gooshaengunj, killed Hub Ally, zilladar, and his Karindah, plundered their property and the collection of the Mouza, and effected their escape.

„ 29.—The war between the Amil of Salone and the Talookdar of Rampore Etah is still raging, the latter being aided with troops and ammunition by his formidable ally the Talookdar of Kala Kunker.

„ 30.—14th November. Some highwaymen attacked and wounded a weaver of Jyce severely, and effected their escape.

15th November. Sooruj Balee, a shareholder in Kishenpore, attacked the house of his co-partner Ameer Sing, and, a fight ensuing between the partners, one man was wounded and one killed on the side of the attacked party.

19th November. A woman was murdered at Mouza Buksh, by an unknown person.

30.—On the same day, the zemindar of Mouza Makhee beheaded his servant Lalla, and his daughter-in-law who had eloped with him.

December 1.—11th November. Some dacoits attacked and wounded Girdhareelal, Tehseeldar of Bulrampore, and, in the fight which ensued, many men were killed and wounded on both sides. The Tehseeldar made his escape to Bulrampore.

17th November. In a fight which took place between the landed proprietors of Roypore and Burapore, many persons were killed and wounded on both sides.

„ 4.—23rd November. In a fight between Ally Bahoodar, Talookdar of Durungabad, and Deo Sing, a landholder, the former had many men killed and wounded; and the latter, Poorun Sing, Nerunjen Sing, and five other persons killed, and a few men wounded.

24th November. Jodha Sing, nephew of the landholder of Husnapore, on discovering that some Passee thieves of Mouza Dhumra had committed a theft in his land, went and arrested them with some of the stolen property. He was about to take them to the zemindar of Dhumra, when the latter attacked and killed him, and wounded some of his followers.

„ 6.—13th November. Eesree Buksh, zemindar of Kulyanpore, attacked the house of Progdaas Fakeer, and robbed him and his brothers of their property.

On the same day, Jay Sing, and other inhabitants of Mouza Karotee, attacked the house of Poorun, shopkeeper, of Bangurmow, wounded his brother, plundered his property, and carried off his son.

15th November. Symber Sing, the refractory Talookdar of Gusah, attacked the village of Bhuttur, plundered the inhabitants of their property, and carried off one Zorawur Lodh.

„ 7.—Some thieves murdered Golam Enam and Holassee, of Sandila, who were watching their fields, and effected their escape.

28th November. Golam Dustque, the Naib manager of Aldaymhow, attacked Richpal Sing, the Talookdar of Hussunpoor, who had withheld the payment of Government revenue, and, after a short resistance on the part of the Talookdar, took possession of his fort, and seized upon his brother—the Talookdar having effected his escape.

29th November. The zemindars of Mouza Ramdasspore, through the connivance of Hindpal Sing, of Gowrie, set fire to the farm-house of the zemindar of Maruk, on account of some boundary dispute, and thus a fight has ensued between the parties.

„ 8.—16th November. Guneish Sing, Sepoy of Haaparam, Customs' contractor at Jyssingponah, went and claimed from Ramdeen Kulwa, two rupees, due to his employer; and, on his pleading poverty, wounded him severely. The Kotwal of Fyzabad demanded the surrender of the culprit; but the contractor has not delivered him up.

18th November. A dacoitee was committed on the house of Peerbuksh, Chobdar, at Sultanpore, and property worth thousands plundered.

„ 10.—27th November. Ahmed Ally, a shareholder in Mouza Sukepore, Pergunnah Rudowlee, prevented Oolace, liquor-seller, from building a house which he was erecting, at the instance of Ameer Ally, another shareholder in the Mouza; and, a fight ensuing, six men were wounded on both sides.

28th November. A traveller was killed by some highwaymen in the vicinity of Gopamow, Pergunnah Mowrawan.

1st December. Some thieves entered the farm of Mehpal Sing, wounded one of his watchmen, and effected their escape.

Some dacoits attacked the inhabitants of Othmanpore, wounded two of them, and plundered their property.

„ 11.—19th November. The inhabitants of Bharaitch complained to Nundkomar, the Amil of Nanparah, against the Sepoys under his command, for oppressing and wounding four of them; but no notice was taken of the complaint.

22nd November. The sons of Talagmund and Doond Sing, zemindars, attacked and

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killed Ungad Sing, Toomandar of Hydergurh Nizamut, and effected their escape.

December 12.—16th November. Some dacoits attacked the house of Jano, tailor, of Sikowlee, Pergunnah Rudowlee, and robbed him of his property.

19th November. In a fight between Golab Sing and Sewchyn Sing, zemindars, of Burman, in the district of Sultanpore, four men were killed on the side of the former.

20th November. The zemindars of Mouza Muhreepore attacked, and were driving away the cattle belonging to, the inhabitants of Mouza Sunwarie; and, in a fight which ensued, one of the zemindars was killed and one of the inhabitants wounded.

25th November. Some robbers broke into the house of Koshalee, weaver, of Sandila, wounded him, and robbed his property.

,, 13.—21st November. Mondee and other Passees of Peetumberpore, attacked Mouza Marowlee, and plundered the collections of the Mouza, and the property of the carpenters, who were cutting wood in its vicinity.

22nd November. Captain Fida Husein, in obedience to the Minister's order, deputed Dowlut and two other Sepoys to arrest Moonwa, son of Sewkee, a shareholder in Mouza Missurpore. The culprit, perceiving the Sepoys approaching him, ran some distance, but was pursued by them; and, in the fight which ensued, one of the Sepoys was killed and one wounded.

On the same day, in a quarrel which arose in conversation between Girwer Sing, of Khyrabad, and Missree Sing and other Sepoys, of Ruza Koolee Komedan, Girwer Sing was killed, and one of his followers and two of the Sepoys were wounded.

,, 13.—Last evening, Ram Sing, peon of the Residency Intelligence Department, brought the dead body of his son to the palace-gate, and complained against Ubdoor Ruzuk Khan, Sowar of Ubdool Hadee Khan's Cavalry, for killing him and plundering his household property.

,, 14.—21st November. Mahomedbuksh, Sepoy, having been deputed as a Sazawul, went, with two of his comrades, to Mahomed Medhee, of Bilgrim, killed Nuthoo, tailor, on account of enmity, and effected his escape.

22nd November. Some dacoits attacked and wounded Rugonath and other shopkeepers of Bharaitch, on their way home from the Ganges, and robbed them of their property.

,, 17.—29th November. A Rajpoot servant of Bisram, goldsmith, of Bado Sarai, wounded Oree, Passee, severely, who had given his two sons as hostage to the goldsmith, and obtained his liberty to trace out the stolen property belonging to him.

1st December. Zaman Khan, of Bampore, murdered his fellow-traveller, Mahomed Ameen, at an inn, at Sandila, in consequence of an altercation which had taken place between them, and effected his escape. Alum Khan, the half-brother of the murderer, was taken into custody by the Police of the station.

,, 18.—23rd November. Rumzan Ally, Sepoy, employed under Aman Sing, Zilladar of Kheeroun, inflicted, without any cause, a severe beating upon the wife of Dhunwa Koree, who was in a delicate state of health, and the Zilladar took no notice of the complaint lodged before him by the afflicted husband.

5th December. The body of a female in a mutilated state was found lying in the Onam district, but no trace of the murderer could be discovered.

,, 19.—4th December. Soorujbalee, the refractory zemindar of Ramnuggur Dhumeree, attacked the house of Shew Churrun, Puttwaree of Mujhara, and, after plundering his property, and setting fire to the house, carried him off with two of his brothers.

,, 20.—26th November. Dost Ally, Talookdar of Basutnuggur, in Shahabad, attacked Mouza Bagla Kuns, plundered the inhabitants of their property, and carried off five of them.

5th December. The cultivators of Mouza Makhee, in Onnan, beat to death one Hirwa, Passee, for stealing some heads of Indian corn from their fields.

14th December. Mehdee Husein, the Governor of Salone, sent Pulto Sing with 100 men against Moheeput Sing, the farmer of Amurpara, who had reaped his fields without paying the Government revenue, and, in the fight which ensued, Pulto Sing was wounded, and the farmer effected his escape.

,, 24.—4th December. Rampershad, Brahmin, of Mouza Nursiah, and Seetul and Naraen, sons of Jhan Subadar, of the Honourable Company's Service, killed Lutchman, nephew of Balgobind, Sepoy, of the same service, and effected their escape with their families. The landlord of Nursiah has confined the father of Rampershad.

12th December. Rughoburnarain Sing, son of the Talookdar of Toolseepore, attacked Mouza Musha, and, in the fight which ensued between him and the men of Captain Sobha Sing's detachment, on duty in that village, seven of his followers were killed, and some wounded. Four men of the detachment were also wounded. The Amil of Toolseepore then set fire to the houses of the Talookdar, and had some towers of his fortress dismantled.

,, 27. 17th December. Madarbuksh, the landed proprietor of Mouza Gola, cut off the hands of Narain, Passee, one of his tenants, for failing to pay his share of the contribution which he had demanded from his tenants, and absconded from his house.

,, 23. 14th December. Lokun, Brahmin, of Bhugwuntnuggur, took in lease a tract of land, in Mouza Goburha, and subleased it to Kalka and Mattadeen, Brahmins, who

1854. cultivated the same. When the former demanded the rent of the land, the latter party beat him and his wife so severely that they were bleeding and their bones broken.

17th December. Heeralall and Chundee, of Takytgunj, wounded each other, through some enmity existing between them.

December 28.—It is now about one month since Poorum Darogah confined in his own house one Badul, a grain parcher, for the purpose of realising 100 rupees which he lent him on the security of one Mukka; the grain parcher declares that he has paid the money, together with the interest, to his surety Mukka.

" 29.—18th December. Sahiblall, one of the individuals concerned in the dacoitee committed on the house of Hurpershad, Brahmin, of Burroundah, in Hurha, was taken into custody by the Police, and, on his having been released, on security, he wounded the Brahmin, and effected his escape.

19th December. Some thieves entered the town of Mujhrata, and wounded one of the watchmen.

No. 3.—TRANSLATED ENTRIES in the Minister's Report, for the months of May and June, 1854, in which there are items of eighteen men killed and forty-seven wounded, which are not entered in the Diary for that year.

Date of Offence.	Jurisdiction and Name of the Amil.	Name of the Village.	Name of the Leader of the Offenders.	Killed.	Wounded.	Remarks.
1854.						
May 26	Hurpershad, Amil of Khyrabad	Gungapore	Thieves	..	1	Not reported in the Diary.
June 3	Do.	Gorowna	Kalka Sing, the refractory Talookdar of Gorowna.	..	1	
May 22	Do.	Namakee	Koolya Passee	1	1	
„ 26	Alee Amjud, Amil of Bharaitch ..	Bharaitch	Ameer Khan	..	1	Do.
„ 25	Ahmed Husein, of Hydergurh	Sehgown	Chundee and Dabee	1	..	Do.
„ 24	Aga Alee Khan, of Esowlee	Rampore	Chaud Sing, a refractory Talookdar ..	2	..	
„ 27	Hurpershad Ameel, of Misruk ..	Jusruthpore	Rugga	2	..	
„ 23	Shewnath Sing Amil, of Gopamow ..	Sukroree	Naraen and Zalim, copartners	..	9	
„ 28	Aboo Mahomed, of Nawabgunj ..	Nawabgunj	Dacoits	..	1	Do.
„ „	Fyzabad	Fyzabad	Unknown	1	..	
„ 29	Kumrooddeen of Gosaengunj ..	Amelhee	Thieves	..	1	Do.
„ 28	Sarubjeet Sing, of Ramnuggur Dhumeree ..	Ramnuggur Dhumeree ..	Dacoits	..	1	
„ 27	Aga Alee Khan, of Pertaubgurh ..	Gopapar	Ghisyawun Sing	..	2	Do.
June 1	Hushmut Alee, of Mulechabad ..	Boehoya	Thieves	..	1	Do.
May 27	Do. Milawan	Karuh Gordasgunj ..	Do.	1	..	Do.
„ 27	Heera Lal, of Dulmow	Dulmow	Nuthey Khan	1	..	Do.
„ 30	Do. Mowrawan	Gondee	Unknown	..	2	Do.
„ 31	Aleebuksh Baree	Baree	Indul Sing, and other servants of Moorlee Manshur	2	..	
„ 28	Hurpershad Khyree	Bausee	Toolseeram	3	1	Do.
„ 31	Husein Alee Asoha	Buchrah	Suktoo and Rambuksh	1	..	
June 2	Syud Husein, of Budoo Surai	Dikhwa	Gungadeen	1	..	Do.
„ 3	Hushmut Alee, of Sandila	Sandila	Thieves	1	..	
„ 2	Hurpershad, of Mujhrehta	Lodhowra	Unknown	1	..	
May 28	Do. Khyrabad	Shahmow	Shem Amur Sing	..	8	Do.
			Carried forward	18	30	

No. 3 of Appendix E of Inclosure 6 of No. 1.—(*continued.*)

Date of Offence.	Jurisdiction and Name of the Amil.	Name of the Village.	Name of the Leader of the Offenders.	Killed.	Wounded.	Remarks.
1854.			Brought forward	18	30	
June 6	Sarubjeet Sing, of Ramnuggur Dhumeree ..	Byreepore	Dacoits	..	3	Not reported in the Diary.
„ 3	Shewnath, of Gossamow	Marowlee	Zemindars, of Halaymow	1	..	Do.
„ 6	Ahmed Husein, of Hydergurh	Poorah	Ameer Alee	1	1	Do.
„ 4	Aga Alee Khan, of Pertaubgurh ..	Daleeppore	Oodwut Naraen	..	3	
„ 9	Hushmut Alee, of Sandila	Bakeenuggur	Moonneram	1	..	
„ „	Muheelabad	Muheelabad	Bhowna	..	1	Do.
„ 6	Milanwa	Bhursara	Tufuzzul Husein	..	1	
„ 10	Husein Raza, of Bijnour	Moradipore	Omeid Sing	..	1	
„ 6	Aga Husein, of Uldeymow	Julapore	Roostum and Mouzzum	..	2	Do.
„ 10	Aleebuksh, of Mahowna	Urjoonpore	Bhowany Sing	1	1	
„ 11	Newulgunj	Newulgunj	Thieves	..	1	
„ „	Ramnuggur Dhumeeree	Ramnuggur	Gokul and Sheopershad	1	..	
„ 9	Sultanpore	Sultanpore	Unknown	..	1	Do.
„ 8	Esowlee	Deh	Do.	1	..	Do.
„ 10	Sultanpore	Hasunpore	Shew Golam	..	1	Do.
„ 11	Bharaitch	Mukrour	Aleebuksh	1	2	
„ 8	Bilgram	Bilgram	Unknown	..	2	Do.
„ 7	Do.	Do.	Bukshee	..	1	Do.
„ 9	Sadurpore	Bhoorgorah	Shewdun Sing	1	1	Do.
„ 11	Mujhruhta	Poonda	Jowahir	1	..	
„ 9	Dulmow	Dohim Khyrah ..	Unknown	1	..	
„ 3	Tundiaon	Hurkurpore	Ukher Beg	1	3	
„ 6	Do.	Bunsree	Do.	6	11	
May 22	Bangurmow	Kans	Bholay	1	..	Do.
„ 27	Kheeroon	Bidaypore	Mohun Sing	1	..	Do.
June 6	Mahona	Mahona	Pirbhoo	..	1	Do.
„ 21	Bangurmow	Balolee	Unknown	..	5	Do.
„ 12	Mahomdee	Mahomdee	Khoshal and others	..	2	Do.
			Carried forward	37	74	

No. 3 of Appendix E of Inclosure 6 of No. 1.—(*continued.*)

Date of Offence.	Jurisdiction and Name of the Amil.	Name of the Village.	Name of the Leader of the Offenders.	Killed.	Wounded.	Remarks.
1854.			Brought forward	37	74	
June 11	Khyree	Rajapore	Ramdeen	..	1	
„ 15	Fyzabad	Raegunj	Unknown	1	..	
„ 13	Pertaubgurh	Dewulmow	Oodwut Naraen	..	1	
„ 16	Tundah	Metha	Sewsing	..	2	Not reported in the Diary.
„ 17	Buchrawan	Buchrawan	Gyadeen	1	..	
„ 15	Bharaitch	Beagpore	Highwaymen	..	1	
„ 17	Bangurmow	Nasirpore	Dhunwa	..	1	
„ 18	Buddoo Surai	Kutka	Thieves	..	2	
„ 19	Gosaengunj	Jhanotee	Ruttee Sing	4	4	Do.
„ 17	Sandila	Amurpalee	Highwaymen	..	1	
„ 19	Gosaengunj	Amethee	Thieves	..	1	Do.
„ 18	Ramnuggur	Lamaee	Mindaee	1	..	
„ 21	Muleehabad	Bhanoha	Moonnoo	..	1	
„ 20	Hisampore	Peareepore	Hyderata	..	1	
„ 21	Gosaengunj	Gosaengunj	Unknown	..	1	
„ 14	Nanparah	Bumhnorotee	Do.	8	..	
„ 18	Aldaymhow	Bulmee Kopee ..	Bakur Husein	..	2	Do.
„ „	Do.	Mahomedpore ..	Ruttim Sing	..	2	
„ 20	Rudowlee	Karonuda	Wahin	1	1	
„ 21	Mahomdee	Boodhya	Budheva	1	..	Do.
			Total	54	96	
			Grand total of cases not reported and inserted in the Diary	18	47	65 individuals killed and wounded.

Inclosure 7 in No. 1.

Minute by Major-General Low, C.B.

Calcutta, March 28, 1855.

1. THESE papers must, of course, be sent to the Governor-General. For the present, I shall only observe that I entirely concur in the opinions recorded by Major-General Outram, in the 104th paragraph of his despatch dated the 15th instant, for the following reasons, viz., because the public and shameful oppressions committed on the people by Government officers in Oude have of late years been constant and extreme; because the King of Oude has continually, during many years, broken the Treaty by systematically disregarding our advice, instead of following it, or even endeavouring to follow it; because we are bound by *Treaty* (quite different in that respect from our position relatively to most of the great native States) to prevent serious interior misrule in Oude; because it has been fully proved that we have not prevented it, and that we cannot prevent it by the present mode of conducting our relations with that State; and because no man of common sense can entertain the smallest expectation that the present King of Oude can ever become an efficient ruler of his country.

Major-General Outram's despat dated March 15, 1855, with inclosures.

2. I may also mention the following additional reason for my concurring with Major-General Outram in thinking "that the duty imposed on the British Government by the Treaty cannot any longer admit of our honestly indulging the reluctance which the Government of India has felt heretofore, to have recourse to those extreme measures which alone can be of any real efficacy in remedying the evils from which the State of Oude has suffered so long." It is my belief that Lord Hardinge's threat, in 1847 to adopt our own measures in two years from that time, and the fact that, although six years have now passed, yet nothing has been done by us, have together, indirectly, had very mischievous effects, by their having given rise to a general supposition among the most powerful Government officers in Oude (of this I have been assured both by natives and Europeans) that there exists some order from England, which has placed it out of the power of the Government of India to carry Lord Hardinge's threat into execution, under any circumstances, so that Ministers and Talookdars and other official men have now less fear of incurring the displeasure of the Resident, or of giving offence to the British Government, as far as mismanagement of the interior administration of Oude gives offence to the paramount State, than they ever had previous to Lord Hardinge's visit to Lucknow.

J. LOW.

Inclosure 8 in No. 1.

Minute by the Governor-General of India, June 18, 1855.

OUDE.

MORE than seven years have now passed away since the affairs of the Kingdom of Oude, long disordered and perplexed, were thought to have reached their final crisis. In November 1847, the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, proceeded to Lucknow, for the purpose of personally representing to the King the evils produced in Oude by long-existing misrule, and with the intention of urging upon His Majesty the necessity of no longer delaying to remedy the manifold abuses from which his people suffered, and by which his Royal authority had already been placed in jeopardy.

At an interview, held on the 22nd of November, of which a full record has been preserved, the Governor-General recalled to the recollection of the King the relations which existed between the British Government and the Kingdom of Oude, and the obligations by which the rulers of each were mutually bound. He pointed out to the King that "if the Governor-General permits the continuance of any flagrant system of misgovernment

Memorandum by Governor-General addressed to the King of Oude. Cons. Dec. 11, 1847; No. 200. Paragraph 9.

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 in 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." His Majesty was reminded that, many years before, in the year 1831, the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, had informed the reigning Sovereign "that, if the warning he then gave was disregarded
Paragraph 10. by His Majesty, it was his (the Governor-General's) intention to submit to the home authorities his advice, that *the British Government should assume the direct management of the Oude dominions*," and His Majesty was informed that the Court of Directors had, subsequently, granted to the Governor-General the authority which he had asked for that purpose.

The Governor-General proceeded to state that these warnings had been wholly disregarded. He dwelt upon the notorious "existence of extensive misrule" in Oude "in various departments of the State," and denounced the "cruel oppression" which prevailed throughout His
Paragraph 16. Majesty's dominions. Having impressed upon the King "the great importance of making salutary and decisive changes in" his "administration," the Governor-General thus remarked: "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.*"

A period of two years was then fixed, as affording sufficient space and opportunity for the correction of abuses, and for the introduction of an amended system of administration into the Oude dominions. Thereafter,
Paragraph 25. the King received this solemn and final warning: "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."

2. The affairs of the Kingdom of Oude still remain upon the footing on which they were placed at the memorable conference whose main events I have just recited.

At the end of the probationary period of two years allotted by Lord Hardinge, the Resident at Lucknow reported fully upon the state of Oude, but he was unable to announce that any improvement had taken place, or that any remedy whatever had been applied by the King to the manifold evils of oppression and misrule.

A natural, though perhaps ill-judged, reluctance to proceed to extreme measures led me, at that time, to refrain from at once acting up to the threat held out by my predecessor, and induced me to afford to the King a further period of indulgence and reprieve.

At the end of the year 1851, it seemed impossible to defer any longer the decided action which had long been imminent. The whole subject of the condition of Oude and its future fate was about to be brought under the consideration of the home authorities, when the war with Burmah unexpectedly broke out. The difficulties attendant upon the prosecution of that war, and upon the adjustment of the many and various political arrangements which followed its termination, left no leisure or means to the Government of India for undertaking so large a measure as the remodelling of the administration of Oude. But, at the end of last year, attention was again drawn to this important public question.

Colonel Outram was at that time appointed to officiate as Resident at the Court of Lucknow.

In the instructions which were furnished to that officer, the Secretary to the Government, having adverted to the state of probation in which the Government of Oude had for some time been placed, proceeded thus:

"Averse as the Governor-General in Council is to enter on this large question, his Lordship in Council feels that it cannot be left in its present indefinite and unsatisfactory condition. To Colonel Outram Nov. 24, 1854. Paragraphs 8 & 9.

"I am accordingly directed, by the Governor-General in Council, to instruct you to apply yourself, on your arrival at Lucknow, to an enquiry into the present state of that country, with a view to determine whether its affairs still continue in the state in which Colonel Sleeman, from time to time, described them to be; whether the improvement which Lord Hardinge peremptorily demanded, seven years ago, at the hands of the King, in pursuance of the Treaty of 1801, has in any degree been effected; and whether the duty imposed upon the British Government by that Treaty—a duty recognised by Lord William Bentinck in 1831, and reiterated by Lord Hardinge in 1847—will in truth any longer admit of our honestly indulging the reluctance we have felt to have recourse to those extreme measures which alone can be of any real efficacy in remedying the evils from which the State of Oude has suffered so long."

4. The Officiating Resident has now made his report. He has restricted himself closely to the specific topics set down in his instructions, and has prepared, with much ability, a clear, and temperate, and conclusive statement of the present condition of the Kingdom of Oude. General Outram thus sums up the representations he has found it his duty to make regarding the Sovereign of Oude and the administration of his Government:

"In all other respects (that is, excepting the benefit derived by the neighbouring British provinces from the frontier police), as regards its internal state, the condition of Oude is, as I have shown, most deplorable. And it has been my painful duty to demonstrate that the lamentable condition of this kingdom has been caused by the very culpable apathy, and gross misrule, of the Sovereign and his Durbar. I have shown that the affairs of Oude still continue in the same state, if not worse, in which Colonel Sleeman, from time to time, described them to be; and that the improvement which Lord Hardinge peremptorily demanded, seven years ago, at the hands of the King, in pursuance of the Treaty of 1801, has not in any degree been effected. And I have no hesitation in declaring my opinion, therefore, that the duty imposed on the British Government by that Treaty cannot any longer admit of our honestly indulging the reluctance which the Government of India has felt heretofore to have recourse to those extreme measures which alone can be of any real efficacy in remedying the evils from which the State of Oude has suffered so long." Letter dated March 15, 1855. Paragraph 104.

5. In proceeding to place before the Honourable Court of Directors a brief review of the miserable condition of Oude, and to suggest the measures which it appears incumbent upon us to take regarding it, it will be necessary for me to set forth, in the first instance, the relations which exist between the two States, and to show the nature of those obligations to which the Officiating Resident has referred as authoritatively binding upon the British Government.

6. The instrument by which the mutual relations of the British Government and of the Court of Lucknow are now defined and regulated, is the Treaty of 1801. A very general impression prevails that a subsequent readjustment of those relations was made by the Treaty concluded by Lord Auckland in 1837. But that Treaty is null and void. It was wholly disallowed by the Honourable Court of Directors so soon as they received it. On the 10th of April, 1838, the Secret Committee conveyed to the Governor-General in Council their "directions for the abrogation of the Treaty" of September 18, 1837; and they, subsequently, reiterated their instructions regarding the "disallowance of the Treaty of the 18th of September, 1837, and the restoration of our relations with the State of Oude to the footing on which they previously stood." The Honourable Committee added: "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." Letter, April 15, 1839.

Wherefore, it is to the Treaty of 1801 that we must exclusively look.

By the first Article of that Treaty, the Nawab Vizier ceded to the East

India Company, "in perpetual sovereignty," certain "portions of his territorial possessions, in commutation of the subsidy" agreed upon in the Treaty of 1798, "of the expenses attendant on the additional troops, and of the Benares and Furruckabad pensions."

By the third Article, the Nawab Vizier further engaged that he "will 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; and his Excellency will always advise with, and act in conformity to the counsel of, the officers of" the East India Company.

The British Government, upon its part, bound itself, in the third Article of the Treaty, "to defend the territories which will remain to his Excellency the Vizier, against all foreign and domestic enemies; provided always that it be in the power of the Company's Government to station the British troops in such parts of his Excellency's dominions as shall appear to the said Government most expedient."

7. The obligations, thus imposed upon it by the Treaty of 1801, have been observed by the Government of India, for more than half a century, constantly, faithfully, and completely. Throughout the whole of that eventful period, the British Government has been engaged in frequent wars with the most powerful native States of the East; and it has, more than once, been required even to meet invasion, coming in formidable aspect, and from the most distant points. But, in all that time, no foreign foe has ever set his foot on the soil of Oude. No great rebellion has ever threatened the stability of its throne. British troops have been ever kept in close proximity to the person of the King. Once, they have preserved the throne to its rightful Sovereign against the treachery of his own nearest kindred. For many years, in former times, they were perpetually called upon to uphold the King's authority, whatever might be the merits of the dispute whereby it was called in question; and their aid, in later times, has never been withheld, whenever his power was wrongfully defied. In very recent years, the Minister has found himself unable, without their service, to control a rebellious Chief within but sixteen miles of the capital; and two years have not yet passed since their protection was invoked against a military mutiny at the very gates of the King's palace.

8. Very different has been the observance which the Treaty has received at the hands of successive Rulers of Oude. The Nawab Vizier, by whom it was concluded, fulfilled, indeed, and at once, the obligation whereby territory was ceded to the British Government; but the other, and not less important, obligation—the stipulation whereby he bound the Sovereign of Oude to conform ever to the counsel of the British Government, and to establish such a system of administration as should secure the lives and property of his subjects, and be conducive to their prosperity—has, from that day to this, been utterly, and systematically, set at nought.

9. As these words imply, in point of fact, a charge, against the rulers of Oude, of deliberate and continuous violation of Treaty, it is incumbent upon me to make good the charge, by adducing authoritative statements, and established facts, in its support. To do so in full detail, would swell this Minute to an inconvenient and unnecessary bulk. Wherefore, I shall restrict myself in this place to the compilation of a general narrative of the condition of Oude, from our earliest connection with it to the present time; while, for the guidance of those who may desire to examine the question with closer and more searching scrutiny, ample reference shall be made, in the margin, to the reports of successive Residents at Lucknow, to the despatch of the present Officiating Resident, Major-General Outram, and to the numerous appendices which have accompanied it.

10. The Government of Oude has been notorious for its abuse of power, for gross misrule, and for the oppression of its subjects, from the earliest period at which the British Government became interested in, or connected with, the affairs of the Province.

A perusal of the précis of the history of our connection with Oude, which forms Appendix C of the Officiating Resident's Report, will show

that, so early as the year 1779, the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, found it necessary to tell the Vizier, Asuf-ood-Dowlah, "that the disorder of his State, and the dissipation of his revenues, were the effects of his own conduct, which had failed, not so much from the casual effects of incapacity, as from the detestable choice which he had made of the Ministers of his power, and the participators of his confidence." Appendix C. Part I, page 77.

Three years afterwards, the condition of Oude may be seen by the following extract from a despatch of 1782:—"But such were the disorders of his administration, and such the effect of those disorders upon the population and produce of the country, that, without great reforms, the payments seemed impracticable; and, without the virtual assumption of the powers of Government into better hands than those of the Vizier and his agents, all reform was an object of despair." Appendix C. Part I, page 78.

In 1787, the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, wrote thus:—"I cannot express how much I was concerned, during my short residence at the capital of the Vizier, and my progress through his dominions, to be a witness of his finances and government, and of the desolated appearance of the country." Appendix C. Part I, page 78.

Six years subsequently, in 1793, Lord Cornwallis addressed to the Vizier "a solemn letter of expostulation and advice." He said: "On my return from the war in the Dekhan, I had the mortification to find that, after a period of five years, the evils which prevailed at the beginning of that time had increased,—that your finances had fallen into a worse state by an enormous accumulated debt,—that the same oppressions continue to be exercised by rapacious and overgrown amils, towards the ryuts,—and that, not only the subjects and merchants of your own dominions, but those residing under the Company's protection, suffered many exactions, contrary to the Commercial Treaty, from the Custom-house officers, from zemindars, amils, and others. Appendix C. Part I, page 78.

"As, in a State, the evils that are practised by the lower classes of men are to be attributed to the example held out to them by their superiors, and to their connivance, or to their weak government, so am I obliged to represent that all the oppressions and extortions caused by the amils on the peasantry take their source in the connivance and irregularities of the administration of Lucknow.

"Though the Company's subsidy is, at present, paid with regularity, yet I cannot risk my reputation, nor neglect my duty, by remaining a silent spectator of evils which will, in the end, and perhaps that end is not very remote, render abortive even your Excellency's earnest desire that the subsidy should be punctually paid." His Lordship wrote again to the Vizier from Madras: "The effects of an expensive Government are two—first, the oppression and misery of the people; and secondly, the fall of the Government itself. It is known, not only to Hindustan, but to all Europe, that the revenues of your Excellency's dominions are diminished beyond all conjecture. Are not these decisive proofs of tyranny, extortion, and mismanagement, in the amils? Your Excellency knows that the prayers of the oppressed are attended to by the Almighty, and call down His vengeance upon their oppressors. History confirms the observation, by exhibiting innumerable examples of monarchies overturned, and families effaced from the earth, by a violation of justice in the Sovereign, or neglect in him to enforce its laws.

"The revenues are collected, without system, by force of arms; the amils are left to plunder uncontrolled; the ryuts have no security from oppression, nor of redress for injustice exercised upon them."

In the following year (1794) the successor of Lord Cornwallis, Sir John Shore, wrote in a similar strain, regarding the character of the administration of Oude: "It has long been my anxious wish to prevail on the Nawab Vizier to arrange the internal administration of his country, and establish it upon principles calculated to promote the happiness of his subjects, and the permanency of his own authority. I cannot, therefore, observe without regret that his Excellency does not appear to adopt any measures for this purpose."

11. In 1798, the Earl of Mornington, when about to assume the government of India, adverted to the condition of Oude in these terms, in Lord Wellesley's despatches, Feb. 28, 1798. Vol. i, pages 23, 24.

a despatch to the Right Honourable H. Dundas: "The despatches which accompany this letter will inform you of the death of the Nawab Vizier Asuf-ood-Dowlah, and of the very extraordinary scenes which have passed in Oude since that event. The event itself I should have considered in the abstract as highly favourable to our interests, being persuaded that, under the reign of Asuf-ood-Dowlah, it would ever have been impracticable to have carried into permanent effect any reform in the disordered finances and undisciplined army of that Prince. The whole country is represented to be in a state to require the presence of a large military force, for the maintenance of internal peace and good order. This state of our affairs in Oude must be deemed a positive diminution of our disposable force. You will find that the Governor-General states his conviction, without reserve, that the approach of Zeman Shah towards the frontier of Oude would become the signal of general revolt and plunder in that province."

Lord Wellesley's despatches, Dec. 23, 1798. Vol. i, page 388.

Later in the year, Lord Mornington spoke in strong language of the state of the Civil Government of Oude. "With respect," he said, "to the Vizier's civil establishments, and to his abusive systems for the extortion of revenue, and for the violation of every principle of justice, little can be done before I can be enabled to visit Lucknow."

In the following year (1799) the Nawab Vizier Saadut Alee Khan intimated to the Governor-General, through the Resident at Lucknow, his desire to abdicate the sovereign authority. Upon this communication the Governor-General, in reply, expressed his opinion that "the proposition of the Vizier is pregnant with such benefit, not only to the Company, but to the inhabitants of Oude, that his Lordship thinks it cannot be too much encouraged, and that there are no circumstances which should be allowed to impede the accomplishment of the grand object which leads to it. This object his Lordship considers to be the acquisition by the Company of the exclusive authority, civil and military, over the dominions of Oude."

Lord Wellesley's despatches. Minute, Dec. 16, 1799. Vol. ii, pages 159, 160.

At the same time, the Governor-General recorded a Minute, in which he made known to the Vizier his views regarding the disordered state of his Excellency's dominions; and stated, without reserve, his convictions as to the remedy which ought to be applied, and which alone could prove effectual. "The Governor-General," it was stated, "has observed with the most anxious concern the inveterate abuses which have disgraced every branch of the Civil Government of Oude, perverted the administration of justice, impaired the sources of revenue, industry, and commerce, and destroyed the foundations of public prosperity and individual happiness, in that fertile, but declining, country. His Lordship has also lamented the unequivocal symptoms, which have occurred within his own knowledge, of the disorderly and mutinous spirit of his Excellency's army,—of the refractory temper of a great proportion of his people,—and of the general disaffection unhappily prevailing towards his Excellency's person and government. The pressure of these calamities has been much aggravated, in his Lordship's judgment, by his certain conviction of the utter insufficiency of any instruments or means which his Excellency's own service or resources can furnish, to repress evils of such magnitude, violence, and power."

Lord Wellesley's despatches, Dec. 16, 1799. Vol. ii, page 166.

In a subsequent paragraph, the Governor-General explicitly advised the Vizier "to vest the exclusive administration of the civil and military government of Oude and its dependencies in the hands of the Company," as the only effectual means of carrying on the Government "with ease to his Excellency, or with advantage to his subjects."

The pretended intentions of the Vizier to abdicate his authority were not carried into effect. But, early in the following year (1800), the Governor-General addressed to his Excellency a letter, reproaching him with misconduct and want of good faith. In the course of that letter, the Governor-General reminded the Vizier that his Excellency had "repeatedly complained of the ruinous condition of" his "internal government, and earnestly solicited" the Governor-General's "direct interference, as being indispensably necessary for the purpose of effecting a complete reform in" his "affairs, and especially in" his "military establishments."

With reference to these circumstances, the Governor-General reported thus to the President of the Board of Control: "I have nothing to hope from any other quality in his Excellency's mind except his acknowledged pusillanimity, which I flatter myself will induce him to submit to the introduction of such a portion of the British authority into the management of his country, as is indispensably necessary to the just and pure administration of the government, to the accurate collection, and economical expenditure, of his revenues, and to the relief of his people from the extortion, cruelty, and oppression under which they now suffer."

Lord Wellesley's despatches, Mar. 5, 1800. Vol. ii, page 236.

In the year 1801, Lord Wellesley again addressed himself to a consideration of the state of the affairs of Oude. Adverting to the diminution of the public revenue, the Governor-General observed: "The causes of this increasing defalcation of the revenue are manifest, and daily acquire new strength. Had the territories of Oude been subject to the frequent, or occasional, devastations of any enemy,—had they been visited by unfavourable seasons, or by other calamities which impair the public prosperity,—the rapid decline of the Vizier's revenue might be imputed to other causes than a defective administration; but no such calamitous visitations have afflicted the Province of Oude; while, in consequence of the protection which it derives from the presence of the British forces, it has been maintained, together with all the Company's possessions on this side of India, in the uninterrupted enjoyment of peace. A defective administration of the Government is, therefore, the only cause which can have produced so marked a difference between the state of his Excellency's dominions and that of the contiguous territories of the Company. While the territories of the Company have been advancing progressively, during the last ten years, in prosperity, population, and opulence, the dominions of the Vizier, although enjoying equal advantages of tranquillity and security, have rapidly and progressively declined. None of the evils have been diminished under his Excellency's government: on the contrary, their daily increase and aggravation are notorious, and must be progressive, to the utter ruin of the resources of Oude, unless the vicious system of native administration be immediately abandoned. The Vizier must now be prepared for the active and decided interference of the British Government in the affairs of his country."

Appendix C. Part I, page 79. Lord Wellesley to Resident at Lucknow, Jan. 22, 1801.

The conclusion which the Governor-General had formed was declared to be, "that no effectual remedy can be provided against the ruin of the Province of Oude, until the exclusive management of the civil and military Government of that country shall be transferred to the Company, under suitable provisions for the maintenance of his Excellency and his family. No other remedy can effect any considerable improvement in the resources of the State, or can ultimately secure its external safety and internal peace."

Lord Wellesley's despatches, Jan. 22, 1801. Vol. ii, page 426.

The Vizier having declined to consent to the measures proposed by the Governor-General, they were again urged upon him in a letter wherein Lord Wellesley thus emphatically wrote: "I therefore now declare to your Excellency, in the most explicit terms, that I consider it to be my positive duty to resort to any extremity, rather than to suffer the further progress of that ruin to which the interests of your Excellency, and of the Company, are exposed by the continued operation of the evils and abuses actually existing in the civil and military administration of the Province of Oude."

Governor-General to Vizier of Oude, April 5, 1801. Lord Wellesley's despatches. Vol. ii, page 474.

"I have repeatedly represented to your Excellency the effects of the ruinous expedient of anticipating the collections, the destructive practice of realizing them by force of arms, the annual diminution of the jumma of the country, the precarious tenure by which the amils and farmers hold their possessions, the misery of the lower classes of the people, absolutely excluded from the protection of the Government, and the utter insecurity of life and property throughout the Province of Oude."

Governor-General to Vizier of Oude, April 5, 1801.

The Governor-General elsewhere in this letter spoke of "the ruinous system of the existing administration,"—of the evils, abuses, and oppressions "which prevailed throughout the province." He affirmed that "the evils, now the subject of complaint, had existed, for a long course of years,

April 5, 1801.

throughout the Province of Oude;" and he added, "in proportion to the extent and the continuance of the operation of such causes of ruin, their effect is the more to be apprehended, and the necessity of a remedy is become more urgent and indispensable."

Yielding to these representations, the Nawab Vizier at length concluded the Treaty of 1801. The provisions of that Treaty have already been described in the commencement of the present Minute. In reporting this event to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, Lord Wellesley thus expressed, in few words, his opinion of the actual condition of Oude, and his anticipations of the results to be expected from the new Treaty: "You must derive great satisfaction from reflecting that the British Government, under this Treaty, will become the instrument of restoring to affluence and prosperity one of the most fertile regions of the globe, now reduced to a condition of the most afflicting misery and desolation, by the depraved administration of the native Government of Oude."

Governor-General to Secret Committee, Nov. 14, 1801. Lord Wellesley's despatches, vol. ii, page 607.

12. The description which Lord Wellesley gave, in these words, of the miserable state of the Province of Oude, was unquestionably accurate and just.

The anticipations he therein recorded of the change which the Treaty would work were, unfortunately, not fulfilled.

The records of the Residency show that, notwithstanding the stipulations of the new Treaty, "the landholders were, nevertheless, exposed to the systematic extortions of the contractors, to whom the Nawab farmed the assessments, and whom he authorized to levy their demands by the most violent and oppressive means. These exactions were as systematically resisted."

Appendix C. Part I, page 80.

The misgovernment of the country continued unabated, until, in 1812, the Governor-General addressed the Vizier, "earnestly recommending him to institute a reform which should be based upon the fundamental principles of a moderate assessment, to be made by the officers of Government, immediately with the landholders, without the intervention of a contractor or farmer of the revenue."

Appendix C. Part I, page 80.

No reform having been made, the Governor-General, in the following year (1813), reminded the Vizier that "the British Government had a right, founded upon the basis of the subsidiary Treaty, to propose such reforms in his internal Government as it deemed essential; and that he was held, under the same Treaty, under an obligation to follow such advice. The Nawab was assured that no lapse of time, no change of circumstances, would ever induce the British Government to relinquish a measure which it considered essential to the happiness and prosperity of Oude, the care and reputation of the Nawab, and the best interests of both States. He was also warned that, if he persisted in his refusal, he would violate an express stipulation of the Treaty; and he was requested seriously to consider the consequences in which he might involve himself by such a course of conduct."

Appendix C. Part I, page 80.

13. In 1814, the Nawab Saadut Alee Khan died, without effecting any of those improvements in his administration which had been so long, and so urgently, pressed upon him. The fact that, before his death, he had amassed treasure to the amount of thirteen millions sterling, exacted from the resources of a country, which, during the greater part of his reign, gave only one million and a half of revenue, affords the most substantial proof of the existence of all the extreme extortion and oppression with which his Government had so often been charged.

Appendix C. Part I, page 80.

14. In the reign of his successor, Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder, no amelioration of the state of Oude was obtained by the representations of the Government of India. On the contrary, it is known from the Residency records that, during the years from 1815 to 1822, "the British troops were constantly employed against refractory zemindars; and, in the beginning of 1820, more than seventy of their forts were occupied, and dismantled, by the British troops."

Appendix C. Part I, page 80.

The Government of Oude was unable, without assistance, to suppress even the "gangs of armed robbers who haunted the jungles, and made frequent and desperate inroads into British territory. Their lurking-

Appendix C. page 80.

places were occasionally penetrated, and their villages destroyed; but the connivance of the Oude police, and the secret encouragement of the neighbouring Zemindars, sheltered them from any pursuit or punishment. In 1820, 400 of these marauders traversed the British territory for more than 300 miles from the Oude frontier, and near Monghir plundered the boats of a merchant of Calcutta to the extent of a lakh and a half of rupees."

15. In consequence of this state of things, the Governor-General, in 1826, held an interview with the Ruler of Oude, now raised to the Kingly rank, in the hope of inducing him to amend the administration of his country. But, in the following year (1827), the King died, and, shortly afterwards, the Resident at Lucknow felt it to be his duty to report to the Supreme Government "that the country had reached so incurable a state of decline, that nothing but the assumption of the administration could preserve it from utter ruin." Appendix C, page 81.

16. The Government of India, no longer able to conceal from itself that the countenance and support, which, by its own observance of the Treaty of 1801, it had long given to the Government of Oude, had inflicted, and was still inflicting, unnumbered evils on the people of that province, prepared, at length, to take those measures which had been, again and again, declared to constitute the only effectual remedy for long existing misrule. *Vide* Memorandum by Resident at Lucknow. Cons. Sept. 30, 1831. No. 3.

In 1831, the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, informed the King in person, and subsequently communicated to him in writing, that "matters had come to that pass that, in the event of improvement and reformation not being effected by His Majesty's officers, the settlement of the country will need to be made by British officers. Memorandum of Conference, January 20, 1831.

"There are parallel cases to the present state of things in Oude to be found in the history of India, from which your Majesty may take example. For both in Hindustan and in the Dekhan, wherever the country of Rulers bound to the British Government by Treaty has been taken possesion of directly, the act of aggression on our part has always been justified on the ground of the disorders which prevailed, and of the unfitness of the native Governors to conduct affairs, and their failure to establish a proper systematic government that should be a source of happiness and contentment to the people. The stories of Bengal and Benares, of Arcot and Tanjore, are all of this description."

17. Notwithstanding this explicit declaration, on the part of the British Government, of an intention to assume the management of the Province, with the full sanction and approval of the Honorable Court of Directors, and in spite of the continued misgovernment, approaching almost to anarchy, which marked the reign of the King, Nusseer-oodeen, nothing was done for the oppressed people of Oude. Appendix C, page 81.

The Government of India, however, was no less strongly impressed than before with a conviction of their wretched condition. This is strongly shown in the preamble to the Treaty of 1837, which may be rightly quoted as evidence of the views of the Indian Government, although the Treaty itself was ultimately disallowed. "Whereas," it is said in the preamble, "Article VI 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 Honorable 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 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 succesive rulers of Oude, have been continued and notorious, and have ever exposed the British Government to the reproach of imperfectly fulfilling its obligations towards the Oude people," &c.

Vide Cons. Sept. 17, 1832. No. 81.
„ Sept. 17, 1832. „ 83.
„ Nov. 5, 1832. „ 31.
„ Jan. 7, 1833. „ 47, 52.
„ Dec. 24, 1834. „ 75.
„ Feb. 5, 1835. „ 68, 70.
„ Nov. 23, 1835. „ 42, 43.
„ Sept. 12, 1836. „ 73, 75.
„ Mar. 6, 1837. „ 92.
„ Mar. 6, 1837. „ 96, 101.

The disallowance of the Treaty, finally received in October 1839, prevented any such measures as were contemplated in the proposed Treaty, being taken, up to that date. In the meantime, although the King, Nusseer- Letter of the Secret Committee, July 11, 1839.

ood-deen, seemed well disposed to reform the abuses of the administration, no substantial amendment had taken place in the condition of the people. In a report submitted to Government, in this year, by an officer, who had the best opportunities for becoming acquainted with their real condition, the following passage appears: "The administrative state of the country may be summed up in a few words: a Sovereign regardless of his kingdom, except in so far as it supplied him with the means of personal indulgence; a Minister incapable or unwilling to stay the ruin of the country; local Governors, or, more properly speaking, farmers of the revenue, invested with virtually despotic powers, left almost unchecked, to gratify their rapacity and private enmities; a local army ill paid, and therefore licentious, undisciplined, and habituated to defeat; an almost absolute denial of justice in all matters civil or criminal; and an overwhelming British force distributed through the provinces to maintain the faith of an ill-judged Treaty, and to preserve peace."

Cons. Nov. 14, 1838. No. 48. Cons. July 3, 1839. No. 87. Report by Dr. Butter on the statistics of the southern districts of Oude. Appendix C, page 81.

18. From 1839 to 1847, three Kings successively sat upon the Throne of Oude, but the state of the Province, in the last-mentioned year, was in no respect better than it had been at any previous period, in spite of the earnest advice and solemn warnings repeatedly offered to the King, and urged by the authority of the Supreme Government.

Towards the close of that year, the Governor-General sought an interview with the King at Lucknow, and addressed to him that solemn and final warning which has already been recited in the opening paragraphs of this Minute. It will be remembered that the King's attention was again called, upon that occasion, to the "extensive misrule" and "cruel oppression" which prevailed throughout His Majesty's dominions. A period of two years was allowed him to enter fully on the reform required at his hands; and clear intimation was made to the King that, if he failed to fulfil the expectations then declared, he would force the British Government to interfere by assuming the Government of Oude.

Cons.	August	3, 1840.	No. 59, 71.
„	Sept.	20, 1841.	„ 40, 41.
„	February	1, 1843.	„ 77.
„	August	10, 1844.	„ 136, 137.
„	Nov.	29, 1845.	„ 186.
„	Nov.	21, 1846.	„ 287.
„	Dec.	11, 1847.	„ 156, 159.
„	Dec.	11, 1847.	„ 191, 193.
„	Dec.	11, 1847.	„ 202.

Memorandum by Governor-General addressed to the King of Oude. Cons. Dec. 11, 1847. No. 200.

19. It remains for me now to show how far the present King has acted up to the requirements which were then imposed upon him at the commencement of his reign, and how far he has fulfilled the condition on which, he was informed, the continuance of his sovereign power would wholly and solely depend.

20. In the year 1848, Colonel Sleeman was appointed to the office of Resident at Lucknow. The proved ability of that officer, his long experience, and his well-known friendly disposition towards native States, at once afforded the best guarantee that every assistance would be given by the British Resident to the King, and offered the best chance of inducing His Majesty to attend to his own true interests and the good of his subjects. But Colonel Sleeman speedily found himself compelled to report in most unfavourable terms regarding the conduct of the King and the state of his Administration.

Letter from Resident, June 21, 1849, par. 2.

In June 1849, referring to the measures of amelioration which had been especially required by the Governor-General in 1847, the Resident wrote: "None of these reforms have yet been introduced, save that some of the districts formerly farmed, have been made over to servants of Government, bearing the names of 'tehseeldars;' but in this there is little real change, for the greater part are bound to send to the Treasury a certain sum, and made to give security that they will do so. There is the same perpetual collision between the collectors of the revenue and the landholders. The troops of the collectors, without discipline, and with little and uncertain pay, prey upon the people, and depopulate all the villages along the high roads over which they march, and in the neighbourhood of their encampments. The Zemindars, the moment they are driven from their strongholds, or deprived of their estates for defalcation, become robbers and murderers, upon as large a scale as their means in armed followers will admit, and render the roads and rivers alike unsafe to all but the public servants and establishments of the British Government, and European ladies and gentlemen."

Resident, June 21, 1849, par. 4.

"The King has not, since the Governor-General's visit in October

1847, shown any signs of being fully aware of the responsibility he incurs if he neglects, during the interval then allowed him, to introduce the requisite reforms in his administration: in fact, I do not think that His Majesty can ever be brought to feel the responsibilities of sovereignty strongly enough to be induced to bear that portion of the burden of its duties which must necessarily devolve upon him. He will always confide it to the worthless minions who are kept for his amusements, and enjoy, exclusively, his society and confidence. His Minister sees him occasionally, but he is the only gentleman that does see him. The only other men that see him are the singers from Rampore and Delhi, against whom he was so earnestly cautioned by the Governor-General, and the eunuchs, whose influence is, if possible, still more mischievous than that of the singers."

"The only persons, save the females, who now see and speak to the King, are the minister, the singers, and the eunuchs. The minister is obliged to succumb to these singers and eunuchs, and conform to their will, or he would not hold his place. They meddle in all affairs, and influence the King's decision in every reference made to him; and the responsible agents, in whose name the order is given, dare not complain." Resident, June 21, 1849, par. 5.

Respecting the internal condition of the country, Colonel Sleeman stated as follows: "There are, at this time, in Oude, 246 forts or strongholds, mounted with 476 pieces of cannon, all held by landholders of the first class, chiefly Rajpoots. Not one of these landholders now feels it safe to entrust himself within the camp or cantonments of an officer of the Government, and they hold no personal conversation with the Sovereign or his officers; all their business is transacted through the medium of petty attorneys or vakeels, upon whose persons they set no value. Their estates are well cultivated, often in spite of all the best efforts of the contractors and collectors to prevent it, in order to reduce them to obedience. It is not at all uncommon for the landholders to have the land ploughed, and the seed drilled in, at night, by stealth, when beleaguered by the King's troops; and this accounts for the lands being so much better cultivated than those of other native States, in the midst of disorders that would soon make them waste in any other country or state of society." Resident, June 21, 1849, par. 10.

Again, he says: "There is no officer now employed in Oude, in any branch of the public service, beyond the palace, that can feel secure in his tenure of office for a single day, however high his character, or however valuable his public services may have been, and, as long as they even feel no such security, it would be in vain to expect them to perform their duties faithfully and vigilantly." Paragraph 14.

The Resident thus describes the King's troops: "These soldiers, badly disciplined, and worse paid, prey upon the peaceful and industrious, wherever they are employed; they subsist upon them, gratis, along all the lines of road over which they pass, and destroy twice as much as they take. These roads, in consequence, present a scene of melancholy desolation, except when the crops are on the ground, for the towns, villages, and hamlets on both sides are commonly deserted and in ruins, though the lands may be well cultivated. By the industrious classes in Oude, these troops are, I believe, considered as of all their greatest oppressors, and they assuredly destroy and take, without payment, more of the produce of the land and labour of the country than would be required to maintain a disciplined force sufficient to perform all the duties that are required from them, and are now so badly performed." Resident, June 21, 1849, par. 21.

"I am persuaded that, if our troops were withdrawn from Oude, the landholders would, in one month, march over them all, and pillage the capital of Lucknow, so utterly valueless are they as a military body." Paragraph 21.

And, in the same Report, Colonel Sleeman thus sums up his statement: "To describe the present state of Oude, I need only to quote the descriptions which have been sent by former Residents, ever since our relations with this State commenced." Resident, June 21, 1849, par. 18.

21. As the close of the probationary period of two years allotted to the King drew nigh, the Resident again reported upon the condition of His Majesty's affairs. He said: "In continuation of my report, dated the 21st of June last, on the affairs of Oude, I have the honour to state, for Resident, Sept. 24. 1849, paras. 1, 2, 3.

submission to the Most Noble the Governor-General, that they still continue to be in the same unsatisfactory state. Not one of the reforms so earnestly recommended, and enjoined, by the Governor-General, during his visit to Lucknow, in November 1847, has been effected, or even attempted, though the Government of Oude was pledged to have them carried out in two years, or before November 1849.

"His Majesty continues to seclude himself in the same manner, and sees no one but the Minister, the singers, and eunuchs, and females of his apartments. He neither sees nor hears anything of what is done or suffered within his dominions beyond the walls of his palace; and the Minister, eunuchs, and singers consider it to be their duty to protect His Majesty from the importunity of all who have wrongs to complain of. His Majesty has never manifested the slightest wish to commune with the Resident, and evidently feels averse to such communion, from the apprehension that he would take advantage of the occasion to press upon him the necessity of paying some attention to the duties of a Sovereign, and to explain to him the evil consequences of his present mode of life. I have not urged His Majesty to see and converse with me, because I am persuaded that nothing that I could say would induce him to attend to affairs, to alter his mode of life, or to associate and commune with any others than those who now form exclusively his society. All who know His Majesty, and have known him from a boy, are of the same opinion. His aversion to business, and to associate with those who would talk to him upon business, is, it is generally believed, incurable. The strong letter which I addressed to him on the wretched state of his dominions, and his unredeemed pledges to the Governor-General, in November 1847, His Majesty certainly saw and read, for he delivered the reply open into the hands of the Officiating First Assistant, Lieutenant Busk, to be conveyed to me."

"There is the same insecurity to life and property on the roads and rivers, in the town and villages, as when I wrote in June last, and the same landholders are arrayed against the Government; but the demands for revenue are suspended, and the collisions between them and the contractors and collectors are, in consequence, less frequent. They will recommence when the crops ripen, and the demands for revenue are resumed."

Resident, Sept. 24, 1849, par. 8.

Regarding the military force and its corrupt administration the Resident gave many details, concluding in these words: "His officers and soldiers (*i. e.* of a reserve corps), like the officers and soldiers of every corps in the service, take all fuel and forage from the people, where they are employed, gratis, and too often a portion of their food also. The moment they reach their ground, a foraging party is sent out, under a strong guard, to take what is required from the landholders, cultivators, and others; and this is repeated every day, wherever they may be. Officers, soldiers, cattle, and camp followers, are provided gratis, in this manner, by the plunder of the landholders and cultivators and others who have anything in store."

Resident, Sept. 24, 1849, par. 10.

The Resident goes on to say: "In the civil branches, the abuses are not less formidable. To secure his contract for a district, a person is obliged to pledge himself to pay to the Minister, Dewan, and other persons at Court who have it in their power to assist or to injure him, gratuities equal to one-tenth of the revenue of his district. After he has secured the contract, he must, on getting his investiture, present Nuzzuranas in gold to the King, the Heir-apparent, the General, the Minister, the Dewan, and every one who is supposed to have influence at Court. As soon as he takes charge, he repays himself for this outlay, and provides for the fulfilment of his pledges, by exactions from the landholders, for which they get no credit in the public accounts.

Paragraph 15.

Again:—"Of the large sums annually allowed for the repair and construction of palaces, tombs, temples, forts, bridges, &c., not one-fourth, or I might say one-tenth, is ever expended; nine-tenths are taken by those who get the superintendence of such constructions and repairs by purchase or favour. * * * Except that between Lucknow and Cawnpore, lately made under the superintendence of Lieutenant Sim, there

is actually no road in any part of His Majesty's dominions, though very large sums are every year paid for the repairs of those supposed to exist."

"Of judicial Courts there are none, save at the capital; and those which are there maintained are of no value. The judicial officers and their establishments, as will be seen in the annexed tables, amount, for all Oude, to sixty-one persons, whose aggregate pay is 1,306 rupees a month, or 15,672 rupees a year. There are, it is true, seventy-two Ameens for detached duty, ready, ostensibly, to be sent to any part where their presence may be required, or to investigate and decide any case that may be made over to them. But they get their places by purchase or favor, and few of them are fit for their duties, or any duties whatever. Most of them consider their cases, as barristers do their briefs, as things out of which money may be made. Resident, Sept. 24, 1849, par. 16.

"But, of all abuses or evils in Oude, that of the Akbar Nawisses is perhaps the worst. There are 660 of them employed, with corps and establishments over the whole face of the country, and drawing an aggregate salary of 3,194 rupees 8 annas a month, or less than 5 rupees a month each. It is their duty to make a true report to the Durbar of all that occurs, through the Darogah, or head of the Department, Zakee-ood-Dowlah, who communicates what they write to the Minister, or to any person to whom he may entrust the duty. He passes such orders as may seem to him proper on these reports, generally assuming that they are true, to save the trouble and delay of inquiry. But it is the interest of the Akbar Nawiss generally to make a false report of what occurs, to suppress the truth, or misrepresent facts and circumstances. He sells his reports as monks sold their plenary indulgences. The officer, civil or military, who neglects his duty, or abuses his authority, has only to give the Akbar Nawiss a fee, in proportion to the offence, or to his emoluments, to secure such a report as will exonerate him from all blame. The honest man who discharges his duty faithfully is not secure till he fees this person, as his conduct and character are liable to be misrepresented; and the Akbar Nawiss, whose pay is less than 10 rupees a month, commonly gets more than 300, after paying a liberal share of what he gets, to the Darogah, with whom alone rests his appointment and dismissal. The Darogah, in turn, is obliged to share what he gets with the Minister and other influential persons at Court. Under Mahomed Alee Shah, a great economist, the Darogah paid above a lakh of rupees a year to the Treasury, for his contract as head news-writer, till the contract was done away with, at the suggestion of the Resident. He pays little less now to the Minister and Court favorites. Paragraphs 17 and 18.

"Under the present or any other system that has obtained in Oude for the last thirty-five years, a reference to local authorities to ascertain the truth, or otherwise, of a report made by an Akbar Nawiss would be of no use. All would league to make it appear true, where he has been feed to make it otherwise. The only plan adopted is, to send out one of the seventy-two Ameens, or to appoint one especially for the purpose; and the chances are greatly in favour of his being bought over to confirm substantially all that is given in the report; he may add, or alter, circumstances, to give an appearance of careful inquiry, but will generally make it appear that the first report was substantially correct. But, in fact, such inquiries are hardly ever made, not from any overweening confidence in their truth, but from a persuasion that such inquiry would be very troublesome, without being profitable. I have before me a case in which the wives and children of the landholders and cultivators of whole towns and villages were lately driven off in hundreds like flocks of sheep, and sold into slavery, by a rapacious and brutal contractor named Rugber Sing. A great many of them perished of cold and hunger before they were sold. The Hurkaras of the Akbar Nawiss were present the whole time, and received so much a head upon all who perished or were sold. The same person and his brother, Mhan Sing, sold off the whole of the stock in cattle and implements of husbandry, and made the district desolate; but the circumstances were not brought to the notice of the Durbar till some time after, and then by the Resident. They did more: by cruelty and outrage,

they extorted deeds of sale from old proprietors, for lands yielding five or six lakhs of rupees a year, which they now hold in Zemindaree tenure."

Resident, Sept. 24, 1849, paragraph 23.

The Resident then observes in conclusion:—

"His Majesty is fully aware that, since he ascended the throne, he has neither felt any of the responsibilities of sovereignty, nor performed any of its duties, and that none of the reforms to which he was pledged, as the only condition on which the British Government would, or could consistently with its duty to the people of Oude, abstain any longer from directly interfering in the Administration, have been effected, or indeed attempted, and that he has clearly incurred the penalty that was threatened. * * * All that the King requires from him (the Minister) is, that he shall not, himself, importune him on business, nor allow others to do so. In collusion with the Dewan, he forms a plausible balance-sheet to satisfy the King that all is as it should be; while more than one-third of the revenue remains uncollected at the end of the year. All the public establishments and stipendiaries are deeply in arrears; the Treasury is empty; scores of landholders are in open rebellion, with large armed forces; and life and property are nowhere secure."

Resident, Sept. 24, 1849, paragraph 24.

Resident, Oct. 24, 1849, paragraphs 1 to 6.

22. In the following month, October, the Resident again reported: "As I have stated in former letters, I must state now, that Oude must at present be considered to be without any regular government. * * * The only orders given by him (the King) are through his eunuchs and singers, or rather by them in his name; and no order given by the Minister can be carried into effect beyond the capital, where the large landholders are masters, and the troops rendered useless, for want of pay. The corps of cavalry and infantry at the capital are almost all under the command of the singers and eunuchs.

"The Ghungore Corps, commanded by the chief singer and real Sovereign of Oude at present, is composed of dissolute and reckless men from his own town of Rampore, in Rohilcund, notorious for producing such characters, ready for any deed of violence; and they have the sole custody of the Palace, in which the King is shut up, and of the Treasury.

"Mhan Sing and Rugber Sing have large forces, with artillery, fighting every day for the possession of the lands which they got by fraud, and violence, from the zemindars of the Sultanpore district. Numbers of their men are killed and wounded in the fights, which take place almost every day; and the people are emigrating and leaving the lands untilled, and the towns and villages desolate. Mhan Sing, with a balance of revenue demandable from him of some twenty lakhs of rupees, resides at Lucknow, under the favor and protection of the Minister, and Rugber Sing resides at Benares, upon lands purchased in that and other neighbouring districts, with the wealth so atrociously acquired in Oude; but they find abundance of loose and reckless characters to fight their battles against each other, from the money promised, and the booty acquired, from the plunder of the people.

"The country must go utterly to ruin, unless those who now hold the reins of Government, the public establishments, and the large landholders, see, very soon, that the British Government is about to adopt measures for the restoration of order.

"The people despise a Government so weak, and wielded by wretches so contemptible; and the Royal Family and the aristocracy of the capital are ashamed to see their Sovereign reduced to a state of entire subserviency to such persons, while none of them dare to approach him."

23. For the reasons which have already been stated, the Government of India did not think it expedient to limit the indulgence allowed to the King strictly to the two years which had been previously fixed.

In the first months of 1850, the Resident made a tour in person through the various districts of Oude. The results of his observations were laid before the Government in the diary of his tour. He remarked regarding the diary that "it is long; but it gives a full and, I believe, fair view of the real condition of the people of Oude, and of the system of administration under which they live and suffer." This document is so valuable, and of so much authority, as to be deserving of most careful and close attention.

Resident, April 6, 1850. Printed "Diary of a Tour through Oude," by the Resident, Lieut.-Col. Sleeman, 2 vols.

In the letter referring to his tour, the Resident writes regarding Oude: Resident, Apri
"The expenditure is about 140 lakhs of rupees a year, and the receipts 1850. See al
are less than 100 lakhs. The deficiency is made up by drains on the October 22, 18
reserved Treasury, which contained, I believe, above 100 lakhs when the present King ascended the throne, and is now supposed to contain less than fifty. There have been temporary fallings off from calamities of season, but the permanent one arises,—First, from the growing strength of the great landholders, who have absorbed the greater part of the estates of their weaker neighbours, and employed their increasing rents in maintaining large bands of armed followers, and building forts and strongholds, which enable them to withhold the just demands of the State. These weaker neighbours were the proprietors or holders of what are called the khalsa, or allodial lands, four-fifths of which have now been absorbed by the great landholders, who do not pay for them to Government one-half of the rents which were paid for them by the allodial proprietors, and ought still to be paid for them. The great landholders have taken these lands, either by fraud and collusion with the local authorities, or by open violence, in utter contempt of such authorities;—Secondly, from the large quantities of the most fertile lands in Oude which these landholders have converted into jungles around their strongholds, some of them extending over spaces from ten to twenty miles long by from four to eight miles wide, into which no man dares to enter without their permission. These jungles, and the strongholds which they contain, are dens of robbers, who infest all parts of the country, defy the Government authorities, and impose intolerable taxes upon all traders and travellers, and render life and property everywhere insecure;—Thirdly, the absence, in consequence of the total insecurity to life and property everywhere felt, of anything like town population, to furnish markets for raw agricultural produce, and to supply a return in the produce of manufacturing industry. Manufacturing industry has almost altogether disappeared from Oude, under this feeling of insecurity, and the houses of the great numbers of persons filling high offices in our territories and other native States, who used to leave their families in the towns of Oude, and return and spend their latter days among them, are almost all deserted and in ruins.

"The surface of Oude, with the exception of the belts of jungle above described, is well cultivated; and the soil is richer than any that I have seen in any of our own districts. In Oude, some large landholders are every year in rebellion against the Government; and, when they are so, they drive off all the cultivators of the soil from their own estates, and as many others around as possible, to reduce the Government authorities to the necessity of restoring them to possession on their own terms. The Gualas, or cowherds, are alone permitted to remain unmolested, and, living on the produce of the dairy, they have large herds of cattle, and convert all the lands into pasture. The dung of these cattle, as they graze, is spread all over the waste lands, and large stores of it are accumulated in the villages for use when the landholders and cultivators return.

"Under a tolerable system of administration, the revenue of Oude would, in three years, be at least two crores of rupees; but, under the present system, or any system that could possibly be formed and carried out while the present Sovereign retains power, I see no prospect of its attaining one crore. Retrenchment in the expenditure is equally impossible while the present King retains power; for all attempts to reduce it will be made upon those establishments which are alone useful, and without any effort at the same time to render these establishments more efficient than they are in proportion to their numbers.

"For instance, I found throughout Oude that the artillery draught bullocks, employed on detached duty with the officers in charge of districts, had not for many years received one grain of corn, though the King was charged at the rate of one and a half seers for each. They were all mere skin and bone, and a great many of them unable to walk, much less draw heavy guns. What were required to draw the guns were taken from the ploughs of the farmers and cultivators of the neighbourhood. I made an earnest representation to His Majesty, in January last, when

the duty of feeding them was confided to a favorite of the Minister, Golab Jung, who, out of the seer and a half, has let the bullocks have half a seer each, or one third of what he draws for.

"Of the guns themselves not one third are fit for use. More than one half I found lying on the ground for want of carriages; and the carriages of the rest were so bad that the guns could not be fired with safety. The carriages had not been repaired for some twenty years, though the King is charged for repairs every year. Of ammunition and stores there were absolutely none, and the officers in charge of districts were obliged to send to the bazar and purchase powder, for the purpose of saluting the Resident when he entered and left their jurisdictions. For all these things the Treasury is drawn upon amply; but the money is appropriated by worthless Court favorites. The great landholders and their vakeels see all this, and everywhere despise, and set at defiance, the King's authority.

"Of the regiments on duty with officers in charge of districts, not one half of those borne on the muster-rolls, and paid for, are present, and, of those present, not one half are fit for the duties of soldiers.

"One half of the troops, and establishments, now mustered and paid for, would suffice for Oude, were they made efficient; but there is no chance of their ever being made so while the present King reigns, for those who govern him are too deeply interested in the abuses which keep them inefficient, ever to permit him to attempt any effectual remedy.

But the troops and establishments on which the collection of the revenue, and the peace of the country, depend, are not only inefficient for the purpose; they are among the worst enemies that the people of the country have. They dare not face a formidable landholder or gang of robbers; but are for ever engaged in pillaging the farmers and cultivators of the land; and this with the knowledge and acquiescence of the Government and its officers.' For many years past, Government has refused to allow any outlay for grass, wood, bhoosah or fodder, and fuel of any kind, for its troops and establishments on detached duty with officers in charge of districts, and directed that they shall all forage for themselves. Every corps and establishment, on reaching its ground of encampment, sends out a foraging party to plunder the villages around; and the coverings of houses, doors, windows, and stores of grass and bhoosah, are seen moving off towards camp, from every village within two or three miles. If the camp remains for many days on the same ground, there is not a village within five miles of it that has a store of bhoosah or grass left for its cattle, during the hot and rainy season, or a house with a covering, or doors, or windows. The officers of districts, who have every one of them a host of these useless soldiers, are obliged to be constantly moving to distribute the burthen of plunder equally for all, and are in turn plundered. Not one house in a hundred, throughout the peaceable parts of the country, is to be seen with a thatched or tiled covering, or a decent door or window. They are all of temporary mud walls; and those which are covered at all have invisible mud coverings supported by wood neither fit for fuel nor any other purpose. Hardly any dwellings can be conceived more wretched than such as are occupied by the village communities of Oude. In the more turbulent districts, where the landholders are always ready to aid each other in resisting the King's officers, and screening robbers and depredators of all kinds, such as bangur, sadee, polee, &c., &c., the houses are better, because no King's officer or soldier dares to enter their villages without the permission of the holders. The peasantry everywhere told me that rebels and robbers did spare them sometimes, when the destruction of their houses and crops was not necessary to their purpose, but that the King's troops, who could not breathe freely in the presence of such men, never spared them; they trod down their fields, and tore down their houses, as if they were enemies to be destroyed by every possible means, and not King's subjects to be protected by his soldiers; and the officers in charge of districts, as they rode with me, constantly heard them tell me all this, confirmed what they said, and pleaded their utter inability to protect the people against such outrages on the part of the troops sent to support them.

"At present, there is nothing but corruption, from the throne to the humblest individual employed in serving it; and, whatever may have been the character of a man in any other country, or in private life, the moment he enters the Oude service he becomes corrupt, no matter what may be the grade in which he serves, or the nature of his duties."

* * * * * * *

"His Majesty may now be considered well in bodily health, though he hears with great difficulty, and sometimes complains of palpitations of the heart. He frequently goes out to take the air in his carriage, but he still secludes himself from his people, and is prevented from hearing anything of their sufferings. His children, the minister, his physicians, singers, and eunuchs, are alone admitted to his presence when at home, and, while out, no one is permitted to approach him with their complaints, though the streets are crowded with people clamouring for a redress of the wrongs they suffer, in the town, or the provinces. His Majesty persuades himself that he leaves all to the Minister, and the Minister persuades him that all is everywhere as it should be, while he complains to me and others that he is thwarted by His Majesty's personal favorites in all that he does to remedy the evils from which the people everywhere suffer. The King's time is given up entirely to singing and dancing, and he has no pleasure in the society of any but singers, dancers, and musicians. It is idle to hope that his habits and tastes will ever change. He has indulged in them from childhood, and they are become inveterate. It is exceedingly irksome to him to hear anything of public affairs, for he has never given any attention to them. His Majesty visited me soon after my return, and appeared stouter and stronger than when I left him, but he had become more deaf and more childish.

"The Minister cannot much longer conduct his duties in the manner in which he is content to carry them on. The arrears of pay due to the troops, and other public establishments, and stipends to the members of the Royal family, are great and accumulating. He has borrowed, and is borrowing, all he can, from the King's reserved Treasury, for the revenues come in slowly, and must cease to come in at all in the course of next month. Only 42 lakhs have yet come in, including all branches and the balances of former years; and they have no hope of getting more than 30 lakhs more, making a total revenue of 70, with an outlay of 140. The Durbar is borrowing money at the rate of 18 per cent in the bazar, and the King is lavishing his reserved funds and jewels upon the worthless favorites who alone enjoy his confidence and society. His uncles, and many other members of the Royal family, have received no portion of their stipends for more than three years, though His Majesty has often promised me that they shall be paid, and they are reduced to great distress. The Minister and personal favorites of the King are rapidly making their own fortunes, in the midst of general suffering, seeing, as they clearly do, that the crisis must soon come. The officers in charge of Districts, with only two exceptions, are men of no capacity or character; and those who preside over the Courts and establishments at the capital are so openly corrupt and dishonest as to excite an universal feeling of indignation against them and the Court that maintains them in office, and shares in the profits of their corruption and peculation. The crisis, which cannot be many months deferred, would have come on ere this, had not the spring crops been unusually fine, and the price of land-produce high from the deficient harvests of last year. The revenue will cease to come in, the reserve treasury will be exhausted, and the Court without credit.

"A small portion of the fearful outrages which are daily committed in Oude are reported in the diary which I have to submit to Government. I have thought it necessary to afford the Durbar the aid of some detachments of our troops, in suppressing a few of the most formidable landholders, who have lately defied its authority, committed numerous murders, and plundered and burnt down villages. One of these landholders, Gungabuksh, resided in his stronghold within sixteen miles of the Lucknow cantonments, and held quiet possession of a large estate which he acquired by similar outrages upon the old proprietors. He had nothing whatever

to complain of from the Government of Oude, which had, from weakness, acquiesced in all his outrages and usurpations, but, in October last, he seized upon the estate of Dewa, in his neighbourhood, and murdered no less than twenty-nine of the proprietors. He and the other branches of his numerous family have created a dense forest, covering no less than thirty square miles of the best soil in Oude, and within this short distance of sixteen miles from the Lucknow cantonments and city. All are robbers by profession, and they have no less than four strongholds, within this jungle, filled by bands of inveterate robbers. There are in Oude a dozen belts of jungle of the same kind, created by landholders of the same class, for the same purposes, and covering the richest soil in the country. They will not allow a stick or a bamboo to be cut in these preserves. I should not estimate the arable land covered by these belts of jungle, beyond the Terai Forest, and out in the most open and salubrious plains of Oude, at less than 300 square miles. In addition to these belts on the plains, the whole of the Terai Forest would, in a few years, under a tolerable administration, be brought into tillage, and rendered fertile and populous. The plain extends up, through this belt of forest, close to the foot of the Nepal Hills, and the soil is all of the finest kind. There are manifest signs of its having been, at no very distant period, well cultivated, and thickly peopled, and all that is required to render it so again is a wise and efficient Government, to inspire people with a feeling of assurance that life and property will be secured, and all engagements steadily adhered to."

24. Later still, in the year 1851, the Resident wrote in even more emphatic language:—

Resident, July 7, 1851, paragraphs 2, 3, and 9 to 13.

"He (the King) continues to show the same utter disregard of the duties and responsibilities of his high office, and of the sufferings of the many millions subject to his rule. His time and attention are devoted entirely to the pursuit of personal gratifications. He associates with none but those who can contribute to such gratifications—women, singers, and eunuchs; and he never, I believe, reads, or hears read, a report or complaint, or public document of any kind. He takes no interest whatever in public affairs, nor does he seem to know anything, or care anything, whatever about them.

"I have, I hope, done all that any man in my situation could do to mitigate the sufferings of the people, but it will become a subject of grave consideration for his Lordship whether the Government of India can, in supporting so incompetent a Sovereign, any longer faithfully discharge towards the people of Oude the duties to which it is pledged by many solemn Treaties."

* * * * * *

"His Majesty has utterly disregarded the advice then given by the Governor-General: he has done nothing to improve the administration, abstained from no personal indulgence, given no attention whatever to public affairs. He had, before that time, tried to imitate his father, attend a little to public affairs, and see occasionally the members of the Royal family, and aristocracy of the city, and heads of departments; but the effort was painful, and soon ceased. He had, from boyhood, mixed in no other society than that in which he now mixes, and will never submit to the restraints of any other.

"Of the administration, I hope at no distant period to have an opportunity to present to his Lordship a faithful and vivid picture, and shall, at present, only say, what must be manifest from the diaries which are periodically submitted from my office, that life, industry, property, and character, are nowhere secure in the Oude dominions.

"My friendly feelings towards native States, my long and varied experience, and my earnest desire to do everything in my power, and consistent with my duties, to support them, and improve their administrations, are so generally known in India, that I believe my nomination to this Residency was considered by all native Chiefs as the surest pledge that the Governor-General of India could give, of his earnest desire to maintain the native sovereignty of Oude in its integrity, if he could do so consistently with a due regard to the rights of the millions subject to its rule.

"The earnest desire that I have shown to do justice, and to see justice done, to the utmost of my ability, during the two years and a half that I have been here, is, I believe, felt, and fully appreciated, by the well-disposed subjects of His Majesty of all classes and all grades; but so inveterate is the system of misgovernment, so deeply are all those now employed in the administration interested in maintaining its worst abuses, and so fruitless is it to expect the King to remove them, and employ better men, or to inspire any men with a disposition to serve him more honestly, that I should not do my duty were I not distinctly to state the impression now general in Oude, and throughout India, I believe, that our Government can no longer support the present Government, without seriously neglecting its duty to the people of Oude.

"The present King had natural capacity equal to that of any of those who have preceded him in the sovereignty of Oude, since the death of Saadut Alee Khan in 1814; but he is the only one that has systematically declined to devote that capacity, or any of his time, to the conduct of public affairs; to see, and occasionally commune with, the heads of departments, the members of the Royal family, and gentlemen of the capital; to read, or have read to him, the reports of his local functionaries, and petitions for redress of wrongs from his suffering subjects. This systematic disregard of his high duties and responsibilities has now become known, not only to the people of Oude, but to the chiefs and people of India generally; and, were the Government of India to interpose to relieve the suffering people of Oude from so intolerable a yoke, by taking on itself the entire administration, under the sanction conveyed in the Honorable Court's despatch of 1831 above quoted, it would, I believe, carry with it their best wishes and sympathies. All would be satisfied, I believe, that our Government had done everything that it could do, consistently with its duty towards five millions of people, to uphold the sovereignty of Oude in its integrity; and that it would be a serious dereliction of its sacred duty to uphold it any longer.

"Of the Minister, I shall say nothing more than that he appears to me to be the most deeply interested of all in maintaining the worst abuses of the present system of administration, and that I consider it painful and humiliating to be obliged, by my public duties, to hold, any longer, communion with such a person on the subject of the many evils which he could, but will not, remedy; of the many wrongs which he could, but will not, redress; and of the many fearful sufferings which he could, but will not, relieve."

25. In the autumn of the same year, the case of the acquittal of the Nawab of Bharaitch, for the murder of the banker Ramdut Panday, was brought under the notice of the Government of India. The case was one of such atrocity, and afforded such flagrant proof of the disorder of the Government, and of the servility and corruption of what were called its Courts of Justice, that the Resident was instructed in these terms: "You will demand an audience of the King; you will represent to His Majesty the indignation with which the Governor-General views the scandalous denial of justice which has just been exhibited at Lucknow, in the acquittal of this murderer in the face of the clearest proofs of his guilt; and you will add that such acts as these are rapidly filling up the measure of the King's misgovernment—misgovernment which, His Majesty has been already warned, must end in the entire subversion of his kingly power."

Resident, Sep 1851.

Colonel Sleer printed "Dia a Tour in Ou Vol. i, pages 114 115, and note.

To Resident, October 6, 1851.

26. A second period of two years had now elapsed since the Governor-General had required the King of Oude to establish, within that space of time, an improved administration throughout his dominions.

Yet this is the picture which the Resident then drew of the King and his administration:—

"In spite of all that I have urged upon His Majesty, he continues to confide the conduct of his affairs to the same worthless and incompetent characters; to devote all his time to personal gratifications and frivolous amusements; and to manifest the same utter disregard of his duties and high responsibilities. The same insecurity to life and property, in all parts of his dominions, is felt; the same maladministration and malversa-

Resident, Dec. 1(1851, paragraphs 3 to 5.

tion prevail in all departments; and it seems to be the general impression that the system is too inveterate to admit of a remedy, without the interposition of the British Government in some form or other.

"Were our Government, by entreaty or remonstrance, to obtain a change of favorites or ministers, it would, under so incompetent and apathetic a Sovereign, secure no substantial, or permanent, reform in the administration. The same want of supervision would ensure the same neglect of duty and abuse of authority; the same large portion of the revenues would be absorbed, on its way to the public Treasury, by worthless favorites and unscrupulous public servants; and a still larger portion of what actually reaches the public Treasury would be intercepted, on its way to its ultimate destination, by other worthless favorites and corrupt public servants entrusted with the expenditure of public money. The public establishments would be left in the same inefficient state, to subsist upon the plunder of those whom they are maintained to protect.

"The Resident is helpless for purposes of good. His advice is disregarded, or his efforts to secure redress for wrongs, or remedies for wide-spreading evils, are thwarted, or the Sovereign's orders founded upon them are perverted, for their own vile and selfish purposes, by those who have his ear and confidence, and persuade the Minister that he may continue to disregard the advice and remonstrances of the Resident, since he has done so with impunity so long."

27. The conclusion which the Resident, Colonel Sleeman, felt himself reluctantly compelled to draw from the facts which he had laid before the Governor-General in Council was candidly and forcibly expressed in the following weighty words:

Resident, Dec. 10, 1851, paragraphs 6 to 11.

"Fifty years of sad experience has shown that the hopes in which the Treaty of 1801 was founded, that Sovereigns of the reigning family of Oude would be disposed, and able, to form, and carry out, by means of their own officers, a system of administration calculated to secure life and property, to promote the welfare and happiness of the people of Oude, and to render the alliance with the British Government, who were to protect those Sovereigns from all foreign and domestic enemies, if not honorable to that Government, at least irreproachable, were altogether fallacious, and can never be realized; and, with a due regard to its own character as the paramount power in India, and to the particular obligations by which it is bound, by solemn Treaties, to the suffering people of this distracted country, I do not think that our Government can, any longer, forbear to exercise, to the fullest extent, the powers, which the Treaty of 1837 confers upon it, of taking upon itself the administration, and conducting it by means of its own officers.

"The arrears now due to the public, military and civil, establishments, and to the stipendiary members and dependents of the Royal family, the Government can never pay; and it is in vain that I urge upon it the necessity of paying even that portion which is due to those members, and dependents, of the family whose stipends are guaranteed by the British Government, under the solemn assurances of the Sovereign, Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder, who pledged himself that they should be punctually paid, in perpetuity, without diminution, or interruption. They have not received these stipends, for more than two years. Few of them complain, from the dread that the little they receive, after such long intervals, will cease altogether, if they do so; and the recent case of Jaffir Alee Khan, which was submitted in my letter of the 1st instant, No. 1656, shows that every effort will be made to punish the person who does so complain.

"The military establishments, though they have not been paid for equally long periods, dare not importune the Oude Government, from the dread that they will be instantly dismissed the service, without any chance of ever recovering any portion of the arrears due to them; and they cannot venture to proceed to any violence, to extort from the unprincipled officers of the Oude Government what is their just due, while a brigade of British troops is at hand to put down mutiny and disorder among the Oude troops, and protect the person of the Sovereign under all circumstances.

"Numerous instances of all these evils and sufferings, and of the

apathy with which they are viewed by the Oude Government, are contained in the diaries which it is my duty to submit every month to Government, but they are not the tenth part of what every month take place. The Resident has every month to report flagrant instances of the same sort, after careful investigation, for the consideration and orders of the Governor-General, all tending to show an utter disregard of the solemn duties imposed upon the Sovereigns of Oude and their Ministers by the Treaties of 1801 and 1837, and the most earnest admonitions and warnings of the different Governors-General who have visited Lucknow for the especial purpose of impressing them more strongly upon these Sovereigns and Ministers in personal conferences. All have been of no avail, and I am persuaded that they must continue to be so, while the administration continues in the hands of the Sovereigns of this family.

"Though the British Resident has never been able to secure any substantial and permanent reform in the administration of the Oude Government, he sometimes interposes successfully, in individual cases, to relieve suffering, and secure redress for wrongs; and the people see that he interferes for no other purposes. Their only regret is that he does not interpose more often, and that his efforts, when he does so, should be so often thwarted, or altogether disregarded; and that the orders of the Sovereign, founded on his suggestions and most earnest recommendations, should be so often perverted by his servants and favorites for their own base purposes. The British character is, in consequence of these efforts made by the Resident to secure them protection and redress, respected in the remotest village and jungle in Oude; and there is, I believe, no part of India where an European gentleman is received among the people of all classes with more of kindness and courtesy than in Oude. He is treated with the same respect and courtesy in the most crowded streets of the populous city of Lucknow. This is no doubt attributable, in part, to the circumstance of the greater part of the upper and middle classes at the capital enjoying their incomes under the guarantee of the British Government in Treaty pensions, or the interest on our Government securities.

"After the picture which I have given of the administration of affairs in Oude, it is my duty to state that, since the days of Vizier Alee, none of the Sovereigns have been, either from disposition or habit, cruel or tyrannical;—they have been all gentlemen, humane and generous; but, since the death of Saadut Alee Khan, in 1814, they have confided the conduct of public affairs entirely to Ministers and favorites, who have habitually and systematically abused their powers, and neglected their duties, and thought of nothing but making their own fortunes. I might make an exception in favour of Mahomed Alee Shah, who had been a man of business in his youth, but he reigned for only five years, and was decrepid and worn out when he ascended the throne, on the 7th of July, 1837. I believe no native Sovereigns in India have been better disposed towards the British Government than they have been, or have, in times of difficulty, rendered aid to the extent of their ability with more cordiality and cheerfulness. Though it is in vain to hope for a just and efficient administration, such as the British Government has a right to expect from the hereditary Sovereigns of this family, no reigning family in India has, I believe, a juster claim to the protection and consideration of the paramount power. But this claim cannot be considered to embrace the privilege of rendering wretched, in perpetuity, five millions of people, whose welfare and happiness the British Government is pledged to promote, and whose lives and properties it is bound by solemn Treaties to protect. It can only be considered to embrace the claim, under any arrangements that the paramount Power may deem necessary for the effectual performance of its duty towards the people, of such a provision, out of the revenues derived from these people, as shall enable them and their families and dependents to live, in perpetuity, in suitable dignity and comfort."

28. Three more years have passed, and have given to the King additional opportunity to fulfil the promises he had made, and to profit by the warnings he had received; but they have passed in vain. The distinguished and experienced officer who has succeeded to the charge of the

Residency of Lucknow, in the report he has now submitted, adopts, and confirms at all points, the conclusion which his predecessor recorded, in the words I have just now quoted. "I have myself studied," he says, "that history (of Oude), as recorded in the Residency archives and elsewhere; and, with reference to the entire period of that connection, antecedent to the present King's reign, and subsequent to the Treaty of A.D. 1801, I cannot but feel impressed with the justice of the conclusion drawn therefrom by Colonel Sleeman, thus expressed three years ago:

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, paragraph 5.

"'Fifty years of such experience have shown that the hopes, in which the Treaty of 1801 was founded—that Sovereigns of the reigning family of Oude would be disposed, and able, to form, and carry out, by means of their own officers, a system of administration calculated to secure life and property, to promote the welfare and happiness of the people of Oude, and to render the alliance with the British Government, who were to protect those Sovereigns from all foreign and domestic enemies, if not honorable to that Government, at least irreproachable—were altogether fallacious, and can never be realized.'"

Paragraph 6.

General Outram then proceeds: "Such a conviction being forced on my mind by the unsatisfactory results of the lax administration of previous Sovereigns of Oude, I have now to examine how far the rule of the present King, during the seven years embraced in his reign, has been calculated to strengthen, or modify, that conviction."

The general result of his examination into the state of Oude during the present reign, is expressed in the words which have been already quoted:—

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, paragraph 104.

"The condition of Oude is, as I have shown, most deplorable. And it has been my painful duty to demonstrate that the lamentable condition of this Kingdom has been caused by the very culpable apathy and gross misrule of the Sovereign and his Durbar. I have shown that the affairs of Oude still continue in the same state, if not worse, in which Colonel Sleeman, from time to time, described them to be; and that the improvement which Lord Hardinge peremptorily demanded seven years ago, at the hands of the King, in pursuance of the Treaty of 1801, has not in any degree been effected. And I have no hesitation in declaring my opinion, therefore, that the duty imposed on the British Government by that Treaty cannot any longer admit of our 'honestly indulging the reluctance which the Government of India has felt heretofore, to have recourse to those extreme measures which alone can be of any real efficacy in remedying the evils from which the State of Oude has suffered so long.'"

29. The grave conclusion thus expressed by General Outram was founded on no preconceived opinions—on no unfavorable bias. He also, like Colonel Sleeman, has felt his impartial judgment compel him to a conviction wholly contrary to that which the indulgence of mere feeling alone would have led him to hope for.

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, paragraph 105.

He says: "In pronouncing an opinion so injurious to the reigning family of Oude, I have performed what is indeed to myself personally a very painful duty, for I have ever advocated the maintenance of the few remaining native States in India, so long as they retain any principle of vitality, and we can uphold them consistently with our duty as the paramount power in India, and in accordance with our Treaty pledges. It is, therefore, peculiarly distressing to me to find that, in continuing to uphold the sovereign power of this effete and incapable dynasty, we do so at the cost of five millions of people, on whose behalf we are bound to secure, what the Oude Government is solemnly pledged to maintain, such a system of government as 'shall be conducive to their prosperity, and calculated to secure to them their lives and property.'"

30. Here, as before, I propose to collect in the body of this Minute the leading facts and statements upon which the Officiating Resident has based his conclusions.

Paragraph 7.

In framing his report, General Outram has referred in turn to "each branch of the Government, with the results of the administration in each, and the extent of crime, oppression, &c., now prevailing." The same order may be conveniently followed here.

31. The Officiating Resident observes: "The incapacity of the King for the duties of his high office was early foreseen by Captain Shakespear, the Officiating Resident, who, on the 29th of September, 1845, thus alluded to His Majesty, then heir apparent: 'The prospect which the present reign offers is truly a melancholy one, and, in case of anything happening to the King, I should much dread that the future will become still more clouded. The heir apparent's character holds out no prospect of good. By all accounts, his temper is capricious and fickle; his days and nights are passed in the female apartments; and he appears wholly to have resigned himself to debauchery, dissipation, and low pursuits.'". Paragraph 8.

General Outram proceeds to observe that, shortly after the King's accession, the Resident declared his conviction that "the evils existing in the present administration will increase to such a degree as to necessitate the adoption of some decided measures of amelioration." "The evils here alluded to," he says, "arose from the King allowing himself to be guided by low and incapable advisers, eunuchs, fiddlers, and songsters, against whose appointment to public offices of trust and responsibility Lord Hardinge had personally remonstrated with His Majesty, besides recording his objections to their employment in an official memorandum, which his Lordship presented to the King, on the occasion of their interview in November 1847." Paragraphs 10 and 11.

The Officiating Resident next refers in detail to the various representations submitted by his predecessors, relative to the apathy of the Sovereign, and the incapacity of the Minister. He then proceeds: "The misrule which prevailed under the apathy of the Sovereign and incapacity of the Minister, above described, are forcibly portrayed in the reports of my predecessor up to the 10th of December, 1851, the latest general report which Colonel Sleeman appears to have submitted; but I am assured by Captain Hayes that, up to the day of giving over charge of his office (the 12th of August, 1854) no modification had taken place in that officer's sentiments. That they were strengthened, on the contrary, by subsequent experience, and further intercourse with the King and Minister, may be gathered from the whole tenor of Colonel Sleeman's official correspondence."

1. Officiating Resident, March 15, paras. 10 to 22.
2. „ March 21, 1848.
3. „ November 24, 1848.
4. „ June 21, 1849.
5. „ September 24, 1849.
6. „ January 4, 1851.
7. „ July 7, 1851.
8. „ September 20, 1851.
9. „ October 10, 1851.
10. „ February 16, 1852.

Paragraph 21.

"After upwards of three months of careful scrutiny into the state of affairs at this capital, after acquiring trustworthy information as to the state of affairs in the provinces, after reviewing the correspondence which has passed between the Residency and the Durbar since Colonel Sleeman's report above referred to, after examining the details of crimes perpetrated in Oude subsequent to that date, recorded in the diaries, which I know to display far short of the truth, and after obtaining such insight as I could acquire into the financial circumstances of the State, I find it impossible to form any other opinion with respect to the conduct of the King, and its consequences, than that recorded by my predecessor three years ago, whose very words, as then expressed, I here repeat as equally applicable now. 'His Majesty continues to confide the conduct of his affairs to the same worthless and incompetent characters, to devote all his time to personal gratifications and frivolous amusements, and to manifest the same utter disregard of his duties and responsibilities. The same insecurity to life and property in all parts of his dominions is felt; the same maladministration and malversations prevail in all departments.'" Paragraph 22.

32. When thus setting before the Honorable Court of Directors the unfavorable views which successive Residents have taken, of the conduct and character of the King and his Minister, it is just that I should draw their attention to the testimony which has been borne to the friendly disposition of the present King, and to the claims which his family possess to the consideration of the British Government.

"It is but due to His Majesty," says General Outram, "to state that, while so lamentably regardless of the interests of his own people, he

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, paragraphs 23 and 24.

appears ever to have been anxious to meet the wishes of the British Government, so far as its interests were concerned; as, for instance, in establishing the frontier police, from which great benefit to the neighbouring British districts has been derived, at a cost annually, to the Oude State, of 77,062 rupees. And, in justice to the Oude Government, I would beg to draw the attention of his Lordship the Governor-General in Council to the 19th paragraph of Colonel Sleeman's Report dated the 23rd of February, 1849, giving a detail of useful institutions maintained by that Government for the benefit of Europeans, at a monthly outlay of 3,919 rupees, or 47,028 rupees per annum.

"In concluding these strong animadversions on the public conduct of the King of Oude, I hope I may be pardoned for quoting the testimony borne by my predecessor, to the claims which His Majesty's family possess to the generous consideration of Government, while, at the same time, in expressing his sense of our obligations to the Sovereign, he submits his opinion as to our duty to the people of Oude.

"'I believe no native Sovereigns in India have been better disposed towards the British Government than they have been, or have, in time of difficulty, rendered aid, to the extent of their ability, with more cordiality or cheerfulness. Though it is in vain to hope for a just and efficient administration, such as the British Government has a right to expect from the hereditary Sovereigns of this family, no reigning family in India has, I believe, a juster claim to the protection and consideration of the paramount power. But this claim cannot be considered to embrace the privilege of rendering wretched, in perpetuity, five millions, whose welfare and happiness the British Government is pledged to promote, and whose lives and property it is bound by solemn Treaties to protect. It can only be considered to embrace the claim, under any arrangement that the paramount power may deem necessary for the effectual performance of its duty towards the people, of such a provision, out of the revenues derived from these people, as shall enable them, and their families, and dependents, to live, in perpetuity, in suitable dignity and comfort.'"

Revenue and Finance.

33. Under this head, General Outram adverts to each of the several sources of territorial revenue in Oude.

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, para. 26. Letter from Captain Orr, Jan. 5, 1855. No. 4, Appendix B.

Of the Khalsa, or Crown estates, he remarks that a letter which he quotes, received "from an intelligent and experienced local officer but a month ago, too faithfully displays how shamefully His Majesty has been defrauded in that branch of his property, under the total absence of supervision which now prevails."

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, para. 27.

Of the "Huzoor Tehseel system, under which the Zemindars pay their revenue to the King, without the intervention of local agents," General Outram observes, that it "has always proved more successful and popular in Oude than any other mode of management." But he adds that, in the present day, "many abuses have crept into the Huzoor Tehseel management, and almost as much oppression takes place as under the Chuckledaree system, because the Dewan and his subordinates are now in the habit of increasing the rents, and, if this is not quietly acquiesced in, the Dewan threatens to make over the estate to the Chuckledar, and to subject its proprietor to all the miseries and extortions of the wretched farming system."

The Report proceeds:—

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, paragraphs 29 to 31.

"The third, the contract or farming system, so obviously disadvantageous to any Government, and so injurious to the people, subjected to the exactions of the contractor, whose object it must be to extort as much as possible during the term of his contract, without regard to the future, and which has generally prevailed throughout the Oude territory, had frequently been objected to by the Representatives of the British Government; and the substitution of the fourth, Amanee, or trust, system of management, had been repeatedly recommended, and occasionally tried in previous reigns, with what result is thus stated by Colonel Sleeman:—

"'Several experiments have been made of converting the contract into

the Amanee system over extensive districts of Oude, but the result has been always the same—a falling off in the revenue, and disappointment to the Government and the people. These experiments have been made at the earnest representation of the British Government and Representative. Under Ghazee-ood-deen, while Colonel Baillie was Resident, the contract system was converted into Amanee all over Oude, but, in two years, the attempt was given up in despair, and the whole country was again let out to contractors. Under Nusseer-ood-deen Hyder, while Hakeem Mehudee was Minister, and Mr. Maddock and Colonel Low Residents, a similar attempt was made, on an extensive scale, but with the same result. In less than two years, all that was Amanee was given to contractors. Under Mahomed Alee Shah, the experiment was again made on an extensive scale, while Colonel Low and Colonel Caulfeild were Residents. The Minister, Shurf-ood-Dowlah, to gratify them, made districts yielding an annual revenue of thirty-five lakhs of rupees Amanee, and did all in his power to make the system work well. In two years, he was superseded; but his successor, Ameen-ood-Dowlah, did all he could to sustain the system. He was soon removed, and, under his successor, the system soon became nominal, and then gave place openly to the old one of contract.'"

After so many failures, nothing but the strongest conviction, resulting from half a century's experience of the injurious effect of the prevalent contract system, could have induced the Government of India again to advise a recurrence to the Amanee experiment.* But, such was the lamentable state into which the people and country of Oude had been brought by the continuance of the contract system, when Lord Hardinge visited Lucknow at the termination of 1847, that his Lordship was induced to urge the King again to have resort to trust management, as the only possible chance of effecting any amelioration and improvement.

"There can be no doubt that, if fairly carried out, trust management is the most equitable for the people and advantageous to the State; but, in order to insure its being properly carried out, not only was it incumbent on the King to select honest Amils to manage the Amanee districts, but also, to ensure their honesty, that a strict supervision should be maintained over these Amils by the Government.

After showing, by full quotations from the despatches of Colonel Richmond and Colonel Sleeman, which are noted in the margin, that the pretended substitution of the Amanee or trust system, for the Izarah or contract system, "was but a change of name, for that, in reality, the same evils were maintained in the one as in the other," General Outram proceeds:—

Colonel Richmond, March 21, 1848. Colonel Sleeman, Sept. 24, 1849. Colonel Sleeman, Feb. 16, 1852.

"It is here shown that, so far from Lord Hardinge's desideratum of a fixed assessment for a period of not less than five years having been effected, there had been no assessment at all, the 'same uncertainty still prevailing' as to the rate of the Goverment demand.

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, paragraphs 36 to 38.

"Colonel Sleeman then considered, apparently, that the exactions under the pretended Amanee system were but as bad, and no worse, than those which had heretofore existed under the contract system. Such may have been the case when he wrote three years ago, and I have nothing before me to show that he latterly had gained any further insight into the even greater exactions and oppressions that are now enacted under the Amanee cloak, which my recent inquiries have brought to light.

"The statements of Major Troup, Captain Bunbury, and Captains Patrick and Alexander Orr, forming Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 of Appendix B, establish this fact. Those gentlemen are unanimous in declaring that the

* Colonel Low, when Resident in 1841 (*vide* his report dated July 15 of that year), expressed himself at that time averse to urge the substitution of the Amanee for the Farming system, which latter, he observed, "with many defects, has still something to recommend it under a native Government, where it is almost impossible to find honest men to conduct the Amanee system;" and he stated his reasons at length. One of the most essential conditions on which they were founded, however, *i. e*, that the farmer should have faith in the Government allowing him to retain his farm during the lease that had been granted to him, though applicable then, when, "if he pays regularly, he may really feel confident on that point with the present King," certainly would not have been applicable at any time during the present reign, when no one could have such reliance; for, as observed by Captain A. Orr (Appendix B, No. 5), "at the present time, how few Nazims reckon on holding their districts for more than one, or at the utmost two years, so much depending on Durbar intrigue or Durbar interests!"

Ryuts are far worse off under the present Amanee system than they were before, and they each support their assertions by incontrovertible figures and facts."

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, paras. 38 to 43. Appendix B, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. Captain A. Orr, January 9, 1855. No. 5 of Appendix B, paragraphs 2, 3, and 5. Ditto, paragraphs 17, 18. Ditto, paragraph 15. Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, paragraph 44.

Quoting, at considerable length, the statements of those officers, which are entitled to much consideration, the Officiating Resident thus closes his remarks upon the revenue system pursued in Oude: "I cannot better conclude this lamentable picture of the revenue management of Oude, or rather mismanagement, than by quoting Captain Alexander Orr's 21st paragraph, which may, I am assured, be accepted as a faithful description of the present state of the Oude Government, as regards its revenue collections.

"Lastly, it must be asked, if the districts are thus heavily taxed (as described in previous paragraphs 1 to 8), how is it that the revenue does not find its way into the Treasury? Because it is swallowed up by the Durbar officials; because of the heavy 'nuzzuranahs' given to them by every Nazim of Oude; because, besides this 'nuzzuranah,' they receive large sums to 'pass' the Nazim's accounts, however deficient and false. Corruption reigns paramount. A Hakeem in Oude *cannot* be honest, for he must pay for his office; and this system is carried on, link by link, from the highest authority to the lowest, the subordinate paying, or bribing, his superior, and the whole weight at length falls on, and crushes, the Ryut. In former years (dishonest) Amils were imprisoned; some, as Mirza Abdoola Beg, died in confinement; some suffered the dreadful punishment of 'balla-roopie,' as Eucha Sing, Nazim of Gondah. But now a much milder custom prevails, with what success it is evident. Mahal (palace) influence, too, is now all powerful; a proof is in the ruin of Nanparah Raj. The revenues of the kingdom are not lessened, but corruption is, indeed, at head-quarters, sadly on the increase."

Colonel Sleeman, October 10, 1851. Ditto, Dec. 10, 1851. Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 48.

34. The financial condition of Oude is treated by the Officiating Resident in paragraphs 45 to 53 of his Report. Having given some extracts, relating to this subject, from the reports of his predecessor, General Outram goes on to say:—"It thus appears that, three years ago, the reserved treasury was exhausted; that the troops and establishments were greatly in arrears, and 50 lakhs were due to the stipendiaries; that the annual receipts fell far short of the expenditure; and that the King could obtain no credit. Such being the case, and the facts were not disputed by the King or Minister when placed before them by Colonel Sleeman (vide his letter dated the 20th of October, 1851), the marvel is, how the Government has since been carried on, and that the financial crisis which Colonel Sleeman so long since prognosticated has not yet taken place; for there can be no doubt that the income never has equalled the expenditure, during subsequent years. No reduction has been effected in the troops* and establishments, as far as I can learn, and no retrenchment in the palace expenditure. The principal source of former outlay has, however, I believe, now closed, *i. e.*, the buildings and decorations of the new palaces and gardens, which are said to be finished; and to that score chiefly, perhaps, may be debited the 1 crore which His Majesty found in his reserved treasury, and the 22 lakhs of annual deficit of the first five years of his reign. Still, the subsequent deficiency has had to be met, and how it has been so, is a mystery. It is said the King has latterly become greatly involved in debt to all who supply his personal luxuries, and the requirements of the palace; and the stipendiaries, troops, and establishments are represented to be now as deeply in arrears, if not more so, than when Colonel Sleeman wrote. The non-liquidation of such demands upon the Royal exchequer, may perhaps be the real solution of the enigma."

Even the Royal family, the King's own kindred, suffer, with all others, the consequences of universal misrule.

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 51.

"From 1847 to the end of 1849, none of the Royal family had received a farthing. * * * It appears * * * * that some

* On the contrary, the army appears to have been augmented by one regiment, for, though Captain P. Orr's regiment was raised a year ago, as a substitute for Captain Barlow's mutinous regiment, which was to have been disbanded, the latter is still maintained, notwithstanding.

portion was paid up in1852; but that was little. I have ascertained that, up to the close of last year, Azeem-ooshan, uncle to the King, had not received any portion of his stipend for three years, upwards of 70,000 rupees being then due to him; and the rest are as badly off in proportion. One of the first petitions I received, was from the surviving ladies of the families of Asuf-ood-Dowlah and Shuja-ood-Dowlah, to which the seals of 216 of those unfortunate persons were affixed, representing that their stipends were overdue for periods averaging from three to four years. They are, I am informed, literally starving, and have been driven by the extremity of their distress, to seek the interposition of the Resident. I spoke to the Minister on the subject, who promised to see that their wants should be immediately relieved; but I cannot ascertain that anything has yet been done for them."

"With regard to the arrears due to the troops, Captain Hayes, who has devoted much attention to the subject, specifies three regiments which, being paid by assignments (kubz) on the district revenues, are consequently better off than their comrades; but, with respect to the rest of the army, he states that 'Captain Patrick Orr's corps, which has been raised about twelve months, has never had any of its accounts adjusted up to this day, and about eight months' pay is due to the regiment. The regiments which furnish the guards to the various palaces, public buildings, and Residency houses, have not received pay for seventeen months; and it may be easily imagined what must be the condition of the other regiments which are quartered at a distance from the capital.' As to the civil establishments, however, no great amount of arrears can, I think, be due to them; for, with few exceptions, they obtain but nominal salary from the State, generally, on the contrary, paying largely for their situations, which afford so rich a harvest in bribery and peculation." Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 52.

Judicial Courts and Police Establishments.

35. In illustration of the condition of Judicial Courts in Oude, General Outram refers generally to the description of them given by Colonel Sleeman, in his letter of the 24th of September, 1849, and especially to the case of Ramdut Panday, which was noticed in a previous paragraph of this Minute. Notwithstanding the communication which was made to the King regarding this case, the Officiating Resident affirms that the murderer, "Mahomed Husein, would, doubtless, long ere this, have been restored to the power and the position he had so shamefully abused, but for the opposition of the Resident." He adds, in a note: "Since writing the above, I have received a petition from Toolseepore, representing that Mahomed Husein has been reinstated in power. To a communication I have in consequence made to the Durbar, I have yet received no answer; but I have reason to believe that such is the fact." Paragraph 25. Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 57

The Report goes on to say: "After such repeated instances of the futility of seeking justice in the Oude Courts, when the criminals occupy high positions in the State, the Resident could no longer confide, to the sole adjudication of those Courts, any case of a similar nature in which British subjects were sufferers. Accordingly, when a highway robbery attended by murder was perpetrated on a party of highly respectable merchants, British subjects, on the 20th of March, 1853, by the armed retainers of the Amil of Poorwa, acting under the orders of his deputy, and with his own connivance, Colonel Sleeman insisted on the investigation being conducted before himself, requesting His Majesty, at the same time, 'to appoint a respectable person to sit as an assessor with the First Assistant, in the conduct of the preliminary inquiries,'—it appearing to him, 'from the feelings manifested by the influential persons about the Durbar on the occasion, that, unless the Resident took, himself, a prominent part in the inquiry, the truth could not possibly be come at, and the offenders would escape with impunity, in the same manner that the Governor of the Gondah district escaped, after the deliberate murder of the banker, Ramdut Panday.' Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, paras. 58 & 59

"The result was, the conviction of Shunkur Lall (the Deputy), who

was sentenced to imprisonment for life, and of the Amil, Kashepershad, to a minor extent, who was sentenced to imprisonment until he should refund the 20,000 rupees of which the victim had been robbed, and banishment for two years after the termination of that imprisonment. But in the course of the trial the Resident experienced much obstruction: 'The anxiety of the Durbar to screen these two criminals from the punishment due to their crimes has been manifested throughout this investigation, and I believe that nothing but the apprehension that his Lordship in Council would award a still heavier punishment, or hold the Government of Oude itself responsible for the outrage, would have induced the friends of the accused at the Durbar to permit the King to acquiesce in that which I have passed, for I cannot consider His Majesty to have in reality any judgment of his own in the conduct of his public affairs.' A brief account of this atrocity will be found in Appendix D (No. 2)."

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 61.

36. General Outram proceeds to observe: "The cases above referred to sufficiently display the shameless working of the Criminal Courts of Lucknow. And the Civil Courts of the Capital are, if possible, even more grossly corrupt, for therein justice is *openly* bought and sold. Colonel Sleeman strenuously remonstrated, but to no purpose, against the nomination, to the supreme control of these Courts, of one of the obnoxious class whom the King had so solemnly pledged himself to exclude from any Government office whatever. And, in handing up to Government the correspondence which had passed 'on the subject of the virtual appointment of his (the King's) favorite fiddler, Mosahib Alee, as supreme head of all the Civil Courts of Oude,' he stated that 'The person ostensibly appointed is Asud Beg, a Dome, who married the sister of Mosahib's wife; but the person in whom authority is virtually invested is Mosahib Alee, one of the two singers who now have the entire ascendancy over the King's mind, and make him do what they please and go where they please.' This individual and his creature, Asud Beg, have continued unchecked in their sway over the Civil Courts to this day, and all subordinate Judges are equally and notoriously corrupt."

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 63.

37. Regarding the District Courts and Police, the Officiating Resident says: "That the administration of justice is at this day equally lax and corrupt in the districts,—that those who administer justice there are equally venal with the judges of the capital,—and that the so-called police establishments are equally inefficient and corrupt,—the following extracts will demonstrate."

Captain P. Orr, Jan. 5, 1855. Appendix B, No. 4.
Capt. Bunbury, Jan. 1, 1855. Appendix B, No. 3.

From the extracts thus given from the letters of Captain Orr and Captain Bunbury, a few passages may with advantage be quoted here:

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 63.

"There are no Courts of Justice of any kind in Oude, out of Lucknow, nor, in fact, any Police establishment (leaving the frontier Police out of the question), unless the Thannahs placed in some of the principal towns can be called by that name. These Thannahs are farmed out in the same manner as the news-writerships. The Thannadars, a most disreputable and corrupt set, have no power of punishing criminals, unless in minor cases, when they do sometimes seize an offender. If the latter can afford to give a bribe, he is released; otherwise, sent to the Nazim, to be dealt with as he likes. The Chuckledar (Nazim) has almost unlimited power in his district; besides being the revenue officer, he is supposed to act as a judge and magistrate, but, knowing too well the instability of his own position, his only aim and object is to make the most money in the shortest space of time. His orders are decisive, and the ryuts have no appeal against his decisions."

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 63.

Again, it is said, the district police "are strong enough to seize and mulct unfortunate bunneeahs and poor tradespeople, under false or frivolous pretexts; * * * but they religiously avoid collision with those really bad characters with whom it might be dangerous to meddle. * * * In a word, whether in the Nizamut, or whether in towns, it may be laid down as a general rule, that verdict will be given in favor of the party that pays best; and, so well known is this, that when boundary disputes occur between Zemindars, they settle the case among themselves by an appeal to arms. Much blood is thus annually shed in Oude."

"After such a lamentable picture of the internal police of Oude, it is satisfactory," says the Officiating Resident, "to turn to the frontier police, the only efficient public establishment maintained under the Oude Government; but that it is so efficiently maintained is to be attributed to its being placed under British officers independent of the Durbar, and under the immediate control of the Resident." Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 64. *Vide* paras. 65 & 66.

The Army of Oude.

38. Under this head, the Officiating Resident calls attention to the Report regarding the military force of Oude which was laid before Government by his predecessor, Colonel Sleeman, five years ago. He adduces the testimony of Captain Hayes, the First Assistant, to the effect that the "appalling picture," which was drawn by Colonel Sleeman of the state of the army, "was not in the least exaggerated, being the result of much observation" on the part of that officer; and he quotes, assentingly, Captain Hayes's concluding words: "It is impossible to conceive a greater curse to a country than such a rapacious, licentious, and disorganized army as that of Oude is, and such as it has ever been, from the earliest records extant of its cowardice, inefficiency, and extortion." Resident, April 6, 1850. Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 68.

General Outram proceeds to say: "In support of Colonel Sleeman's opinion, as reported five years ago, and of Captain Hayes's now expressed, and as abundantly illustrating the quality of these troops, and the means by which they are supported, and abuses arising therefrom, I may here quote the testimony of the local officers now serving in the Oude army, which is so full and conclusive as to leave me nothing further to remark on this subject." Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, paragraph 69. Captain Bunbury. Appendix B, No. 3. Captain P. Orr. Appendix B, No. 4. Appendix C, Part III.

The Officiating Resident thus concludes his review of this part of the subject: "The above extracts sufficiently establish the fact that no improvement whatever has been effected in the condition, or the conduct, of the army of Oude, since Colonel Sleeman so fully described its state and conduct, as he found it in 1850." Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 70.

Roads and Public Works.

39. The Officiating Resident states, "that no new roads have been opened since Colonel Sleeman reported in 1849; and that to Cawnpore still remains the only metalled and bridged road in Oude." * * "The only permanent bridges in Oude, besides those on the road to Cawnpore, are the two bridges over the Goomtee river at the capital, five old bridges of masonry on the road to Fyzabad, so long neglected as to be now scarcely passable, and a bridge of masonry at Peernuggur, on the road to Seetapore, built about sixty years ago, in the reign of Asuf-ood-Dowlah, which latter is now so dilapidated as to be 'even unsafe for foot passengers, and for hackeries, camels, or horses, quite dangerous.' On a representation to this effect from the Brigadier Commanding in Oude, dated the 23rd of March last, a request was made to the Durbar to cause its repair, but nothing appears to have been done, as a subsequent communication from the military authorities, under date the 26th of October, states that the bridge was then 'in an impassable state.'" Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 73. Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, paras. 74 & 75.

"With the exception of a few Government forts, there are, literally, no other public works in Oude; for the annual repair of which forts, though the Government allows a fixed sum of from 200 to 500 rupees each, yet but seldom is any Government money really laid out, the actual cost being defrayed by the Talookdars and Zemindars."

On the other hand, it is remarked by General Outram that, "while public works of utility are so scant throughout Oude, the capital itself boasts of a greater display of palaces and tombs than any other city in India, on which vast sums are lavished, though I believe Colonel Sleeman correctly estimates that not one fourth, or perhaps one tenth, of what is charged to the State on that account, is actually expended." Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 76.

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, paras. 77 to 88.

Statistics of Crime and Outrage.

40. Upon this important topic, the Officiating Resident states that, "in Appendix E, are given extracts from the Diaries for the years 1848 and 1854, from which a comparison may be drawn of the extent of crime exhibited during those years (the first succeeding that on which the present King ascended the throne, and the last), so far as recorded in those Diaries.

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, paras. 77 & 78.

"But the Diaries are merely a transcript of the Reports of the official news-writers (Akbar Nawiss) stationed throughout the country to communicate to the Durbar all crimes and offences committed within the jurisdiction of each Government functionary, and the official proceedings thereupon of such functionary; but the untrustworthiness of the information derived from such a source may be judged from the following description by Colonel Sleeman of the Akbar Nawiss establishment of Oude."

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 79.

Having quoted the description by Colonel Sleeman given in paragraph 21 of this Minute, the Officiating Resident goes on to say: "Insufficient as the Diaries *then* were for affording a judgment as to the extent of crime perpetrated in Oude, they have since become still more so, by the removal of the news-writers from districts held in Amanee, whose Amils are now released from even that lax supervision which, bad as it was, was still a slight check upon them; and, consequently, the oppression, extortion, or crimes, committed by them and their subordinates, are but seldom noticed in the Diaries.

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 80.

"Well might Colonel Sleeman declare, therefore, that the 'numerous instances of all these evils and sufferings, and of the apathy with which they are viewed by the Oude Government, contained in the monthly Diaries, are not a tenth part of what, any month, takes place.' And thus much having been suppressed of the instances of oppression and extortion practised by the Amils, &c., it cannot be doubted that much of the loss of life arising therefrom, and of crime of various descriptions perpetrated by Government functionaries, has been concealed. With such imperfect data, then, as the Diaries afford, it is astounding to peruse the vast amount of crime which has been recorded, notwithstanding these suppressions."

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 81.

Referring to a tabulated statement of crimes known to have been perpetrated in Oude, from 1848 to 1854, General Outram remarks:—"From this table it will be observed that crime reported has greatly increased. * * * The killed and wounded exceeded 2,000 in 1852, and very nearly reached that number in 1853, the annual average of casualties, under this head, during the past 7 years, being 1,573. The number of villages destroyed had nearly quadrupled, and of persons forcibly carried off, for ransom or sale, more than doubled. And when it is recollected that, awful as this display is, it does not depict the whole, nor nearly the whole, of what this devoted country has actually suffered in loss of life and property, it is, indeed, as I have already said, most astounding; and the more so when the limited extent and population of Oude is considered, its favoured situation in the midst of the quiet and well-settled British districts surrounding it on three sides, and the peaceable Nepal frontier on the fourth."

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 83.

"True it is," says General Outram, "that a large portion of the casualties in Oude are to be attributed to faction-fights, and collisions between the officers employed in the collection of the revenue and the landholders who pay it. But this is the consequence of the misrule of the Oude Government—too weak or apathetic to restrain its subjects, and too frequently driving them to resistance by over-exactions, the result of which is thus described by Colonel Sleeman:—'Every landholder who has failed in his resistance takes to plunder, burns down as many villages, and murders and robs, as many travellers on the highway, as he can, to subsist his armed followers, and avenge himself on the Government authorities and all who aid and support them.' And a forcible illustration thereof will be found in my letter to your address dated the 6th

ultimo, reporting on the hostilities now in progress between the Oude Government and four of its refractory chieftains."

The Officiating Resident enters into some details, for the purpose of showing that the tables above referred to do not correctly exhibit the whole amount of crime which has been perpetrated in Oude; and he concludes this part of his subject in the following words:—"It is thus evident that the number of human beings slaughtered and wounded in Oude, during the past year, far exceeds what the Diary represents, incredible though that number appears; and, as it may be fairly assumed that, in the same proportion as the 1,391 recorded casualties of last year fall short of the reality, the numbers of the two previous years are deficient—*i.e.*, 2,011 for 1852, and 1,954 for 1853,—the average, consequently, of the last three years, *i.e.*, 1,785, must be regarded as much below the real amount, and may be more correctly estimated, perhaps, at above 2,000 annually. This is indeed a most frightful exemplification of the present state of affairs in Oude; and, when this estimate of the casualties for the three years succeeding Colonel Sleeman's last report is compared with the average of the four years preceding (1848 to 1851)—*i.e.*, 1,415—during a portion of which period the reporting establishments were complete, which have since been withdrawn from the Amanee districts, thereby still further heightening the contrast, no other conclusion can be drawn than that not merely has there been no improvement in the state of Oude in this respect, but that crime and outrage have actually increased since Colonel Sleeman last reported."

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, paras. 84, 85, 86.

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 87.

Oppression and Cruelties.

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, paras. 89 to 98.

41. Upon this head, the Officiating Resident reports that "it is impossible to form a decided opinion as to whether the oppression under which the subjects of Oude now suffer, is greater or less in degree than what they were subjected to in the early part of the present King's reign, and which Colonel Richmond, on the 20th of November, 1847, reported to be then worse than during 'such portion of the previous reign as had come under his immediate cognizance.' Nothing certainly can be conceived more horrible than the oppression and cruelties reported by Colonel Richmond as prevailing during the first year of His Majesty's accession, and nothing has, I believe, since been *reported*, at all to be compared to the atrocities then perpetrated by Government functionaries. But it has been shown that the sources of information which were open to Colonel Richmond have since been closed in a great measure, by the abolition of the news-writers in the Amanee districts; and it will hereafter be seen that much oppression, at present therein enacted, does not now reach the Resident for record in the official diaries as formerly."

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 89.

General Outram, having referred to cases reported during the present reign by the former Resident, Colonel Richmond, proceeds to remark that, "in all the above cases, to the Resident's representations regarding which no answer could be obtained, the offenders were high Government officials, or their subordinates, the greatest criminal among them being Rajah Rugber Sing, the Nazim of Bharaitch, of the atrocities perpetrated by whom the above do not form one hundredth portion. They are detailed at length in Colonel Sleeman's printed journal (vol. i, pp. 61 to 83). Wholesale cold-blooded massacres and plunderings are there recorded, besides torturings to death, and starving to death, of human beings, to an extent that could not be believed were the facts not so fully established. Yet this monster had openly perpetrated all these diabolical deeds, for two years, unchecked by the Durbar whose servant he was; and his crimes remained unnoticed, until Colonel Sleeman took office in the beginning of 1849. Up to that time, Rugber Sing had not been called to any account, but had been quietly superseded by his nephew, in the charge which he had so grossly abused. Subsequently, he had retired to the British territory—not from any apprehension of punishment for those crimes, however, but merely to evade all demands for balances, and reside for an interval—with the full assurance that he would be able to purchase

Colonel Richmond, Nov. 20, 1847.

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, paras. 91 to 94.

restoration to favour and power in Oude, unless the Resident should think it worth while to oppose him. Colonel Sleeman did, however, oppose him. He had his agents arrested, and charges sent in against them, with all the proofs accumulated by Captain Orr; but they all purchased their way out, and no one was punished."* At the Resident's suggestion, however, "the King proclaimed Rugber Sing as an outlaw, and offered 3,000 rupees for his arrest. He never appeared, but continued to carry on his negotiations for restoration to power at Lucknow, through the very agents whom he had employed in the scenes above described.

"Of so little account are such acts as those of which Rugber Sing was guilty, held by the Oude Government, that, undoubtedly, he would have been restored to power but for the opposition of the Resident. And such good ground had Colonel Sleeman for apprehending that Rugber Sing might eventually attain his object, that he deemed it necessary to guard me against it, by the following memorandum, dated the 28th of November last.

"'This atrocious villain is still negotiating for his return to office with the Minister, and offers, I have heard, three lakhs of rupees. The Minister had sounded me on the subject, but was told that I should have him arrested as soon as he set foot in Oude, and brought to trial for his many crimes. I made over charge of the office on the 12th of August, 1854; and, if my successor be not very watchful, the Minister will take the money, and give him charge of another district, to commit similar atrocities.'

"Urged by Colonel Sleeman, the Government of Oude had been induced, at one time, to make an endeavour to procure the arrest of Rugber Sing, and then, *for the first time*, adduced Colonel Richmond's charges against him (having allowed them to remain unnoticed for two and a half years), on the plea 'now that Rugber Sing, independent of those heinous offences, has perpetrated outrages attended with murder and wounding, you must rest assured that, if he is suffered to escape punishment, it will, in future, be most difficult to protect the life and property of the subject against him.' But, that the object of the Durbar was not really the one here assigned, but to extract Rugber's ill-gotten wealth, had he been surrendered, is transparent from the fact that he had, while in the employ of the Oude Government, murdered and wounded, not merely individuals, but actually hundreds of human beings, without being brought to justice, or punished in any manner. That this was their object is further confirmed by the fact that, when informed that the man would be tried by the British authorities, the Durbar took no steps to prosecute their charges. And, were further evidence wanting that the Oude Government had no moral objection to Rugber's acts, and sought but to obtain his gold, it is afforded by the fact, that the Minister has since endeavoured to obtain the man's restoration to power, with a view to obtain some portion, as a bribe, of what they can no longer hope to extort by force.

"The prosecution of this great criminal was consequently abandoned, but Colonel Sleeman would certainly have insisted on his being surrendered for trial before the Oude Courts, had he had any expectation that justice would have been administered; but, none of Rugber Sing's agents having been punished, what hope could the Resident have that Rugber himself, with his superior means of bribery, would meet his deserts? He thus recorded: 'Not one of the agents employed in the atrocities above described was ever punished. The people see that all the members of the Government are accessories, either before or after the fact, in all these dreadful cruelties and outrages; and that, the more of these a public officer commits, the more secure is he of protection and favour at Court.'"

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 96.

42. "These cases," says General Outram, "have been adduced to show that, even if the people be not now murdered, tortured, and sold into slavery, to the same extent as under Rugber Sing, it is not that they at present enjoy better protection than formerly, or that the Government is now inspired by any improved sense of justice and humanity. But I fear that, though such wholesale atrocities as those perpetrated by Rugber

* In June 1851, they were still holding office under the Oude Government. *Vide* note to page 85 of printed Journal.

Sing may not be matched by any single Government officer of the present day, the people are still subjected in detail to similar persecutions, to an extent, in the aggregate, perhaps equal to what they suffered in the first years of His Majesty's reign. On reference to the Diary for last year, given in Appendix B, it will be seen that, denuded though it be of the record of the proceedings of the Amanee Tehseeldars, there is still a vast amount of tyranny, cruelty, and oppression, recorded on the part of Government officials."

"Could all that has been perpetrated by the Amanee Amils, during the past year, be produced, the calendar would display probably a more fearful amount of cruelty and oppression than even during the first, or any previous, year of this, or any former, reign in Oude. As they have not been reported, however, I am unable to say positively to what extent those Amils generally have oppressed their people, though a tolerably fair judgment of their practice may be formed from the following statements of British officers personally cognizant of what they write, descriptive of the proceedings of Agaie Alee Khan, the principal and most cherished among them." Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 97.

The statements to which the Officiating Resident here refers are too long to be quoted in this place, but I beg to draw attention to them. The whole is summed up in a single sentence, which they contain: "The weak and the poor have no protection whatever afforded to them against the extortions and depredations of those stronger than themselves."

Appendix B, No. 1. Major Troup, Dec. 27, 185
Ditto, No. 4. Captain P. Orr, Jan. 5, 1855.
Ditto, No. 5. Captain A. Orr, Jan. 9, 1855.
Ditto, No. 3. Captain Bunbury, Jan. 1, 1855.

He thus closes his report on the oppressions which prevail in Oude, and on their most immediate and most lasting cause:— Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 98.

"A further exemplification of the lamentable consequences of Oude misgovernment will be found in my late letters dated the 6th and 14th ultimo, reporting the formidable hostilities which are now devastating some of the richest districts in the country. In the same proportion as the landholders are compelled to maintain armed followers to repel over-exactions on the part of the Durbar, are they driven to overtax their ryuts to supply those retainers; and the Government again is obliged to maintain large forces to enforce payment of the revenue, gradually falling off in consequence of such a state of things. Thus, all classes suffer from the absence of faith in the Government, and of any ties of sympathy between the Government and the people."

43. It is remarkable that, under the pressure of so many and such various ills, the people of Oude should have so little recourse to emigration as a means of escape from the sufferings they undergo. The fact is thus explained by the Officiating Resident:—

"The condition of Oude cannot be fairly tested by the extent of emigration; for, as stated by Major Troup, 'although shamefully oppressed, they are much attached to their country.' And it happens that the middling and agricultural classes especially, who otherwise might be driven to emigrate, obtain, indirectly, the protection of the British Government, to such an extent as preserves them from the necessity of having recourse to the extreme measure of abandoning their birthright, in the privilege, which their relatives in the Company's service enjoy, of petitioning through the Resident, who has thus the means of inquiring into grievances, and demanding redress in their behalf. To acquire this privilege, every agricultural family in Oude, perhaps without exception, besides many of other occupations, sends one of its members into the British army, and thus secures through him the right of claiming the Resident's interference. The number of Oude Sepoys in our service, consequently, who enjoy this privilege, is estimated by Colonel Sleeman at 40,000, and the relatives they represent may probably amount to ten times that number, or nearly one-tenth of the entire population of Oude. Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 100.

44. The Officiating Resident having treated fully, and in their order, these several branches of the administration of Oude, concludes his report with that summary of the subject, and that expression of his own opinions and feelings regarding it, which I have already quoted in paragraphs 28 and 29.

45. For the greater convenience of those to whom it will belong to decide the future fate of the Kingdom of Oude, I have thought it best to bring together, within the bounds of this Minute, all the leading facts and statements which were required for the purpose of giving one continuous view of the long and gross abuse of power which has characterized the administration of the affairs of Oude, from the date of the Treaty of 1801, even to the year in which we live.

Whoever shall read, and carefully scan, this dark record of oppression and misrule, must give his assent to the proposition I have sought to establish; and must needs admit that the "stipulation of the Treaty of 1801, which bound the Sovereign of Oude to conform ever to the counsel of the British Government, and to establish such a system of administration as should secure the lives and property of his subjects, and be conducive to their prosperity, has, from that day to this, been utterly and systematically set at nought."

Minute, par. 8.

46. For tolerating so long this total disregard of the obligations of solemn Treaty, and for all the ills and human suffering which have sprung therefrom, the British Government is heavily responsible. It cannot, indeed, be charged with indifference to the evils whose existence it perceived, or with the neglect of all exertions to palliate or remove them. For, from the date of the Treaty to the present day, the records of Government exhibit one unbroken series of acts of counsel, of complaint, and of condemnation, on the part of the Government of India, and its Representatives at Lucknow. By official notes, in friendly letters, through the mouth of the Resident, and at formal personal interviews, the Governor-General has urged, from time to time, upon the notice of the Ruler of Oude the wretched internal condition of his kingdom; and, throughout all that period, at frequent intervals, words of indignant censure have alternated with earnest remonstrance, with warning, and with threats. But the Government of India has never taken the one measure which alone could be effectual, by withdrawing its countenance from the Sovereign of Oude, and its troops from his dominions.

47. It is by these aids alone that the Sovereigns of Oude have been enabled for more than half a century to persist with impunity in their course of oppression and misrule. Their eyes have never seen the misery of their subjects; their ears have never been open to their cry. Secure of the safety of his person—secure of the stability of his Throne—each successive Ruler has passed his lifetime within the walls of his palace, or in the gardens round his capital, careful for nothing but the gratification of his individual passion—avarice, as in one; intemperance, as in another; or, as in the present King, effeminate sensuality, indulged among singers, musicians, and eunuchs, the sole companions of his confidence, and the sole agents of his power. Were it not for the support which the Government of India is known to be bound to afford the King against all domestic as well as against foreign enemies; were it not for the constant presence of British troops at Lucknow; the people of Oude would speedily work their own deliverance, and would impose upon their Ruler that effectual check of general revolt by which Eastern Rulers are best controlled. Colonel Sleeman thus bears his testimony to this important truth: "I am persuaded," he says, "that, if our troops were withdrawn from Oude, the landholders would in one month march over them all, and pillage the capital of Lucknow."

Resident, June 21, 1849, par. 21.

48. I respectfully submit to the Honorable Court that the time has come when inaction on the part of the British Government, in relation to the affairs of the Kingdom of Oude, can now be no longer justified, and is already converting our responsibility into guilt.

49. More than fifty years ago, the sagacious and bold understanding of Lord Wellesley led him to perceive, and to proclaim, "that no effectual security can be provided against the ruin of the Province of Oude, until the exclusive management of the civil and military Government of that country shall be transferred to the Company, under suitable provisions for the maintenance of his Excellency and of his family. No other remedy can effect any considerable improvement in the resources of the State, or can ultimately secure its external safety and internal peace."

To Nawab of Oude, Jan. 22, 1801, par. 11.

Thirty years later, Lord William Bentinck, a warm friend to native States, and, more than any other man, averse to aggression or interference, found it his duty to declare to the King of Oude that, unless his territories were governed upon other principles than those hitherto followed, and the prosperity of the people made the principal object of his administration, the precedent afforded by the Principalities of the Dekhan, the Carnatic, and Tanjore, would be applied to the Kingdom of Oude, and to the entire management of the country; and the King would become a mere Pensioner of State. Appendix C, p. 81.

The noble Lord who preceded me in the administration of the Government of India took another step in advance. He informed the King that, unless, within two years' space, his course of government should be amended, His Majesty would force the "British Government to interfere by assuming the government of Oude."

Colonel Sleeman, the Resident,—in whose hands our relations with Oude have chiefly remained since the date of Lord Hardinge's warning,—Colonel Sleeman,—who describes himself as one whose "friendly feelings towards native States," and whose "earnest desire to do everything in his power, and consistent with" his "duties, to support them and improve their administration, are * * generally known in India,"—Colonel Sleeman has recorded his fixed conviction that "our Government can no longer support the present Government without seriously neglecting its duty to the people of Oude:" and, further, that, if the Government of India were now to interpose, and to take on itself the entire administration of that country, the Chiefs and people of India would be satisfied that "our Government had done everything that it could do, consistently with its duty towards five millions of people, to uphold the Sovereignty of Oude in its integrity, and that it would be a serious dereliction of its sacred duty to uphold it any longer."

Resident, July 7, 1851, par. 11.

Resident, July 7, 1851, par. 11.

Resident, July 7, 1851, par. 12.

General Outram, the present Officiating Resident,—who, like his predecessor, Colonel Sleeman, has "ever advocated the maintenance of the few remaining native States, so long as they retain any principle of vitality, and we can uphold them consistently with our duty as the paramount Power, and in accordance with our Treaty pledges,"—General Outram has "no hesitation in declaring his opinion, that the duty imposed upon the British Government by that Treaty cannot any longer admit of our 'honestly indulging the reluctance which the Government of India has felt heretofore, to have recourse to those extreme measures which can alone be of any real efficacy in remedying the evils from which the State of Oude has suffered so long.'"

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 105.

Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855, par. 104.

My honorable colleague, General Low,—who was himself for many years the Resident at Lucknow, who, like the other distinguished officers I have named, has shown himself an earnest supporter of native States, and who many years ago wrote of himself at Lucknow, "No man can be more anxious than I am to avoid interference as long as such policy is justifiable,"—General Low has now expressed, in the papers before me, his entire concurrence in the conclusion which General Outram has formed, as to the immediate necessity for our direct interference in the affairs of Oude.

Pol. Cons., Feb. 12, 1833. No. 181.

Minute, March 28, 1855.

Lastly, the Court of Directors has already made known its sentiments that "a more shocking picture of a country given up to lawless violence, and to the extremes of rapacity and cruelty, never has been placed before it" than that which appeared in the pages of Colonel Sleeman's reports. And the Honorable Court has further informed the Government of India, that it anxiously awaits "the adoption, or at least the proposal, of some scheme calculated to relieve that fine country from its lamentable condition."

Court of Directors, No. 36, of 1852, December 15.

50. Fortified by testimony accumulated through so many years, and sustained by these opinions emanating from men of high authority, men the least likely to be led into any harsh or hasty action towards native States, and whose judgments have been forced, by what themselves have seen and heard, into conclusions altogether contrary to the bent of their own feelings and wishes—sustained by such testimony and such opinions as these,

I do not hesitate to declare my firm conviction, that the relations which have heretofore existed between the British Government and the State of Oude can no longer be maintained, and that the policy we have heretofore observed, must undergo a total and fundamental change.

51. It is much to be regretted that, when the Treaty of 1801 was concluded at Lucknow, some provision was not introduced, declaring the special alternative to which recourse should be had, in the event of the Ruler of Oude refusing, or neglecting, to fulfil the obligations which he then took upon himself. But this precaution was omitted. The Treaty contained no more than an apparent assertion, on the part of the British Government, of a right to interfere, without any definition of the means by which that right was to be enforced.

52. The Court has, on a former occasion, expressed an opinion, that the provisions of the Treaty of 1801 were sufficient to enable the Government of India to apply an adequate remedy to the disorders and abuses of the Administration of Oude. With deference to the opinion recorded upon that occasion, I must state my own conviction, that that Treaty, as it now stands, wholly fails to confer the power required for carrying into effect a measure so large and so important.

53. All who have written upon this subject are unanimous in the opinion, that the management of the Province of Oude and the reform of its administration, could not be undertaken with any hope of success by the Government of India, unless through the agency of British officers. But the Treaty of 1801 peremptorily, and insurmountably, bars the employment of such officers in carrying into effect any system of administration of Oude.

There has never existed a Treaty whose "true meaning and intent" was more free from doubt than that which is now under consideration. Not only are the obligations of the Contracting Parties expressed with great clearness and precision in the text, but there is annexed to the instrument a "Memorandum of the final result of the discussions between his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General and the Nawab Vizier," wherein it is stated, that "with a view to obviate all future doubts on the subject of these communications and conferences (that is, regarding the Treaty concluded on the 10th of November, 1801), the Governor-General now commits to writing the final determination of the several points discussed between his Lordship and the Vizier, and affixes his seal and signature to this paper."

India Treaties, pages 105, 106.

With this proof before us of the caution with which the Treaty was worded and interpreted, I beg to draw attention to the Article relating to the internal administration of Oude. By it "his Excellency engages that he will 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 calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants, and his Excellency will always advise with, and act in conformity to the counsel of, the officers of the said Honorable Company." It will be seen that, while, by these words, the Nawab Vizier contracted to establish a good system of administration in his dominions, he most clearly reserved to himself the right of carrying on the administration by means of "his own officers."

The reservation thus made in the body of the Treaty was recognised by the Governor-General, and was confirmed by his marked repetition of the reservation, whenever the Government of the Nawab was mentioned in the Memorandum to which his Lordship gave all the force of a solemn compact. In that document it is written—"The Governor-General now proceeds to state the general principles by which the connection and intercourse between the two States are to be regulated henceforth." * * Then follows—"His Excellency has engaged to establish within his reserved dominions such a system of administration as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants.

India Treaties, pages 111, 112, 113.

"The system of administration is to be carried into effect, by his Excellency's own officers and servants, and by his own authority." Again, the Resident is enjoined "to unite sincerely with his Excellency in carry-

ing 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."

Nothing, then, can be more clear, than that the agency which was to be employed in carrying into effect any system of administration in Oude, was to be *exclusively that of officers of the Ruler of Oude.*

54. In the same document, the rights of the British Government, and the functions of the Resident, are defined with great exactness. It is therein said—"His Excellency has also engaged always to advise with, and to act in conformity to the counsel of, the officers of the Honorable 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, and with the usual exercise of his Excellency's established authority, the Vizier has engaged to advise with the British Government, and to conform to its counsels.

"Those counsels will always be offered to his Excellency in the form of friendly advice, and in the spirit of reciprocal confidence and of mutual regard and respect. * * * The Resident will, therefore, in the common course of business, offer to the Vizier the advice of the British Government, in the name of the Governor-General. * * * The Resident must advise the Nawab with perfect cordiality, and must employ every endeavour to coincide with his Excellency in an uniform course of measures, and to unite sincerely with his Excellency 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 Resident must conduct himself towards the Nawab Vizier, on all occasions, with the utmost degree of respect, conciliation, and attention, and must maintain cordial union and harmony in all transactions, and must endeavour to impart strength and stability to his Excellency's authority.

"The Resident must never proceed to act in the affairs of the reserved dominions without previous consultation with his Excellency or with his Minister.

"Under these regulations, the Governor-General expects that the Nawab Vizier 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."

It will be observed that, in every portion of this paper, the rights of the British Government, in relation to the Government of Oude, are limited to the offer of counsel, "in the form of friendly advice." The functions of the Resident are to offer "advice and representations," and his conduct towards the Vizier is to be marked with the utmost degree of "respect, conciliation, and attention." And, while it is recited that "His Excellency has engaged always to advise with, and to act in conformity to the counsels of, the officers of the Honorable Company;" and although it is declared that the Governor-General *expects* that the Nawab Vizier will act in conformity to the advice and representations of the Resident, and "*entertains a confident hope* that no future vexation can occur in the transaction of affairs;" yet, no means whatever are provided for enforcing his Excellency's engagement, if he should fail to observe it, and no remedy whatever is supplied if the Governor-General's expectations and hopes should prove fallacious.

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55. I repeat, therefore, that, so long as observance shall be paid to the letter, and to the obvious spirit, of the Treaty of 1801, that instrument will prohibit the admission of British officers to take any part in the management of Oude, and will ever stand as an insurmountable barrier to the employment, by the British Government, of those means which alone can be effectual to introduce into Oude "such a system of administration as shall be conducive to the prosperity of" the King's "subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants."

56. Assuming, then, that it will be determined to interfere, directly and

actively, in the affairs of Oude, it must be considered in what form the interference of the Government of India may best be made, and the means by which the arrangement preferred may most readily be brought about.

57. There are various modes in which the interposition of the Supreme Government may be proposed to the Court at Lucknow :—

1st. The King may be required to abdicate the sovereign powers he has abused, and to consent to the incorporation of Oude with the territories of the British Crown.

2nd. The King may be permitted to retain his Royal title and position, but may be required to vest the whole civil and military administration of his kingdom in the Government of the East India Company, for ever.

3rd. His Majesty may be urged to make over his dominions to the management of British officers, for a time.

4th. The King may be invited to place the management of the country in the hands of the Resident; under whose directions it shall be carried on by the officers of the King, acting with such British officers as may be appointed to aid them.

58. (1st.) The King may be required to abdicate the sovereign powers he has abused, and to consent to the incorporation of Oude with the territories of the British Crown.

Although the dynasty of Oude is a thing but of yesterday, sprung from treachery at the first, and only reared to Kingly rank by ourselves; and although I firmly believe that the incorporation of that territory with the British dominions, and the total extinction of its sovereignty, would be the happiest issue that could be devised for the interests of all connected with it; yet I do not counsel the adoption of that measure by the Government of India.

The rulers of Oude, however unfaithful they may have been to the trust confided to them,—however gross may have been their neglect, however grievous their misgovernment, of the people committed to their charge,—have yet ever been faithful and true in their adherence to the British power. No wavering friendship has ever been laid to their charge. They have long acknowledged our power; have submitted, without a murmur, to our supremacy; and have aided us, as best they could, in the hour of our utmost need. Wherefore, although we are bound to dissolve our connection with a Government whose oppression is sustained only by the countenance we lend it; and although we are entitled to seek, by all means in our power, to amend the lot of a people whom we have so long indirectly injured; justice and gratitude, nevertheless, require that, in so doing, we should lower the dignity and authority of the Sovereigns of Oude no further than is absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of our righteous ends.

The reform of the administration of the province may be wrought, and the prosperity of the people may be secured, without resorting to so extreme a measure as the annexation of the territory, and the abolition of the throne.

I, for my part, therefore, do not advise that the Province of Oude should be declared to be British territory.

59. While the measure of annexing Oude to our own dominions appears to be unnecessarily severe; on the other hand, the plan which stands fourth in order (and by which the management of the country would be confided to the Resident, under whose directions it shall be carried on by the officers of the King, acting with such British officers as may be appointed to aid them), would fall far short of the necessity of the case, and would undoubtedly fail to effect the desired result.

The inapplicability and inefficacy of a divided government were perceived, and forcibly stated, by Lord Wellesley, when deliberating upon the course to be pursued towards Oude, so long ago as in the year 1799. In a Minute recorded at that time, Lord Wellesley observed: "Long and severe experience has manifested the inefficacy of any partial or indirect interference of the British Government for the reform of the administration of Oude. The same causes which have hitherto frustrated every

Minute, Dec. 16, 1799. Lord Wellesley's despatches, vol. ii, page 163.

endeavour of the Company's Government to accomplish that salutary object by the mere effect of advice and admonition, would continue to operate under every divided Government. No beneficial result can be expected from the utmost efforts of the judgment and wisdom of the Company, while another Power shall exist in the country to exclude the introduction of every salutary reform, or to counteract its operation. * * * If a wise system of administration could be established and enforced under a divided authority, his Excellency must be sensible that his own Government afforded the most favourable prospects to the Company. * * * His Excellency appears to be fully convinced not only that it will ever be impossible to apply an effectual remedy to any of the evils existing in the State of Oude, while a divided authority shall be exercised in the country, but that no other Power than the British Government is competent to exercise a single and individual authority over that extensive Empire, for the beneficial purposes of restoring public order, internal tranquillity, and external strength.

Minute, Dec. 16, 1799. Lord Wellesley's despatches, vol. ii, p. 166.

"The Governor-General, therefore, advises the Nawab Vizier to vest the exclusive administration of the civil and military government of Oude and its Dependencies in the hands of the Company."

60. All subsequent experience has confirmed the truth of Lord Wellesley's remark. It is well known that, during the period in which much minute interference was attempted by the Resident at Lucknow, the Nawab, Saadut Alee Khan, made no resistance to the authority of the Resident, complied with every order, and appointed every amil, or other officer, who was selected for him. But, at the same time, as was afterwards discovered, a secret understanding existed, whereby those who were appointed were carefully made aware that the orders issued did not emanate from their own Sovereign, but from a Power whose behests he dared not disobey, though their disregard of such orders would in no way be distasteful to himself. Thereafter, insurrections increased, disorder and confusion prevailed. The British Government could lay no blame on the Nawab for this result, for he had ostensibly obeyed every order he had received. Ultimately, the system was confessed a failure, and it was abolished by Lord Hastings.

61. Our connexion with the affairs of the Punjab affords another illustration of the principle set forth by Lord Wellesley, so recent and so well known that it would be superfluous to enlarge upon it. We were not only invited, but entreated, by the chief persons among the Sikhs to interpose in the government of that distracted kingdom. When the request was acceded to, entire authority was given to the Resident over the native regency, and over all its acts. The authority of the Resident was extended to distant districts, by the appointment of British officers representing, locally, his supremacy with the native functionaries there. Yet all our endeavours for their good were counteracted. The exertions, honestly and disinterestedly made by us, for the maintenance of the Sikh Raj, were thwarted by those who should have aided and sustained them. At the very first opportunity, the whole khalsa joined the rebellion of another against our power, and the chief member of the regency which had implored our interposition was himself the leader of the army he had turned against us.

62. Such, or similar, failure must ever follow any attempt to administer, much more to purify and reconstruct, a native Government, by means of a divided authority reposed jointly in British agents and officers of the State controlled.

63. For reasons, therefore, which derive their authority from experience, and which, clearly seen and forcibly expressed more than fifty years ago, are of still greater weight and cogency to-day, I deprecate the renewal of fruitless attempts to govern by divided authority; and I reiterate the advice of Lord Wellesley, that the sovereign should be required to vest "the exclusive administration of the civil and military government of Oude and its dependencies in the hands of the Company, with such ample powers as shall enable the Company to act with vigor and promptitude in every branch and department of the State."

Minute, Dec. 16, 1799.

64. Should it be resolved to adopt this view, and to require that the

administration of Oude shall be vested in the hands of the Government of India, I very earnestly trust that the demand will not be made in the form described under head No. 3, and that the arrangement will not be of a temporary nature.

In support of this view, I again gladly employ the words of Lord Wellesley, recorded when he was occupied, as we now are, in devising measures for the lasting prosperity, and good government, of Oude. "The Nawab Vizier," he said, "is well apprised that *no temporary power can be efficient.* Instability in the constitution of a Government is the source of languor and weakness in all its operations. The subjects of a temporary Government are perpetually agitated by the expectation of change, and the Government itself cannot establish any systematic or comprehensive plan of administration. In such a State, mutual doubt and uncertainty destroy that confidence which forms the most solid foundation of the reciprocal duties of allegiance and protection between the people and the governing power. * * * The Governor-General, therefore, strongly recommends that the powers to be vested by the Nawab Vizier in the Company shall be *perpetual in duration* as well as ample in extent; and his Lordship, in the name of the English Company, hereby declares that he will not accept the administration of the Government of Oude under a limited or temporary Commission, because such a Commission would only serve to delude the Nawab Vizier, his servants, and the Company, by vain expectations of a reform, which could neither be effectual nor permanent."

Minute, Dec. 16, 1799. Despatches, vol. ii, pages 166, 167.

65. Since the date at which Lord Wellesley wrote these words, abundant experience has been gained of their truth. Omitting all lesser nstances, two notable examples of the insufficiency of any temporary ssumption of power for securing the permanent advantage of a people nay be found in the histories of the Dekhan and of Nagpore.

66. At a former period, the Resident at Hyderabad obtained sanction o the partial introduction of our system of administration into the territories of his Highness the Nizam. The result of his measures, as well as the previous state of the country, has been thus described: "It is unnecessary to cite instances of the evils which this system of government had produced in Hyderabad. The whole country was an instance of it, and its inhabitants and foreigners were the witnesses. Almost all government had ceased; the country was in the possession of organised bands of plunderers. The roads were only to be travelled under the protection of armed bodies of men; and life and property were everywhere insecure. No sooner, however, had Government commenced the good work of inquiring into the rights of the people, thought of reducing their grievances, and fixed the extent of their own demands on them, than the country was restored to comparative tranquillity; men began to feel secure of reaping a return proportioned to their exertions; and industry took the place of rapine and sloth. There was no element in which the rebel and the robber could live; police responsibility was thrown on the heads of villages; and it became the interest, and the object, of the whole community to rise against him and to put him down. It was no longer necessary to employ troops in the collection of the revenue, or in asserting the rights of the Government; and I believe I may safely say that, from the period when the Nizam's country came under the superintendence of British officers, until that superintendence ceased, not a trooper marched, not a musket was shouldered, in support of their measures, except in tracts inhabited by Bheels and professional plunderers."

Sutherland's "Sketches of Relations of British Government with Native States," pages 56, 57.

But this arrangement was temporary: its fruits, therefore, were transitory and disappointing. No sooner had the present Sovereign assumed the reins of government, than he set aside the system which had been introduced by Sir C. Metcalfe, and caused everything to revert to its former course. What the condition of the Nizam's subjects has since been, and what it continues still to be, may best be seen by reference to the dispatches of successive Residents at Hyderabad, which, for many years past, have described a state of internal disorder and misrule, second only to those which prevail within the territories of the King of Oude.

67. In Nagpore, the government of the country was administered for

ten years, exclusively by British officers. Its condition under their control was described in these words: "Under the general superintendence of Mr. Jenkins, assisted by such officers as Captains Gordon, Hamilton, Wilkinson, and Cameron, Nagpore, in the ten years during which the administration lasted, became comparatively a garden. Those who knew that country, and the nature of its government, when this system commenced, and who saw it when it terminated, can alone judge of the benefits produced in so short a time." Sutherland's "Sketches of Relations of the British Government with Native States," page 48.

At the end of ten years, the country was made over to its youthful Rajah in prosperity and order, and with a pure, and regular, and efficient, system of administration firmly established within it. Little more than a year ago, the Rajah died, and this is the picture which the Resident then drew of the country and its government: "A gradual deterioration in its finances, and management of the land, since 1830, a scheme concocted of late years to render the administration of justice as taxable a commodity as any in the bazar, a selection of functionaries made by no rule but caprice, the favour of the Seraglio, or purchase, and generally a hatred of a fixed Constitution, or settled principles, such as can limit an arbitrary Sovereign, or an unscrupulous Minister in placing all the best interests of society at his feet. * * * The favorable features in the condition of the country are mainly those that existed when the State was entrusted to the Rajah in 1830; the unfavorable ones are mainly those that the country has assumed under the Rajah's rule." Resident, Dec. 14, 1853, paras. 17 & 18

68. With such examples as these before our eyes, of the insufficiency of any temporary assumption of power for securing a people from the ills of misgovernment, I trust that no temporary measure will now be accepted in relation to Oude. It is my earnest counsel that no less effectual measure than that which is contained in the second project should be resolved upon, namely, that, while the King should be permitted to retain his Royal title and rank, he should be required to vest the whole civil and military administration of Oude in the hands of the Company, and that its power should be "perpetual in duration, as well as ample in extent." Minute, par. 57.

69. It still remains to be considered in what manner the policy I have advocated may best be carried into effect.

70. The King's consent is indispensable to the transfer of the whole, or of any part, of his sovereign authority to the Government of the East India Company. It would not be expedient, or right, to endeavour to extract this consent by means of menace or compulsion. It must be sought by leading the King to perceive that a simple regard for his own interests, and for the maintenance of his family and throne, should, of itself, be sufficient to induce him to give his consent to those measures which alone can save his kingdom and house from the misfortunes which will surely follow his refusal to alter the course in which he has long unhappily persisted.

71. In pursuance of this policy, I would propose that, as soon as the sanction of the Honorable Court shall be obtained to the necessary change in our relations with the Court of Lucknow, a letter should be addressed by the Governor-General to the King.

The King should be informed that the time has at length arrived when the British Government is compelled, by regard for its own reputation among the nations, and still more by the obligations which, many years ago, it took upon itself in relation to the people of Oude, to make known to His Majesty that it can no longer lend its countenance and support to a Government, whose existence is the fruitful cause of misrule, oppression, and misery, to all who live under its control. The history of our past connection with Oude should be briefly narrated to the King. Our obligations to his people should be recited. Their wretched condition should be set before him. The King should be reminded that we have never ceased our endeavours to obtain from his predecessors, and from himself, a reform of the abuses from which these evils sprang. But all our advice has been rejected, our earnest remonstrances have been disregarded, our warnings treated with neglect. Eight years ago, the Governor-General, with his own lips, gave friendly notice to the King that if, within two years, the evils of his administration were not corrected, the

British Government would have recourse to certain and decided action. Reluctant to resort to measures which could not be otherwise than painful to the King, the Governor-General, when that period of probation had elapsed, permitted yet further time and opportunity for amendment. The original period of probation, thrice told, has again elapsed; but no one measure of improvement has been attempted. The misgovernment of Oude is even more gross and palpable than at the first; the condition of His Majesty's territory and people is even more miserable than before. Wherefore, seeing that every means of persuasion have been tried without effect, and that advice, remonstrance, and warning have been exhausted in vain, the Government of India now feels that it would be guilty, in the sight of God and man, if it were any longer to aid in sustaining by its countenance and power a system fraught with suffering to millions. The British Government, for more than fifty years, has faithfully performed the duties which the Treaty of 1801 had imposed upon it. For more than fifty years, the Government of Oude has continued to violate one of its gravest and most necessary stipulations. Every effort to recall the Government of Oude to a sense of its duty having been made in vain, the Government of India has no alternative left but to declare that the violated Treaty of 1801 is wholly dissolved, and that all amicable engagements between the East India Company and the Court of Lucknow are now at an end. Thus, and thus only, can the Government of India deliver itself from the reproach which the people of Oude may justly cast upon it; thus, and thus only, can it cease to give effectual aid to a grinding tyranny, which, under existing Treaties, it is altogether powerless to control.

The letter should proceed to state that the Resident had accordingly been directed to declare the Treaty of 1801 at an end, to quit the territory of Oude, and to withdraw the entire subsidiary force within the British frontier.

It should then be added that, as the King is well aware that his authority, and the very existence of his throne, have long been maintained solely by the presence of a British force in Oude, His Majesty will readily foresee the consequences which would undoubtedly follow its withdrawal. If His Majesty is ready to meet those consequences, and to endure them, the Government of India will interpose no further in His Majesty's affairs, unless the security of its territories, and the interests of their inhabitants, shall be put in danger by the state of the neighbouring Province of Oude. If, on the other hand, His Majesty should shrink from encountering those consequences, and should desire to avert them, His Majesty will have it in his power to do so, by renewing relations of amity with the Government of India, on conditions which shall be calculated to prevent a recurrence of misgovernment in Oude, while they will effectually secure the interests of His Majesty's family, and maintain his Kingly rank in affluence and dignity.

A Draft Treaty to the effect now stated should then be offered byt he Resident to the King.

It would be premature to specify the precise stipulations which our engagement should include, until the sanction of the Honorable Court of Directors to the negotiation of a new Treaty shall have been obtained. It is submitted, however, that its main provisions should include the conditions which follow :—

I. That all former Treaties between the British Government and the State of Oude shall be annulled, and that the relations existing between the States shall henceforth be regulated by the Articles of the Treaty which is now to be concluded.

II. That the British Government and the King of Oude, respectively, shall retain the sovereignty of all the territories of which they are now in possession.

III. That the King of Oude, while he retains the sovereignty of his present dominons, shall vest the whole civil and military administration thereof, with all power, jurisdiction, rights, and claims thereto belonging, in the hands of the Honorable East India Company.

IV. That effectual provision shall be made for the maintenance of His Majesty's honor and dignity, by allotting to His Majesty, from the

revenues of Oude, an adequate annual stipend, of such amount as may be agreed upon, and specified in the Treaty.

V. That due provision shall also be made from the revenues of Oude for all the members of His Majesty's family, not being the children of the reigning Sovereign.

VI. That the revenues of Oude shall be applied, first, to the payment of the expenses of the civil and military administration of the province; secondly, to the payment of the stipends secured in the preceding Articles to the King and to the Royal family; and thirdly, to the improvement and benefit of the province. The residue of the revenues, after the foregoing deductions, shall be at the disposal of the East India Company.

72. A few remarks may be necessary in explanation of the Articles above written.

It is proposed by Article I to annul all preceding Treaties, renewing their chief provisions in the new Treaty. The object of this Article is to simplify the relations between the two Governments, by setting aside engagements, some of which are obsolete, while some will be rendered inapplicable and useless, if the management of the territories of Oude should pass into the hands of the Honorable Company.

The IInd Article is intended to secure to both the Contracting Parties the sovereignty of the territories of which they may be actually in possession at the time of concluding the new Treaty. Under this Article, the position of the Government of India will be precisely what it now is: the position of the King of Oude will be substantially the same as that of the Rajah of Tanjore, under Lord Wellesley's Treaty of the 25th of October, 1799. Despatches, vol. ii page 705.

The IIIrd Article calls for no explanation.

The stipend secured to the King by the IVth Article should be very liberal in its amount, in order that His Majesty's feelings of personal interest may not be enlisted against the general arrangements which are to be proposed for his acceptance. His jurisdiction should probably be preserved to him entire within the walls and demesne of his palace, the infliction of capital punishment alone excepted.

The provision secured to the Royal family by the Vth Article should be paid by the Government of India. The stipends necessary for His Majesty's own children should alone be paid by the reigning King for the time being.

73. The VIth Article prescribes the mode in which the revenues of Oude are to be applied.

The only portion of this Article to which objection can be anticipated from any quarter, is that whereby it is declared that the residue of the revenue of Oude, after paying all ordinary charges, and providing for the improvement of the province, shall be at the disposal of the East India Company.

This provision is taken from the VIIIth Article of the Treaty with Tanjore. It appears to me to be perfectly reasonable and fair. For many years to come, while the reform of the administration of Oude is still in progress, and while its natural resources are not yet fully recruited, the provision will remain altogether inoperative. But, in process of time, the revenues of the country will largely increase under the management of British officers, and a surplus will probably remain, after meeting all the ordinary charges of the administration, and after providing for those measures of gradual improvement to which the increase in the revenues of the province ought unquestionably to be made applicable in the first instance. The Government of India would not be justified in making over such a surplus to the reigning Sovereign of Oude, only that it might be unprofitably wasted by him, and squandered upon the follies and excesses and vices which are the usual characteristics of a native Prince. In such circumstances, it surely would be far more wise, and at the same time reasonable and right, that any surplus so accruing should be placed at the disposal of the British Government, as in the case of the dominions of Tanjore. Lord Wellesley's despatches, vol. ii, page 706.

If the Government of India, after fifty years of fruitless toil, has been compelled to abandon all hope of inducing the Court of Lucknow to fulfil

its obligations to its people, and has consequently determined to dissolve all connection with it; and if the Government of India shall consent to renew its relations with the King, for his behoof and for his people's good; it surely has a right to attach such conditions to the renewal of its protection and assistance as shall render the measure productive of the utmost attainable amount of general and wide-spread benefit. If the Government of India shall not only renew its former obligations to defend the King from all foreign and domestic enemies, but shall undertake new and onerous duties in addition to them; if it shall consent to bear henceforth all the responsibility, all the labour, all the risk, of reconstructing, and permanently administering, the Government of Oude, and of supplying the numerous European agency which will be required for the purpose; surely it may justly covenant that, after providing fully for the pensioned dynasty of Oude, for the administration of the province, and for its progressive improvement, the Supreme Government shall be at liberty to devote to the general advantage of the Indian Empire some portion of that surplus of the revenue of Oude of which our own exertions and resources will have been the sole origin and creative cause.

For these reasons, the adoption of the concluding clause of the sixth Article of the Draft Treaty appears to me to be perfectly consonant with justice and equity; and to be founded upon a just consideration for the general good of that Empire of which Oude originally was, and still is, no more than a province.

74. If, however, the Honorable Court should desire that any compact which may now be formed between the British Government and Oude should be, not only virtually, but in the very letter, a disinterested act, the provision which has been taken from the Treaty of Tanjore may be omitted. But I respectfully submit that, inasmuch as the systematic and continuous violation of the Treaty of 1801 by the Government of Oude has compelled the British Government to adopt the resolution of declaring the Treaty to be null and void, no new relations should now be entered into with that State which do not, at the very least, provide for defraying from the revenues of the province all charges which the Government of India may incur for its civil administration, as well as all charges for the ordinary military force of British troops, which it may be found requisite to station within the province for its control; and which we should no longer need to maintain in arms, were it not for the contemplated renewal and extension of our relations with the King of Oude.

75. I have now had the honor of laying before the Honorable Court a faithful representation of the present wretched condition of the people of Oude. I have shown the manifold evils by which they are, and have long been, afflicted; and have suggested the only effectual remedy which it is in the power of man to apply.

I sincerely trust that the Honorable Court will be pleased to empower the Governor-General in Council to apply that remedy without further delay.

If the Honorable Court shall resolve to adopt the policy which has now been submitted for its consideration, I entertain a confident belief that they will, at length, see speedily accomplished those happy results which Lord Wellesley too sanguinely anticipated from the operation of the Treaty of 1801; and that the British Government will then indeed "become the instrument of restoring to affluence and prosperity one of the most fertile regions of the globe, now reduced to a condition of the most afflicting misery and desolation by the depraved administration of the native Government of Oude."

DALHOUSIE.

No. 2.

The President of the Council of India in Council to the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

Fort William, August 22, 1855. No. 50.

WITH reference to the Minute by the Most Noble the Governor-General, dated the 18th of June last, respecting our relations with the State of Oude, we have the honour to forward, for your information, a copy of the Minutes noted in the margin, containing our views on the subject.

Minute by the Hon. J. A. Dorin, dated July 11, 1855.
Minute by the Hon. Major-Gen. J. Low, dated July 21, 1855.
Minute by the Hon. J. P. Grant, dated August 7, 1855.
Minute by the Hon. Major-Gen. J. Low, dated Aug. 18, 1855.
Minute by the Hon. B. Peacock, dated August 22, 1855.

We have, &c.
J. DORIN.
J. LOW.
J. P. GRANT.
B. PEACOCK.

Inclosure 1 in No. 2.

Minute by Mr. Dorin, July 11, 1855.

THE Governor-General has transmitted, for the consideration of the Council, a Minute he has recorded, and sent to England, on the subject of the British relations with Oude.

The Governor-General's Minute on Oude.

His Lordship has entered so fully into the history of those relations, and of their entire failure to secure the slightest pretence of good government for the people of Oude, that it is unnecessary to recapitulate his narrative.

I think he has proved to demonstration that the Treaty of 1801 is void, owing to the failure of one of the Contracting Parties, the Ruler of Oude, to fulfil in any degree the provisions of Article VI of that Treaty; and I entirely agree in opinion with his Lordship that the time has come, and more than come, when "the relations which have hitherto existed between the British Government and the State of Oude can no longer be maintained, and that the policy we have heretofore observed must undergo a total and fundamental change."

Art. VI.—"His Excellency engages that he will 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 calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants; and his Excellency will always advise with, and act in conformity to the counsel of, the officers of the said Honorable Company."

That policy has been to endeavour to maintain the State of Oude as an independent kingdom; a policy which has failed, owing to the incorrigible vices and weaknesses of the reigning family.

Unfortunately, we have no reason to suppose that the policy would have been more successful under any other native dynasty. Experience proves that, where the British Government in India has undertaken to uphold any native potentate against internal and external aggression, his immunity from responsibility has too surely been converted into purposes of the grossest oppression.

I heartily hope this baneful system may never be extended.

The Governor-General proceeds to suggest four modes in which the interposition of the Government of India may be proposed to the Court of Lucknow, and he prefers the second of these methods, viz., that the King may be permitted to retain his Royal title and position, but may be required to vest the whole civil and military administration of his kingdom in the Government of the East India Company, for ever.

It cannot be supposed that the King will agree to the surrender of his kingdom willingly, if he has any option in the matter. He will assent to it on compulsion, that compulsion being the certainty that, if we withhold our protection from him, neither his life, nor his kingdom, will be secure to him for one month.

The question, then, seems to me to arise, whether we are justified in contracting with this nominal King, who is incapable of self-support, for

the relinquishment of his kingdom, coupled with the maintenance of his own kingly position.

I hesitate to think so: he will be no free agent in the transaction, excepting as regards that portion of it which provides for his own Royal rank; and that is precisely the condition with which, as it seems to me, the Government of India need least concern itself.

For what Royal qualities has the King exhibited, that should warrant the British Government in continuing to him his Royal dignity? What noble feelings has he shown, that should justify the maintenance of his titular rank? I have searched the records of our connection with the Court of Lucknow in vain for traces of high and dignified bearing, either on the part of himself or his predecessors. I find therein no mention of noble tastes, or manly pursuits. I find only the sad reverse—tales of riot and debauchery, of low connections and dissolute companions;—and are these the habits that should induce the British Government to guarantee to this family the perpetuation of Royal position and dignity? Assuredly, I cannot think so.

We have already before our eyes the spectacle of the King of Delhi, who is in a position somewhat analogous to that in which it is proposed to place the King of Oude—a mere titular King; but is there anything in the position of the King of Delhi so satisfactory, or so little humiliating to the eye of the wide world, that it should warrant the erection of another similarly empty pageant?

We have the instance, too, of the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, another titular dignitary, whom, only recently, the Government of India, with the approval of the home authorities, has been obliged to deprive of privileges and honours in consequence of the abuse of the limited authority still left to him; but can this case be cited in favor of any extension of the principle of titular Royalty?

I admit there is but a choice of difficulties; yet, on the whole, I should prefer to face the question boldly, and assert the right of the Government of India, as paramount power, to adopt its own system of government in respect to any portion of the Indian Empire that is hopelessly ground to the dust by the oppression of its native rulers.

I should, therefore, advocate the first of the measures suggested by the Governor-General, viz., that the King should be required to abdicate the sovereign power he has abused (on condition, however, of ample personal provision for himself and his family), and to consent to the incorporation of Oude with the territories of the British Crown.

My views, in fact, differ in no respect from those of the Governor-General, excepting that I would not undertake to continue to the most unkingly Monarch of Oude any portion of the Royal position and dignity, which by nature and inclination he is incapable of sustaining.

I would assign to him ample and liberal allowances, for his personal comfort, and for the maintenance in wealthy ease of his whole family: but I would no longer continue to him the empty title of a King, without power, and, I should be sorry to think, without respect.

All my sympathies are with the People of Oude, to whom the King has never extended a thought, and whom he has allowed to be crushed by the most grinding oppression, while he has devoted himself solely to his own effeminate debaucheries. His people are essentially a fine manly race, men from whom we draw almost the flower of the Bengal army, men who would never have endured the tyranny of their oppressors but for the good faith of the British Government to Kings who were unworthy of its support, and who have throughout abused its confidence.

We may well blush for the atrocities we have so long indirectly permitted, and our shame will deepen into guilt if we allow them to continue unchecked for the future; nor should there be any unnecessary delay in introducing measures of reform, for we may be quite sure that, in proportion as the farmers of revenue and their patrons are made aware, or even suspect, as they well may, that their opportunities of plunder will be diminished, so will they exercise their powers of extortion and cruelty with increased rigor over the unhappy victims of their avarice.

I entirely concur with the Governor-General in counsellig the

rejection of the third and fourth alternatives suggested by his Lordship, viz.,—

That the King may be urged to make over his dominions to the management of British officers for a time; and,

That the King may be invited to place the management of the country in the hands of the Resident, under whose directions it shall be carried on by the officers of the King, acting with such British officers as may be appointed to aid them.

In respect to the former proposition, I may add another instance of failure to those quoted by the Governor-General, in the very recent case of the Rajah of Shorapore, who was placed in possession of his territories, on coming of age, only a little more than a year ago.

Yet, so thoroughly has this young man contrived, in one short twelve-month, to disorganize a Government made over to him, after anxious care, in the best order, that already we hear more than rumours of injustice and oppression, and complaints are urged on the Government of India that no respectable adherent is safe under this Prince's auspices.

This is indeed a lamentable instance of failure even in a country where authority is proverbially so liable to abuse, and it teaches us the bitter lesson that, with all our care, we may still be unable to impress on the minds of the native Princes of India, even with education, a just sense of their own responsibilities.

In Oude, unfortunately, we have no reason to suppose that there is any education that can afford the prospect of a brighter future, nor does experience lead us to expect any satisfactory result from a joint authority, under which our efforts for improvement might purposely be thwarted again, as, under similar circumstances, they have already been thwarted in times past.

The effect of misgovernment in this fine, but unhappy, country is too deep-seated to be dealt with by temporary palliatives, and can only be eradicated, so far as I can perceive, by measures of permanent reform; nor do I know of any permanency that can reach the evil, excepting that which is to be found in the power and good faith of the British Government.

I annex to this paper some extracts from the diaries of the Resident at Lucknow for the present year, 1855. They are nothing unusual, however incredible they may seem to the mind of a reader unaccustomed to the perusal of such atrocities; yet these are the outrages and oppressions which any English gentleman concerned in the Executive Government of India is compelled quietly to listen to, week after week, without the power of remedy, under the policy which has thus far guaranteed, and still affords, to the native Sovereigns of Oude the assistance of the British Government to uphold their intolerable system of misgovernment and tyranny.

J. DORIN.

Extracts from the Diaries of the Resident of Lucknow on record in the Foreign Office, Calcutta.

January 14, 1855.—Golam Husein and three other individuals killed the grandson of Lochun Sing, Zemindar, with a view to possess themselves of the gold and silver ornaments worn by the deceased. The Zemindar had the offenders buried alive for this offence.

January 15.—Nundun and two other sons of Mussul Soumstee, a female Brahmin, killed her for absconding, some twenty years ago, from their father's house, and living with one Chandee, Brahmin, who had brought them up, whom they also murdered.

January 17.—This morning the King took medicine as usual; held a conference with Huzrut Mahal and Soleeman Mahal; sent some breakfast to Shalee Begum and Taj Begum; and gave 1,000 rupees to Rahutoo Sultan for the dresses of his fairies.

January 19.—Kunhyaloll, Tehseeldar, in obedience to the orders of Hushunt Alee, Amil, sent a party of sepoys to seize upon the Zemindar of Mouza Zohar, and to put Shubboo Khan in possession of the farm. The

sepoys, finding the Zemindar absent from his house, seized upon his wife, son, and six other persons; and, in the skirmish, a washerwoman was killed, and two of the inhabitants wounded.

January 19.—Ekram-ood-Dowlah, brother of the Minister, on hearing that a sepoy of Shurf-ood-Dowlah, Golam Ruzza, had prevented his men from arresting an artisan, sent 200 armed men, and had the artisan and thirteen other shopkeepers arrested.

January 26.—In a fight which took place between the sepoys of Captain Orr and the men of Kullian Khan and Fazul Ally, Karindahs of the elder widow of the late Talookdar of Nanparah, thirty-four men were killed on the side of the Karindahs, and twelve killed and wounded on the side of Captain Orr, and the Karindahs effected their escape.

In a quarrel which arose between the men of Busarut Alee Khan, the Minister's eunuch, and those of Abid Alee, Koomadan, four of the Koomadan's men and two of the eunuchs were wounded.

January 30.—Mohun Sing and Mithoo Sing, refractory Zemindars of Mouza Bunnee in Russoolabad, seized Bowhanny, accountant of the Mouza, branded him in several parts of the body with a red-hot iron, wrapped his fingers with cloth dipped in oil, and set fire to them; after which they released him.

February 6.—Kishen Sahai, Amil of Mahumdee, attacked the fort of Jubur Sing, and other Zemindars of Mouza Seree, who had withheld the Government revenue, and refused to attend to his summons. In the fight which ensued, six men were killed on the side of the Amil, and one man was killed on the side of the Zemindar. The Amil has put a stop to further hostilities at present, owing to a deficiency of men and magazine stores, but he has applied to the Tehseeldars of his district for reinforcements and ammunition.

February 11.—Goorbuksh Sing, Talookdar of Ramnuggur Dhanseeree, has collected 6,000 followers, with hostile intentions. He exercises his Artillery daily, and is receiving reinforcements.

February 12.—Dabee Sahai, of Mouza Seura, in Bulrampore, attacked, and subjected to a shoe-beating, Heeralall, the Contractor of Customs at the place, and carried off his sword and collections, for arresting his carts laden with cotton on account of customs' duty. Shew Sing, the Superintendent of Guards stationed on the road to Cawnpore, has issued a proclamation prohibiting the Contractors of Customs from extorting duty from travellers and others, but, notwithstanding this, the men of the Eunuch Basheer, and those of the Amil of Russoolabad, take one-fourth of the wood, grass, chaff, &c., as customs-dues from every one who carries them for sale across the Ganges to Cawnpore.

February 15.—The Eunuch Basheer made a present of a pair of camelcopards to the King. This morning the King received the obeisance of his physicians, and gave twelve suits of clothes to his fairies.

February 21.—The Resident states that, in spite of the proclamations repeatedly issued prohibiting the sale of human beings, that infamous trade is still carried on in the city, and requests the adoption of stringent measures to put a stop to it.

February 21.—Mangul, a grain-parcher of Amaneegunj in Fyzabad, killed Khandwa, a cowherd, to whom he owed some money, and threw his body into a well.

February 25.—Goman Sing, and other refractory Mokuddums of Mouza Amala, in Mehdouria, attacked the house of Lohur Koormee, killed him, plundered his property, and set fire to his house.

February 26.—The Contractor of Customs at Aish Bagh inflicted a severe beating upon some Moguls, who brought dry fruits for sale from Cabul.

March 2.—Lohur Sing and Nutha Sing, Zemindars of Bunnee, in Russoolabad, seized upon Bhowaneedeen Putwarrie, branded his body, and inserted a red-hot ramrod in his private parts.

Hubeeb-oor Ruhman, Amil of Suffeepore, released some persons charged with murder and dacoitee, after receiving a bribe from them.

March 9.—The Resident transmits a petition from Joseph Maria, of the city of Lisbon, in Portugal, complaining against four Sepoys of the

Superintendent of Guards on the Cawnpore Road, for forcibly taking away from him 2 rupees and his shoes, and placing him in the stocks for ten days under a tree, without covering, giving him no food for two days, and then sending him under custody to Lucknow, falsely accused of having created a disturbance; and requests issue of orders interdicting all the Oude officers from molesting Europeans, as such conduct on their part may give rise to serious consequences.

March 8.—The King is said to be anxious to have an interview with some good fakeers. He married four girls by Mooltan marriage of a temporary nature.

March 9.—In a quarrel between Tribenee and other inhabitants of Hydergunj, one man was killed and one wounded.

March 10.—Koodrut Ollah, Amil of Ramnuggur Dhanseeree, on receiving some reinforcements from the Amil of Buree and the Talookdar of Mehmoodabad, stormed the fort of Daljeet Sing, Zemindar, which he had besieged; killed eleven men, and made ten prisoners. The Zemindar and the rest of his followers effected their escape: only one man was killed and two men were wounded on the side of the Amil.

Yesterday the King gave a pair of shawls and a kerchief to one of his companions who had slipped down from the back of a cameleopard, which he had caused him to mount. This morning he amused himself with witnessing some bucks let loose on does and she-goats.

March 13.—The Resident transmits papers from the magistrate of Goruckpore, stating that some of the followers of Ramdhone Sing crossed over into the Goruckpore district from Oude, slew two of Rugber Sing's servants in consequence of a dispute, and returned in triumph; and requests to be furnished with a statement of the case, and punishment of the offenders.

March 14.—The Resident transmits copy of an official news-report regarding the state of starvation to which the khawasses of the King's predecessors are reduced, in consequence of the non-payment of their allowances for the last two years; and requests the issue of orders for the early payment of the same.

March 12.—The courtiers and officials waited at the house of the Minister, but could not obtain an audience; 500 rupees were given to Tabid Ali, pigeon-fancier, for the grain, &c., of the birds.

March 13.—Chynsookh, Sepoy of the Burk battalion, pressed Moosamut Runia, daughter of a cowherd of Khyrabad, to carry his baggage, and wounded her father and brother, who offered to carry the baggage.

Kalkapershad, Naib of the Eunuch Busarut Alee Khan, Amil of Dewa, attacked the Fort of Byreesal, Talookdar of Syryan in Korsee, and, a fight ensuing, five men were wounded on the side of the Naib, and many killed and wounded on the side of the Talookdar, who effected his escape.

The khawasses and other female dependents of the late Asuf-ood-Dowlah, Saadut Alee Khan, Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder, and Nusseer-ood-deen Hyder, are reduced to a state of starvation, in consequence of the non-payment of their allowances, which have been greatly reduced since the present King's accession to the throne, for the last two years and seven months.

March 17.—This morning the King received the obeisance of his eunuchs and courtiers, and amused himself with his pigeons.

Buldan Sing, Kanoongo of Gondah, represented to the Minister that he had taken his hookumnamah to the Amil of Gondah, who returned it with contempt, and said that such orders are sold for two pice in the market. The Minister had ordered the Amil to compromise matters.

March 18.—In a fight between the Talookdar of Annagar and the contractor of Mouza Greebund, one man was killed and three were wounded on both sides. The Talookdar set fire to the Mouza, and returned home afterwards.

March 20.—Rutnoo Aheer, of Salone, died of a severe beating, inflicted on him by his landlord, Abdool Ruhman, for not paying land-rent due from him.

March 20.—Subdhun Sing and others, refractory Zemindars of

Hydergurh, attacked the house of Beharilall, Brahmin, plundered his property, and carried off his son and nephew.

March 21.—In a fight between the Ranee of Pindarah, in Esowlee, and her adopted son, Sheodyal, three persons were killed and seven wounded on both sides.

March 22.—In a dispute between Kalka Sing and Narayen Sing, shareholders in Buryarpore, concerning some fields, the former and his uncle, Gunga Sing, and one of the brothers of the latter, who was killed in the action, were wounded.

Kulloo, the King's head sweeper, and 200 of his followers, embraced Islamism with the consent of His Majesty, and visited the shrine of Abbas with great pomp.

March 23.—A mandate was issued, directing the Amil of Salone to put Hunnoomanpershad, Dewan of the Eunuch Dianut, in possession of some three villages in his jurisdiction.

March 28.—The Postmaster at Lucknow forwards an urzee from Bachoo, runner attached to the Almanow Chowkee on the Sultanpore road, reporting that the mail-bags of the evening of the 27th instant were plundered by Dacoits, and that the Burkundauz, Bhagoo, who accompanied the runner, was at the same time seized and carried off.

March 29.—The Resident transmits papers from the Officiating Superintendent of the Oude frontier police, having reference to the murder of the brother and uncle of Doorga Sing, Sowar, 5th Irregular Cavalry, by Dhun Sing and the Tehseeldar of Hinka, and requests issue of orders for the thorough investigation of the case.

March 27.—The Tehseeldar of Jyce attacked the Zemindars of Madownah, and returned home, after having one man killed on his side.

The servants of Prince Mirza Azeem-ooshan, one of the sons of the late Mahomed Alee Shah, created a tumult, and prevented food and water from being carried into his seraglio. They declared that they would not allow any food or water into the seraglio, unless they received their pay due for the last two years and two months, through which they and their families and children had been reduced to a state of poverty and starvation. The Prince ordered his Karindah to inform them that he had not obtained his stipend from the Durbar for the last three years and three months; that the payment of his allowance is deferred from day to day by the Durbar, and that he is therefore unable to meet their demands.

March 29.—The city Kotwal, in obedience to the King's orders, issued a proclamation prohibiting the people and the Government servants from wearing arms in the city, and abolished all the "maduth" (opium prepared for smoking) shops in the city. Shortly after the issue of this proclamation, Mahomedbuksh, the Darogah of the Minister, took the contract of the "maduth," and reestablished shops in every street and corner of the city. These shops have become the rendezvous of all the bad characters and vagabonds of the city, who, despite of the King's orders, carry their arms about them, and after smoking "maduth," roam about the city under its influence, and perpetrate all sorts of outrage on the poor inhabitants, without any fear of consequences.

March 30.—Last evening the King passed his time in witnessing the performance of dancing girls; and this morning received the obeisance of his courtiers as usual.

March 31.—This morning the King received some pigeons from the eunuchs Basheer and Dianut, and amused himself with witnessing horses let loose on mares.

April 4.—The Resident transmits copy of a petition from Furreedbuksh, complaining against Rajah Ruzzakbuksh, for cutting off his hands, and the nose of his wife, and confining and subjecting his brothers and sons to torture; and requests issue of orders for the punishment of the offender, who is perpetrating these outrages with the connivance of the eunuch Dianut.

April 3.—Sunwa and other Brahmins, of Lukhepore in Sultanpore, poisoned Mussamut Amurtee, mother of Bhowanidyal, and burnt her dead body on a tract of land for the possession of which they had a dispute with Seetal and other Brahmins.

April 5.—The Karindah of Jydut Sing, Contractor of Lalipore and Durispore, hung Sookhram and other cultivators on trees, with their heads downwards, and inflicted a severe beating on them, with a view to extort from them 75 per cent. in excess of the usual rent.

April 6.—Kaim Ali, of Hydergurh, attacked the house of Sheodeen Sing, of Bilgram, with 200 sepoys, and, in the fight which ensued, four men were killed and wounded on both sides.

April 9.—Dabee Sing, Karindah of Madhobuksh, Talookdar of Shunkerpore, attacked a guard of Captain Bunbury's detachment, rescued fifteen Dacoits from their custody, beat the guard severely, and tore the King's warrant, which they had in their possession, for the apprehension of the Dacoits.

April 10.—One Basanta beat Tiluck, a grain parcher of the city, to death, and threw his body into the River Goomtee.

Byreelall and Duljeet Sing attacked the camp of the Naib Amil of Devee, killed six and wounded sixteen men, and carried off some revenue collections.

April 13.—The notorious Beneebuksh, Talookdar of Byrohmew, who was in the habit of harbouring dacoits and marauders in his fort, has been set at liberty.

April 21.—Agreeably to the orders of the Minister, Raja Sobha Sing dismantled the houses of the poor people living in the vicinity of the lines of the regiment under Hundoo Sing.

May 11.—Last evening, the King amused himself with letting off some fireworks. This morning he made a present of shawls and kerchiefs to Mosahib Alee, fiddler, and an African female.

May 18.—Mendaie Kachie, of Baragaon in Ramnuggur Dhanseeree, sold his two daughters for sixty rupees to Shunkur and Sobha, brahmins of Suryan. The Collector of Customs of the place, instead of preventing the sale, levied duty, and allowed the purchasers to carry off the girls.

May 22.—Rughonath Sing, Talookdar of Rahma in Bharaitch, arrested Tiluk Passee on a charge of theft, confined him in a dungeon, and starved him to death. The Talookdar then hung his body on a tree.

Yesterday the son of Hyder Ali Khan, of Khoorshedgunj in Lucknow, arrested Teeka, a grain-parcher, on the complaint of his wife and her paramour, and beat him to such an extent that he died thereof.

May 23.—Six persons have been employed to catch cats for the King.

And so on in every page of the Diary.

Inclosure 2 in No. 2.

Minute by Major-General J. Low.

July 21, 1855.

Minute by the Governor-General of India, respecting our relations with the State of Oude, and the present condition of that country, &c., &c., dated June 18, 1855.

1. I HAVE read very attentively all the papers now circulated relating to the affairs of Oude, and especially the above-mentioned Minute by the Most Noble the Governor-General.

2. In that able and elaborate State paper, the Governor-General has given a clear history of the proceedings of the British and Oude Governments as connected with each other, from the time of Asuf-ood-Dowlah; but it will be sufficient for my present purpose, if I advert chiefly to the clear review which his Lordship has taken of those proceedings from the year 1801 up to the present date; in which he has shown, beyond the possibility of dispute, that, from first to last, the Sovereigns of Oude, or their Ministers acting with their sanction, have signally failed to fulfil that important part of the Treaty of 1801, whereby the native Sovereign entered into the following solemn engagement with the East India Company, viz.:—Art. VI. "His Excellency engages that he will establish, in his reserved dominions, such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as shall be condu-

N. B.—There were some few exceptions, and for very short periods of time, to the state of things in the Government of Oude here adverted to, but they do not at all affect the truth of the assertion as regards the general conduct of that Government from the year 1801 up to the present moment.

J. Low.

cive to the prosperity of the inhabitants, and his Excellency will always advise with, and act in conformity to the counsel of, the officers of the said Honorable Company."

3. The Governor-General has also proved, most distinctly, that the present Sovereign of Oude has, in a peculiar degree, neglected to perform his part of the above-mentioned important contract with the paramount State of India (which protects him on his Throne from all risk of attacks from his oppressed subjects), and that, in fact, he is utterly unfit for the proper exercise of sovereign power.

4. I observe by Mr. Secretary Edmonstone's dispatch No. 310 of the 22nd of June last, that the opinion of the President in Council on Oude affairs is to be forwarded to England direct from Calcutta. It is thus at the option of the members of the Council to write as fully as they may think proper on all the details of the line of policy proposed in the Governor-General's Minute; but I apprehend that the first duty required of them is to state their opinions as to the nature of the chief measure which ought now to be adopted by the paramount State, in order to put a stop to the glaring misgovernment of Oude.

5. I accordingly beg to declare it to be my deliberate opinion that the disorders of Oude are of such long standing, and are so deeply rooted, and the corruption of the native Government officers, from the Prime Minister down to the meanest Chuprassee, is so general, and so inveterate, that there is now no other efficient remedy available for effecting and maintaining a just government over the people of Oude than that of placing the whole of its territory, *exclusively*, and *permanently*, under the direct management of the East India Company; and, as I recorded, in a Minute of the 15th of March last, some of the reasons which have led me to form that opinion, I beg leave, for the convenience of ready reference, here to transcribe an extract from that Minute, viz.: "For the present, I shall only observe that I entirely concur in the opinions recorded by Major-General Outram, in the 104th paragraph of his dispatch dated the 15th instant, for the following reasons, viz., because the public and shameful oppressions, committed on the people by Government officers in Oude, have of late years been constant and extreme; because the King of Oude has continually during many years broken the Treaty by systematically disregarding our advice, instead of following it, or even endeavouring to follow it; because we are bound *by Treaty* (quite different in that respect from our position relatively to most of the great native States), to prevent serious *interior* misrule in Oude; because it has been fully proved that we have not prevented it, and that we cannot prevent it by the present mode of conducting our relations with that State; and because no man of common sense can entertain the smallest expectation that the present King of Oude can ever become an efficient ruler of his country."

6. I think it right also to mention here a reason why I consider that there is a more urgent necessity now, than there ever was in former times, for carrying the above-mentioned measure into effect, viz., that Viscount Hardinge's threat, in 1847, to adopt our own measures in Oude immediately after the expiration of two years from that time, and the fact that eight years have since passed without our carrying our threat into execution, have together combined, indirectly, but not less certainly, to cause extra oppression in Oude, by their having given rise to a notion, among many of the most powerful Government officers in that country, that the Government of India has been positively prohibited from carrying Lord Hardinge's threat into execution under any circumstances, and thus Ministers and Amils, and other official men, have now much less fear of incurring the displeasure of the British Government (as far as interior misrule of Oude can give offence to the paramount State) than they ever had in modern times, previous to Lord Hardinge's visit to Lucknow.

7. It is, therefore, my decided opinion that not only the proposed scheme of taking the management of the whole of the Oude territory, exclusively, and permanently, into our own hands ought to be carried fully into effect, but that it ought to be done with as little delay as may be practicable.

8. I reserve to myself the privilege of writing another Minute, in

order to record my opinion as to what I conceive to be the safest and most fair mode of carrying the above-mentioned great measure into effect, but, in the meantime, I think it right to avoid detaining the Governor-General's Minute any longer in my office, and I accordingly now forward it, along with all the papers which accompanied it, to my honorable colleague, Mr. Grant.

J. LOW.

Inclosure 3 in No. 2.

Minute by Mr. Grant.

August 7, 1855.

OUDE.

1. THE Most Noble the Governor-General recommends to the Honorable Court of Directors that every effort be made to induce the King of Oude to vest the whole civil and military administration of his territories, for ever, in the government of the East India Company, on the following conditions: that such territories shall not be incorporated with the Indian territories of the British Crown, but shall remain (nominally) under the sovereignty of the King; that the King shall retain his royal title and position; that provision shall be made for the maintenance of his honor and dignity, and for the support of the Royal family, by adequate annual stipends; and that the revenues of Oude shall be applied, first, to the civil and military charges of the government of the Province, secondly, to the payment of the stipends aforesaid, thirdly, to the improvement of the Province, and, if any residue remain, fourthly, to the general charges of the Indian Empire. Should all efforts to induce the King to agree to this proposal fail, his Lordship recommends that the Treaty of 1801, having been violated by the King and his predecessors, be declared to be wholly dissolved, and that all amicable engagements between the East India Company and the Court of Lucknow be declared at an end; whereupon the Resident at Lucknow shall quit the territory of Oude, and shall withdraw the whole subsidiary force within the British frontier.

Mr. Dorin recommends that the right of the Government of India be asserted, as paramount power, to adopt its own government in any portion of the Indian Empire that is hopelessly oppressed by its native rulers; that the King of Oude be required to abdicate sovereign power, on condition of ample personal provision being made for himself and his family; and that the Province of Oude be incorporated with the Indian territories of the British Crown.

General Low expresses his deliberate opinion in favour of placing Oude, exclusively, and permanently, under the direct management of the East India Company; but he has not yet recorded his opinion as to which of the two plans of direct management, above described, he prefers, nor on the question whether our management should be made dependent on the consent of the King, under the penalty of disconnection if he refuses, or should be forced upon him, whether he consents or not.

2. The Oude question is one that has long occupied my thoughts. I have felt a greater uneasiness than I will express, at the repeated postponements of a crisis which, for a great many years, every Indian statesman has known to be inevitable, and whereof solemn warning was given nearly a quarter of a century ago. Since the papers and the Governor-General's Minute reached me, I have lost no time in studying them, and such other records and books upon the subject as are available. I proceed, with a deep sense of the importance of the question, to state, and to support, the conclusions at which I have arrived. For this purpose, it is necessary to begin with a general review of the origin and character of the existing British relations with Oude.

3. At the commencement of the present century, the Soobahdar of Oude transferred to the British Government a large part (more than one-half) of his territory, in lieu of a large annual subsidy due from him, under his Treaties, for the military support from external and internal enemies afforded him by this Government. For many years before that transfer

was made, the misgovernment of the Provinces under the Soobahdar's administration had been deplorable, and the continual decrease of population and cultivation, which was the consequence of that misgovernment, threatened to render the impoverished country of the Soobahdar incapable of affording the dues of the British Government. At the same time, the oppression of the people of that country was so extreme, that it was impossible for the British Government any longer to withhold its interference with the Government of the oppressors.

Thirty-five years before that time, Shuja-ood-Dowlah, then the Soobahdar of Oude, had unjustifiably attacked the British Government of Bengal, and, having been conquered, and restored to his power under certain stipulations, he and his successors had been supported on his musnud, against both foreign and domestic enemies, ever since, solely by the arms of this Government.

The annual sum required from the Ruler of Oude, for the absolute protection thus afforded him, had been increased, from time to time, under several successive Treaties; such increase having had reference usually, not to increased military expenditure being found necessary for the external or internal defence of the particular Province of Oude, but to increased military expenditure being found necessary for the whole of the country under the Government and protection of the Bengal Presidency.* The Soobahdars of Oude knew, and admitted, that their existence depended on that of the British Indian Empire, and Oude was recognised by them, as by everybody else, as a part of that Empire. Ultimately, no definite limit existed to the subsidy that might be required from Oude, and the amount was virtually left, by a Treaty made by Sir John Shore, at the discretion of the Governor-General in Council. So completely was Oude, from the time of the defeat and surrender of Shuja-ood-Dowlah, treated as a part of the British Empire, that the Nawab of Oude was required by Lord Wellesley to pay a large sum as his portion of the expense of an Embassy to Persia, concerning which, of course, he had never been consulted, but which had been sent by the Governor-General to prevent Zeman Shah's threatened invasion of Hindustan.

In 1801, the charge for subsidy was seventy lakhs of rupees a-year. It has been questioned whether this was not more than was fair to require from Oude. However that may have been, it is certain that the amount was so large that nothing but good government would have enabled the Ruler to pay it, and to provide also for the proper civil administration of the whole of his country. Governed as the country was governed, it was not possible to provide for both purposes. Lord Wellesley's first measure was to oblige the Nawab to pay off and disband a useless, dangerous, and oppressive rabble of troops he had. After much difficulty, Lord Wellesley compelled the Nawab to do his bidding in this matter. Having provided for this necessary preliminary reform, Lord Wellesley proceeded to require the Nawab to do what he considered indispensable to the securing of the two great objects he had in view, namely: first, the preservation of the finances of the Indian Empire, which the loss of the Oude subsidy would have gravely injured; and, secondly, the good government of the people of Oude, for which no one denied that the British Government was ultimately responsible. The first endeavour of Lord Wellesley was to induce the Soobahdar (who had pretended a strong desire to resign his power in favour of any one of his sons) to give up to the British Government absolutely, on condition of receiving a magnificent personal hereditary revenue, and retaining his titular rank, the whole civil and military administration of his Soobahdaree; the effect of which arrangement would have been to incorporate the whole territory of Oude with the portion of the British Indian Empire which is administered immediately by the British Government, as had been already done in the case of Tanjore, and was about to be done in the case of the Carnatic. Millions have had to deplore, for more than half a century, the failure of Lord Wellesley in this endeavour. Having failed to induce Saadut Alee, the Soobahdar of that day, to agree to this proposal, Lord Wellesley insisted upon what he considered the next best measure. He believed that such an abdication as he had

* See especially the Treaties of March 20, 1797, and February 1, 1798.

proposed was by far the best, and the most certain, remedy that could be applied to a state of affairs that had become intolerable; he, therefore, to the last, struggled to obtain the Soobahdar's consent to that remedy. Nevertheless, he thought that one less extreme measure afforded a sufficiently fair prospect of attaining the objects in view, to make it not justifiable in him to insist upon the extreme measure he preferred, against the determined protest of the Nawab. This less extreme measure was the arrangement finally embodied in the Treaty of 1801, namely, the transfer to the British Government of a large portion of the Nawab's territory (consisting, however, mostly of provinces that we had conquered, and had ourselves made over to him originally,) in lieu of subsidy and all other dues; the Nawab becoming, at the same time, expressly bound to secure a just and good government to the people of the territory that remained to him, and always to consult with, and to follow the advice of, the British Government. Lord Wellesley gave Saadut Alee the choice of these two measures, but he told that Prince in plain language that one or the other he must accept. On the Nawab's final refusal to resign the administration of the whole of his territories, so completely was the arrangement of 1801 forced upon him, that, when all modes of persuading him to agree to the alternative failed, the Resident, acting under the Governor-General's authority, himself issued orders to the Nawab's officers in the districts required to be transferred, prohibiting them from remitting any more revenue to the Nawab's Government. Upon this extreme and open measure of compulsion, the Nawab, by way of saving his dignity, yielded, and signed the Treaty.

4. In forming a decision upon the question now before Government, it is of great importance, in my view of the subject, to bear in mind the fact that the arrangement of 1801, which is the arrangement now existing, and which was concluded by the Treaty whereon the present proposal of the Most Noble the Governor-General is exclusively founded, was an arrangement authorized, and alleged to be authorized, by no Treaty, and was, nevertheless, one to which the Nawab was compelled to yield, and which Lord Wellesley, after actually making full military preparations for the purpose, expressly announced his resolve to complete by force of arms, unless the Nawab should give his consent amicably; and it is of great importance in this view now to determine the question of the political justice of Lord Wellesley's conduct on that occasion, because, as the case appears to me, the decision upon the question of what are the rights and obligations of the British Government in dealing with Oude now, raised in the present Minute of the Governor-General, must follow the decision to be pronounced upon the justice of Lord Wellesley's proceedings in 1801.

5. The arrangements of 1801 are matter of history. I have said that they were authorized, and alleged to be authorized, by no Treaty. To be convinced of this, it is only necessary to read the preceding Treaties, the dates of all of which are noted in the margin, and the dispatches of the Marquis of Wellesley relating to the subject.

August 16, 1765.
Nov. 29, 1768.
March 20, 1772.
Dec. 7, 1773.
May 21, 1775.
1787. Correspondence.
July 25, 1788.
March 20, 1797.
Feb. 1, 1798.

In one of the Treaties then existing (November 29, 1768), it was provided that the Nawab should limit his army to 35,000 men, of whom not more than a certain number were to be drilled in the European manner. In the correspondence of 1787, Lord Cornwallis recommended the Nawab to meet an additional charge for British troops, by disbanding some of his own, but no engagement was made to this effect. In one of the Treaties (February 1, 1798), the Nawab agreed "to consult with the Company's Government," and to devise with them what "reductions of public establishments, servants, &c.," could be made, consistently with the Nawab's dignity and convenience, in order to meet the increased subsidy required of him, whilst, in the same Treaty, it was explained that the Nawab should have "full authority over his household affairs, hereditary dominions, his troops, and his subjects." No other Treaties allude to any reduction or restriction of the Nawab's troops, and it is manifest that the Treaties specified gave the Governor-General no colour of right to reduce the Nawab's whole army. As to interference in the Nawab's internal civil affairs, no Treaty gave the Governor-General any power to do so; but, on the contrary, some of the Treaties contained expressions evidently meant

to restrict the interference in detail which had existed practically from the first. Lord Cornwallis, in the correspondence of 1788, said: "It is the intention of the Company, and my firm resolution, that no interference shall take place in the details of the affairs" of the Nawab's Government. He added: "In short, leaving the whole management of your country to your Excellency and your Ministers, I will put a stop to the interference of others."

The Treaty of 1798 contains the words I have cited above, regarding the "full authority" of the Nawab.

6. Saadut Alee had, at first, pretended to be, himself, very anxious to adopt some such great measure of military reform as Lord Wellesley projected; but, when he drew back from Lord Wellesley's proposal to disband all his military establishment, which was the very first measure of reform insisted upon by Lord Wellesley, that statesman never for a moment doubted his own right to compel its adoption, and did not for a moment hesitate to enforce that right, although he never pretended that the right was founded on any Treaty. On the 9th of February, 1800, he addressed a letter to the Nawab, from which the following is an extract: "It is certain that the resources of your Excellency are inadequate to the double burthen of the proposed additional force of the Company, and of your own existing military establishment. But, if your resources could bear this accumulated pressure, I should still feel myself bound to require that your Excellency should reduce your own disorderly troops." It was not on grounds such as those on which a sovereign State may be legitimately asked, under certain circumstances, to disarm, that Lord Wellesley compelled Saadut Alee to disband his troops. It was the badness and weakness of the troops he objected to. He had no fear of such rabble, except only so far as the good of Oude was concerned. He believed it his duty to compel the Soobahdar of Oude to do whatever was indispensable for the good of the country and people of Oude; he believed this measure of military reform to be so indispensable; and, therefore, he "required" its adoption.

Dispatches, vol. ii, page 214.

7. In the same tone precisely, and founding upon the same arguments of right and duty, but still making no pretence to derive his right from any Treaty, he proceeded to "require" the further arrangements which he believed indispensable for the general good to be effected. In a dispatch to the Secret Committee of the 9th of June, 1800, after describing his success in the reform of the Nawab's military establishments, notwithstanding "many symptoms of dissatisfaction on the part of his Excellency," he writes thus: "Having so far succeeded in effecting a radical reform of the military establishment of the Nawab of Oude, I propose to take into consideration, without delay, the means of introducing such improvements into the civil administration of his Excellency's affairs as have been long necessary to the security of our interests in that country, and to the prosperity and happiness of the people."

Dispatches, vol. ii, page 274.

8. A few references to Lord Wellesley's despatches will show how complete he thought his right to effect any arrangement in Oude he believed to be indispensable to the general good—in other words, to rule Oude, and the Soobahdar of Oude, in every essential point;—and how certainly he held that the British Government, as paramount, could require the Nawab to do, and could prohibit him from doing, any act of great importance to the Province under his administration. When Saadut Alee spoke of his project of retiring from the government, taking all his treasure into private life with him, Lord Wellesley, in effect, prohibited him, if he resigned, from taking his treasure with him. He would not even allow him to relinquish a large portion of his treasure, for the purpose of substituting one of his sons in his place, because, he said, "he was convinced that, under such a successor, the present abusive system of Government would become absolutely incorrigible, and the inhabitants of Oude would be exposed to the utmost extremity of distress."* Upon this point, it may be noticed, in passing, that so fully did Saadut Alee, the Soobahdar, himself acknowledge his own rightful subjection, and that of his family, to the British Government, that the utmost he asked for, on his own retirement,

* On both points see the note inclosed in Colonel Kirkpatrick's dispatch to the Resident at Lucknow, dated December 16, 1799. Dispatches, vol. ii, page 157.

was, that the Governor-General should exalt to his place such one of his sons as his Lordship might choose to prefer. Shortly before the Treaty of 1801 was signed, the Nawab submitted certain Articles to which he solicited the Governor-General's assent. After censuring the Nawab for several of these Articles, which, he said, betrayed "the most unjustifiable, undignified, and improvident jealousy of the Company's authority and power," and telling the Nawab that he appeared to have "already forgotten that the safety of his person, and the existence of his Government, have been maintained exclusively by the British power and by the presence of British troops,"—Lord Wellesley wrote as follows, of certain others of these Articles: "it would be utterly repugnant to the justice and humanity of the Company, to uphold the various arbitrary powers and vexatious authorities, for the establishment of which the Vizier has solicited the sanction of the British Government, in the 1st, 4th, 5th, 7th, and 13th Articles." Upon grounds having regard exclusively to the good of those under the immediate administration of the Soobahdar of Oude, Lord Wellesley wrote: "The Governor-General, in the name of the Company and the British nation, refuses his sanction to every Article of a system so adverse to the wisdom and justice of the great nation which his Lordship represents in India."

It will be right to describe the nature of these Articles on which the will of the Nawab was so decisively overruled. One Article was to provide that the Company should in no way be responsible for seeing that the Nawab paid his predecessors' debts, "the Treaty" (*i. e.* the Treaty of 1801 then about to be signed) "being silent on this subject." Another was to provide that no person should interfere in, or assume, his rights, as the heir of the hereditary rights of his State. Another was to provide that no person should interfere with him in taking back property belonging to the "Sirkar" or State of Oude, which had been, or should be, misappropriated by breach of trust or otherwise. Another was to provide that no person should interfere with his punishments of those who should disobey his orders, or disturb the peace. And the last provided that, as he must diminish his expenses by dismissing some of his servants, no intercession should be made by any person for such dismissed servants. It seems to me impossible to hold that a subordinate Ruler, to whom such requests as these were refused (with a strong censure for making them) by the power paramount to that Ruler, was, at the time of such refusal, in the position of the Chief of a sovereign State, whether dependent or independent, having inherent rights of his own, such as to empower him, if he chooses, to misgovern, to an extreme degree, the people over whom he is placed; and impossible to hold that the paramount power which so refused such requests, was not, at the time of such refusal, under the obligation to secure, from an extreme degree of bad government, the people on whose interests such interference was based.

9. That Lord Wellesley thought himself under such an obligation is sufficiently shown from the whole tenor of his proceedings. But I will cite a few passages from his dispatches in evidence of this fact. In a letter to the Resident of Lucknow, dated January 22, 1801, Lord Wellesley wrote: "Circumstances well known to you have hitherto prevented me from executing all the dictates of my duty with respect to that distressed country," (Oude,) "and have compelled me to limit my efforts to a partial reform of his Excellency's military establishments." It is true that he had just mentioned the circumstance of the Nawab having also expressed a wish for the correction of these abuses, as one of his inducements to undertake the work; but the passage I have cited clearly shows that duty to the "distressed country" was the ruling motive. On the 5th of April, 1801, Lord Wellesley wrote to the Nawab a letter, in reply to one in which the Nawab had refused to agree to either of the measures laid before him, in which letter the following passage occurs: "Your Excellency has not controverted one of the facts or principles upon which that determination was founded. Recent events have enforced the spirit of both, and have manifested that the issue of these propositions must, ultimately, involve the fate of your fertile, but decaying, dominions, the security of the Company's provinces, and the happiness of a numerous and industrious, but suffering,

Dispatches, vol. ii, page 423.

people. Entrusted with the charge of such extensive interests, I am resolved never to recede from any measure evidently demanded by the exigency of my arduous duty. I, therefore, now declare to your Excellency, in the most explicit terms, that I consider it to be my positive duty to resort to any extremity, rather than to suffer the further progress of that ruin to which the interests of your Excellency and the Honorable Company are exposed, by the continued operation of the evils and abuses actually existing in the civil and military administration of the Province of Oude."

Dispatches, vol. ii, page 477.

10. I have said above that Lord Wellesley compelled the Nawab to adopt one or other of the two measures between which he allowed him to choose. To prove how absolutely the existing Treaty of 1801 was forced upon the Nawab, and to show that it was not the result of negotiation between the British Government and a ruler whose right to negotiate with it as a distinct Power was recognised, I will cite only two passages from the dispatches. In a letter of instructions to the Resident at Lucknow dated the 28th of April, 1801, Lord Wellesley wrote thus: "If, therefore, his Excellency should persist in rejecting both propositions, you will inform him that any further remonstrances to me upon this subject will be unavailing, that you are directed to insist upon the immediate cession of the territory proposed to be transferred to the Company, and that, in the event of his Excellency's refusal to issue the necessary orders for that purpose, you are authorised to direct the British troops to march for the purpose of establishing the authority of the British Government within those districts." In a letter to the Nawab of Oude dated the 14th of August, 1801, the whole of which is unmistakeably the letter of a master to a subordinate public functionary, of high dignity, but absolutely subject to the writer's authority, Lord Wellesley thus informed that Soobahdar of his true position in relation to the British Indian Empire: "Your Excellency's conduct has disclosed a spirit of opposition not confined to the particular measures actually in agitation, but affecting the fundamental principle of your Excellency's connection with the Honorable Company. Although your Excellency's erroneous interpretation of the nature and objects of that connection may have prevented you from forming a proper estimate of the justice and necessity of the proposed arragements, yet, under the circumstances of my repeated and solemn declarations to your Excellency, it might have been expected that your Excellency would be convinced of the sincerity of my resolutions, and that you would not expose yourself to the discredit of compelling the British Government to assert its rights on your Excellency's dominions without your consent or cooperation." He adds: "It is my duty to remove those dangerous and illusory impressions, by repeating my most solemn and deliberate resolution never to recede from the demands which I have made on grounds so incontestably just and of extreme exigency."

Dispatches, vol. ii, page 503.

Dispatches, vol. ii, page 564.

11. I have said above that Lord Wellesley did not derive his right to force his measures on the Soobahdar of Oude from any Treaties with that Prince. So far as the disbanding of the Oude army, the obligation to govern the people of Oude in a particular manner, and the obligation to consult with, and to follow always the advice of, the officers of the British Government, are concerned, no argument beyond a reference to the Treaties is necessary. But, as one of the objects (and the one upon that point put most forward) of the cession of territory which the Soobahdar was compelled to make, was the security thereby afforded for the payment of the subsidy which the Soobahdar was by Treaty bound to pay, it may be plausibly maintained that in this, the most important, part of the arrangement of 1801, Lord Wellesley based his act upon Treaties. An examination of this part of the question, however, will show that, even on this point, Lord Wellesley's act was based on the actual position of Oude in relation to this Government, and that it can be supported by no Treaty. Of course the obligation of the Nawab to pay the subsidy sprang from Treaties: what I mean is, that Lord Wellesley's right to secure payment of the subsidy sprang from no Treaty. No territory was by any Treaty hypothecated for the security of the subsidy, and although, if there had been a failure in the regular payment of the subsidy, we should have had a natural right, even as between two separate nations, to

sequestrate such portion of territory as might be necessary, in order to obtain payment of what in that case would have become a debt, which otherwise we should have lost,* nevertheless, as, in the actual case, there was no such failure, we could have no such natural right, as between two separate States. Lord Wellesley freely acknowledged the regularity of the payment of the instalments of subsidy. In one of his first letters to the Resident at Lucknow (a private letter dated the 18th of June, 1799) he writes: "You will express to his Excellency, in the strongest terms, my cordial approbation of the regularity which has marked his payment of the military subsidy ever since my arrival in Bengal." This regularity continued, and was acknowledged to the last. But it was contended that the continuous impoverishment of the Nawab's country threatened to render it, in the course of time, unable to pay the subsidy, and that it was absurd to expect that the British Government should wait quietly till the evil was done. It is to be observed that, as about half the Nawab's territory gave ample security for the whole subsidy, there was a vast fund of misgovernment to come and go upon before we need have been alarmed, if we had had no other considerations to think of than the ultimate security of the subsidy. The argument, however, was a rational, sound, and just argument, as between the head of an Empire and a subject Prince, administering, in a subordinate position, the government of one of the component parts of that Empire, which was the legal position of the Soobahdar under the Emperor of Delhi, and his actual position under the Governor-General in Council; for, in such a position, the paramount power obviously has a right, when gross misgovernment arises, of doing whatever the necessity of the case requires, even to the removal of the Soobahdar, and the assumption of direct management, if necessary; but to suppose that Lord Wellesley used such an argument in a State paper, as an argument between two separate States, to a Prince in whom he acknowledged an original and inherent title of his own, would be to suppose that great statesman to have wantonly flaunted an act of perspicuous injustice before the eyes of the whole world.

12. I believe that I have proved that the acts of the Governor-General in 1801 were not justified, and were not supposed to be justified, by any Treaty, and that, if justified, they were so by the relative positions of the Ruler of Oude and the British Government, which gave the right to the latter Government, and imposed upon it the obligation, in the proved case of extreme misgovernment on the part of the Ruler of Oude, to make whatever organic change of administration in the whole, or in any portion, of that country, due consideration for the character of the British Government, the general good of the Empire, and, especially, the rights and interests of the people of Oude, rendered necessary: also that this is the principle on which Lord Wellesley, whose acts were entirely and warmly approved by the Home Government, avowedly acted.

13. Having now shown what Lord Wellesley did in 1801, and what were his principles of action, I proceed to discuss the justice of those acts and principles. I shall not be accused of labouring too much at these two points, by any one who has a proper sense of the importance of the great question now to be laid before the Honorable Court, if he remembers what I have above said, viz., that in the view I take of this great question, the decision as to what ought to be done now must follow the decision that shall be pronounced upon the historical point of the justice of Lord Wellesley's conduct in 1801.

14. From a consideration of the actual character of the Oude Government from 1765 to 1801, and of the nature of the dependence of the Oude Government on the British Government, my own unhesitating conclusion is that, in taking from under the administration of the Soobahdar of Oude the Provinces now called the ceded Provinces, leaving his other districts unburthened with any tribute whatsoever, and binding him by an express Treaty to govern those other districts justly and well, and to obey always the advice of our Government, and in doing all this by compulsion,

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14. From a consideration of the actual character of the Oude Government from 1765 to 1801, and of the nature of the dependence of the Oude Government on the British Government, my own unhesitating conclusion is that, in taking from under the administration of the Soobahdar of Oude the Provinces now called the ceded Provinces, leaving his other districts unburthened with any tribute whatsoever, and binding him by an express Treaty to govern those other districts justly and well, and to obey always the advice of our Government, and in doing all this by compulsion,

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notwithstanding the utmost possible opposition of the Nawab (for this is the naked truth of the matter), Lord Wellesley did nothing beyond the strictest rule of justice, and nothing that he could have left undone, without deserting the highest duty of the British Government in India, its duty to the people whom Providence has placed under its dominion.

15. I am not aware that any standard authority has blamed Lord Wellesley for forcing upon the Nawab of Oude, what he considered essential to the good government of the people of Oude. It has been objected to Lord Wellesley's proceedings in 1801, that, having provided for his first object, viz., the security of the finances of the British Government, by taking a large territory, he left unprovided for, or very inadequately provided for, his second object, viz., the good government of the people of Oude, so far as the territory left by him under the administration of the Nawab is concerned. Mr. Mill, the historian of British India, whose love of right and justice is unquestionable, and who will not be charged with any partiality for Lord Wellesley, questions the force of the plea in defence of the measure founded on financial considerations; but, so far from questioning the soundness of the plea founded on consideration for the good government of the people of Oude, he finds fault with Lord Wellesley for believing that this plea was supported by the facts of the case, and, nevertheless, not carrying out his argument to what the historian thinks its legitimate conclusion, namely, the incorporation of *the whole* of Oude with the British territories. Mr. Mill writes: "If this (the badness of the Native Government) was incorrigible, while the country remained in the hands of the Nawab, why, having it completely in his power to deliver the people of Oude from a misery which he delights to describe as unparalleled, did the Governor-General leave a great part of the country, with the people in it, to be desolated and tortured by this hateful system of misrule?" Mr. Mill's argument is this: the preservation of the people of Oude from incorrigible misgovernment, if the fact was demonstrated, not only justified, but demanded, the assumption, by the British, of the administration of the whole country; either the facts demonstrated the Government of the Nawab to be incorrigibly bad, or they did not; if they did, Lord Wellesley's conduct in leaving a great part of the country under that incorrigibly bad Government was unjustifiable; and if they did not, his forcible seizure of the rest of that country was unjustifiable on one of the grounds on which it was supported, viz., the ground of consideration for the people. He concludes his remarks on the transaction, in the following words, containing a sentiment that ought never to be absent from the mind of an Indian statesman: "the truth ought never to be forgotten, which the Governor-General here so eagerly brings forward, that the misery produced by those native Governments which the Company upholds, is misery produced by the Company, and sheds disgrace upon the British name."

We see then that those who take the most severe view of the proceedings of 1801 uphold the duty of forcing a direct British administration upon such a State as Oude, if its existing Government be incorrigibly bad; and condemn Lord Wellesley only for inconsistency in not applying his principle to the whole of the misgoverned country.

16. Judging after the event, it is manifest enough to us that this objection is so far sound, that the provision made for the people who remained under the Nawab was, as has been proved by experience, insufficient to save them from the very extreme of bad government. But Lord Wellesley did not expect that this would be the case, nor is he to be harshly thought of because he did not foresee the result. It was certainly hopeless to expect good government in Oude, whilst the country had to pay to our Government, for military protection, such a very large proportion of its gross revenue as had been required from it, and whilst it was ruled under the anomalous system of double government that had generally prevailed there from the time of our first connection with the country—a system which had all the evils of divided authority, and none of the advantages, such as they are, of the advice and control of a resident British officer. But, when that heavy pecuniary liability was got rid of by a territorial cession, whatever territory remained to the Soo-

bahdar being freed from all necessity of providing for its own military protection from external or internal enemies, was a position of extraordinary advantage financially, compared with its own previous condition, or the condition of other States generally. The rest of India, indeed, which was made to pay not only for its own protection, but also for the protection of Oude, had ground of complaint, but the People and Ruler of Oude were more than fairly favored by the arrangement. To make what remained of Oude prosperous no longer required a government of fabulous excellence; nothing short of a Government almost incredibly bad could have prevented its prosperity. Three-fourths of its taxes might have been reduced, and it would have lost no useful service. One half of its taxes might have been reduced, and it might still have had a better Civil Administration than any State in India. That this position is true, is proved by the fact that Saadut Alee, who had not more than one crore of rupees in 1801, to set against which there was a vast State debt, had amassed, during the last twelve or thirteen years of his life, a treasure which amounted at his death, in 1814, to thirteen crores of rupees; a sum equal, I suppose, to eight or nine years' purchase of the gross revenues of his State. Again, the abolition of the anomalous double government cannot but have done good, so far as it went; and experience was wanting, in 1801, to show that a direct and single administration by the Nawab and his own officers, bound always to act in accordance with a British Resident's advice, was a hopeless experiment. Moreover, it will be shown that Lord Wellesley's conception of the extent to which the advice of the Resident might be made to rule the machine of government went infinitely further than that of any succeeding Government has gone—perhaps a good deal further than is practicable. See paragraph 58.

17. If Lord Wellesley had intended, by his Treaty of 1801, to give the Soobahdar of Oude, for all time coming, a new right—a right such as neither he, nor any of his ancestors, whether under the Emperors of Delhi, or under the British Government, had ever possessed, or claimed to possess before, namely, a right to misgovern the country and people that remained under his immediate administration, free from all interference on the part of the paramount power; in that case, he would have done, in my opinion, an act so unjust, so treacherous, to the people of Oude, that it could not have been approved by the Home Government, and adopted, without remonstrance, by succeeding Governments in India. The one great obligation of the British Government, which supports a dependent Ruler against external enemies and internal opposition, is to the People over whom that Ruler is placed; and this obligation, as I hold, the British Government can neither free itself from directly, nor escape from indirectly. But there is nothing in what Lord Wellesley said, or did, to justify any suspicion that such was his intention. His treatment of the Soobahdar of Oude shows that he felt himself unshackled in regard to that Ruler; that he believed that he had a moral right to force upon that Ruler whatever in his judgment was then necessary for the general good; and that he considered it a duty to enforce that right. I cannot think that it was ever in his mind to shackle his successors more than he was shackled himself; to take away the right of the paramount power, in future, again to force upon succeeding rulers what might become in other circumstances necessary for the general good; or to deprive the people of Oude of their rightful claims, as against his successors, to primary consideration, which he freely acknowledged as against himself. He did not wish to force the Nawab beyond what appeared to him, *at that time*, the proved necessity of the case, but he did not wish to deprive his successors of the power of forcing the Nawab, at any future time, up to what, at that future time, might be the proved necessity of the case. What I understand Lord Wellesley to have done in 1801, was to have provided finally for the welfare of one part of the people of Oude, and to have instituted an experiment for the welfare of the other half, with which his successors must deal, as masters, if it should break down, exactly as he had dealt, as master, with the former constitution of Oude when it had broken down.

It must, I think, have appeared to Lord Wellesley that he sufficiently

provided for the case of a break-down by the conditions of good government, and obedience always to advice, which he inserted in the Treaty; because, if the Nawab fulfilled those conditions, there could be no break-down, and no just motive for making a new arrangement; and, if he violated them, he could claim no protection under a treaty he had violated. I now conclude this long digression, and proceed with the story.

18. Since the Treaty of 1801, the Oude Government has been going on from bad to worse. There have been miserly Nawabs, who accumulated useless hoards, and spendthrift Nawabs, who squandered in vice all they could lay hands on; there have been Nawabs of mental capacity, and imbecile Nawabs: but, with insignificant exceptions, there have been tyranny, extortion, and partial anarchy, in an extreme degree, under all. The Soobahdar of Oude is bound, by Lord Wellesley's Treaty, always to take the advice of our Government. When a system of interference by advice was adopted, the misgovernment was felt by ourselves to be intolerable. A system of non-interference was tried as a change, since when, it is my conviction, the grievances of the people have increased. We have had five different Nawabs in the last half century; and a tolerable Government under none of them. Nevertheless our warnings, counsellings, and entreaties have been innumerable, and even solemn threats of doing at last our duty to the people have been frequent.

19. In 1831, things had come to such a pass that the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, had a formal interview with the Ruler of Oude, Nusseer-ood-deen, at which, with due solemnity, he told that Prince "that, unless his territories were governed upon other principles than those hitherto followed, and the prosperity of the people made the principal object of his administration, the precedent afforded by the Principalities of the Dekhan, the Carnatic, and Tanjore, would be applied to the Kingdom of Oude, and to the entire management of the country; and the King would be transmuted into a Pensioner of State." This warning was left with Nusseer-ood-deen in writing. It must be remembered that the Principalities of Tanjore and Arcot had been incorporated with the territories under the immediate administration of the British Government, and are in fact precisely, in this respect, in the same position as Bengal. But the course, eventually recommended to the Home Government by the Governor-General to be pursued, was that the British Government should undertake the management of the country in the name of the King, for such period as might be found necessary for restoring order, and for establishing an efficient system of administration.

The Honorable Court noticed these proceedings, in an elaborate dispatch dated the 16th of July, 1834, which is well worthy of perusal, as conveying a just description of the Government of Oude from 1801 up to that date. They observed that "the administration of Oude instead of being conducive to the prosperity, or calculated to secure the lives and property, of the inhabitants" (as the Treaty required) has "become progressively more and more inefficient, and progressively more and more oppressive, until the country presents a scene of anarchy and tyranny scarcely paralleled in any other of the more considerable native States; and, instead of always advising with the officers of the British Government, and acting in conformity to their advice, the Prince has, during all this long period, disregarded the most earnest remonstrances, and the most solemn admonitions, perpetually addressed to him, both by the British Representative at his Court, and directly by your Government." In conclusion, the Honorable Court authorised the Government of India to carry the proposed measure into effect, if they considered it still necessary to do so.

20. Unfortunately, the measure thus authorised was not carried into effect at the time, in the unfounded hope of amelioration. The Affghan and other wars suspended the consideration of the Oude question for several years; but at last, in 1847, the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, at a solemn interview, gave the present Ruler of Oude a term of two years, within which period, if his administration were not reformed, he was assured that the measures which had been so long threatened would be

carried into execution; and it was clearly explained to him that the risk he was running, by his course of misgovernment, was the risk of forcing the British Government to interfere by assuming the government of his province. Nothing in the shape of reform was done in the two years, but the Punjab and Pegu wars gave the Ruler of Oude a respite, or rather, I should say, compelled the Government to impose upon the people of Oude a further term of oppression.

21. Towards the end of last year, the Most Noble the Governor-General, finding that foreign affairs no longer stood in the way, took advantage of the appointment of General Outram to be Resident at Lucknow, to bring to trial the great cause between the King and the people of Oude which had been pending so long. General Outram would bring to the case a fresh and unprejudiced mind, and he was ordered to apply himself "to an inquiry into the present state of that country, with a view to determine whether its affairs still continue in the state in which Colonel Sleeman, from time to time, described them to be,—whether the improvement which Lord Hardinge peremptorily demanded, seven years ago, at the hands of the King, in pursuance of the Treaty of 1801, has in any degree been effected,—and whether the duty imposed upon the British Government by that Treaty, a duty recognised by Lord William Bentinck in 1831, and reiterated by Lord Hardinge in 1847, will, in truth, any longer admit of our honestly indulging the reluctance we have felt to have recourse to those extreme measures which alone can be of any real efficacy in remedying the evils from which the State of Oude has suffered so long."

To show the feelings with which I took part in these orders, I have only to refer to my Minute in this Department dated the 22nd of November, 1854.

22. General Outram's report of the result of his inquiry is before us, and we have now to pass our judgment in the cause.

The result of the inquiry is that there has been no improvement; that there is no prospect—no chance—of improvement; that, under the present system, the vice of the Oude Government is inherent in its constitution. Half a century and more has proved that Oude misgovernment, under its race of native rulers, is as bad and as incorrigible when those rulers are relieved from all necessary military charges, which form the chief burden of an ordinary State, as it was before that relief was afforded them. It has proved, too, that, practically, the British Government, acting under the Treaty of 1801, is powerless to operate through the native ruler for the amelioration of the administration in any degree. Advice and neglect, entreaty and threat, interference and non-interference, change of Prince and change of Resident, affect not the result.

23. May we not conclude that this is the sure consequence of an unnatural system? What have the Ministers and Courtiers at this Court to care for but to gratify at the moment every caprice of their Master? What has the Master to fear from the neglect of his own duty? What has he to excite and nurse any germs of good there may be in him? His mind is incapable of receiving the belief that any degree of neglect or misconduct will shake him in his position, and this is the last belief which his singers and dancers, male or female, will endeavour to instil into him. It seems to me as hopeful a task to rear heart of oak in a dark cellar, as to bring up, under a foreign Protectorate, a capable Ruler in the Palace of such a dependency as Oude.

24. After the complete and masterly array of the evidence contained in the Governor-General's Minute, it is unnecessary for me to touch this part of the case. No fair inquirer will pronounce against the view of the facts taken by his Lordship, without going through the original evidence itself; and I would ask no more of any one. Twenty pages of the Diary of Colonel Sleeman's Tour through Oude will satisfy most minds. For my own part, although our earlier connection with Oude affairs, in the unreformed times of Warren Hastings, affords more than one salient point for an Englishman to grieve over, I believe that our later Protectorate has been still more culpable.

25. Most heartily, therefore, do I record my concurrence in the

conclusion of the Governor-General, that our existing relations with Oude cannot be maintained, and that our policy in respect to that province must undergo a total and fundamental change.

26. It remains to consider what change should be effected, and how to bring about the change to be determined upon.

27. Upon the question of what change should be effected, I agree thoroughly in the objections urged by the Governor-General to any plan of a divided administration exercised by the Resident and the officers of the King, and to any plan of temporary management whatsoever, for the reasons so clearly stated by his Lordship.

28. Respecting the plan of a divided administration in any form, as I have not observed that any one has ever expressed an opinion in favour of it, it is needless for me to attempt to add anything to what the Governor-General has said upon it. It is exactly this plan, in many varieties of form, that has been upon trial for the last ninety years, with what success we see.

29. But, respecting the plan of *temporary* management by the British Government,—as that is what was last recommended from this country, and what has been approved and authorised to be carried into execution by the Honorable Court, whilst the main purport of the reference now about to be made to the Honorable Court is to entreat them to reconsider this part of the question, and to lay before them the deliberate opinion of the Government of India (an opinion in which it seems probable that the members of this Government will be unanimous), that any temporary management, and any temporary arrangement of any kind, will fail of its object,—a few words in this Minute may not be out of place.

30. Lord Wellesley, before we had that experimental knowledge of the futility of all expectation of permanent improvement from temporary arrangements, which has been alluded to in the Minutes of the Governor-General and Mr. Dorin, thus expressed the conclusion of his intellect upon this point, in a paper he sent to the Nawab of Oude in 1799: "The Nawab Vizier is well apprised that no temporary power can be efficient. Instability in the constitution of a Government is the source of languor and weakness in all its operations. The subjects of a temporary Government are perpetually agitated by the expectation of change: and the Government itself cannot establish any systematic or comprehensive plan of administration. In such a state, mutual doubt and uncertainty destroy that confidence which forms the most solid foundation of the reciprocal duties of allegiance and protection between the people and the governing power." I do not know what answer is possible to this argument.

Dispatches, vol. ii, page 166.

31. I perfectly understand those who, on all occasions, show a generous anxiety to uphold a tolerable native Government where such a Government exists; and I admit the strength of their arguments. I can also understand those who would not substitute a British Government for an intolerable native Government; although I cannot admit that their arguments, as applied to an Indian State, have any strength. But I confess myself unable to understand those who are convinced that, in a particular case, the native Government is so extremely bad, and so hopelessly incorrigible, that it must be supplanted by a British Government; but contend that this cannot properly be done, unless it be made an essential part of the scheme, that, at some future indefinite time, the British Government shall be supplanted, in its turn, by the native Government, now to be set aside for its *incorrigible* worthlessness.

I believe that this third opinion is held by persons of very benevolent dispositions, who, being naturally inclined to the second of the opinions I have described, find presented to their senses a case so frightful that they feel their principle, as a living motive of action, no longer to be tenable, and, instead of abandoning the principle—which is the logical necessity of the case—they take what they would call a middle course (but what is in reality a course irreconcileable with either view), by way of saving their principle, and saving also their sense of justice, from the shock with which the facts of the case before them afflict it. They hope, in this way, to realize the benefits promised by two contradictory principles of action. But I think, if those who take this course will only argue out the question

in their own minds, they will perceive that, by this course, they must fail in obtaining the benefits promised by either system of action, and must fall into evils which, by either system, would have been avoided. By a temporary management, for the reasons explained by Lord Wellesley, they fail to realize the practical, material, and direct advantages to the mass of the people, which a permanent British Government surely affords; and thus they greatly weaken the case for any interference with the native Government whatsoever. By disgracefully cashiering the native Prince for the time being, they break to pieces as effectually by a temporary, as by a permanent, dethronement, all those notions (which are not of a nature to bear much rough handling) on which their own principle of a sort of right divine in Indian provincial Viceroys rests.

32. But it is when, passing over the considerations that press upon us at the present moment, we come, as it is our duty to do, to look at those that will press upon the Government of the day when British rule is to be supplanted by native rule, that the full evils of all temporary arrangements come to sight. The grand distinction between British rule and native rule is, that the former is a Government of law, and the latter is not. From the moment that a Province comes under British administration, law begins to grow in it; and this is the case, whether we will it or not, by an inevitable necessity. Perhaps a great many years may elapse before anything taking the formal shape of a legislative Act is passed affecting the Province; but law is not the less certainly growing up there. Every general order from high authority becomes in fact a law to that Province, and every day more and more attention is paid to the general orders, rules of practice, and precedents, which form substantial law. This cannot happen without a gradual, but decided, change in the habits and feelings of the people, and without bringing daily into life some sort of property which could not exist without law. To supplant the British Government of any Province by the best native Government that ever yet existed, or was imagined to exist, is, in one moment, to abolish law, and to establish arbitrary power in its place. It is a favourite fancy with many, who look only at the surface of things, that a good arbitrary Government is better for India than a Government of law. But even those who take this extremely Asiatic view of a lawless Government will admit that it is impolitic, and cruel, to go out of our way to introduce habits and feelings, and to create property, with a premeditated design of making hereafter a change with which what we shall have introduced and created will be incompatible. This great evil is inherent in every scheme of temporary management by British officers; and the evil has this strange quality, that, whereas no good whatever could be done by a very short term of such management, and the longer the term the more the good that would be done, this evil begins from nothing, and increases as the term of management increases, until at last—if the term of management were extended to a generation or two—this evil would become so great and so striking, that the re-establishment of native Government would be impossible.

33. The Honorable Court, in their despatch of 1834, wherein they yielded their consent to the proposal of temporary management made in India, saw that such a project was untenable, unless there were some reasonable prospect of an available native Government, at some future time, of infinitely better character than any that is now, or ever yet has been, available in Oude. They, therefore, wisely impressed upon the Government of India the necessity of educating the heirs to the Throne of Oude, so as to fit them to perform the duties of the occupant. The objection I have last advanced would not be met by the most successful result of any educational experiment that could be made with the Royal family of Oude. Moreover, the truth must be told that our experiments in this line hitherto made have not been generally successful, and that, as far as we can ascertain the causes of failure, they are beyond our control. I believe that the education that tells on Kings, like the education that tells on all public men, is the education of the world, and this education is impossible for the native Prince of a protected State like Oude. I beg to be understood as not intending to say a word against the expediency,

and the duty, of educating, as well as we can, young Princes, and all other young men of rank whom we can influence; I only mean to say that schooling is one thing, and statesmanship another.

34. For all these reasons, temporary management of every sort appears to me an unjustifiable expedient in the present case. The only doubtful question appears to me to be between the first and the second plans set forth in the Governor-General's Minute.

35. The Governor-General recommends the second plan, which is, that the King be permitted to retain his royal title and position, but that the whole civil and military administration of his kingdom be vested, for ever, in the Government of the East India Company, without, however, incorporating that kingdom with the Indian territories of the British Crown. Mr. Dorin prefers the first plan, which is, that the King be required to abdicate the sovereign powers he has abused, and that the territories of Oude be incorporated into those of the British Crown.

37. Whichever of these two plans be carried into effect, the great object of the good government of the people of Oude will be provided for. By either plan the whole administration of the country will be absolutely, directly, irrecoverably, and permanently, in the hands of the British Government and its officers; and the King will have no more concern, real or apparent, therein, than any other nobleman in India. Wherever this is the case in any province, then, whatever words may be written or spoken upon the subject, in reality, the British Government is the only Government of that province, and, in reality, the person called the King thereof is no more than an ex-King, whatever titular rank and honors may be granted to him. So much will not be disputed. And, when so much is conceded, it seems to me to follow that, in reality, that province is a part of the possessions of the British Crown, and the people thereof are, in reality, the subjects of Her Majesty, to all intents and purposes. For, if not, I ask whose territory it is, and whose subjects they are? An ex-King can have no territory and no subjects.

Substantially, the two plans are very much (though not quite) the same, and the question between them is mainly a question of names. In either case, the King's connection with his present territory will cease absolutely, and for ever; and the exclusive dominion of the British Government over that territory will be immediate, absolute, and undisguised. The question as between the two plans is, shall the territory, in such event, be called the territory of the abdicated King of Oude, or the territory of the British Throne? The only realities which this question involves, so far as I can see, are these—shall the laws for that territory be made by the Legislative, or by the Executive, Council; and shall that territory, after it has become, in fact, a component part of the integral Empire, be treated, in matters of account and form, as if it were a little *imperium in imperio*, or shall it be treated, in such matters, as in all others, like other provinces, which are in fact (to use the words of the Charter Act) "in the possession, and under the government, of the East India Company?"

38. I can see no real difference between the supposed case of Oude, if the second plan be adopted, and the existing cases of Tanjore, the Carnatic, and Bengal. The Nawabs of all these places have ever retained their original titles and (nominal) positions; and they have never vested the British Government with anything more, nor has the British Government ever taken from them anything more, than "the whole civil and military administration" of their provinces for ever. Nevertheless, the provinces in question are, beyond doubt, now, and have been, beyond doubt, from the moment when "the whole civil and military administration" of them was permanently assumed, possessions of the British Crown, inhabited by subjects of Her Majesty. When, in the earlier times of the East India Company, this position was denied on the part of the Company, the celebrated Parliamentary declaration was made, which has set all doubt upon the constitutional question at rest for ever.

If, then, the Government of the East India Company was not allowed by the constitution, when it had, *de facto*, assumed permanently the whole civil and military authority of Bengal and other places, to hold

those places in any other manner than as possessions of the British Crown, notwithstanding the claim which is set up, under grants from the Emperor of Delhi and his Viceroys, to govern those places as the delegate of those Potentates, who retained always, by their grants, their nominal sovereignty and position, it is open to doubt how far a similar grant from, or a similar Treaty made by, the King of Oude, can have any different effect.

The case of Mysore differs from the supposed case of Oude, inasmuch as our management of that province is, professedly, temporary, and on account of the Sovereign of Mysore. The case of the districts lately ceded by the Nizam (which I believe to be not free from difficulty) differs from the supposed case of Oude in this, that we account to the native Sovereign for the whole revenues; whereas it is proposed by the Governor-General, and, in my judgment, most wisely and justly proposed by his Lordship, that, in the case of Oude, we shall do no such thing, but, after providing for the wants of the Province, that we shall place the residue at the disposal of the East India Company.

39. Any plan which should relieve the people of Oude, after they have come under the direct government of the East India Company, from their fair share of the general charges of the Empire, would be open, in my judgment, to substantial objections; inasmuch as it would be unfair to all the other people under the same Government.

40. On examining the two plans, it will be found that they differ only in this, that the first plan involves no political fiction, whilst the second plan does involve one. In this, I think that the first plan has an advantage over the other, and an advantage that will every day become greater and greater, as the reality of the British Government becomes more and more manifest, and the titular sovereignty of the former Ruler more and more shadowy. In matters of legislation and jurisdiction, by the first plan, everything will be easy and straightforward, as is now the case in the Punjab; but, by the second plan, it is hard to say what difficulties may not occasionally arise. On the other hand, I fail to see of what superior advantage the second plan would be to any person. Certainly it would be of no superior advantage to the people of Oude, or to the people of the rest of India, or to the Government of India. Neither do I see that it would be of any superior advantage to the King of Oude, in generous consideration for whom it has been proposed. There are three points to be considered in respect of the King: power, rank, and wealth. Now the King certainly is to have no more power by one plan than by the other; and there is no reason why his rank and wealth should not be the same by one plan as by the other.

41. For these reasons, with Mr. Dorin, I prefer the first plan to the second.

42. I differ from Mr. Dorin only inasmuch as I would not recommend that the King should be degraded from his title, rank, or honours. These I would preserve to him, as they are preserved to the Emperor of Delhi, and the Nawabs of Tanjore, Arcot, and Moorshedabad. But I do think that the title of King should die with the present Ruler. The Soobahdar of Oude bestowed it upon himself in 1819, and, though it was acknowledged by the Governor-General in Council after it had been assumed, I find, on referring to the records connected with the transaction, that the acknowledgment cannot be said to have been heartily approved by the Home Government. By calling himself a King, the Ruler of Oude did not alter, in the least degree, his real position. In my opinion, the Nawab in 1819 ought not to have been allowed to give himself the title of King; but that is past. A man who has once been a King may be styled a King, with the greatest propriety, to the end of his life. But I do not see much reason for styling men Kings who had never had any princely power whatever, only because one of their remote ancestors was a King.

43. As to the personal stipend to be granted to the ex-King, which ought in my opinion to be very liberal, I trust that no arrangement may be made now, except for the lifetime of the present Ruler, leaving a fresh arrangement to be made at his death, and at the death of each of his successors. I think that the Government ought expressly to reserve the

right of reducing the stipend as it may think fit, at the death of every stipendiary. At this moment, when our minds are all full of the immense public benefits that will result from the abdication of the King of Oude, no sum of money appears too much to pay in order to insure those benefits. This is a true view of the case for the present day, but it will not be a true view for sixty years hence. We feel for Oude exactly what was felt half a century ago, when the present enormous stipends were fixed for the Nawabs of Moorshedabad, Tanjore, and Arcot, and for other pensioned Princes. But, even already, those interested in the welfare and progress of India are beginning to ask—what has the country got for this vast personal expenditure? The answer is, it has got palaces filled with idle profligates. Then people begin to calculate what noble public works, what useful institutions, which the country is too poor now to construct or provide, might be constructed and provided, for the benefit of the millions who pay the taxes out of which these stipends are defrayed, with only a part of these vast sums. As time rolls on, and generation succeeds generation, the disproportion between the stipend and the inherent claim of the stipendiary is ever becoming to all eyes greater. The position of these Princes is, as I have said, no more than the position of an hereditary Viceroy; and, by the theory of the Indian constitution, they and their family had no claim to hold it longer than they continued to govern their provinces tolerably well. By the practice of the Indian constitution, they never did hold it longer; for, when they misgoverned, if the Emperor was too weak to dethrone them, some ambitious Ameer did the Emperor's duty. It is a generous and a politic thing, when we take away his power from an incapable Viceroy, to curtail nothing of his personal splendour, but I cannot see the propriety of treating the tenth generation of his family exactly in the same way.

44. I now come to the consideration of the means by which the arrangement preferred may most readily be brought about.

The Most Noble the Governor-General is of opinion that,—because the existing Treaty of 1801 gives the British Government no right to assume the administration of Oude, however shocking may be the misgovernment of that country under native rule, and how flagrantly soever the native ruler may thereby have violated a fundamental condition of that Treaty, but, on the contrary, guarantees to him the possession of that country, with the exercise of his and the Honorable Company's authority therein, and contemplates the conduct of the administration only by the King's own officers,—therefore, the British Government has no right now to assume the administration, unless the King shall choose to consent to make it over to them, and, therefore, that Government in justice must not, by force, or threat of force, compel the King to abdicate his power, or deprive him of his power. The recommendation by his Lordship of a particular means which he thinks we have a right to adopt, and which may, or may not, have the effect of alarming the King into an abdication of his power, is founded only upon his Lordship's opinion upon this question of right. The means themselves are not, I believe, such as his Lordship would have recommended, if he had considered himself at liberty to use compulsion. To my mind, those means are open to very strong objections, and (what is more to the purpose) once before they have been examined, and most decisively disapproved, by the Home Government. The question of right thus becomes a question of intense interest. I have given it, as in duty bound, my best attention, and my conclusion is the opposite of that at which the Governor-General has, I am sure, unwillingly, arrived. If my conclusion be not wrong, an easy and satisfactory course lies before us, instead of a course which, at the best, is but a hard choice between grievous difficulties and dangers. The decision is for the highest authority; but it is my duty to set forth, for the consideration of that authority, the reasons on which my conclusion rests. I have felt, all my life, too much for the miserable people of Oude to attempt to disguise my anxious hope that, on this occasion, the argument that is to me conclusive, may be equally satisfactory to those on whom will rest the grave responsibility of deciding upon the action to be finally resolved upon.

45. I agree entirely with the Governor-General in the opinion that the Treaty of 1801 provided no sufficient remedy for the maladministration of Oude. I am convinced that there is no remedy but taking the province immediately, and permanently, under British administration. The object of the Treaty of 1801 was to take a part of the territory then under the Nawab of Oude under such administration, and to leave the rest under the Nawab's immediate administration upon certain conditions. It was not thought necessary to specify in that Treaty what should be done if the conditions were violated. Therefore, although the conditions have been most flagrantly violated, we derive, *from that Treaty*, no power to remedy the evil in the only way in which, as we all believe, a sufficient remedy is possible.

But, with great deference, I differ from the Governor-General in his conclusion that, because we derive, *from the Treaty of* 1801, no legitimate power, in consequence of the violation of that Treaty, to take the administration of Oude out of the hands of the King, therefore, we have no legitimate power to do so without the King's own consent, given without compulsion.

46. The non-performance, by the King and his predecessors, of all the conditions of the Treaty of 1801, certainly disables him from setting up that Treaty against us, in such a way as to place him, who has violated the Treaty, in any better position in relation to the British Government than he would have been in, if that Treaty had never existed. Thus much must certainly be admitted by those who have come to a different conclusion from mine, but whose first step it would be to proclaim the Treaty violated, and at an end. On the one hand, I concede that we can found upon the Treaty, worded as it is, no right to take the administration out of the King's hands; but, on the other hand, it must be conceded to me that the King can found upon the Treaty, violated as he has violated it, no right to retain the administration in his hands. For the purpose of the present argument, therefore, the Treaty of 1801 must be set aside. From these premises, the conclusion seems to me certain that the rights of the King, on the one hand, and those of the British Government, on the other, are, at this moment, precisely what they were, in Lord Wellesley's time, before the Treaty of 1801 was concluded. For the relative positions of the Ruler of Oude and the British Government are exactly the same now that they were in 1800. The rights and obligations of both parties, arising substantially from those relations, are exactly the same now that they were then. The legitimate claims of the people of Oude upon the paramount power of the Indian Empire are now exactly what they were then. Every material element of the question is exactly the same now that it was then, except the misgovernment of the people, which is a great deal worse, and a great deal more hopeless, now than it was then.

47. It will now be seen why I have entreated such particular attention to Lord Wellesley's proceedings in 1801. Considering the relations of the Soobahdar of Oude and of the people of Oude to the British Government, and considering the condition of the provinces under the Soobahdar's administration, and the character of that administration, Lord Wellesley thought himself bound to force upon the Nawab such measures as he, whether rightly or wrongly, judged to be sufficient and necessary to remedy the existing evils, to maintain the interests and character of the British Government, and to protect the people of Oude, for whose protection he acknowledged that he was responsible. Accordingly, Lord Wellesley forced his measures upon the Nawab, against the Nawab's consent. I maintain that Lord Wellesley acted, in all this, upon the soundest principles of justice; and my position is, that the British Government should act now on the principle on which Lord Wellesley acted in 1801, and that, if it fails to do so, it will violate its paramount obligations to the people of Oude.

Lord Wellesley's proceedings were approved by the Home Government at the time. His principle has been approved by history since. To act upon a contrary principle, in precisely the same circumstances now, would be equivalent to a formal repudiation of Lord Wellesley's policy; and a practical adoption, in everyday business, of a contrary principle would be equivalent to a political revolution in India. Lord Wellesley's

principle lies at the bottom of our relations with nine-tenths of the native States in alliance with us.

48. The Soobahdars of Oude, before our connexion with them, never professed to be sovereign Princes in their own right. The first Soobahdar was appointed to be Governor of Oude no earlier than 1739. There has ever been in India a tendency in every office, from the highest to the lowest, to become more or less hereditary; and, of course, this tendency gathered strength as the Mogul Empire was falling to pieces. But no Soobahdar of Oude, at any time before we succeeded to the Mogul's place, ever pretended to a right to retain his Soobah, if it should please the Emperor to recall him. Shuja-ood-Dowlah, the Soobahdar of Oude, who attacked the British and their Soobahdar of Bengal, and was conquered by them, before that event, made it a complaint against us, not that we turned out Soobahdars, but that we did so without the Emperor's authority. "How is it," wrote Shuja-ood-Dowlah to the Calcutta Council, with reference to the deposition of Meer Jaffier, "that you turn out, and establish, Nawabs, at pleasure, without the consent of the Imperial Court?"*

After Shuja-ood-Dowlah was conquered, it was, at one time, determined to give his possessions to the Emperor. Lord Clive, however, in 1765, restored the greater part of them to Shuja-ood-Dowlah, on certain conditions. This transaction can have had no effect in improving the Nawab's position from that of a removable Soobahdar into that of an independent Sovereign, ruling by his own right. From that time, every Nawab of Oude has been, in fact, what Mr. Hastings formally designated the Son and Successor of Shuja-ood-Dowlah, viz., a person necessarily, by reason of his Treaties, "a vassal of the Company." The numerous Treaties that were subsequently made between the Nawabs of Oude and the British, providing for the protection of the Nawabs, and the payment of the cost of such protection out of the taxes of that country, have confirmed this relationship between the two States. As Mr. Mill, the historian, remarks, "When the Company received the taxes paid by the people of Oude, and pledged themselves for their good defence and government, the people of Oude became British subjects, to all intents and purposes."

The Nawabs of Oude never threw off their legal subordination to the Emperor, so long as the Mogul Empire lasted. When the British Government succeeded to the Empire of the Mogul, it acquired permanent dominion over Oude, by a double right. It has never been imagined that it would have been thought justifiable in the Mogul, if he had had at command the necessary physical force, to neglect to relieve his Oude subjects from the incorrigible misgovernment of his Soobahdars. I am unable to see on what ground we, who stand in the Mogul's place, and who have at command the necessary physical force, can doubt that we have the same right, and the same duty, as the Mogul would have had.

49. Such, I contend, has been the theory of the relation of the Rulers of Oude to the British Government; and, most assuredly, our practice has accorded with no other theory. In 1798, we deposed a Nawab, Vizier Alee, who had actually ascended the Musnud, and commenced to rule, on the ground that, in our judgment, he was not the son of the late Nawab, who had acknowledged him as such. And, in 1837, we set aside, by force, a son of the late King, on the ground that, in our judgment, he was illegitimate; and we, by force, enthroned the brother of the late King instead. These were, doubtless, very proper acts on our part; but, if such acts were not founded on the assertion of our having supreme dominion over the Kings and People of Oude, I ask on what doctrine they were founded, and by what reasoning they can be justified? Is it only when the People are concerned that we should hesitate to assert our supreme dominion?

50. I do not set up any novel doctrine, when I argue that we have a right, and, in extreme cases, that we are bound, to exert our power against the Kings of Oude; also that the late misgovernment of Oude constitutes such an extreme case, and obliges us, if it be otherwise incorrigible, to do whatever we may believe to be necessary practically to relieve the people of that country from their intolerable misgovernment. I must contend,

* Mr. Robert Grant's "Sketch of the History of the East India Company," page 198.

with the greatest deference, that the contrary doctrine is the novelty. We now are all convinced that more extreme measures are necessary for that object than were thought necessary heretofore. But what is, and what is not, at any time necessary, is altogether a distinct question from the question of the right to do what is necessary; on which last question I do not think there has been, until now, any difference of opinion since Lord Wellesley's time. I have referred to that statesman's acts in 1801; and I will now refer to the formal proceedings of Lord W. Bentinck, and Lord Hardinge, in 1831, and 1847. Neither of these Governors-General believed it necessary to found what they threatened to do on the Treaty of 1801; for that Treaty does not give the least show of right to do what they threatened to do. I beg leave again to refer to the Honourable Court's dispatch of the 16th of July, 1834, and to their previous dispatch of the 9th of November, 1825. It will be seen from these dispatches that the Honorable Court were fully alive to the fact that the Treaty of 1801 gives us no power to insist upon the country of Oude being governed in any other way than by the King himself, and his own native servants. Nevertheless, induced, indeed, by the violation of that Treaty, but founding their right on grounds quite irrespective of that Treaty, the Honorable Court finally authorized the adoption of a measure which is no more warranted *by that Treaty* than the measure now proposed to be adopted.

In fact, the only difference between the two measures is that the arrangement authorized by the Honorable Court is temporary, whilst the Most Noble the Governor-General recommends the adoption of the same arrangement as a permanent measure. What I would respectfully submit is that, if we have a right to adopt one of these measures, believing it to be necessary to remedy the evil, we have a right to adopt the other, if we believe it to be necessary to remedy the evil; and, conversely, that, if we have not now a right to adopt one of these measures, because the Treaty gives us no right to adopt either, then the Honorable Court's authority given in 1834 to adopt the other of them was wrongfully given, for the same reason. It follows that, if we have a right to adopt one or the other, we are bound to adopt that one which we *now* believe the only one that will afford a sufficient and complete remedy of the evil.

51. I have now only to consider the measure which the Most Noble the Governor-General recommends for adoption, as being in his opinion the most ready legitimate means whereby to obtain from the Nawab the right which, in his Lordship's judgment, we do not now possess. His Lordship proposes that, when the Honorable Court's sanction to the necessary change of relation with Oude (and its decision as to which of the plans of reformed administration is to be preferred) is received, the King shall be informed that we will no longer support, or countenance, his government; that the violated Treaty of 1801 is dissolved; that all amicable relations between the East India Company and him are at an end; that the Resident shall quit his territory; that the whole of the subsidiary force shall be withdrawn from Oude; and that, if the King chooses to meet whatever may be the consequences of this disconnection, the British Government will interpose no further in his affairs, unless forced to do so for the sake of its own territories or people; but, if the King wishes not to meet those consequences, he must sign a Treaty which shall embody his consent to whatever arrangement the wisdom of the Honorable Court may finally determine upon as the best.

52. I have stated above that this measure, on a former occasion, met with a decided disapproval from the Honorable Court. I will here give an extract (paragraphs 21 to 23 of the dispatch of the 16th of July, 1834) from the Honorable Court's dispatch on this point, for facility of reference:

"The question on which alone any further deliberation could be required was, not whether something effectual should be done, but what should be done. This question, indeed, required much and careful consideration, such consideration as you have given to it, and as it has now received from us.

"The simplest course which presented itself, that of withdrawing our troops and leaving the country to its fate, would be pregnant with such

evils to the country itself, and with such dangers to our own neighbouring provinces, as to render all discussion of it superfluous.

"It is necessary to consider what are the modes of interference to which it is possible for you to resort. You will easily perceive that they are but three:—

"1. We may continue to interfere by advice and remonstrance only.

"2. We may change advice for command.

"3. We may take the management into our own hands."

53. It is impossible to foretell what would be the result of such an announcement to the King as the proposed measure contemplates.

The game would no longer be in our hands, and must go as the King should will.

Perhaps the King, whose character I believe is weak enough, might be terrified at the idea of being left, unsupported, to his own resources. I willingly anticipate this as the most probable result. But it is not safe to act upon a hope, as though it were a certainty. The King, no doubt, is told every day of his life that he is a wonderful monarch. All I know of him is that he is so little aware of his own situation, that he does not perceive it to be a ridiculous thing in him to write to the Resident about the great administrative reforms he has introduced. Such a Prince, possibly, may not be prone to think that his life depends on foreign bayonets. Nor indeed do I think it probable that, if Oude were left to itself, the King's life would be taken, at least for a considerable time. It would not be for the interest of the King's disreputable friends and advisers to counsel abdication; it would be for their interest to take all chances of the future, were they ten times worse than they really are, rather than to lose, immediately, and for ever, all the advantages of their present position. If there should be in the King's council but one person of courage and genius, though it should be but a dancing girl (such as Indian annals show many), the King might be led to elect disconnection rather than abdication. Now, what will that election bring upon the people? No man can pretend to prophesy exactly what the ultimate result would be; but we may surely reckon upon a terrible crisis of anarchy as one of the stages that must be gone through. I do not know that we have a right to expect, as the ultimate result, any happier catastrophe than the rising up of an infinity of petty independent chiefs, all over the country, who may, or may not, be at perpetual war with one another, admitting, perhaps, a nominal sovereignty in a King at Lucknow, who may be the present King, or may be his murderer. I find it difficult to look favourably on a measure which may bring all this about.

54. I pass over all objection on the King's part; though certainly, in the supposed case, he would have little reason in the end to thank us for our scruples, in his favour, on the question of his rights; and though perhaps he might not very unreasonably ask us for a short interval for preparation before casting him off, unprepared, to meet the coming tempest. The objection that I feel it difficult to overcome is on the part of the people, who may fairly ask what they have done, to induce us to raise the tempest in which the existing generation are likely to be wrecked. The present condition of the people is in all reason bad enough; it is not from me that arguments will be heard in extenuation of the blame which will attach, as the Most Noble the Governor-General justly observes, to any Government that shall keep them any longer in this condition. But can we be sure that the people themselves would choose to be extricated by such a crisis as must be foreseen, only to fall into some ultimate condition of good or evil which no man living can foresee? I doubt it.

55. On this point, my argument is, that either we are under a binding obligation to look to the prosperity of the people of Oude, or we are not. If we are not, we have no ground for breaking with the King at all; for, except so far as his people are concerned, he has fulfilled all obligations to us. If we are (and all authorities in India and in England are unanimous in holding that we are), can we securely say that this abandonment is a sure and safe way of looking to the prosperity of the people of Oude? I grant that, if our right of interference with the Prince

be null, how we can properly help the people is a difficult practical question to solve. All I can say myself is that, as we act only in the patient's interest, I would advise getting his consent, if possible, before abandoning him to all the chances of so hazardous an experiment; and that I am very happy that the conclusion I have myself come to, from independent considerations upon the question of right, absolves me from the necessity of attempting the solution of this, as of innumerable other practical difficulties.

56. It should be borne in mind that some great families at Lucknow are expressly protected from injury and oppression by your special guarantee. This circumstance is one of the minor elements of practical difficulty, in which an authoritative decision in favour of the King and against the People, upon the great question of our right of interference, would involve us.

57. If the Honorable Court should agree in the conclusion of the Governor-General on the question of right, then I should prefer, to the proposed measure of disconnection, an administration which, by straining to the very utmost the provisions of the Treaty requiring the King to act always in accordance with the advice of the Resident, should virtually take all power out of the King's hands, and lodge it either with the Resident, or with a worthy Minister selected by him. The Minister, and every chief officer of State, might, in this manner, be appointed, and retained in office, during good behaviour, quite independently of the King. This measure would not differ much from the second measure alluded to in the extract above given from the Honorable Court's dispatch of 1834. I do not think this would be a good course of procedure. I think it would be an inadequate remedy; but it would be, to a certain extent, a relief to the people; and I do not know any measure *that can be based upon the existing Treaty of* 1801, that seems likely to do more good, and to be open to less objection.

58. It is perhaps not generally known how very far, in the way of interference, Lord Wellesley had it in contemplation at one time to go, under his own Treaty. On this point, I beg to refer to the whole of his Minute of the 16th of August, 1802, written nearly a year after the signature of the Treaty. I will extract but one short passage: "It is my intention, as soon as the state of public affairs may admit, to prepare a detailed plan for the administration of the Vizier's dominions, founded on that which shall be established within the ceded provinces." The whole Minute shows that, whatever Lord Wellesley would have done under his own Treaty, had he remained in power to see how Oude affairs have gone on since he left the country, he would not have left them in the state they have been in for the last fifty years.

59. I will finish this long paper with a recapitulation of the conclusions at which I have arrived.

I believe that Oude affords an extreme case of incorrigibly bad administration, which, considering the mutual relations of the two Governments, imposes upon the Government of India the duty of adopting, immediately, an extreme remedial measure.

I think that the measure of assuming the temporary management of the country, which this Government has authority to put into execution, would not give a good and effective government to the people of Oude, and that it is open to such grave objections that it ought not to be put into execution.

I think the incorporation of Oude with the territories immediately administered by the British Indian Government the best measure, upon the whole, that can be adopted for the good government of the people of Oude; and I think the East India Company has a clear right to adopt that measure. I, therefore, agree with Mr. Dorin in humbly recommending that the Government of India be authorised to put that measure into execution, with or without the King's consent, declaring, at the same time, the Treaty of 1801 violated, and at an end.

If this measure be disapproved, I humbly recommend that the Government of India be authorised to put into execution the somewhat different measure preferred by the Governor-General, with or without

the King's consent, making the same declaration as to the Treaty of 1801.

If it be determined that no measure of interference with the King, not warranted by the Treaty of 1801, can rightfully be enforced without the King's consent, I humbly recommend that the said Treaty be *not* declared at an end, and that such measures be enforced under it, as shall place all real power in the hands of the Resident, or of a Minister approved by him, the King being advised absolutely to abstain from all interference with the affairs of his kingdom, and being obliged to act in accordance with that advice.

J. P. GRANT.

Inclosure 4 in No. 2.

Minute by Major-General Low.

August 18, 1855.

AT the conclusion of my Minute of the 21st ultimo, respecting the projected change in our relations with Oude, I referred to my intention of writing another Minute on that subject, and I now proceed to fulfil that intention.

2. I had yesterday the advantage of perusing the elaborate Minute of my honorable colleague Mr. Grant on this subject, dated the 7th instant, a circumstance which I hope will enable me to write this Minute without extending it to any inconvenient length.

3. Mr. Grant, by his review in detail of many of the events which occurred between the British Government and the Province of Oude in former times, and to various acts and declarations on the part of Governors-General of India, towards the Rulers of Oude, previous to the Treaty of 1801, has brought entire conviction to my mind of the following very important fact, viz.: that the Government of India possessed, before 1801, very extensive rights, which were neither increased nor diminished by the Treaty of that year, and which rights must legally remain in the possession of the paramount State, after any declaration, however formally made, that the Treaty of 1801 has become null and void.

4. The Most Noble the Governor-General has proved to demonstration that it is both our right and our duty to declare to the King of Oude that the Treaty of 1801 is annulled. I have already recorded my entire concurrence in that opinion. I would openly announce to the King that the said Treaty no longer exists, owing to his having totally failed to comply with the chief provisions of it, and I would present a new Treaty for his signature; I would do my utmost to persuade him to sign a new Treaty, making over his whole kingdom to our exclusive management permanently; making a handsome permanent annual provision for him and his successors: but, in the event of his refusing to sign the proposed document, I would not venture upon so imminent a risk of ruin to thousands of innocent families in Oude, as would be involved in the measure, proposed by the Governor-General, of withdrawing the British Resident and the British troops from that country. I would, in the case supposed, alter my tone towards the King entirely. I would announce to him, openly, that we should take possession of the country, and keep it, and I would not disguise from him, that, in such a case, he should not obtain from us such favorable terms for himself, and his successors, as he would secure by consenting to accept our terms.

5. I now proceed to state the reasons why I cannot agree with his Lordship in thinking that we ought to withdraw the Resident and the troops from Oude, in the event of the King refusing to sign the Treaty proposed to him.

6. In the first place, I would observe that the withdrawal of the Resident cannot, I think, be *necessary, under any circumstances;* because I think, as Mr. Grant does, that, even if the King should flatly refuse, we should still be in possession of those peculiar rights over the Rulers of

Oude, which we possessed before the Treaty of 1801, as that document did not, in any respect, cancel those previously existing rights.

7. I would next observe that, although the troops *might* be withdrawn from the capital, yet that it would be impossible to withdraw the Resident, consistently with our good faith, publicly pledged to protect a great number of individuals and families from all oppression or injury on the part of the Oude Government.

8. Those promises of protection to numerous families, both at Lucknow and Fyzabad, are not mere assurances of extending our good offices to them; they are promises pledged in formal Treaties with several of the Kings of Oude; and we cannot abjure such obligations without losing our good name far and wide in India; neither would it be possible for a Resident to give the promised protection, if he resided at any other place but at the capital.

9. It would not be enough to say to those guaranteed families, you may go to the Company's territories, where you will be protected; it would be misery to them to be compelled to leave their own country, and their own houses and gardens, and the vicinity of the tombs of their forefathers. The promise which we made to those persons, although it was not so specified in the Treaties, was, in their estimation, completely binding upon us, that we should afford them protection from injustice, at all times, *without their quitting their own homes;* and I feel sure that our reputation for good faith would be, far and wide, sadly diminished if we were to withdraw the Resident from Lucknow. Even the large sums of money that we pay in interest on Government securities at the Lucknow Treasury, which has been promised to the holders by a writing signed by a Secretary to Government on the face of those notes, and the establishment of a Pension Pay Office in order to pay the pensions of our Sepoys at Lucknow, are facts which would cause it to be thought, by a large class of natives in Oude, to be an unfair and unworthy act, if we were to withdraw our General Treasury and our Pension Pay Office from that country. In short, I am decidedly of opinion that we ought not to withdraw the Resident and all other British functionaries from Oude, *under any circumstances whatsoever;* and hence, in the event (I think it an improbable event) of the King positively refusing to sign a new Treaty, which, while it is very liberal towards him, and his successors, as regards money and personal rank, shall be tantamount to making over the whole country permanently to us, with all its revenues, minus the above-mentioned allowances, I would do as Lord Wellesley did, when Saadut Alee Khan refused to sign the Treaty of 1801, by issuing orders ourselves to the Talookdars, Amils, and Zemindars, &c., to pay their revenues into our Treasury, instead of into that of the King; and I have no doubt that such a proceeding on our part would have the same effect on the present King as that which was produced on Saadut Alee Khan by the similar act of the Marquis of Wellesley—I mean that the King, for his own interests, would then himself issue the required orders to the Talookdars, &c., and would sign the proposed Treaty.

10. The scheme which I have just advocated for our adoption, if necessary, may be considered harsh towards the King himself individually; but I contend that it would only be a fulfilment of our own obligations to the people of Oude, according to our former Treaties and declarations before the Treaty of 1801 existed, which Treaties were not abrogated by that Treaty, and which therefore will still exist, after that Treaty shall be fully declared to be null and void. Moreover, it would only be consistent both with Lord Hardinge's declaration, in 1847, to the King, and with our own procedure in this very case, in declaring to His Majesty that we will no longer permit him to govern, or rather to misgovern, the Oude territory. We profess, on this occasion, to be only fulfilling our obligations *to the people of Oude*, and that we are acting for their good; and, practically speaking, it would surely be infinitely better for the people of Oude that we should at once assume the Government of the country, without the consent of the King, rather than that we should be, in the first instance, the direct cause of numerous insurrections in Oude, by first withdrawing our Resident and our troops, and afterwards returning to it, as we should

assuredly do, with more troops, to put an end to those insurrections, but which could not be put down until thousands of lives had been lost, and many thousand persons more irretrievably ruined for life by the acts of Dacoits and other lawless plunderers, and by the general state of anarchy and confusion that would exist in the country, between the time when our troops were first withdrawn, and the subjection of the insurgents by our troops, after the return of the latter with reinforcements into Oude, for the purpose of putting an end to that *extra* anarchy, which, in the case supposed, must have been *chiefly* caused by *our own* act.

11. But I trust that no such additional sufferings in Oude as those just alluded to can ever take place, because I believe that, if we assume the sort of tone towards the present King (should it be necessary) that Lord Wellesley did, in 1801, towards the then Ruler of Oude, and if we are, at the same time, liberal in our offers as to present and future pecuniary advantages, His Majesty will consent both to sign the Treaty that may be presented to him, and himself to issue proclamations in the country, announcing to the people that they must, in future, pay their revenues into the Residency Treasury, and consider themselves in every respect under the direct rule of the British Government.

12. I feel sure that such a proclamation from the King would very greatly facilitate our obtaining quiet possession of the whole of the Oude territory; and I would willingly make some sacrifice in money, with a view to secure such great advantages, both to the people of Oude and to ourselves. I would say to the King that, from the day he shall sign the Treaty, his annual allowance shall be so many lakhs of rupees, and that, so soon as all the forts in the country shall be actually garrisoned by our troops, or razed to the ground, as the case may be, he shall have a specified and considerable sum more added to his income.

13. I would even go further in the way of pecuniary provision for the King and his successors, if he should consent to sign the Treaty, and to give us the aid of his Durbar to obtain *quiet* possession of the territory, partly, because our obtaining possession in that manner would be a great present advantage to the people of Oude, and, partly, because I consider that, although the Oude family have greatly mismanaged their own affairs, yet they have very strong claims upon our liberality, from their conduct individually towards us, from the time of Asuf-ood-Dowlah down to the present moment, and especially so since 1801. On that subject I will attach to this Minute a note marked A; and I now proceed to submit a few concluding observations on some of the proposals made by the Most Noble the Governor-General, and I shall also notice some of the suggestions offered by the Honorable Mr. Grant.

"That the British Government and the King of Oude, respectively, shall retain the sovereignty of all the territories of which they are now in possession."

14. I would avoid such an expression as that contained in the second Article, respecting the retention of "sovereignty" by the King; the whole of that Article is now quoted in the margin; and I would suggest that it would be better to leave out that Article entirely.

15. The word "sovereignty" would be applicable, if the Oude territory were to be like the assigned districts of Berar, &c., of Hyderabad, made over to us for a specific purpose, we paying the surplus revenue annually to the Sovereign, after the accomplishment of that purpose; but, in this case, where it is not proposed that we shall do anything of that kind, I think it would be very much better to avoid any such expression as that of the King retaining "sovereignty:" I would, therefore, suggest that the second Article should be left out entirely; and, in the third Article, instead of saying "that the King of Oude, while he retains the sovereignty of his present dominions," I would say "that the King," while he retains the rank and title and all the honours heretofore enjoyed by him as Sovereign of Oude, "shall vest the whole civil and military administration thereof, with all power, jurisdiction, rights, and claims thereto belonging, in the hands of the Honorable East India Company."

16. I beg here to add another observation respecting the provisions of the proposed Treaty. I think it would be fair in itself, and that it might prove to be an inducement to the King to consent speedily to our

plan, and to cooperate with us towards its immediate execution, if the Treaty were to include a promise to this effect, viz.: that, so soon as there shall be a clear surplus revenue from Oude, after paying all descriptions of expenses connected with its administration (which would include every kind of improvement in the way of canals, roads, bridges, &c.), he, the King, shall have an addition to his income of a specified sum of money paid annually over and above his ordinary income, which will be paid to him monthly. It would not be necessary that this additional sum should be a large one; three or four lakhs of rupees per annum would be sufficient for the purpose of causing an incentive in the mind of the King to agree to our plan in the first instance, and to give him a hope of future benefit, and a feeling of interest in the future tranquillity of the country. Such feelings as those last-mentioned on the part of the present King, and of his successors, may save us from many petty intrigues which would, more or less, place obstacles in the way of our progress in establishing an efficient Government in Oude. I would not give to this additional salary the name of any "proportion of the net profits" of Oude, as was done in some cases formerly in the south of India, because that would involve the trouble of keeping accounts of what the real profits of Oude may be from time to time. I would merely specify the sum as an extra advantage which the King and his successors will receive, after a *bonâ fide* peaceful and beneficial government to the inhabitants of the country shall be fully established in the Oude territory.

N.B.—I consider it of very great importance, for the good of the people of Oude, that the transfer to our direct rule should take place as speedily as possible after the plan shall have been publicly announced at Lucknow; and it would also be an immense advantage that this should be done with the consent and cooperation of the King; in the latter case, a great number of influential men would at once submit to the new *régime*, who would otherwise, more or less openly, act in direct opposition to it.

J. Low.

17. I beg to make one more observation connected with the proposed plan of the Most Noble the Governor-General. It relates only to a matter of detail, but it is one which will be of much importance in the eyes of the King and his adherents. His Lordship proposes that the ex-King shall have full jurisdiction, except as regards the punishment of death, over his followers within the precincts of his palace only. I would strongly recommend that the said jurisdiction should be extended to both of his palaces, one in the city and the other immediately outside of it, and to the gardens attached thereto, and also extended to the Dil Khosha and Beeheepore Parks: these are two large parks adjoining each other, of about four miles in circumference, the nearest gate being a mile, or more, outside of the city. There are great numbers of deer, and all sorts of game in these two parks, both of which are surrounded by high walls. There is a good house in the centre of the Dil Khosha Park, in which the Rulers of Oude have frequently resided for several weeks at a time (with camps pitched for their followers) to enjoy cheeta hunting, hawking, and shooting; and I really think that the ex-Kings and their principal adherents would be miserable, unless they had exclusive jurisdiction within those two parks; and, as there are distinct boundaries to them by high walls, I feel sure that no serious inconvenience could arise from giving the ex-King the same jurisdiction within those walls as he is to have within the precincts of his palace in the city.

18. I shall now close this Minute with a few brief remarks respecting some of the suggestions which have been made by my honorable colleague Mr. Grant.

19. With reference to the two sentences in Mr. Grant's Minute (par. 42), now copied in the margin, I beg to say that, if it can be brought about amicably, I concur with him in thinking that it would be desirable that the title and rank of "King" should be allowed to the present King only; that self-bestowed title and nominal rank have been spoken of among the natives in all parts of India with nothing but ridicule or contempt from the time of Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder, who first assumed them, up to the present day: and the title of King will of course be considered still more ridiculous,

"I would not recommend that the King should be degraded from his title, rank, or honours. These I would preserve to him, as they are preserved to the Emperor of Delhi, and the Nawabs of Tanjore, Arcot, and Moorshedabad. But I do think that the title of King should die with the present Ruler.

"A man who has once been a King may be styled King with the greatest propriety to the end of his life; but I do not see much reason for styling men Kings who had never had any Princely power whatever, only because one of their remote ancestors was a King."

after the present King shall have become a pensioner of the British Government. I am fully of opinion, therefore, that, if it can be amicably arranged (which very possibly may be the case), it will be advisable to settle, by a Separate Article, that, although the present Ruler shall be continued to be styled "King of Oude," yet that the title of each of his successors shall be that of "Nawab of Lucknow." There can be no difficulty in making that change as regards honours, to the successors of the present man, as "Nawabs," instead of "Kings," with the single exception of the number of guns to be fired as a salute, because, in all other matters of complimentary forms, and honours of every description, the Kings of Oude have always been treated by the British Resident, and by all visitors, with considerably less formality and less personal dignity than any other native Sovereign in India with whom I have had communication, and very properly so, because the Marquis of Hastings made it an express stipulation, when he allowed Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder to call himself "King," that the forms of intercourse between him and all British officers were to continue exactly the same as they were when he had only the rank of "Nawab Vizier."

N.B.—I take the opportunity of mentioning the fact that, among the Hindoos of Oude, in districts which are distant from the capital, the Sovereign of the country is never, even to this day, spoken of by the new title of "King," but uniformly by the old title of "Nawab."

J. Low.

20. From what I have just said, it will be seen that, to a certain extent, I quite agree with my honorable colleague, Mr. Grant, respecting the position which ought to be occupied by the successors of the present King of Oude, but I entirely differ from my honorable colleague in his notion that it would be advisable to make a separate settlement with each successor as to the amount of salary he is to receive during his incumbency. To say nothing of the probability of such an intention on our part rendering it impossible to obtain the King's consent to our proposed Treaty, I should lament, for other reasons, to see such a scheme carried into execution, for it would be destructive of our good name for liberality and justice, in every part of India in which it might become known, and it assuredly would become known to a vast number of native Chiefs throughout our Eastern Empire. Most of those Chiefs know well that, by our connexion with Oude, we have already gained enormous advantages, both as to political power and pecuniary advantages; they will know also that we shall again add largely to our annual revenues by the measure which we are now about to carry out, and they would consider such a scheme as that of altering the pension at the death of each incumbent (or at the death of any one of them) to a lower amount than it was before, to be a mean and unjust procedure, quite unworthy of a great Government.

21. For my own part, I consider that, if such a scheme as that above discussed were carried into effect, we should gain a very few lakhs of rupees per annum in specie, and we should lose a name for justice and good faith (for it would be viewed by natives of India as a departure from good faith), that is of far greater real value to us than the difference in the amount of our treasure could possibly be under any circumstances.

22. Neither do I believe that to the *people* of Oude, for whose benefit we profess to adopt this great measure, there could be any important advantage, even if the successors to the present King were to receive only the same number of *thousands* of rupees as we now intend to allow of *lakhs* per annum. If, indeed, those princes were to hoard up their money in large sums, and bury it, or even if they were to dispose of their lakhs, as most European gentlemen do with their thousands, when they reach the highest offices in the public Indian service, that is to say, if those pensioners were to save more than they expend, and to send their savings off to a distant country, then I should admit that, in either of those cases, the granting of a large pension to the successors of the present King would cause a loss to the people of Oude; but we all know that the habits of Mahomedan men of rank are quite the reverse of this, and hence that there is no fear of loss to the people of Oude from such causes.

23. It is likely enough, as Mr. Grant says, with respect to those pensioned Princes, that "their palaces would be filled with idle profligates." This, if it should so happen, will, no doubt, be a cause of regret,

and it is equally doubtless that those Princes might spend their money in many ways which would be far more beneficial to the community: but, still, the money paid in those pensions will not be lost to the public; it will be extensively circulated, and many industrious men of the working classes will be greatly benefited thereby.

24. In short, I cannot conceive it to be possible, that the continuance of the pension to the successors of this King can ever cause injury either to the people of Oude or to the natives of any part of British India, and, under all the circumstances of the case, I am decidedly of opinion that, whatever may be the amount of pension now to be settled upon the present King, the same amount ought to be punctually paid to each of his successors, as is proposed by the Most Noble the Governor-General.

J. LOW.

Note A, appended to Major-General Low's Minute on Oude Affairs, dated August 15, 1855.

The object of this note is, by some brief remarks, to show my principal reasons for thinking that the reigning family of Oude have very strong claims upon us for permanent liberal pecuniary provision to their descendants, when they become our pensioners; firstly, in consequence of the uniform good faith that we have experienced from the Rulers of Oude for ninety years, in all their external political relations to us and to our allies; and, secondly, as arising from the unusual degree of active friendship which has been evinced towards us by the five rulers who have sat upon the Throne of that kingdom since the death of Saadut Alee Khan.

It will be admitted, I think, that I have had good opportunities of knowing the real characters of those five Princes, when I state the fact that I have been personally acquainted with them all, and that, with three of them, I have been very intimately acquainted, and have transacted much public business with those three Princes, in the course of the eleven years that I held the office of Resident at Lucknow.

So much has been published in newspapers respecting real and alleged misrule in Oude, during the last thirty years, with no one to write on the opposite side, or explain misstatements, and it is, moreover, so frequent a habit on the part of many of my countrymen who have never sojourned in native States, to lay the blame of all acts of violence that occur in those States on the individual native Ruler at the head of it, that it has occasionally happened, to my positive knowledge, that the Kings of Oude have been spoken of in English society as merciless tyrants over their own subjects, and as men who had no feeling of gratitude for the protection, or the forbearance, of the British Government.

Now, that sort of language is positively untrue, as regards every one of the last five Kings; they have sadly mismanaged their own affairs, I admit; and I also admit fully that it has become quite necessary to deprive them of all political power; but their general conduct towards us, both as useful public allies of our Government, and as individual Princes conducting business in a regular, attentive, courteous, and friendly manner with our public functionaries, has been unusually meritorious and praiseworthy; and we have gained so many solid advantages from that conduct on the part of those Kings, that, in my opinion, the present King (if he shall sign the Treaty we propose to him), and his heirs and successors after him, are well entitled to most liberal treatment in a pecuniary point of view, after we shall have deprived them of the power, and dignity, and freedom, and wealth, which heretofore have belonged to their position as Sovereigns of Oude.

It is not only that the Kings of Oude have never been hostile to us in their proceedings, and never intrigued against us in any way; they have abstained from every kind of communication with other native Potentates, except openly, and through the medium of the British Resident; and, during our wars against our enemies, they have constantly proved to be *really active* and *most useful* allies to us; they have, again and again, forwarded large supplies of grain and cattle, &c., to our armies, with an alacrity that could not be exceeded by our own British Chiefs of Provinces;

and, during our wars against the Nepalese and Burmese, the King of Oude lent us very large sums of money—no less than *three crores* of rupees—when we were extremely in want of it, and could not procure it elsewhere; and, even so late as 1842, the grandfather of the present King supplied us with fourteen lakhs of rupees, and his son (the father of the present King) supplied us with thirty-two lakhs of rupees, which were of very great use indeed to Lord Ellenborough's Government, in enabling him to push on and equip General Pollock's army, to retrieve our disasters in Affghanistan. With reference to this last-mentioned fact, I beg to attach to this note a paper, marked B, containing some extracts from the Lucknow records, which will show the tone of mind, and the spirit, in which that aid was given to the British Government by the Ruler of Oude.

Having alluded above to supplies of cattle, as being one of the modes in which the Rulers of Oude have been useful to us, I may as well here mention the fact that, during the Nepal war, the then King of Oude lent to us, free of all cost, nearly 300 elephants. The aid thus obtained for conveying our artillery and ammunition and tents, &c., in our mountain warfare, was of immense value to us, and of a kind which it was totally out of our power to obtain in any other manner, or from any other quarter.

I can also state it to be a fact that, in all those measures depending upon a native Prince which relate *exclusively* to the interest of the paramount State, such as searching for and giving up criminals who have escaped into Oude from our provinces, supplying our troops when marching through Oude, protecting our Dâks, &c., &c., &c., the Government of Oude has always been, and is up to this day, unusually attentive and efficient. I can further truly remark that the Kings of Oude have cooperated most actively and efficiently with us in capturing Thugs and Dacoits; and, in regard to the settlement of petty frontier disputes about lands, which occasionally happen from the changes in the beds of rivers and nullahs and from other causes, the Oude Durbar acted, during my incumbency at Lucknow (and I conclude it is the same to this day), with a degree of alacrity, and a leaning to our wishes, such as I never saw before, or since, in any other native State, in any other part of India. In short, the grand errors of the Oude Kings have been their sad mismanagement of their own interior affairs, and their culpable neglect of our advice in regard to those interior concerns. In regard to their external relations with us, their conduct has been remarkably irreproachable.

Since the above was written, I have read again an extract which I made, for my own satisfaction, some weeks ago from the Minute of the Most Noble the Governor-General, dated the 18th of June last, and I think I cannot do better than to close this note by copying that extract entire. I need scarcely add that I most fully concur in the opinions therein recorded by his Lordship, viz., "The Rulers of Oude, however unfaithful they may have been to the trust confided to them, however grievous their misgovernment of the people committed to their charge, have yet ever been faithful and true in their adherence to the British power: no wavering friendship has ever been laid to their charge. They have all along acknowledged our power, have submitted without a murmur to our supremacy, and have aided us, as they best could, in the hour of our utmost need."

J. LOW.

Paper B, attached to Note A, dated August 18, 1855, *both being appended to Major-General Low's Minute of August* 18, 1855.

Extract of a dispatch from Lieutenant-Colonel Low, Resident at Lucknow, to T. H. Maddock, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, dated the 21st of January, 1842.

1. I have the honour to report that, with reference to the great difficulty experienced, since October last, by the Accountant in the North-Western Provinces, in providing the requisite supplies of specie for this and other public treasuries, and adverting also to the late constant and

exaggerated rumours afloat of our reverses in Affghanistan, and of their supposed effects, such rumours rendering it desirable, in my opinion, to show to the native community that the confidence of the Oude Government in our stability remains unabated, I thought it my duty last month, both from financial and political considerations, to make use of my personal influence with the King of Oude, to induce him to lend a considerable sum of money to the Government of India.

2. I accordingly explained to His Majesty, in a candid manner, the cause of our present increased remittances to Affghanistan, and stated to him frankly that there was a temporary difficulty in procuring supplies of money at the precise places where they were wanted to the westward, which inconvenience would, perhaps, last for several months, and I said that, in my opinion, he could not in any way more appropriately evince his goodwill and gratitude to the British Government, than by subscribing largely to the Government loan now open, which I therefore advised him to do, as it would, I thought, at once be pleasing to the Governor-General in Council, and would, at the same time, benefit himself, because he would receive 5 per cent. interest for money which otherwise would remain without profit in his treasury.

3. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the way in which the King received this intimation of my wishes. He declared, in an earnest and cordial manner, that it always gave him pleasure to carry my wishes into effect, and that he was, at all times, ready to do so when, as in the present case, the act depended upon himself individually (here he made an allusion to the difficulty of carrying my wishes into effect in improving his general government, because that depended on numerous persons besides himself); that he well knows that his own prosperity depends entirely on that of the Company's Government, and that he would willingly subscribe all the money he could possibly spare, without the least delay, adding that, in two or three days, he would send to my treasury at least ten lakhs of rupees, and if practicable one or two lakhs more.

N.B.—The sum in question was some days afterwards made up to fourteen lakhs.

J. Low.

Extract of a dispatch from T. H. Maddock, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, dated the 18th of July, 1842, to Lieutenant-Colonel Low, Resident at Lucknow.

* * * your dispatches of the 12th and 15th instant, to the Governor-General, and I am directed to inform you that your proceedings, as therein reported, have met with the full approbation of his Lordship. The loan of 20 lakhs which you have procured from the King of Oude will afford a very seasonable relief to the finances of the North-Western Provinces, and your exertions in obtaining it are duly appreciated by the Governor-General.

From T. H. Maddock, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to Lieutenant-Colonel Low, Resident at Lucknow, dated the 19th of September, 1842.

Sir, *Simla, September* 19, 1842.

I am directed by the Right Honorable the Governor-General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 83, dated the 5th instant, reporting that His Majesty the King of Oude has agreed to subscribe 10 lakhs of rupees to the Government 5 per cent. loan, and in reply to inform you that, the King, following your suggestions in this matter, has afforded his Lordship entire satisfaction.

Two lakhs more were added to that 10, thus making the total sum supplied by that King, in 1842, amount to 32 lakhs, while his father, in the early part of the same year, supplied 14 lakhs. Total 46 lakhs.

J. Low.

I have, &c.

T. H. MADDOCK.

Inclosure 5 in No. 2.

Minute by Mr. Peacock.

August 22, 1855.

Government of Oude.

I HAVE read the Minutes of the Most Noble the Governor-General, and of my honorable colleagues, with that attention which the importance of the subject demands. No one who reads the report of the Officiating Resident at Lucknow, and the clear and masterly statement of facts contained in the Minute of the Governor-General, can fail to be convinced that the people of that fertile, but unhappy, country are groaning under oppression, that they are subjected, without redress, to the most fearful atrocities at the hands of officials and of men in power, and that they are suffering from all the evils consequent on a state of misgovernment, worse, if possible, than no government at all. I, therefore, concur entirely with the Governor-General, that the relations which have heretofore existed between the British Government and the State of Oude, can no longer be maintained, and that the policy which we have heretofore observed must undergo a total change.

The question is, what that change shall be, and how it is to be effected.

The Governor-General is of opinion that the provisions of the Treaty of 1801, as it now stands, are not sufficient to enable the Government of India to apply an adequate remedy to the abuses of the administration of Oude.

The high respect which I entertain for the opinion of the Governor-General, leads me always to express my own opinion with the greatest diffidence, when I find it at variance with his.

I trust, however, that I shall be able to show that the East India Company have the right to compel the King of Oude to submit to such just and reasonable demands as may be necessary to secure good government for the people of that State.

I admit that the intention of all parties to the Treaty of 1801 was that the system of administration, for which stipulation was made by the VIth Article of the Treaty, was to be carried into effect by the officers of the Nawab Vizier. I admit that the Treaty makes no express provision for what is to be done, in the event of a breach of any of the engagements contained in it.

It is not usual for Treaties between nations, any more than contracts between individuals, to provide specifically for what is to be done in the event of a breach of any of the engagements. The fact that such stipulations are unusual is an argument, though not a conclusive one, that they are unnecessary.

If a contract between private persons is broken by either party, the other has a right, in some cases, to cancel the contract, or to refuse to perform any engagements on his part: but it is entirely at his option to do so or not.

If it is to his interest to uphold the contract rather than to declare it at an end, he has a right to resort to a Court of Justice to compel a specific performance of the contract, or to obtain reparation for the breach of it.

In like manner, if a Treaty entered into by two nations be broken by one of them, the injured nation has the option either to consider the Treaty at an end, or to uphold it, and insist upon the performance of it, and, if necessary, to resort to force for that purpose.

For example, if a nation contracts with another to demolish a particular fort, or not to keep up more than a certain number of ships of war, or not to navigate particular seas with her ships of war, or the like, there is no necessity to declare what shall be the consequence of a breach of the Treaty. If the nation which contracts to demolish the fort, or to limit the number of her ships of war, or to confine them to particular seas, violates her contract, the other may justly resort to force, and destroy the fort, or capture or destroy the ships, used in violation of the terms of the

Treaty. If, after the Treaty of 1801, the Nawab Vizier had refused to surrender to the East India Company the possession of the territories ceded by that Treaty, the East India Company might lawfully have resorted to force to obtain the possession of those territories; they would not merely have declared the Treaty at an end, and refused protection to the State of Oude, but they would, no doubt, have upheld the Treaty, and enforced the performance of it. In the same manner, I apprehend they are entitled to act in the present case. I am borne out in the above observations by the following extract from Vattel, p. 213.

He says: "Treaties contain promises that are perfect and reciprocal. If one of the allies fails in his engagements, the other may compel him to fulfil them; a perfect promise confers a right to do so. But, if the latter has no other expedient than that of arms to force his ally to the performance of his promises, he will sometimes find it more eligible to cancel the promises on his own side also, and to dissolve the Treaty. He has undoubtedly a right to do this, since his promises were made only on condition that the ally should, on his part, execute everything which he had engaged to perform. The party, therefore, who is offended or injured in those particulars which constitute the basis of the Treaty, is at liberty to choose the alternative of either compelling a faithless ally to fulfil his engagements, or of declaring the Treaty dissolved by his violation of it. On such an occasion, prudence and wise policy will point out the line of conduct to be pursued." I cite from the edition by Chitty, 1834.

It must be borne in mind that, whenever a nation resorts to force against a Sovereign or another nation, for the purpose of asserting or maintaining her rights, she in fact commences war against such Sovereign or nation. "War," says Vattel, p. 290, "is that state in which we prosecute our rights by force." It is, therefore, proper to consider whether the East India Company would be justified in resorting to force, or, in other words, to commence war against the King of Oude, to compel him to yield to their just demands. In the passage above quoted from Vattel he says: "Treaties contain promises that are perfect. If one of the allies fails in his engagements, the other may compel him to fulfil them; a perfect promise confers a right to do so."

At p. 302 he says: "The right of employing force, or making war, belongs to nations no further than is necessary for their own defence, and for the maintenance of their rights. Now, if any one attacks a nation, or violates her perfect rights, he does her an injury. Then, and not till then, that nation has a right to repel the aggressor, and reduce him to reason. Further, she has a right to prevent the intended injury, when she sees herself threatened with it. Let us then say, in general, that the foundation, or cause, of every just war is injury, either already done or threatened."

Elsewhere, at p. 315, he says: "After a fruitless application for justice, a nation may proceed to a declaration of war, which is then pure and simple. But, to include the whole business in a single act instead of two separate ones, the demand of justice (called by the Romans *rerum repetitio*) may, if we think proper, be accompanied by a conditional declaration of war, notifying that we will commence hostilities unless we obtain immediate satisfaction on such or such a subject. In this case, there is no necessity for adding a pure and simple declaration of war, the conditional one sufficing, if the enemy delays giving satisfaction. If the enemy on either declaration of war, offers equitable conditions of peace, we are bound to refrain from hostilities; for, as soon as justice is done to us, that immediately supersedes all right to employ force, which we are not allowed to use unless for the necessary maintenance of our rights. To these offers, however, are to be added securities; for we are under no obligation to suffer ourselves to be amused by empty proposals."

Again, at p. 306: "When offensive war has for its object the punishment of a nation, it ought, like every other war, to be founded on right and necessity.

"1. On right: an injury must have been actually received. Injury alone being a just cause of war, the reparation of it may be lawfully prosecuted, or, if in its nature it be irreparable (the only case in which we

are allowed to punish) we are authorised to provide for our own safety, and even for that of other nations, by inflicting on the offender a punishment capable of correcting him, and serving as an example to others.

"2. A war of this kind must have necessity to justify it; that is to say, that to be lawful it must be the only remaining mode to obtain a just satisfaction, which implies a reasonable security for the time to come. If that complete satisfaction be offered, or if it may be obtained without a war, the injury is done away, and the right to security no longer authorises us to seek vengeance for it."

The above extracts prove beyond a doubt the following propositions:

1. That a nation may obtain a perfect right by contract or Treaty.

2. That a breach of a contract or Treaty is an injury which confers upon the injured nation a right to resort to force, for the purpose of obtaining her rights.

3. That, when a nation is compelled to resort to force for the recovery of her rights, she is entitled to security against future wrongs, and is not bound to accept mere empty proposals.

4. That a just satisfaction includes a reasonable security for the time to come.

5. That she is not entitled to proceed to force, if the offender is willing to submit to fair and equitable conditions.

By the IIIrd Article of the Treaty of 1801, the East India Company engaged to defend the territories retained by the Nawab, from all foreign and domestic enemies; and, by the VIth Article, the Nawab engaged to establish in his dominions such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as should be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants.

Whatever difference of opinion may exist upon other points, every one must, I think, admit that, in spite of advice and remonstrance, in spite of continual warnings, and in spite of repeated threats, the King has utterly violated the obligation which he undertook by the VIth Article of the Treaty.

When the East India Company bound themselves to protect the Nawab against domestic enemies, the framers of the Treaty thought it necessary, for the protection of the people, to bind him to maintain a proper system of Government. By that Treaty, they obtained a perfect right to have such a Government maintained. By the breach of it, they are justly authorised to resort to force to obtain a just satisfaction for the past, and a reasonable security for the future. If reasonable security can be obtained without force, satisfaction for the past should not be insisted upon. But, if the King refuse to give reasonable security for the good government of the people, he will have no one to blame but himself; and the evil which may result to him, will be attributable solely to his own injustice, and the violation of a Treaty solemnly entered into.

This leads me to consider what demand should be made.

Of the four proposals suggested by the Governor-General, in paragraph 57 of his Lordship's Minute, I think the second is the one which should be adopted.

In considering this question, I think we should consider, not what would be the best for the people of Oude, or for the British Government, but what will afford reasonable security that the object and intentions of the framers of the Treaty of 1801 will be carried out for the future. Our object is not to punish for the past, but to obtain security for the future.

Now it certainly was never the intention of the framers of the Treaty of 1801, that the people of Oude should cease to be subjects of the Rulers of that Province, and become subjects of the British Crown: it was the intention to guarantee to the Nawab Vizier, and his heirs, the possession of the territories which remained to him, together with the exercise of his authority within those dominions; at the same time, it was intended to secure to the people a government which would be conducive to their prosperity, and would afford protection to their lives and property.

If any reasonable security could be afforded that such a Government

could be carried into effect by the officers of the King, I think that, notwithstanding the past flagrant breaches of the Treaty, we ought to accept such security, and be satisfied with a specific performance of the engagement for the future. But I am perfectly satisfied that no such security can be afforded, and that any proposal to that effect is utterly futile. It is clear that the King is totally unfit, by nature, by education, and by his habits, for the high and important duties which have devolved upon him.

But, if the King will consent to vest the whole civil and military administration of his kingdom in the East India Company, for ever, to be carried into effect by their officers in his name, I think a sufficient guarantee for the future good government of his kingdom will be obtained, without the necessity of deposing him, or compelling him to abdicate, and to vest the whole of his territories in the British Government. For the strong and conclusive reasons urged by the Governor-General in paragraphs 59 to 68 of his Lordship's Minute, I am of opinion that nothing less than the second project proposed by his Lordship will be sufficient, and, for the above reasons, in addition to those which have been urged by the Governor-General in paragraph 59, I think that nothing more is *necessary*, and, consequently, that any further demand would be unjust.

My honorable colleague, Mr. Grant, in his very valuable Minute, has argued that the King of Oude is not an independent Sovereign, that Oude was merely a province, and that the Nawab was a mere Soobahdar, or Governor of that province. It is not necessary to discuss, in the present Minute, whether the Nawab, prior to the Treaty of 1801, was, or was not, a mere Viceroy or Governor, liable to be removed at any time by the East India Company, as the representative of the Emperor. Whatever might have been the case prior to the Treaty of 1801, I cannot think that, after that Treaty was entered into, he could have been removed by the East India Company from the possession, or government, of the territories which were confirmed to him by that Treaty, so long as he continued to observe the engagements which he thereby entered into. He has broken these engagements, it is true, and, therefore, in strictness, he is not now entitled to avail himself of the provisions of the Treaty.

The consent of the Company to allow him to assume the title of King was of course dependent upon any rights that might accrue to them from his non-observance of existing Treaties. The King may, therefore, in this view of the case, have placed himself at the mercy of the East India Company, by the non-observance of the engagements contained in the Treaty of 1801; but I do not think that it would be just or generous to inflict upon him any further punishment than may be necessary to secure the fulfilment of the spirit of the VIth Article of the Treaty, and to establish for the people of Oude a good government upon a sound and substantial foundation. For these reasons, I concur with the Governor-General in advising that the Province of Oude should not be declared to be British territory, and I would humbly recommend to the Honorable Court of Directors the adoption of the measures proposed in the second project specified in the Minute of the Governor-General.

If the Honorable Court of Directors should resolve to adopt that measure, I think that no pecuniary benefit should be derived by the East India Company. I, therefore, cannot recommend that any part of the revenues of Oude should be applied to the payment of the military administration of the province.

By the 1st Article of the Treaty of 1801, the Nawab Vizier ceded to the East India Company, in perpetual sovereignty, certain portions of his territorial possessions, amounting in the gross revenue to one crore and thirty-five lakhs of rupees, in commutation of the subsidy which his Excellency had, by the Treaty of 1798, agreed to pay to the East India Company.

In consideration of that cession of territory, the East India Company agreed to defend the territories remaining in his possession against all foreign and domestic enemies, and, by Article V, it was expressly declared that, the true intent of the territorial cession being in lieu of the subsidy and of all expenses on account of the Company's defensive engagements with his Excellency, no demand whatever should be made upon the

treasury of his Excellency on account of expenses which the Honorable Company might incur by assembling forces to repel the attack, or menaced attack, of a foreign enemy,—on account of the detachment attached to his Excellency's person,—on account of troops which might occasionally be furnished for suppressing rebellions or disorders in his Excellency's territories,—on account of any future change of military stations,—or on account of failures in the resources of the ceded districts, arising from unfavorable seasons, the calamities of war, or any other cause whatever. It should be borne in mind that, if the second project be adopted, the people of Oude will remain subjects of the present King; that the province will not be annexed, and will form no part of the British territories; that the people of that State will have no interest in, nor derive any benefit from, the general revenues of the Company's territories. It should be remembered also that the breaches, by the Kings of Oude, of the VIth Article of the Treaty of 1801, of which the Honorable Company have such just reason to complain, were rather the misfortune than the fault of the people. It is for their sake, and for their sake alone, that interference has become necessary. It would, therefore, I think be unfair to impose upon the revenues of the country any burthens which they would not have had to bear if the engagement of the Treaty had been fully and fairly fulfilled by the King. For these reasons, I would not subject them to the payment of the military expenses, which ought to be borne by the revenues of the provinces which were ceded by the 1st Article of the Treaty of 1801.

For the same reason, I would not place the residue of the revenue at the disposal of the East India Company, but would leave it to be disposed of entirely for the benefit of the people of the province. The whole expenses of the civil administration of the country should, of course, be a charge upon the revenues. If any portion of the general expenses of the Government of India can be fairly allotted to the province as part of the civil administration of the country, I see no objection; but I think that there will be great difficulty in fixing what portion of those expenses ought to be debited to Oude; and, rather than give rise to any misunderstanding, or open a door to any reasonable ground of complaint upon that subject, I would not charge any part of those expenses to the Province of Oude. This point, however, may be reserved for future consideration, and will not at all necessitate any alteration in the wording of the Treaty proposed by the Governor-General to be submitted to the King for his sanction.

I do not see any necessity to annul former Treaties, except so much of Article VI of the Treaty of 1801 as may be inconsistent with the project proposed for conducting the future government of the country. As our title to the provinces ceded by the Treaty of 1801 depends upon that Treaty, I would rather uphold it than declare it to be annulled. I would make the proposed Treaty binding upon the heirs and successors of the King.

The provision for His Majesty's family, not being heirs to the Throne, should, I think, be granted for life only, subject to be renewed, at the option of the East India Company, in such cases, and in such proportions, as they may consider expedient; and the provision for the heirs of the King should be so restricted as to include only heirs to the Throne, so as to exclude heirs who may be adopted without the consent of the Government of India, and who might become entitled to the allowance, though the State might lapse.

I am of opinion that the King should not be allowed to exercise any jurisdiction, or powers of government, even within the walls or demesnes of his own palace. He has shown himself so utterly unfit to be trusted with any of the powers of government, that I would exclude him altogether from such an important trust.

I would by no means allow the King to exercise any option as to whether he will accept the terms offered to him or not; nor can I recommend that, under any circumstances, the Resident should quit the territories, or that the troops should be withdrawn.

If the King be allowed the option of submitting to the terms which may be proposed, or of having the troops withdrawn, he may be ill-advised

and elect the latter alternative; and the departure of the Resident and the withdrawal of the troops would probably be a signal for the commencement of a scene of anarchy and oppression that we should long have to deplore.

I think it would be inexpedient for the East India Company to attempt to conduct a Government by its own officers, in the name of the King, without his consent. If, therefore, the Honorable Court should determine to propose the second project, and the King should refuse to accept the terms offered, I should recommend the East India Company to exercise that power which I believe is, in strictness, vested in them, in consequence of the violation of the Treaty, and to remove the King and his heirs for ever from the Throne, of which he has proved himself so unworthy an occupant, and from the title which he has so entirely disgraced. I do not think it likely that the King will be so unwise as to refuse submission, when he is aware of the consequences to which his refusal will subject him; but, should he do so, he will be the cause, and the only cause, of his own misfortune and disgrace.

B. PEACOCK.

No. 3.

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

November 21, 1855. (No. 33.)

1. IN a letter in the Foreign Department, dated Ootacamund, July 3, No. 4 of 1855, the Governor-General transmits to us a report from Major-General Outram, Officiating Resident at Lucknow, on the condition of Oude, states the result of his own deliberations on the subject, and proposes for our sanction the measures which he is of opinion that the deplorable state of that misgoverned country renders it imperative on the British Government, without further delay, to adopt.

2. The letter from the President in Council, dated the 22nd of August, No. 50 of 1855, transmits to us the Minutes which the other members of your Government have recorded on the subject; agreeing with the Governor-General in regarding the evils of Oude as incurable by any other means than the permanent assumption by the British Government of the entire administration of that country; and agreeing with him in asserting the right, and duty, of applying that ultimate remedy; but differing, to a certain extent, from his Lordship in the mode which they would adopt of removing the obstacles to that necessary consummation.

3. In communicating to you our sentiments on the important question which the Governor-General has referred for our consideration, it is unnecessary for us to advert, in any but the briefest terms, to the character of the Oude Administration, either at the present or at former periods, or to dwell on the spectacle of anarchy and misrule which that country has long exhibited. Our records and our correspondence, for many years past, contain such numerous recognitions, and such overwhelming evidence, of this melancholy state of things, as would render it superfluous to enter into further particulars, even if the Governor-General had not, in his Minute, presented a full and faithful summary of the facts which, as they were successively brought to our notice, we have so often had occasion to deplore. The doubt which is raised by a survey of those facts is not whether it is now incumbent on us to free ourselves from the responsibility of upholding such a Government, but whether we have been excusable in not fulfilling that duty at an earlier period.

4. In considering the manner in which our obligations towards Oude, in the present condition of that country, may best be fulfilled, we agree with the Governor-General in rejecting as ineffectual any plan of interference grounded on the provisions of existing Treaties. By those Treaties, the King of Oude is bound, in general terms, to govern according to the advice of the Resident, and specially to introduce into his territory

"His Excellency engages that he will 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."

a reformed system of administration. But it is also provided that this reformed system shall be carried into effect by his own officers; and, throughout the period of more than half a century, during which the Treaties have existed, this one provision has frustrated all the efforts which have been made to induce the Sovereigns of Oude to fulfil their obligations to the British Government, and to their own subjects,—efforts in support of which all means have been exhausted, except actual coercion, or the announcement that our connection with the Oude Government is dissolved.

5. But the violation, to so flagrant an excess, by a succession of Sovereigns, through so long a period (with a few brief intermissions), of the most important conditions of the Subsidiary Treaty, unquestionably releases us from the obligations towards those Sovereigns which that Treaty laid on us. Having failed to govern in conformity with the repeated requisitions made under the Treaty, the King of Oude has forfeited his right to the protection which it promises, and is no longer entitled to the irresistible support of our arms in maintaining his authority over subjects towards whom he so ill fulfils the duties of a ruler.

6. The Governor-General accordingly proposes that your Government should notify to the King of Oude that the Treaty of 1801, and all the other Treaties between his predecessors and the British Power, are at an end; that the political relations between the two Governments have ceased to exist; that, if he wishes for their renewal, it can only be on a completely altered footing; and that, unless he shall consent to a new Treaty, making over in perpetuity to the British Government the entire administration of his territory, he will no longer be considered as under British protection, and the Resident and the troops will be withdrawn.

7. The Governor-General appears to have made this proposal under the fullest conviction that the King will be so conscious of inability to carry on the government without the support of the British Power, as to accede unreservedly to whatever conditions it may be thought right to require of him. The contingency, however, of his availing himself of the alternative offered to him, must be admitted as at least a possibility; and the consequences of such an event would be so serious, that the other members of your Government unanimously deprecate his being allowed the choice. They do so on the ground that, by leaving the country to an anarchy still worse than that which now exists, the most terrible evils would, at least temporarily, be brought on the people of Oude, whose benefit is the sole motive, as well as the sole justification, of the proposed measure; and on the further ground (especially insisted on by Major-General Low) that we are, by special engagements, bound to protect the lives and property of a considerable number of individuals resident in Oude, and that the fulfilment of that obligation would be impracticable if the Resident and the subsidiary force were withdrawn from the country.

8. If, indeed, the measure which would incur those risks were the only one by which we could fulfil the obligation which we have contracted, of securing to the people of Oude a good Government; if, without the King's consent, we were not warranted in doing more than breaking off our connection with Oude, and had no right to attempt to procure his consent by any more direct means than the withdrawal of our protection, we should then have no option but to risk the consequences which that withdrawal might involve; for we fully concur in the unanimous opinion of your Government that to leave things as they are, or to attempt any mere palliatives (which would, we believe, fail of any good effect, and the failure of which would involve us in still further discredit), would be equally objectionable.

9. This limited view, however, of our right of interference in the internal government of Oude is contended against by the four members of Council.

10. Mr. Dorin affirms "the right of the Government of India, as Paramount Power, to adopt its own system of government, in respect to any portion of the Indian Empire that is hopelessly ground to the dust by the oppression of its native rulers." He proposes that, acting on this as

an avowed principle, "the King should be required to abdicate the sovereign power he has abused (on condition, however, of ample personal provision for himself and his family), and to consent to the incorporation of Oude with the territories of the British Crown."

11. Mr. Grant contends that the present dynasty of Oude are not, and never have been, independent Sovereigns; that they were made for the first time, even nominally, Sovereigns, at a recent period, by ourselves; that, from the commencement of their power until the extinction of the Mogul Empire, they were mere Soobahdars, or Viceroys of the Emperor, and never disputed his right to remove them at pleasure; that the British Government has succeeded to the position and rights of the Mogul Emperor, both generally, and especially in relation to the Soobahdars of Oude; that the reigning family have never called in question our absolute power over them; that this power was asserted in the most positive manner by Lord Wellesley; that the Vizier, Saadut Alee, was compelled by Lord Wellesley to sign the Treaty of 1801, by the threat that, if he refused to do so, he and his family would be removed from power, and his whole territory annexed to the British Possessions; that many important acts of the British Government, during the period which has since elapsed, were justifiable only on the supposition of our having the right to adopt this extreme measure, in particular the threat of actually adopting it, which Lord William Bentinck held out to King Nusseer-ood-deen Hyder, and our armed interference to remove an actual possessor of the Musnud (Vizier Alee), and to exclude a pretender to it (Moonah Jan), on the ground of their not being the rightful heirs.

12. Major-General Low expresses his general agreement in the conclusions of Mr. Grant, and he records the following testimony, which is entitled to peculiar weight on account of his long experience as Resident in Oude: "I beg to declare it to be my deliberate opinion that the disorders of Oude are of such long standing, and are so deeply rooted, and the corruption of the Native Government officers, from the Prime Minister down to the meanest Chuprassie, is so general and so inveterate, that there is now no other efficient remedy available for effecting and maintaining a just Government over the people of Oude, than that of placing the whole of its territory, exclusively, and permanently, under the direct management of the East India Company."

13. Lastly, Mr. Peacock maintains that, even on the ground of the Treaty of 1801, we have a right to adopt the measure, on the necessity of which all Authorities are unanimous, since, by the principles of international law laid down by the most authoritative writers, the infringement of a Treaty by one party entitles the other to do more than declare the Treaty no longer binding on itself. It may, at its discretion, treat the infringement as a *casus belli*, for the purpose of compelling the delinquent party to fulfil the obligations of the Treaty, and not only this, but to provide effectual security for their future fulfilment; and, in the present case, it is the unanimous opinion of your Government, in which we fully agree, that nothing less than the transfer to us of all the powers of Government would constitute such security.

14. Of the three modes of proceeding which are thus placed before us for our choice, the two last, those of Mr. Peacock and of the three other members of Council, are of an authoritative character. The plan of the Governor-General includes the King himself as a consenting party to the measure; and, inasmuch as it is intended to show more tenderness to the feelings of a family who, whatever may have been their offences towards their own subjects, have not been unfaithful to the British Government, his Lordship's plan has so far an advantage over the two others. The practical considerations which militate against it have been already stated. If the King should refuse his consent to the Treaty offered for his acceptance, the people of Oude would be, at least temporarily, exposed to a state of still worse anarchy than at present, while it would be extremely difficult for us to fulfil our numerous pledges of protection to individuals and families in Oude. These consequences would be so serious that any considerable risk of their being actually incurred would outweigh the strong desire we entertain to carry into effect the measures necessary for

the good government of Oude, in the manner least painful to the feelings of the reigning dynasty.

15. Your Government, in communication with the Officiating Resident, Major-General Outram, is in a condition to judge, and perhaps to ascertain, whether the prospect of your declaring the Treaties cancelled, and our connection with the Oude Government at an end, would be so alarming to the King as to render his acceptance of the Treaty proposed to be tendered to him a matter of virtual certainty. Unless such be the conviction of the Governor-General, the alternative should not be offered to the King; and, in that event, without expressing any opinion on the principles laid down by the several members of Council, we are fully prepared to take the responsibility of authorising, and enjoining, the only other course by which our duties to the People of Oude can be fulfilled, that of assuming authoritatively the powers necessary for the permanent establishment of good government throughout the country, leaving all questions of detail to the wisdom of the Governor-General, in conjunction with the other members of your Government.

16. If, on the other hand, the Governor-General should feel warranted in carrying out his first suggestion, and proposing a new Treaty to the King, the conditions of that Treaty remain to be considered.

17. We entirely participate in the opinion that the provision for the reigning family should be very liberal. But we do not think it necessary that the permanent provision for the King's descendants should be of so large an amount as we should be willing to concede to the present King for his own life, in consideration of the habits of expense which have grown out of the station he occupies, and of the feelings natural to his altered position.

18. We are of opinion that the King and his Successors should retain full jurisdiction (except as regards the punishment of death), not only, as proposed by the Governor-General, within the precincts of the palace, but also, as recommended by Major-General Low, within the extent of the Dil Khosha and Beeheepore Parks. Major-General Low regards this concession as essential to the comfort and enjoyment of the family, and, "as there are distinct boundaries to these domains," he feels "sure that no serious inconvenience could arise" from leaving them under the King's exclusive jurisdiction.

19. It is on every account to be desired that the great measure which we have authorised should be carried into effect under the auspices of the nobleman who has so long, and with such eminent ability and success, administered the affairs of the British Empire in India—who has bestowed such attentive and earnest consideration on this particular subject—and whose acts may carry a weight of authority which might, perhaps, not in the same degree attach to the first proceedings of a new administration. Entertaining full reliance on the ability and judgment of the Marquis of Dalhousie, with the suggestions of the other members of your Government before him, we abstain from fettering his Lordship's discretion by any further instructions; and feel assured that, whichever mode of attaining the indispensable result may be resolved on, the change will be carried into effect in the manner best calculated to avert collisions of any kind, and with every proper and humane consideration to all persons whose feelings have a just claim to be consulted.

We are, &c.

E. MACNAGHTEN.
W. H. SYKES.
&c. &c. &c.

No. 4.

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

February 22, 1856. (No. 23.)

WE have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Honourable Court's despatch, No. 33, dated the 21st of November last, conveying instructions for the assumption of the Government of Oude.

2. We beg to transmit for your information copies of the papers enumerated in the accompanying Abstract of Contents, and to refer your Honorable Court to the Minutes recorded by us, and to the instructions we have issued to Major-General J. Outram to carry out the measures proposed for the administration of the affairs of Oude.

We have, &c.

DALHOUSIE.
GEORGE ANSON.
J. DORIN.
J. LOW.
J. P. GRANT.
B. PEACOCK.

Inclosure 1 in No. 4.

Minute by the Governor-General; concurred in by the other Members of Council.

January 15, 1856.

Instructions for the Resident at Lucknow, in regard to the Draft Treaty.

1. IT is necessary that instructions should be prepared for the guidance of the Resident at Lucknow, in his management of the negotiations which are about to be entrusted to him.

2. The Resident should be informed that his Report on the state of Oude, dated the 15th of March last, was transmitted to the Court of Directors, together with Minutes recorded by the Governor-General and by the Members of the Supreme Council.

3. The Honorable Court, having considered the several documents above mentioned, addressed to the Governor-General in Council a dispatch dated the 21st of November, which was received by the last English mail. A copy of that dispatch is annexed for the information of the Resident.

4. The Governor-General in Council having thereupon resolved to proceed at once to the establishment of the new policy which he had proposed, and to carry into effect the instructions of the Honorable Court for the assumption of the Government of Oude, has issued orders for the assembling of such a military force at Cawnpore as, added to the troops cantoned at that station, and to those already in Oude, is considered sufficient to meet every contingency which could arise at present.

5. It is expected that the additional troops will all be assembled at Cawnpore before the end of the present month.

6. The Resident will communicate to the Major-General commanding the division at Cawnpore the force which, under various circumstances, he may require that officer to dispatch to Lucknow, and the Major-General will be directed to comply with the requisitions of the Resident accordingly.

7. The troops, on entering Oude, will remain under the divisional command of Major-General Penny, but will constitute a distinct field-force under the immediate command of Colonel Wheler as Brigadier, who (as well as Brigadier Spens) will obey any orders which he may receive direct from the Resident. If, however, hostilities should appear imminent, it will become essentially necessary that the political and military authority should be placed in one hand. In such case, and on the declaration of the Resident that the necessity has arisen, the principal military authority and control over all the troops within the territory of Oude will be vested in the Resident at Lucknow, Major-General Outram, C.B.

8. As soon as the Resident shall be satisfied with the completeness of the military arrangements, and with the proximity of the troops which he may think necessary, he will proceed to enter into formal communications with the Court of Lucknow, for the purposes which are mentioned in the dispatch of the Honorable Court.

9. In order that the King may not be taken by surprise, and that the unwelcome communication he is to receive may not appear to be made to him unnecessarily abrupt, the Resident will previously require the attendance of the Minister, Alee Nukkee Khan, and will make known to him the intentions of the Government of India regarding the Kingdom of Oude.

He will point out to the Minister that, as the resolution of the British Government to assume forthwith the administration of Oude, in one form or other, has been finally taken, and is inflexible, it is for the interest of the King, his master, that the transfer of the powers of administration should be made by means of an amicable agreement, whereby large and liberal consideration will be secured to His Majesty, to his successors, and to his family. He will call upon the Minister to give his best aid to the negotiation of such a Treaty accordingly; and he will explicitly state that the degree of favor and consideration with which the Minister will be regarded by the British Government, will depend on his giving his hearty aid to the conclusion of a new Treaty, and on his affording subsequently all the information and assistance whereby he can facilitate the administration of the affairs of Oude by the officers who shall be appointed by the British Government for that purpose.

10. When the Resident shall have communicated with the Minister Alee Nukkee Khan, he will request an audience of the King, in order to inform His Majesty that the time has now come when the systematic violation of the Treaty of 1801 by every successive Ruler of Oude, from the date of its signature to the present day, has rendered it the imperative duty of the British Government to declare the Treaty null and void, and to proceed either to form new engagements with the King of Oude, or to assume to itself the administration of his territories.

The Resident will deliver to the King the letter which the Governor-General has addressed to His Majesty.

When His Majesty shall have perused the letter, the Resident will lay before him the Draft Treaty which is annexed to these instructions, and will invite the King to affix his signature thereto.

The Resident will afford to the King full and patient explanation of the reasons by which the British Government has been determined to take the decided step which has now become necessary, and which alone can be effectual for relieving the people of Oude from the oppression and misgovernment under which they have suffered so long.

He will impress upon the King the wisdom of submitting himself to inevitable necessity; and he will urge upon His Majesty's attention the advantages His Majesty will derive from giving his ready assent to an instrument which, while it transfers to the British Government the powers of administration, secures to His Majesty, and to his heirs, the royal title, and makes ample and rich provision for the honor and dignity of the King, and for the maintenance of His Majesty's family.

11. If these considerations should, unfortunately, fail to induce the King to sign the Treaty at once, the Resident will give the King to understand, in firm but respectful language, that the resolution of the British Government is fixed, and that, if the King shall continue to refuse to sign the Treaty, the Resident, by the directions of the Governor-General in Council, must proceed forthwith to assume the administration of Oude, and to extend the authority of the British Government over the whole of that territory. In such case, the King will be left without any security, either for the continuance of his title, or for the payment of a stipend; and he will be wholly dependent upon the Governor-General in Council for such consideration as his Lordship in Council may think fit to show him.

12. The Resident will afford to the King, if His Majesty should desire it, three days, for consideration and for conference with his advisers.

13. He will, at the same time, reject every proposal which may be made on the part of the King or his advisers for addressing a letter to the Governor-General, or for awaiting the arrival of Lord Canning, or for any other expedient to which the King or his Minister may have recourse, in order to gain time and defer a final conclusion. In reply to all such proposals, the Resident will inform the King that, in anticipation of them, the Governor-General in Council has instructed him to state, that the resolution of the Government of India is irrevocably taken; that the assumption of the administration of Oude has been ordered by the Court of Directors, with the assent of Her Majesty's Ministers, of whom Lord Canning was one; that, moreover, the Governor-General in Council has received their directions to carry this policy into effect before his own departure from India; and that, consequently, no further letters will be received by the Governor-General, nor any delay permitted beyond that of three days, as before mentioned, which the Resident has been authorised to concede to the King.

14. If the objection of the King to sign the Treaty should be founded on the amount of stipend which is proposed for himself, and which is fixed at fifteen lakhs of rupees per annum, the Resident is authorised to grant eighteen lakhs of rupees to the King for his life (including three lakhs for guards), rather than lose the Treaty which we desire to obtain.

Adverting to the very large annual revenue which this sum of eighteen lakhs, added to the provision which is to be made for the collateral members of the family, would give to the King and his relations, the Governor-General in Council could not consider himself justified in consenting to the alienation of a larger amount of the annual revenue of Oude, even for the purpose of obtaining a transfer of the powers of Government by means of a mutual agreement between the authorities of the two States.

15. In Article IV, certain words which specify the palaces and parks within which the King shall have jurisdiction, are placed in brackets. The Resident will use his discretion in inserting the name of such palace at Lucknow, and such two parks as the King may prefer.

With respect to the other Articles of the Draft Treaty, the Resident will be at liberty to make such verbal alterations as may be found necessary, provided they do not affect the tenor and clear intention of the Articles as they stand.

16. It is very probable that the King, in the course of the discussions which will take place with the Resident, may refer to the Treaty negotiated with his predecessor in the year 1837.

The Resident is aware that that Treaty was not continued in force, having been annulled by the Court of Directors so soon as it was received in England. The Resident is further aware that, although the King of Oude was informed, at that time, that certain provisions of the Treaty of 1837, respecting an increased military force, would not be carried into effect, the entire abrogation of the Treaty by the Court of Directors was never communicated to His Majesty.

The effect of this reserve and want of full communication is felt to be embarrassing to-day. It is the more embarrassing that the cancelled instrument was still included in a volume of Treaties which was published in 1845 by the authority of Government. There is no better way of encountering this difficulty than by meeting it full in the face.

17. If the King should allude to the Treaty of 1837, and should ask why, if further measures are necessary in relation to the administration of Oude, the large powers which are given to the British Government by the said Treaty should not now be put in force, His Majesty must be informed that the Treaty has had no existence since it was communicated to the Court of Directors, by whom it was wholly annulled. His Majesty will be reminded that the Court of Lucknow was informed at the time, that certain Articles of the Treaty of 1837, by which the payment of an additional military force was imposed upon the King, were to be set aside. It must be presumed that it was not thought necessary at that time to make any communication to His Majesty regarding those Articles of the Treaty which were not of immediate operation; and that a subsequent

communication was inadvertently neglected. The Resident will be at liberty to state that the Governor-General in Council regrets that any such neglect should have taken place, even inadvertently.

The Resident may, at the same time, observe that the absence of a final communication to the Court of Lucknow regarding the annulment of the Treaty of 1837 by the Government of that day, has not been productive of any detriment whatever to His Majesty's interests, either then, or at any later period.

18. Should His Majesty observe that, although the Treaty of 1837 was annulled, and is no longer in existence, a similar measure, less stringent than that which is now proposed, might be adopted on the present occasion, His Majesty should be requested to observe that the measure to which he refers was at once rejected by the Supreme Authorities in England; and that all subsequent experience has shown that the remedy which the Treaty of 1837 supplied would be wholly inadequate to remove the evils and abuses which have long marked the condition of Oude.

19. It is natural to expect that dislike will be felt, and that opposition will be made, to the intended transfer of the Government of Oude, by officers, nobles, and others at the Court of Lucknow, whose personal interests, consideration, and official position are likely to be affected by the change. It must obviously be our policy to conciliate all such opposition. The Resident should, therefore, be authorised to use his discretion in giving such assurances, and holding out such advantages, as (without imposing any undue burden upon the State) will tend to reconcile the minds of influential persons in Oude to the intended transfer of the powers of Government.

20. If, at the expiration of the three days allowed for consideration, the King shall sign the Draft Treaty, the Resident will at once transmit it by express for the ratification of the Governor-General in Council.

21. Without waiting for the return of the ratified Treaty, the Resident will promulgate the Proclamation, of which a copy is annexed marked A.

22. The Resident will at the same time obtain from the King, and promulgate, a Proclamation, announcing His Majesty's concurrence in the Treaty, and directing all Amils and other officers, and the whole body of his subjects, to render implicit obedience to the officers of the British Government, to which His Majesty has transferred the civil and military administration of the Kingdom of Oude.

23. If, in spite of every exertion on the part of the Resident, the King should refuse to sign the Treaty, the Resident will promulgate the Proclamation marked B, and will proceed forthwith to take those measures which may seem to him necessary for establishing the authority of the British Government in every part of the Oude territories.

It is impossible for the Government to furnish the Resident with detailed instructions to meet every contingency of the case which is last supposed. The Governor-General in Council reposes perfect confidence in the capacity and judgment which Major-General Outram will exercise in the circumstances in which he may be placed.

24. In either case, whether the King shall sign, or shall refuse to sign, the Treaty, the Resident, simultaneously with the issue of the Proclamation, will call to Lucknow the several officers who have been selected to carry on the new administration, and of whom a list is annexed.

25. Instructions for the guidance of the Resident in carrying into effect the details of that administration will be conveyed to him in a separate letter.

DALHOUSIE.
J. DORIN.
J. LOW.
J. P. GRANT.
B. PEACOCK.

Inclosure 2 in No. 4.

The Secretary to the Government of India to Major-General Outram.

Sir, *Fort William, January* 23, 1856.

WITH reference to the dispatches noted in the margin, I am directed by the Governor-General in Council to acquaint you that your report on the state of Oude, dated the 15th of March last, was transmitted to the Honourable the Court of Directors, together with Minutes recorded by the Governor-General and by the Members of the Supreme Council.

To Officiating Resident, Nov. 24, 1854.
From Officiating Resident, Feb. 6, 1855.
From Officiating Resident, Feb. 14, 1855.
From Officiating Resident, March 15, 1855.
To Officiating Resident, June 30, 1855.

2. The Honorable Court, having considered the several documents above mentioned, addressed to the Governor-General in Council a dispatch dated the 21st of November last, which was received by the last English mail: a copy of that despatch is annexed for your information.

3. The Governor-General in Council having thereupon resolved to proceed at once to the establishment of the new policy which he had proposed, and to carry into effect the instructions of the Honorable Court for the assumption of the Government of Oude, has issued orders for the assembling of such a military force at Cawnpore as, added to the troops cantoned at that station, and to those already in Oude, is considered sufficient to meet every contingency which could arise at present.

4. It is expected that the additional troops will all be assembled at Cawnpore before the end of the present month.

5. You will communicate, to the Major-General commanding the division at Cawnpore, the force which, under various circumstances, you may require him to dispatch to Lucknow, and the Major-General will be directed to comply with your requisitions accordingly.

6. The troops, on entering Oude, will remain under the divisional command of Major-General Penny, but will constitute a distinct field force under the immediate command of Colonel Wheler, as Brigadier, who (as well as Brigadier Spens) will obey any orders which he may receive direct from you. If, however, hostilities should appear imminent, it will become essential that the political and military authority should be placed in one hand. In such case, and on your declaration that the necessity has arisen, the principal military authority and control over all the troops within the territory of Oude will be vested in you.

7. As soon as you are satisfied with the completeness of the military arrangements, and with the proximity of the troops which you may think necessary, you will proceed to enter into formal communications with the Court of Lucknow, for the purposes which are mentioned in the dispatch of the Honorable Court.

8. In order that the King may not be taken by surprise, and that the unwelcome communication he is to receive may not appear to be made to him in a manner unnecessarily abrupt, you will previously require the attendance of the Minister, Alee Nukkee Khan, and will make known to him the intentions of the Government of India regarding the Kingdom of Oude.

You will point out to the Minister that, as the resolution of the British Government to assume forthwith the administration of Oude, in one form or other, has been finally taken, and is inflexible, it is for the interest of the King, his Master, that the transfer of the powers of administration should be made by means of an amicable agreement, whereby large and liberal consideration will be secured to His Majesty, to his successors, and to his family. You will call upon the Minister to give his best aid to the negotiation of such a Treaty accordingly, and you will explicitly state that the degree of favour and consideration with which he will be regarded by the British Government will depend on his giving his hearty aid to the conclusion of a new Treaty, and on his affording, subsequently, all the information and assistance whereby he can facilitate the administration of the affairs of Oude by the officers who shall be appointed by the British Government for that purpose.

9. When you shall have communicated with the Minister, Alee Nukkee Khan, you will request an audience of the King, in order to inform His Majesty that the time has now come when the systematic violation of the Treaty of 1801, by every successive Ruler of Oude, from the date of its signature to the present day, has rendered it the imperative duty of the British Government to declare the Treaty null and void, and to proceed either to form new engagements with the King of Oude, or to assume to itself the administration of his territories.

You will deliver to the King the letter which the Governor-General has addressed to His Majesty, and accompanies this dispatch.

When His Majesty shall have perused the letter, you will lay before him the Draft Treaty which is annexed to these instructions, and will invite the King to affix his signature thereto.

You will afford to the King full and patient explanation of the reasons by which the British Government has been determined to take the decided step which has now become necessary, and which alone can be effectual, for relieving the people of Oude from the oppression and misgoverment under which they have suffered so long.

10. You will impress upon the King the wisdom of submitting himself to inevitable necessity, and you will urge upon His Majesty's attention the advantages His Majesty will derive from giving his ready assent to an instrument which, while it transfers to the British Government the powers of administration, secures to His Majesty, and to his heirs, the Royal title, and makes ample and rich provision for the honor and dignity of the King, and for the maintenance of His Majesty's family.

11. If these considerations should, unfortunately, fail to induce the King to sign the Treaty at once, you will give the King to understand, in firm but respectful language, that the resolution of the British Government is fixed, and that, if the King shall continue to refuse to sign the Treaty, you, by the directions of the Governor-General in Council, must proceed forthwith to assume the Administration of Oude, and to extend the authority of the British Government over the whole of that territory. In such case, the King will be left without any security, either for the continuance of his title, or for the payment of a stipend; and he will be wholly dependent upon the Governor-General in Council for such consideration as his Lordship in Council may think fit to show him.

12. You will afford to the King, if His Majesty should desire it, three days, for consideration, and for conference with his advisers.

13. You will, at the same time, reject every proposal which may be made, on the part of the King or his advisers, for addressing a letter to the Governor-General, or for awaiting the arrival of Lord Canning, or for any other expedient to which the King or his Minister may have recourse, in order to gain time and defer a final conclusion. In reply to all such proposals you will inform the King that, in anticipation of them, the Governor-General in Council has instructed you to state, that the resolution of the Government of India is irrevocably taken; that the assumption of the Administration of Oude has been ordered by the Court of Directors, with the assent of Her Majesty's Ministers, of whom Lord Canning was one; that, moreover, the Governor-General in Council has received their directions to carry this policy into effect before his own departure from India; and that, consequently, no further letters will be received by the Governor-General, nor any delay permitted beyond that of three days, as before mentioned, which you have been authorised to concede to the King.

14. If the objection of the King to sign the Treaty should be founded on the amount of stipend which is proposed for himself, and which is fixed at fifteen lakhs of rupees per annum, you are authorised to grant eighteen lakhs of rupees to the King for his life (including three lakhs for guards), rather than lose the Treaty which the Government desire to obtain.

Adverting to the very large annual revenue which this sum of eighteen lakhs, added to the provision which is to be made for the collateral members of the family, would give the King and his relations, the Governor-General in Council could not consider himself justified in consenting to the alienation of a larger amount of the annual revenue of Oude, even for the

purpose of obtaining a transfer of the powers of Government by means of a mutual agreement between the authorities of the two States.

15. In the fourth Article, certain words which specify the palaces and parks within which the King shall have jurisdiction, are placed in brackets. You will use your discretion in inserting the name of such palace at Lucknow, and such two parks, as the King may prefer. With respect to the other Articles of the Draft Treaty, you will be at liberty to make such verbal alterations as may be found necessary, provided they do not affect the tenor and clear intention of the Articles as they stand.

16. It is very probable that the King, in the course of the discussions which will take place with you, may refer to the Treaty negotiated with his predecessor in the year 1837.

You are aware that that Treaty was not continued in force, having been annulled by the Court of Directors, so soon as it was received in England. You are further aware that, although the King of Oude was informed, at that time, that certain provisions of the Treaty of 1837, respecting an increased military force, would not be carried into effect, the entire abrogation of the Treaty by the Court of Directors was never communicated to His Majesty.

The effect of this reserve and want of full communication is felt to be embarrassing to-day. It is the more embarrassing that the cancelled instrument was still included in a volume of Treaties which was published in 1845 by the authority of Government. There is no better way of encountering this difficulty than by meeting it full in the face.

17. If the King should allude to the Treaty of 1837, and should ask why, if further measures are necessary in relation to the Administration of Oude, the large powers which are given to the British Government by the said Treaty should not now be put in force, His Majesty must be informed that the Treaty has had no existence since it was communicated to the Court of Directors, by whom it was wholly annulled. His Majesty will be reminded that the Court of Lucknow was informed, at the time, that certain Articles of the Treaty of 1837, by which the payment of an additional military force was imposed upon the King, were to be set aside. It must be presumed that it was not thought necessary, at that time, to make any communication to His Majesty regarding those Articles of the Treaty which were not of immediate operation, and that a subsequent communication was inadvertently neglected. You will be at liberty to state that the Governor-General in Council regrets that any such neglect should have taken place, even inadvertently. You will, at the same time, observe that the absence of a final communication to the Court of Lucknow, regarding the annulment of the Treaty of 1837, by the Government of that day, has not been productive of any detriment whatever to His Majesty's interests, either then, or at any later period.

18. Should His Majesty observe that, although the Treaty of 1837 was annulled and is no longer in existence, a similar measure, less stringent than that which is now proposed, might be adopted on the present occasion, His Majesty should be requested to observe that the measure to which he refers was at once rejected by the Supreme Authorities in England, and that all subsequent experience has shown that the remedy which the Treaty of 1837 supplied would be wholly inadequate to remove the evils and abuses which have long marked the condition of Oude.

19. It is natural to expect that dislike will be felt, and that opposition will be made, to the intended transfer of the Government of Oude, by officers, nobles, and others at the Court of Lucknow, whose personal interests, consideration, and official position are likely to be affected by the change. It must obviously be our policy to conciliate all such opposition. The Governor-General in Council requests, therefore, that you will use your discretion in giving such assurances, and holding out such advantages, as (without imposing any undue burden upon the State) will tend to reconcile the minds of influential persons in Oude to the intended transfer of the powers of Government.

20. If, at the expiration of the three days allowed for consideration, the King shall sign the Draft Treaty, you will at once transmit it, by express, for the ratification of the Governor-General in Council.

21. Without waiting for the return of the ratified Treaty, you will promulgate the Proclamation of which a copy is annexed, marked A.

22. You will, at the same time, obtain from the King, and promulgate, a Proclamation, announcing His Majesty's concurrence in the Treaty, and directing all Amils and other officers, and the whole body of his subjects, to render implicit obedience to the officers of the British Government, to which His Majesty has transferred the civil and military administration of the Kingdom of Oude.

23. If, in spite of every exertion on your part, the King should refuse to sign the Treaty, you will promulgate the Proclamation marked B; and will proceed forthwith to take those measures which may seem to you necessary for establishing the authority of the British Government in every part of the Oude territories. It is impossible for the Government to furnish you with detailed instructions to meet every contingency of the case which is last supposed. The Governor-General in Council reposes perfect confidence in the capacity and judgment which you will exercise in the circumstances in which you may be placed.

24. In either case, whether the King shall sign, or shall refuse to sign, the Treaty, you will, simultaneously with the issue of the Proclamation, call to Lucknow the several officers who have been selected to carry on the new administration, and of whom a list is annexed.

25. Instructions for your guidance in carrying into effect the details of that administration will be conveyed to you in a separate letter.

I have, &c.

G. F. EDMONSTONE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 4.

The Governor-General of India to the King of Oude.

After titles and compliments.

IT has been my anxious and earnest desire, ever since I assumed the government of India, to uphold the honor and dignity of your Majesty's exalted station, to see the country, over which you rule, prosperous and flourishing, and the people, who are your subjects, happy and contented, in the enjoyment of peace, and of all the blessings which flow from a wise, liberal, and beneficent administration. For eight years, I have watched with much solicitude the progress of affairs in your Majesty's kingdom, in the hope that the unceasing warnings and remonstrances addressed to your Majesty by my predecessors and by myself, and earnestly pressed upon your Majesty by the able and zealous officers who have held the office of Resident at your Court, might have the effect of awakening your Majesty to a sense of the duties and responsibilities of your Royal station, and of the solemn engagements imposed upon your Majesty's Government by the Treaty of 1801.

It has now become my most painful duty to inform your Majesty that the British Government, influenced by a regard for its reputation among the nations, and still more by the obligations which, many years ago, it took upon itself in relation to the people of Oude, can no longer lend its countenance and support to a Government whose existence is the fruitful source of misrule, oppression, and misery, to all who live under its control.

Nearly a century has passed since the connection, now existing, between the East India Company and the Government of Oude, was formed. During this period, from the time of the Nawab Vizier Shuja-ood-Dowlah to the present, a long line of your Majesty's ancestors has occupied the throne of Oude; and numerous Treaties have been, from time to time, concluded, having for their object the perpetuation of friendship and union between the State of Oude and the East India Company; the maintenance of the Viziers and Kings of Oude in the peaceful enjoyment of their exalted dignity; and the mutual advantage of the Contracting Powers. It cannot be necessary to remind your Majesty that, from an early period, the East India Company, actuated by a warm desire for the internal tranquillity and prosperity of the Oude dominions, took upon itself the arduous and anxious duty of defending them from all foreign and domestic enemies,

and of upholding the authority of the Ruler of Oude, whenever his power was wrongfully defied. By this engagement on the part of the East India Company, the Rulers of Oude were relieved from the necessity of maintaining, at heavy expense, an enormous army, to repel foreign invasion, and enforce internal tranquillity; a serious burthen upon the finances of the kingdom was thus withdrawn; a source of constant anxiety and care was thus removed; and the Rulers of Oude were left free to give their undivided attention to the gradual introduction of a "wise and benevolent administration, calculated to inspire the people with confidence in the security of life and of property, to protect the fruits of honest labour, and to establish order and submission to the just authority of the State on the solid foundations of gratitude for benefits received, and expectation of continual security."

These hopes and expectations, however, have been grievously disappointed. From the earliest period of the connection above referred to, the Government of Oude has been notorious for its abuse of power, for gross misrule, and for the oppression of its subjects; and successive Governors-General have felt it to be their duty to bring to the notice of the Rulers of Oude the disorders and evils which prevailed under the ruinous system of their administration, the impoverishment and desolation with which the kingdom was threatened, and the deplorable condition of misery and insecurity to which the people of Oude were reduced. If your Majesty will consult your own archives, they will show you that, so early as the year 1779 A.D., the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, found it necessary to tell the Vizier Asuf-ood-Dowlah, "that the disorder of his State and the dissipation of his revenues were the effects of his own conduct, which had failed, not so much from the casual effects of incapacity, as from the detestable choice which he had made of the Ministers of his power." Subsequently, Lord Cornwallis, after having resided for a brief period at Lucknow, and passed through the Oude dominions, was concerned to observe the growing defalcation of the finances, the continued depravity of the administration, and the desolated appearance of the country. And, in the year 1793, five years after the period of his visit, his Lordship addressed to the Vizier Asuf-ood-Dowlah a solemn letter of expostulation and advice, pointing out, in strong and emphatic language, the evils, abuses, and oppressions, which flowed from the vicious and inefficient system of his Highness's administration. His Lordship found that, after a period of five years, the evils which prevailed at the beginning of that time had increased; that the revenues were collected, without system, by force of arms; that the Amils were left to plunder uncontrolled; that the Ryuts had no security from oppression, nor hope of redress for injustice and extortion exercised upon them. This remonstrance failed to have the effect, which was desired and intended, of prevailing upon the Nawab Vizier to establish the internal administration of his country upon principles calculated to promote the happiness of his subjects, and the permanency of his own authority.

The disorders and abuses of the administration continued in unabated force, and, at a very early period, attracted the attention of Lord Mornington. Shortly after that nobleman assumed the government of India, the Nawab Vizier, Saadut Alee Khan, finding it impossible, "owing to the adverse disposition, enmity, and disobedience of his people, added to the negligence of his Ministers," to conduct the affairs of his Government, either with ease to himself, or advantage to his subjects, intimated to the Governor-General his desire to abdicate the sovereign authority. The Governor-General, having observed the inveterate abuses which had long disgraced every branch of the Civil Government of Oude, perverted the administration of justice, impaired the sources of revenue, industry, and commerce, and destroyed the foundations of public prosperity and individual happiness, in the fertile, but declining, country of Oude,—and entirely concurring in the truth of his Excellency's voluntary declaration,—advised the Vizier to "vest the exclusive administration of the civil and military government of Oude and its dependencies in the hands of the East India Company," as the only effectual means of carrying on the administration "with ease to his Excellency, or with advantage to his subjects."

As your Majesty is aware, this declared intention of the Nawab Vizier Saadut Alee Khan to relinquish the government of his dominions, was never executed; but, yielding at length to the frequent representations of the Governor-General respecting the continued operation of the evils and abuses actually existing in the civil and military administration of the Province of Oude, the misery of the lower classes of the people, absolutely excluded from the protection of the Government, and the utter insecurity of life and property in that province—" yielding to these representations," his Excellency the Nawab Vizier Saadut Alee Khan concluded the Treaty of November 1801; and to certain of the provisions of that Treaty I desire particularly to draw your Majesty's attention.

By the VIth Article of that Treaty, the Nawab Vizier engaged that he would " establish, in his reserved dominions, such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as should be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants; and his Excellency," it was added, " will always advise with, and act in conformity to the counsel of, the officers of" the East India Company.

The British Government, upon its part, bound itself by the IIIrd Article of the Treaty, " to defend the territories which will remain to his Excellency the Vizier, against all foreign and domestic enemies; provided always that it be in the power of the Company's Government to station the British troops in such parts of his Excellency's dominions as shall appear to the said Government most expedient."

The obligations thus imposed upon it, by the Treaty of 1801, have been observed by the Government of India for more than half a century, constantly, faithfully, and completely. Throughout the whole of that eventful period, the British Government has been engaged in constant wars with the most powerful native States of the East, and it has been more than once required even to repel invasion, coming in formidable aspect, and from the most distant points. But, in all that time, as your Majesty knows well, no foreign foe has ever set foot on the soil of Oude; no great rebellion has ever threatened the stability of its throne. British troops have been ever kept in close proximity to the person of the King. Once, they have preserved the throne to its rightful Sovereign, against the treachery of his own nearest kindred. For many years, in former times, they were perpetually called upon to uphold the King's authority; their aid, in later times, has never been withheld, whenever his power was wrongfully resisted or defied; and, in very recent years, the Minister has found himself unable, without the service of the British troops, to control a rebellious chief within but sixteen miles of the capital.

Widely different has been the observance which the Treaty has received at the hands of successive rulers of Oude. The Nawab Vizier, by whom it was concluded, fulfilled indeed, and at once, the obligation whereby territory was ceded to the British Government; but the other, and not less important, obligation, the stipulation, namely, whereby his Excellency bound the Sovereigns of Oude to conform ever to the counsels of the British Government, and to establish such a system of administration as should secure the lives and property of his subjects, and be conducive to their prosperity, has, from that day to this, been utterly, and *systematically*, set at nought. The misgovernment of the country continued unabated; the landholders were exposed to the habitual extortions of the farmers of the revenue; the farmers of the revenue were authorised to levy their demands by the most violent and oppressive means: there was no confidence in the integrity of the Government; no security that the fruits of honest industry, whether commercial or agricultural, would be protected; and no assurance whatever that the wrongs and grievances of the people would be, even tardily, redressed. Thus, no reform having been made, the Governor-General, in A.D. 1813, was compelled to remind his Excellency the Vizier that the British Government had a right, founded upon the basis of the Treaty, to propose such reforms in his internal government as it deemed essential; and that his Excellency was held, by the same Treaty, under an obligation to follow such advice. His Excellency was assured that

no lapse of time—no change of circumstances—would ever induce the British Government to relinquish a measure which it considered essential to the happiness and prosperity of Oude, the care and reputation of the Nawab, and the best interests of both States. His Excellency was also warned that, if he persisted in his refusal to introduce the required reforms, he would violate an express stipulation of the Treaty.

The Nawab Saadut Alee Khan died without effecting any of those improvements in the administration of his kingdom which had been so long, so frequently, and so urgently, pressed upon him and his predecessors; and, in the reign of his successor, Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder, no amelioration of the State of Oude was obtained by the representations and remonstrances of the British Government. At length, in 1826, owing to the inability of the Government of Oude to control its refractory Zemindars, or to suppress the gangs of armed robbers who haunted the country, and made frequent and desperate inroads into British territory, the Governor-General held an interview with the Ruler of Oude, now raised to the kingly rank, in the hope of inducing him to amend the administration of his country. But, in the following year, His Majesty deceased, leaving every vicious feature of his government unamended, every extortionate and oppressive practice of his administration in unmitigated force, and every wrong and injustice exercised upon his people unredressed.

The Government of India, however, was no longer able to conceal from itself the fact that the countenance and support which, by its own observance of the Treaty of 1801, it had long given to the Government of Oude, had inflicted, and was still inflicting, unnumbered evils on the people of that province; and, in 1831, the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, informed His Majesty Nusseer-ood-deen Hyder, in person, and subsequently communicated to him in writing, that, in the event of improvement and reformation not being effected by His Majesty's officers, the settlement of the country would need to be made by British officers. But, notwithstanding this explicit declaration, on the part of the British Government, of an intention to assume the management of the Province of Oude, and notwithstanding the warning held out to His Majesty in the consequences of similar misrule in Bengal, Benares, Arcot, and Tanjore, misgovernment, approaching almost to anarchy, marked the reign of His Majesty Nusseer-ood-deen Hyder, and nothing was done to relieve the oppressed condition of the people of Oude. From the time of the King Nusseer-ood-deen Hyder's death, in 1837, until the period of your Majesty's accession, three Kings successively sat upon the throne of Oude, but the state of the kingdom in 1847 was no better than it had been at any previous period, in spite of the earnest advice and solemn warnings repeatedly offered to the King, and urged by all the authority of the Supreme Government.

Towards the end of that year (1847), as your Majesty will doubtless remember, the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, sought an interview with your Majesty at the capital, for the purpose of personally representing to your Majesty the evils produced in Oude by long-existing misrule; and with the intention of urging upon your Majesty the necessity of no longer delaying to remedy the manifold abuses from which your people suffered, and by which your Royal authority had already been placed in jeopardy. It cannot be necessary for me to recall to your Majesty's recollection all the particulars of that interview. It will be sufficient to remind you that, after reciting the relations which existed between the British Government and that of Oude, and the obligations by which the rulers of each kingdom were mutually bound, the Governor-General pointed out to your Majesty that, "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." Your Majesty was, at the same time, reminded that, many years before, in 1831, the Governor-General,

Lord William Bentinck, had informed the reigning Sovereign that, if the warning he then gave was disregarded by His Majesty, it was his (the Governor-General's) intention to submit to the Home Authorities his advice, that the British Government should assume the direct management of the Oude dominions. The Governor-General then proceeded to state that these warnings had been wholly disregarded. He dwelt upon the notorious existence of extensive misrule in various departments of the State, and denounced the "cruel oppression" which prevailed throughout your Majesty's dominions. Having impressed upon your Majesty the great importance of making salutary and decisive changes in the administration of the Government, having further advised your Majesty that delay in the reformation of abuses would "force the British Government to interfere, by assuming the Government of Oude," and having fixed a period of two years, as affording sufficient space and opportunity for the introduction of an amended system of government, the Governor-General communicated to your Majesty this solemn and final warning:

"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 the consequences. It must then be manifest to the whole world that, whatever may happen, your Majesty has received a friendly and timely warning."

This memorable interview took place in November 1847, and sanguine hopes were entertained that your Majesty, made sensible of the responsibilities and duties of your exalted station, and, warned of the consequences which would, sooner or later, follow the disregard of them, would act up to the requirements thus imposed upon your Majesty at the commencement of your reign, and would, at least, endeavour to fulfil the condition on which, as your Majesty was informed, the continuance of your sovereign authority would wholly and solely depend.

It is, therefore, with feelings of the deepest regret that I find myself compelled, by the dictates of my public duty, to announce to your Majesty the resolution to which I have been driven by the grievous misgovernment which, with scarcely the feeblest attempt at improvement, has desolated the fair provinces of your kingdom, impaired the resources of the State, and exposed your suffering people to violence, extortion, and outrage, from your Majesty's accession to the present day.

When the period of probation fixed by Lord Hardinge had elapsed, the Governor-General, reluctant to resort to measures which could not be otherwise than painful to your Majesty, permitted yet further time for amendment. The Resident at your Court, Colonel Sleeman, neglected no opportunity of urging upon your Majesty the correction of the formidable abuses which disgraced your Government in all its branches, and entreating your Majesty to give that earnest attention to the affairs of your kingdom which was called for by a regard no less for your own reputation and your own honor than for the happiness of your people, the due administration of justice, and the security of life and property within your dominions; but, surrounded by foolish and irresponsible advisers, surrendering yourself, in the seclusion of your palace, to indulgence and amusement, and heedless of remonstrance and warning, your Majesty continued, during the whole of that probationary period of two years, to neglect the duties of your Royal station, and, when its close approached, had made no progress whatever in introducing any one of the reforms so earnestly recommended, and enjoined, by the Governor-General, at his personal interview with your Majesty, in November 1847. The original period of probation, thrice told, has again elapsed, and no substantial improvement has been effected. On the contrary, the misgovernment of Oude is even more gross and palpable than at the first. The condition of your Majesty's dominions and people is even more miserable than before. There is abundant evidence to show that this deplorable state of things has been caused by your Majesty's apathy, and by your habitual reliance on the counsels of unworthy favourites and associates. The most recent advices

from the Resident at Lucknow prove, beyond question, that eunuchs, songsters, and fiddlers, against whose appointment to public offices of trust and responsibility Lord Hardinge remonstrated with your Majesty, in November 1847, are still entertained, and that your Majesty, confiding in these incompetent and unfitting persons, continues to devote all your time to personal gratifications and frivolous amusements, and to manifest the same utter disregard of your duties and responsibilities. The same advices show that, though, in ostensible pursuance of the counsel offered by the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, the Amance system of collecting the revenue was substituted for the Izarah, or Contract system, which had reduced the people and the country of Oude to a condition of lamentable impoverishment, the change was but a change in name, the same evils prevailing under the one as under the other. Lord Hardinge's advice that a fixed assessment on the land should be effected, for a period of not less than five years, has not been regarded; the same uncertainty still prevails as to the extent of the Government demand; and there is a strong body of concurrent testimony to prove that even greater exactions and oppressions are now enacted under the cloak of Amanee management than those which existed under the Contract system; that corruption reigns paramount in the Fiscal Department of your Majesty's Administration, even from the highest functionary to the lowest subordinate, and that, though your Majesty's revenue receipts have been diminished, this has brought no relief to the Ryut, who is crushed by the weight of the exactions levied upon him to satisfy the arbitrary demands of your Majesty's dishonest and unscrupulous servants. The same advices further tend to confirm the impression which has long rested on my mind, that your Majesty's finances are in the last degree disordered and embarrassed. No reduction has been effected in your Majesty's military establishments, or in the scale of palace expenditure. The troops, the civil establishments, the stipendiaries, are all represented to be deeply in arrears, and even the Royal family, your Majesty's own kindred, suffer, with others, the consequences of universal misrule.

Turning from the revenue administration, and the financial condition of the kingdom, to the administration of civil and criminal justice, I find even a darker picture; a state of things even more discreditable and injurious. Life and property are insecure on the roads and rivers, in the towns and villages. With the exception of the frontier police, which is under the direction of British officers, and under the immediate control of the Resident, hardly any police force is maintained throughout your Majesty's extensive dominions, and such establishments as do exist are, in the last degree, inefficient and corrupt; apt to seize and mulct the poor and the weak under false and frivolous pretexts, but powerless to restrain bad characters, or to check the universal prevalence of heinous crime.

The administration of criminal justice is lax and corrupt; those who preside in the Courts are venal, and any criminal who can purchase protection is secure of acquittal, however atrocious and numerous may have been his offences.

The corruption and servility of what are called Courts of Justice in your Majesty's kingdom were flagrantly exemplified in the case of the murder of Ramdut Panday by Mahomed Husein, the Nawab of Bharaitch, who, in the face of the clearest proofs of his guilt, was acquitted by your Majesty's Court at Lucknow. Your Majesty will not have forgotten the indignation with which I viewed this shameful denial of justice, or the warning with which the expression of that feeling was accompanied, viz., that such acts as these were rapidly filling up the measure of your Majesty's misgovernment, which, as you had been before advised, must end in the entire subversion of your Kingly power. Nevertheless, two years had not elapsed before another example of the indifference with which the commission of heinous crime has been ever regarded by your Majesty's Government was afforded by the case of highway robbery, attended with murder, which was perpetrated on British subjects, on the 20th of March, 1853, by the armed retainers of the Amil of Poorwa, acting under the orders of his deputy, and with his own connivance. The First Assistant to the Resident was associated with one of your Majesty's

officers in the trial of the criminals, Shunkur Lall and Kashepershad, and they were punished; but the anxiety of the Durbar to screen these offenders was manifested throughout the trial, and your Majesty barely acquiesced in the sentence which was at length adjudged. At the present day, the police management, and the administration of criminal justice, are as inefficient as ever. Criminals escape the penalty of their misdeeds; crime and violence of every complexion reign, unrepressed, throughout the length and breadth of the kingdom; and neither life nor property is secure. Week after week, I receive reports of atrocious murders, of the wholesale destruction of villages by fire, and the enormous sacrifice of human life which attends such calamities; of daring dacoitees, and open robberies; of violence uncontrolled in every shape; and I am overwhelmed with sentiments of sorrow and commiseration for the people, who thus suffer from the weakness and the venality of your Majesty's Administration. And it is not, I regret to say, from the prevalence of heinous crime alone that the subjects of your Majesty are exposed to wretchedness and suffering. The tyranny, cruelty, and oppression, exercised by your Majesty's Amils and the Ministers of your power, are hardly less appalling than the catalogue of violent crimes; and no room is left to doubt that the weak and the poor have no protection whatever afforded them against the extortions and the depredations of those stronger than themselves.

Not less corrupt, I grieve to add, are the Courts of Civil Justice. These exist only in the capital, and there justice is openly bought and sold. Notwithstanding the earnest expostulations of the Resident, and notwithstanding your pledge to exclude singers and fiddlers from offices of trust and responsibility, your Majesty is known to have placed one of this obnoxious class in a position of actual authority over the Civil Courts.

While such are the vices of your Majesty's civil administration, while the construction of roads and bridges to facilitate communication and commerce has been entirely overlooked, and the development of the resources of the country has been equally neglected, unnumbered evils have been inflicted upon your Majesty's subjects by the maintenance of a rapacious, licentious, and disorganised army, which, powerless for any good purpose, has systematically lived upon the plunder of the landholders and cultivators, and has ever been a disgrace to your Majesty's Government.

Such being the state of your Majesty's kingdom, such being the inefficiency, and the depravity, of your Majesty's administration, such being the apathy and indifference with which your Majesty has disregarded the repeated warnings which have been urged by the Resident and pressed upon your Majesty with the full authority of the Government of India, and such the wretched and deplorable condition of your Majesty's kingdom and subjects, I can no longer conceal from myself that, in continuing to support a Government so thoroughly effete and corrupt, the Government of India would fail in the discharge, towards the people of Oude, of those duties to which it is pledged by solemn Treaty. On a former occasion, I signified my grave displeasure at the misrule which prevailed in Oude, and the absence of any strenuous effort on your Majesty's part to correct it in pursuance of your pledge to the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, by declining to accord to your Majesty the compliment of a visit at your capital. It now becomes my painful duty to intimate to your Majesty the resolution which I have formed, with the full concurrence of the Home Authorities, and under a sense of the obligations imposed upon me by Treaty.

In the course of this letter, your Majesty has been reminded that no endeavours have been spared to obtain from your predecessors, and yourself, a reformation of the evils, disorders, and abuses which disgraced the administration of affairs in your Majesty's kingdom, and inflicted unnumbered ills on your Majesty's subjects. Your Majesty has also been reminded that the advice of the British Government has been rejected, that its earnest remonstrances have been disregarded, and its warnings, the solemn warning even of the Governor-General himself, have been treated with neglect. It has also been brought to your Majesty's notice that, instead of the period of two years after which, Lord Hardinge

advised you, the British Government would have recourse to certain and decided action, eight years have elapsed, without any measure of improvement having been introduced, and without any earnest desire having been manifested by your Majesty to remove, or mitigate, the evils of which the British Government has so long, and so justly, complained. Wherefore, having maturely considered the course of events in Oude, since the Treaty of 1801, and more particularly since your Majesty's accession, having seen that every means of persuasion have been tried without effect, and having observed that advice, remonstrance, and warning have been exhausted in vain, I feel that the Government of India, which I represent, would be guilty, in the sight of God and man, if it were any longer to aid in sustaining, by its countenance and power, an administration fraught with suffering to millions. For more than fifty years, the British Government has faithfully performed the duties which the Treaty of 1801 imposed upon it. For more than fifty years, the Government of Oude has continued to violate one of its gravest and most essential stipulations. Every effort to recall the Government of Oude to a sense of its duty having been made in vain, the British Government has no alternative left but to declare that the violated Treaty of 1801 is wholly dissolved.

I have charged Major-General Outram, the Resident at your Court, (by whose hands this letter will be delivered to your Majesty), to declare the Treaty of 1801 at an end. I have communicated to him my instructions relative to the course which, under the circumstances above explained to your Majesty, I deem it my indispensable duty to adopt for the purpose of restoring order to your Kingdom, and thus vindicating the character of the British Government in the eyes of the nations, as well as in the eyes of the suffering people of Oude. I earnestly exhort your Majesty, as you value the happiness and prosperity of your people, the permanent tranquillity of your mind, and the future interests of yourself and your family, to consider the proposals which will be laid before you by Major-General Outram, with calm deliberation, and to give to them your prompt acquiescence. I am fully persuaded that no other remedy than that which he will recommend to your Majesty's acceptance can now improve the resources of Oude, or ultimately secure its internal peace and order. Under the proposals which Major-General Outram will offer to you, it will be in your Majesty's power to renew relations of amity with the British Government, on conditions which will be calculated to prevent a recurrence of misgovernment in Oude, while they will effectually secure the interests of your Majesty's family, and maintain your kingly rank in affluence and dignity.

If your Majesty should, unfortunately, determine to refuse these proposals, Major-General Outram is charged to set before your Majesty the immediate, and inevitable, consequences which will follow upon your short-sighted and ill-advised determination.

DALHOUSIE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 4.

Draft of Treaty between the East India Company and the King of Oude.

WHEREAS, in the year 1801, a Treaty was concluded between the Honorable East India Company and his Excellency the Nawab Vizier, Saadut Alee Khan Bahadoor; and whereas the sixth Article of the said Treaty requires that the Ruler of Oude, always advising with, and acting in conformity to the counsel of, the officers of the Honorable 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;" and whereas the infraction of this essential engagement of the Treaty, by successive Rulers of Oude, has been continued and notorious; and whereas its long toleration of such infraction of the Treaty on the part of the Rulers of Oude has exposed the British Government to the reproach of having failed to fulfil the obligations it assumed

towards the people of that country; and whereas it has now become the imperative duty of the British Government to take effectual measures for securing, permanently, to the people of Oude such a system of just and beneficent administration as the Treaty of 1801 was intended, but has failed, to provide: the following Treaty, consisting of seven Articles, is concluded, on the one part, by the Most Noble the Marquis of Dalhousie, K.T., Governor-General in Council, appointed by the Honorable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, through Major-General Outram, C.B., Resident at Lucknow, under full powers vested in him by the said Governor-General; and, on the other part, by His Majesty Abool Munsoor, Nasir-ood-deen, Sikundur Jah, Mahomed Wajid Alee Shah, King of Oude, for himself and his heirs, through, &c.

ARTICLE I.

It is hereby stipulated and agreed, that the sole and exclusive administration of the Civil and Military Government of the territories of Oude shall be henceforth vested, for ever, in the Honorable East India Company, together with the full and exclusive right to the revenues thereof; the said Company hereby engaging to make ample provision for the maintenance of the Royal dignity, as hereinafter mentioned, and for the due improvement of the said territories.

ARTICLE II.

It is stipulated and agreed that the sovereign title of "King of Oude" shall be retained by His Majesty, and that it shall descend, in continual succession, to the heirs male of his body born in lawful wedlock.

ARTICLE III.

It is stipulated and agreed that His Majesty the King, and his Successors, shall be treated, upon all occasions, with the attention, respect, and honor which are due to a Sovereign Prince.

ARTICLE IV.

It is further stipulated and agreed that, notwithstanding the provisions of the first Article of the present Treaty, His Majesty the King of Oude, and his successors, shall retain full and exclusive jurisdiction within the precincts of the Palace at Lucknow, as well as within the Dil Khosha and Beebeepore Parks, provided always that the punishment of death shall not be inflicted by the order of the King, or within the limits of the palace and garden parks aforesaid, unless with the previous consent of the Governor-General in Council.

ARTICLE V.

Whereas it is expedient and right that the Crown of His Majesty the King of Oude should be upheld in fitting dignity and honor, it is hereby stipulated and agreed that the Honorable East India Company shall pay to His Majesty the said Mahomed Wajid Alee Shah, from out of the revenues of Oude, twelve lakhs of Company's rupees per annum; and that the said Company shall further maintain, for His Majesty, a body of palace-guards, at a cost not exceeding three lakhs of Company's rupees per annum.

To each of His Majesty's successors it is agreed that the said Company shall pay twelve lakhs of Company's rupees per annum.

ARTICLE VI.

In order that nothing may be wanting to the full measure of liberal endowment which the Honorable East India Company desires to secure to His Majesty the King of Oude, it is hereby agreed that the said Company shall take upon itself the maintenance of all collateral members of

the Royal family, for whom provision is now made by His Majesty the King.

ARTICLE VII.

All former Treaties between the Honorable East India Company and the Rulers of Oude, which are now in force, and which are not contrary to the tenor of this engagement, are confirmed by it.

Inclosure 5 in No. 4.

Draft of Proclamation.

(A.)

BY a Treaty, concluded in the year 1801, the Honorable East India Company engaged to protect the Sovereign of Oude against every foreign and domestic enemy; while the Sovereign of Oude, upon his part, bound himself to establish "such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as should be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants."

The obligations which the Treaty imposed upon the Honorable East India Company have been observed by it for more than half a century, faithfully, constantly, and completely.

In all that time, though the British Government has itself been engaged in frequent wars, no foreign foe has ever set his foot on the soil of Oude, no rebellion has ever threatened the stability of its throne. British troops have been stationed in close proximity to the King's person; and their aid has never been withheld, whenever his power was wrongfully defied.

On the other hand, one chief and vital stipulation of the Treaty has been wholly disregarded by every sucessive Ruler of Oude; and the pledge which was given for the establishment of such a system of administration as should secure the lives and property of the people of Oude, and be conducive to their prosperity, has, from first to last, been deliberately, and systematically, violated.

By reason of this violation of the compact made, the British Government might long since have justly declared the Treaty void, and might have withdrawn its protection from the Rulers of Oude. But it has hitherto been reluctant to have recourse to measures which would be fatal to the power and authority of a Royal race who, whatever their faults towards their own subjects, have ever been faithful and true to their friendship with the English nation.

Nevertheless, the British Government has not failed to labour during all that time, earnestly and perseveringly, for the deliverance of the people of Oude from the grievous oppression and misrule under which they have suffered.

Many years have passed since the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, perceiving that every previous endeavour to ameliorate the condition of the people of Oude had been thwarted or evaded, made formal declaration to the Court of Lucknow, that it would become necessary that he should proceed to assume the direct management of the Oude territories.

The words and the menace which were then employed by Lord William Bentinck were, eight years ago, repeated, in person, by Lord Hardinge to the King. The Sovereign of Oude was, on that day, solemnly bid remember that, whatever might now happen, "it would be manifest to all the world that he had received a friendly and a timely warning."

But the friendly intentions of the British Government have been wholly defeated, by the obstinacy, or incapacity, or apathy, of the Viziers and Kings of Oude. Disinterested counsel and indignant censure, alternating, through more than fifty years, with repeated warning, remonstrance, and threats, have all proved ineffectual and vain. The chief condition of

the Treaty remains unfulfilled, the promises of the King rest unperformed, and the people of Oude are still the victims of incompetency, corruption, and tyranny, without remedy, or hope of relief.

It is notorious, throughout the land, that the King, like most of his predecessors, takes no real share in the direction of public affairs.

The powers of Government, throughout his dominions, are, for the most part, abandoned to worthless favourites of the Court, or to violent and corrupt men, unfit for their duties, and unworthy of trust.

The collectors of the revenue hold sway over their districts with uncontrolled authority, extorting the utmost payment from the people, without reference to past or present engagements.

The King's troops, with rare exceptions, undisciplined and disorganized, and defrauded of their pay by those to whom it is entrusted, are permitted to plunder the villages for their own support; so that they have become a lasting scourge to the country they are employed to protect.

Gangs of freebooters infest the districts.

Law and justice are unknown. Armed violence and bloodshed are daily events; and life and property are nowhere secure for an hour.

The time has come when the British Government can no longer tolerate in Oude these evils and abuses, which its position under the Treaty serves indirectly to sustain; or continue to the Sovereign that protection which alone upholds the power whereby such evils are inflicted.

Fifty years of sad experience have proved that the Treaty of 1801 has wholly failed to secure the happiness and prosperity of Oude; and have conclusively shown that no effectual security can be had for the release of the people of that country from the grievous oppression they have long endured, unless the exclusive administration of the territories of Oude shall be permanently transferred to the British Government.

To that end, it has been declared, by the special authority and consent of the Honorable Court of Directors, that the Treaty of 1801, disregarded, and violated, by each succeeding Sovereign of Oude, is henceforth wholly null and void; and His Majesty the King has consented to sign a new Treaty, whereby the sole and exclusive administration of the government of the territories of Oude, is vested for ever in the Honorable East India Company, together with the full and exclusive right to the revenues thereof, ample provision being made for the maintenance of the Royal dignity, and for the due improvement of the Oude territories.

The Kingly rank and title will be retained by His Majesty, and by his Successors.

His Majesty, and his Successors, will be treated on all occasions with the attention, respect, and honour which are due to a Sovereign Prince.

Liberal provision has been assigned in the Treaty for the maintenance of the Royal dignity; and fitting stipends will be allotted to all the members of the King's family.

Wherefore, proclamation is hereby made, that the government of the territories of Oude is henceforth vested, exclusively, and for ever, in the Honorable East India Company.

All Amils, Nazims, Chuckledars, and other servants of the Durbar, all officers, civil and military, the soldiers of the State, and all the inhabitants of Oude, are required to render henceforth implicit and exclusive obedience to the officers of the British Government.

If any officer of the Durbar, Jageerdar, Zemindar, or other person, shall refuse to render such obedience, if he shall withhold the payment of revenue, or shall otherwise dispute or defy the authority of the British Government, he shall be declared a rebel; his person shall be seized, and his jageers or lands shall be confiscated to the State.

To those who shall, immediately, and quietly, submit themselves to the authority of the British Government, whether Amils or public officers, Jageerdars, Zemindars, or other inhabitants of Oude, full assurance is hereby given of protection, consideration, and favour.

The revenue of the districts shall be determined on a fair and settled basis.

The gradual improvement of the Oude territories shall be steadily pursued.

Justice shall be measured out with an equal hand.

Protection shall be given to life and property; and every man shall enjoy henceforth his just rights, without fear of molestation.

Inclosure 6 in No. 4.

Draft of Proclamation.

(B.)

BY a Treaty concluded in the year 1801, the Honorable East India Company engaged to protect the Sovereign of Oude against every foreign and domestic enemy, while the Sovereign of Oude, upon his part, bound himself to establish "such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as should be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants."

The obligations which the Treaty imposed upon the Honorable East India Company have been observed by it, for more than half a century, faithfully, constantly, and completely.

In all that time, though the British Government has itself been engaged in frequent wars, no foreign foe has ever set his foot on the soil of Oude; no rebellion has ever threatened the stability of its throne; British troops have been stationed in close proximity to the King's person, and their aid has never been withheld, whenever his power was wrongfully defied.

On the other hand, one chief and vital stipulation of the Treaty has been wholly disregarded by every successive Ruler of Oude, and the pledge which was given for the establishment of such a system of administration as should secure the lives and property of the people of Oude, and be conducive to their prosperity, has, from first to last, been deliberately, and systematically, violated.

By reason of this violation of the compact made, the British Government might long since have justly declared the Treaty void, and might have withdrawn its protection from the Rulers of Oude. But it has hitherto been reluctant to have recourse to measures which would be fatal to the power and authority of a Royal race who, whatever their faults towards their own subjects, have ever been faithful and true to their friendship with the English nation.

Nevertheless, the British Government has not failed to labour, during all that time, earnestly and perseveringly, for the deliverance of the people of Oude from the grievous oppression and misrule under which they have suffered.

Many years have passed since the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, perceiving that every previous endeavour to ameliorate the condition of the people of Oude had been thwarted or evaded, made formal declaration to the Court of Lucknow that it would become necessary that he should proceed to assume the direct management of the Oude territories.

The words and the menace which were then employed by Lord William Bentinck were, eight years ago, repeated, in person, by Lord Hardinge to the King. The Sovereign of Oude was, on that day, solemnly bid remember that, whatever might now happen, "it would be manifest to all the world" that he "had received a friendly and timely warning."

But the friendly intentions of the British Government have been wholly defeated, by the obstinacy, or incapacity, or apathy, of the Viziers and Kings of Oude. Disinterested counsel and indignant censure, alternating, through more than fifty years, with repeated warning, remonstrance, and threats, have all proved ineffectual and vain. The chief condition of the Treaty remains unfulfilled, the promises of the King rest unperformed,

and the people of Oude are still the victims of incompetency, corruption, and tyranny, without remedy, or hope of relief.

It is notorious throughout the land that the King, like most of his predecessors, takes no real share in the direction of public affairs.

The powers of Government, throughout his dominions, are, for the most part, abandoned to worthless favourites of the Court, or to violent and corrupt men, unfit for their duties, and unworthy of trust.

The collectors of the revenue hold sway over their districts with uncontrolled authority, extorting the utmost payment from the people, without reference to past or present engagements.

The King's troops, with rare exceptions, undisciplined and disorganized, and defrauded of their pay by those to whom it is entrusted, are permitted to plunder the villages for their own support, so that they have become a lasting scourge to the country they are employed to protect.

Gangs of freebooters infest the districts; law and justice are unknown; armed violence and bloodshed are daily events; and life and property are nowhere secure for an hour.

The time has come when the British Government can no longer tolerate in Oude these evils and abuses, which its position under the Treaty serves indirectly to sustain; or continue to the Sovereign that protection which alone upholds the power whereby such evils are inflicted.

Fifty years of sad experience have proved that the Treaty of 1801 has wholly failed to secure the happiness and prosperity of Oude, and have conclusively shown that no effectual security can be had for the release of the people of that country from the grievous oppression they have long endured, unless the exclusive administration of the territories of Oude shall be permanently transferred to the British Government.

To that end, it has been declared, by the special authority and consent of the Honorable the Court of Directors, that the Treaty of 1801, disregarded, and violated, by each succeeding Sovereign of Oude, is henceforth wholly null and void.

His Majesty Wajid Alee Shah was invited to enter into a new engagement, whereby the government of the territories of Oude should be vested, exclusively, and for ever, in the Honorable East India Company; while ample provision should be made for the dignity, affluence, and honor of the King, and of his family.

But His Majesty the King refused to enter into the amicable agreement which was offered for his acceptance.

Inasmuch, then, as His Majesty Wajid Alee Shah, in common with all his predecessors, has refused, or evaded, or neglected, to fulfil the obligation of the Treaty of 1801, whereby he was bound to establish within his dominions such a system of administration as should be conducive to the prosperity and happiness of his subjects; and inasmuch as the Treaty he thereby violated has been declared to be null and void; and inasmuch as His Majesty has refused to enter into other agreements which were offered to him in lieu of such Treaty; and inasmuch as the terms of that Treaty, if it had still been maintained in force, forbade the employment of British officers in Oude, without which no efficient system of administration could be established there, it is manifest to all that the British Government had but one alternative before it.

Either it must altogether desert the people of Oude, and deliver them up helpless to oppression and tyranny, which, acting under the restrictions of Treaty, it has already too long appeared to countenance, or it must put forth its own great power on behalf of a people for whose happiness it, more than fifty years ago, engaged to interpose, and must at once assume to itself the exclusive, and permanent, administration of the territories of Oude.

The British Government has had no hesitation in choosing the latter alternative.

Wherefore, proclamation is hereby made that the government of the territories of Oude is henceforth vested, exclusively, and for ever, in the Honorable East India Company.

All Amils, Nazims, Chuckledars, and other servants of the Durbar;

all officers, civil and military; the soldiers of the State; and all the inhabitants of Oude, are required to render henceforth, implicit, and exclusive, obedience to the officers of the British Government.

If any officer of the Durbar,—Jageerdar, Zemindar, or other person,—shall refuse to render such obedience,—if he shall withhold the payment of revenue, or shall otherwise dispute or defy the authority of the British Government, he shall be declared a rebel, his person shall be seized, and his jageers or lands shall be confiscated to the State.

To those who shall, immediately, and quietly, submit themselves to the authority of the British Government—whether Amils or public officers, Jageerdars, Zemindars, or other inhabitants of Oude—full assurance is hereby given of protection, consideration, and favour.

The revenue of the districts shall be determined on a fair and settled basis.

The gradual improvement of the Oude territories shall be steadily pursued.

Justice shall be measured out with an equal hand.

Protection shall be given to life and property; and every man shall enjoy, henceforth, his just rights, without fear of molestation.

Inclosure 7 in No. 4.

The Secretary to the Government of India to Major-General Outram.

Sir, *February* 4, 1856.

YOU have been informed, in a separate dispatch, of the resolution which the Government of India has formed in regard to the alteration of its political relations with the King of Oude, and have been furnished with sufficient instructions for your guidance in negotiating the Treaty which is to be substituted for that of 1801, and in conducting the operations that must precede the occupation of the province, and the assumption by the British Government of its administration.

2. The Most Noble the Governor-General in Council having been pleased to appoint you to be Chief Commissioner for the Affairs of Oude and Agent to the Governor-General, I am directed to communicate to you the functions, powers, and responsibilities, which he proposes to vest in your high and honorable office, and to add some general remarks on the principles and practices which are to be followed in conducting the Government of that province.

3. In subordination to you, will be a Judicial and a Financial Commissioner, Commissioners of Divisions, Deputy-Commissioners, Assistant-Commissioners, and Extra Assistants; and the administration, it has been resolved, shall be conducted, as nearly as possible, in accordance with the system which the experience of nearly seven years has proved to have been eminently successful in the provinces beyond the Sutlej.

4. As Chief Commissioner, you will retain the salary and allowances which have hitherto appertained to the office of Resident at Lucknow. A salary of 3,500 rupees per mensem will be assigned to the Judicial and Financial Commissioners; and Commissioners of Divisions will receive 2,750 rupees per mensem each. There will be three grades of Deputy-Commissioners, with salaries varying from 1,500 to 1,000 rupees, and as many grades of Assistant-Commissioners, to whom will be assigned salaries from 700 to 500 rupees. And, in accordance with general instructions from the Honorable Court of Directors, the Extra Assistants will also be divided into three classes, to which different salaries will be attached in proportions to be determined hereafter, as soon as the number of those officers to be employed shall have been finally settled. In the first instance, the eighteen Extra Assistants, whom it is intended to employ, will be divided into three classes, as follows:

1st class, salary 600 rupees per mensem	3
2nd class, salary 400 rupees per mensem	6
3rd class, salary 250 rupees per mensem	9

This title of Extra Assistants is that which has been introduced in other provinces under the direct administration of the Government of India, and is considered preferable to that of Deputy Collectors (which is the designation still used in the North-Western Provinces), inasmuch as they will be vested with judicial, fiscal, and magisterial powers. They will consist of uncovenanted servants, of every class and religion, and the Governor-General in Council will be glad to receive your nomination of officers for these appointments.

5. It is impossible, at present, with the number, and the limits, of districts unknown and undefined, to determine the numerical strength of the Commission; but the Governor-General in Council, adverting to the known area, and the supposed revenue, of the province, as compared with those of the districts ceded to the British Government in 1801, and now forming part of the North-Western Provinces, is inclined to think that four Commissioners of Divisions, twelve Deputy Commissioners of Districts, eighteen Assistant-Commissioners, and eighteen Extra Assistants, will suffice in the first instance. Besides these, there will be two Special (Military) Assistants, to aid in the management of the police, and the administration of criminal justice, in the cities of Lucknow and Fyzabad, in subordination to, and under the direction of, the Deputy Commissioners of those districts. Hereafter, when affairs are somewhat settled, and some knowledge of the most natural and convenient divisions of the country has been acquired, this list may have to be added to, or possibly reduced; but it is hoped that the agency proposed will, at any rate, be found ample for the immediate purpose of introducing generally our system of administration.

6. A list of the several officers at present appointed accompanies this letter. As they have all been selected for their known, or presumed, qualifications, the Governor-General in Council has no doubt that you will find them as efficient a body of public servants as have ever been employed in any province in India.

7. An Inspector of Jails will be provided, on adequate salary, as soon as our system of administration has been fairly established, and a Department of Public Works will be organised in due course to aid you in developing the resources of the country.

8. It only remains to add, in regard to the composition of the Commission, that the creation of a new Office of Audit and Account, specially for the Province of Oude, is considered to be at present unnecessary. The duties of this department may be more conveniently entrusted, in the first instance, to the officers of the North-Western Provinces, stationed at Agra, who will be directed to keep entirely separate everything relating to the receipts and disbursements of the Province of Oude. As the Accountant superintends the distribution of the resources of the State, by remitting, from one treasure-chest to another, to meet the local demands of the public service, and will have to negotiate bills of exchange between the stations of our old districts and the districts in Oude, it is obviously desirable that we should avail ourselves of the experience of the present incumbent, and not create, at this time, the confusion which would inevitably follow on the institution of a new office.

9. Before proceeding to define the powers which shall be exercised by the several officers in their respective grades, and to prescribe the principles which shall govern the administration of the country in its several branches, it is necessary to advert to the difficulty which may probably be experienced in the formation of the native establishments, district as well as metropolitan. The chief civil officers, called from our older provinces, have been invited to bring with them a few trustworthy and experienced men to form the nucleus of their establishments; but it is by no means intended that all official aids should be derived from this source. On the contrary, every means should be taken to give employment to the natives of the province, and every encouragement should be held out to them to accept it. Many of them will be found able, no doubt, to undertake the duties which devolve upon the highest classes of native functionaries in our older provinces.

10. The nature of the agency to be employed in the administration of Oude has been described above, and the authority of the several officers

composing it, will be hereafter defined. The first object of the Governor-General in Council is to instruct you as to the operations which must be commenced immediately on the occupation of the country, and must be prosecuted with the utmost energy and vigour, to ensure success.

11. All the officers who have been already appointed have been directed to assemble at Cawnpore, as a centrical place of rendezvous, and such as may be hereafter selected to complete the requisite number will be similarly instructed. In consultation with the most experienced and best informed of these officers, and with the means at your disposal of obtaining local information, you will, it is presumed, find no very great difficulty in roughly determining the limits of Commissioners' divisions, and of the districts which shall compose each division. This is the first, and it is an essential, preliminary to those further administrative proceedings which cannot be conducted without confusion, and frequent collision of authority, unless the limits within which that authority is to be exercised by each officer be, at least approximately, determined. It is not thought necessary to detain you by any lengthened detail of the considerations which should guide you in parcelling out the country for administrative purposes; for, besides that they are well known, and are in themselves obvious, no such precise and definitive settlement of the limits of divisions and districts can be expected, as to preclude the necessity of future changes hereafter, when the probable amount of revenue, the nature of the country, the character and extent of the population, and the centres of trade, shall be more accurately known than will at first be practicable.

12. The rough outline of divisions and districts having been thus formed, no time should be lost in dispatching the several officers to their respective jurisdictions, in order that they may at once make tours through their districts, organise something like a police control, take possession of public buildings, establish Civil and Criminal Courts, and arrange for the collection of the spring revenue, before the harvest, which will come to maturity in a month or two, is disposed of by the agriculturists.

13. And here it is not immaterial to notice a difficulty which has been apprehended, as arising from the practice, usual with the impoverished Government about to be superseded, of forestalling the revenue. This excuse will, no doubt, be urgently pressed upon the district officers, and every device will be resorted to, in order to deter them from enforcing the just demands of the Government; but it will be found, the Governor-General in Council is persuaded, that, in the great majority of cases, if not in all, the anticipated revenue (where it has been anticipated) will have been received, not from the people in actual proprietary, or possessory, occupation of the villages, but from the Amils or Nazims, or other local officers of the native Government. In such case, the matter resolves itself into a question of account as between the Amil and the Government which he served—a question which must be separately dealt with; and the agriculturists themselves, whether holding as proprietors of the soil or otherwise, cannot be absolved from their liability to revenue on the standing crop, unless they can produce an acquittance, and satisfy the district officer that it is a genuine and correct and valid document. The district officers must be instructed accordingly, and they must be told to regard the crop as their security for the realisation of the revenue, and, by its sequestration, if necessary, to enforce payment, except when they may have reason to be satisfied that the claim to exemption is well founded: all such claims may be reserved for future adjustment and report.

14. To return from this digression. As soon as the several officers have introduced their authority in their several districts, and organised such provisional establishments, both revenue and police, as will be indispensable for the protection of the spring revenue, and the maintenance of tranquillity and order, they must at once proceed to the formation of a summary settlement of the land revenue, and, simultaneously, the revival and reorganisation of the village police. The settlement should be made, village by village, with the parties actually in possession, but without any recognition, either formal or indirect, of their proprietary right. The term of the settlement should be fixed for three years certain, from the 1st of May, 1856, and a stipulation should be added that it will remain in force, and binding on

those entering into engagements, beyond that period, until another settlement, whether summary or regular, shall be made. The assessments must be founded on the accounts of past collections, which will be procurable either from the officers of the late Government, or from the village accountants, or the information which a district officer of intelligence, activity, and energy, can always command; and on such personal inspection of the country as the shortness of the time will admit. You will take care to impress upon the Financial Commissioner, and, through him, upon all the officers subject to his authority, the great importance of making the assessments moderate, and, so far as that may be practicable, equable; and you will require him to furnish you, as soon as possible, with a brief statement of all these summary settlements, in order to enable the Government to arrive at an approximate estimate of revenue, which the Province of Oude may be expected ultimately to yield, as well as of that which will be immediately available for the purposes of the administration, and the liquidation of other demands which will be properly chargeable to it.

15. The record of the summary settlement should be as brief as may be consistent with precision, in regard to the name of the Village, of the Talooka, or Pergunnah, to which it belongs, and of those engaging for the revenue of the village, and in regard to the terms, and the duration, of the settlement. The engagements should provide for the payment of one per cent., over and above the assessed Land Revenue, for the formation of a Road Fund, and they should also provide specifically for the adequate remuneration of the village police. The experience of the Financial Commissioner and the Commissioners of Divisions will guide them in the regulation of further details, and in the adjustment of such subordinate questions as may arise; but it must be borne in mind, as a leading principle, that the desire and intention of the Government is to deal with the actual occupants of the soil, that is, with village Zemindars, or with the proprietary coparcenaries, which are believed to exist in Oude, and not to suffer the interposition of middle-men, as Talookdars, Farmers of the revenue, and such like. The claims of these, if they have any tenable claims, may be more conveniently considered at a future period, or brought judicially before the Courts competent to investigate and decide upon them.

16. The formation and efficient organisation of the Tehseeldaree and Police establishments cannot be completed for some months, but it will be necessary for the district officers to lose no time in engaging the services of a few trustworthy men who possess some experience and knowledge of our systems, as Tehseeldars and Darogahs of Police, and in attaching to each a sufficient number of subordinates to assist them in collecting the revenue, preserving the peace, and executing the orders which they may receive. In the selection of sites for Tehseeldarees and Police Posts, some difficulty will of course be experienced by the district officers, from their ignorance of localities; they must act, in the first instance, to the best of their discretion; bearing in mind that the jurisdiction of these officers, both revenue and police, should be, if possible, compact, and their position centrical,—that a Tehseeldar's circle may comprise villages paying from two to three lakhs of revenue, and should comprehend the *entire* jurisdiction of two or three thannahs,—that large towns must not be left without a police force,—and that arrangements must be made, without delay, for the protection of the lines of communication as they at present exist.

17. It is hoped that, at each place which may be fixed on as the temporary Suddur station of each district, some public buildings may be made available for residences, offices, jails, &c., until affairs shall have become sufficiently settled, and sufficient local knowledge shall have been acquired, to admit of the head quarters of each district being finally determined, and of arrangements being made for the construction of the requisite buildings.

18. The cost of the establishments, both Suddur and Mofussil, which will be at once required for the realisation of the revenue, and for the preservation of tranquillity, as well as for the ministerial work of the several officers themselves, may, for the first six months, be charged for in

contingent bills, which will be passed on your authority. It is hoped that, before that period has passed, you will have been able to submit complete schedules of establishments, both Suddur and Mofussil, for the sanction of the Government.

19. It may be added, in connection with the subject of initiatory operations, that all transit duties, if they should be found to exist, are to be, at once, and finally, abolished, and the exactions of petty Jageerdars and landholders, which invariably grow out of those duties, are to be vigorously suppressed. The only sources of Imperial revenue will be the land, and an excise on the retail sale of spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs (abkaree), for the introduction of which latter, arrangements must be made, forthwith, on the plan which obtains in the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab, and which is too well known to need description. To meet the necessary expenditure for municipal, police, and conservancy purposes, in the cities and large towns, the imposition of town duties, moderate in amount, and carefully regulated, has been found more effective, and more popular, in the provinces beyond the Sutlej than the Chowkeedaree cess, which is levied in our older districts; and, though the district officers may be unable, under the pressure, at first, of more emergent and important business, to mature the system, they may at once declare the principle, and give effect to it as soon as may be practicable. Indeed, the probability is, that the levy of town duties will be found to have obtained under the native Government, and the immediate necessity will be adequately met by maintaining it provisionally, merely reducing the rates, and striking off at once all objectionable and vexatious cesses.

20. I am now to communicate to you some general remarks and instructions on the system of administration which is to be permanently established in Oude.

21. It has been already intimated to you that the administration of Oude is to be conducted, as nearly as possible, in conformity with the system which has been introduced in the Punjab. The general features of that system will be familiar to you. Having for its foundation the principles and practices which have brought the North-Western Provinces to a state of unexampled prosperity, it was so framed, in its details, as to ensure unity of control, and simplicity, by uniting fiscal and judicial authority in the person of the Commissioner and the district officer; to improve and consolidate the popular institutions of the country, by maintaining the village coparcenaries, and adapting our proceedings to the predilections of the people and the local laws to which they were accustomed; to promote the prosperity of the country, and the welfare of the agricultural classes, by light and equable assessments, for a fixed term of years; and to expedite the distribution of justice, both civil and criminal, by removing, or dispensing with, the many unnecessary forms, and the technicalities, which encumber the proceedings of the judicial and magisterial officers in the North-Western Provinces, and circumscribe their power for good. That these objects have been accomplished in the Punjab, is due, as must be admitted, in a great measure, to the eminent ability and energy with which the administration has been there conducted; but the Governor-General in Council is, nevertheless, justified in regarding the general principles of the system by which the operations in that province have been regulated, as practically sound and beneficial, and in extending them to the Government of the Province of Oude.

22. The Governor-General in Council has no doubt that this plan of administration may be introduced in the country now about to be placed under your charge, not only with every prospect of ultimate success, but with the utmost facility at the outset. For, besides that the plan can be no longer considered experimental, it is to be observed that Oude is in fact a Province of Hindustan Proper, and differs in no essential particulars from our adjacent districts. The population is composed of the same classes, professes the same creeds, uses the same language—or rather the same dialects of the same language—and follows the same customs, as the people in our North-Western Provinces. A very large section of the people of Oude have served for years past in the Native Army, and, through them, and through their relatives domiciled in Oude,

the principles and the practice of our Government have become widely known, and are, without doubt, fully appreciated. The tenures in land, the distinctive characteristics of proprietary village communities, and the usages of the agricultural classes, are believed to be identical with those in the North-Western Provinces. There is, therefore, every reason to believe, and none to doubt, that the system of administration as modified for the Punjab, and divested of all those forms and technicalities which delay justice, and are specially distasteful to a people unaccustomed to technical litigation, will be acceptable to the people of Oude, and more completely suited to the province itself than it was to the Punjab, where, nevertheless, its success is undeniable.

23. From these general remarks the Governor-General in Council desires to pass on to the several branches of the Administration, and to convey to you such instructions as appear to be called for on each. The first to be noticed is the Revenue Department.

24. It may be hardly necessary to observe that the ordinary revenue of the Indian Government is derived principally from a tax on land, and, in a lesser degree, from an excise on the retail of spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs (abkaree), and the compulsory use of stamped paper in official proceedings; while the extraordinary revenue, generally held to be applicable to special purposes, is contributed by the proceeds of ferry collections, town duties, and a per-centage on the land revenue, to form a road fund.

25. Of these, the land revenue is not only the most productive, but infinitely the most important, as affecting the dearest interests of the people, and the rights which they most value, and as touching more directly on the prosperity of the country than perhaps any other branch of the Administration.

26. If, as there is no reason to doubt, the conjecture of the Governor-General in Council as to the existence of coparcenary village communities in Oude should be correct, there can be no necessity for detaining you with any detailed instructions on the plan of Revenue Administration which is to be adopted. The "Directions for Collectors of Land Revenue," published under the orders of the late Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, form an admirable body of instructions, adapted to any province where the village system obtains, and explain so lucidly the structural and functional divisions of our complicated Revenue machinery, that they should be largely indented for, and circulated to the officers about to be employed in the Province of Oude. Translations of this publication are available, and should be procured for the instruction of the native subordinates.

27. Upon the basis of these instructions, with which the Financial Commissioner, and the Commissioners of Divisions, and probably many of the Deputy and Assistant Commissioners, will be familiar, the plan of Revenue Administration in Oude may be framed; but you will understand that, at the outset, when the local officers will be fully occupied in securing the revenue on the standing crop, enforcing tranquillity and order, and establishing their own official position and influence, strict adherence to these instructions, in all their details, is neither expected, nor believed to be practicable. The principles, however, which they inculcate may, from the very first, be regarded and acted upon; and the operations of the district officers in this department should be so directed as to lead, gradually, to the complete introduction of the system which they prescribe. Such alterations of practice as may be called for by the condition of the province, or such additional instructions as present exigencies may demand, it will of course be discretionary with you, in concert with the Financial Commissioner, to introduce; bearing in mind that the tendency of all such alterations should be to abolish technical niceties and distinctions, to simplify proceedings, and abridge labour, so far as these may be compatible with the security of the revenue, with the accuracy and completeness of the district accounts, with the due recognition and protection of the rights of the several classes of the agricultural population, and with efficiency of management and control.

28. Further to assist you in the execution of these measures, I have

been desired by the Governor-General in Council to transmit to you copies of the Revenue Circulars which were issued by the late Board of Administration to the officers in the Punjab, between the date of annexation and the 10th of February, 1853, when that body was abolished, and to request that such of these as may be found on examination applicable to Oude, may be put in force. These will show you, more readily, perhaps, than any such comparative analysis as could be conveniently brought within the compass of this despatch, the modifications of the North-Western Provinces system, which experience in the Punjab has suggested, and will direct your attention to those points which will most urgently call for it, on the first occupation of the country.

29. One of the changes introduced in the Punjab is sufficiently radical and important to justify a separate notice, and it has been found in practice so beneficial that it should be unquestionably, and from the first, adopted in Oude. In the Regulation Provinces, the Civil Courts are empowered to revise, not only the judicial acts of the revenue authorities, but many even of their fiscal proceedings. But this principle, whether useful or not where the judge and the collector are distinct persons, ceases to be applicable where judicial and fiscal functions are united in the person of the same officer. At a very early period after our occupation of the Punjab, the Board of Administration expressed their opinion "that disputes regarding rights in the soil can be satisfactorily disposed of, in a new country, in a Settlement Office only. Until the lands of a village," they added, "have been measured, and its constitution ascertained, it is impossible to limit and determine the subject in dispute, and arrive at, or execute, a decision, without trenching on the rights of others not parties to the suit." To enforce this principle, certain rules were laid down, under which the Civil Courts were prohibited from taking cognizance of claims to any fractional share of a village, or to any specific lands, except on the production of an attested copy of a Settlement officer's decision in the case; and the Revenue Courts, other than the Courts of Settlement officers, were prohibited from admitting any such claims, if the party suing had been out of possession for more than one year, while, in regard to such claims as were admissible under this restriction, those Courts were required to restore, or confirm, possession, as it stood at the beginning of the year, without entering into the legal rights of the parties. In those exceptional cases where possession could not be ascertained, the Revenue Courts were authorised to investigate them on their merits, and to pass a formal decision. This, as has been stated, was very shortly after the annexation of the Punjab. It was not long before the principle was extended, by the *entire* exclusion from the Civil Courts of all claims to proprietary and accessory rights in land, and the withdrawal of that power of revision which, as above shown, had been, in the first instance, reserved to those Courts. The duty of investigating, and deciding, all such claims judicially was held to appertain to the Revenue authorities exclusively, that is to say, to the Settlement officer (his decision being open to appeal to his superiors in the Revenue Department), whenever the case might admit of delay, or be of so peculiar and intricate a character as to admit of being satisfactorily dealt with by that officer only, and to the Deputy Commissioner, as a Revenue officer, in those cases in which a final order could be clearly given without prejudice to the general interests of the village, and in which hardship and injustice to individual claimants would evidently be entailed by delay.

30. The alternative provision just noticed was rendered unavoidable, by the impossibility of simultaneously extending settlement operations to all parts of the country, and by the clamorous demand of numerous claimants for the recovery of rights and interests, of which they believed themselves to have been unjustly dispossessed. But, by this provision, the main principle of confining the cognizance of all claims to rights in the soil to that department which, from its constitution, and the sources of information within its reach, was the best qualified to adjudicate them, was not violated. On the contrary, it has been steadily pursued, and, more recently, it has been so extended as to separate the Civil from all relations with the Fiscal Department, and to render the latter independent

of the former, on the ground that what has been done by one competent department need not be redone or reconsidered by another. The extent to which this has been carried will be apparent to you, on reference to the first section of a Civil Code which has been prepared for the guidance of officers employed in the administration of civil justice in the Punjab, and which will be noticed hereafter, in its proper place.

31. The Governor-General in Council has been led to draw your early, and particular, attention to this point, not only because it constitutes, in fact, a very important, and radical, deviation from those principles of administration which have always been followed in our older provinces, but also because it is almost certain that, in connection with the summary settlement, which will demand the immediate attention of our officers, numerous claims to proprietary and accessory rights in land will be brought forward in the several districts of Oude, and it will be convenient, if indeed it be not a matter of great moment, that they should be dealt with, from the first, in that department to which the adjudication of all such will be hereafter restricted. Such other modifications of the Revenue system, observed in the North-Western Provinces, as have been introduced, and have proved beneficial, in the Punjab, are more inconsiderable, and, relating rather to matters of detail than of principle, do not call for special notice in this place. The Governor-General in Council commends them to your attention.

32. As regards the subordinate sources of revenue, the abkaree, and the stamps, I am desired to refer you to pages 102 to 116, and pages 117 to 123 of the "Directions for Collectors of Land Revenue," as containing complete information on these subjects, and giving ample instructions for the effective management of the business connected with them. The scale of stamp duty will be the same as that introduced in the Punjab, and will be found exhibited, in detail, in Sec. VII, Part II, of the Civil Code which has been mentioned in a preceding part of this despatch.

33. The summary settlement of the land revenue which has been directed, is intended, of course, only to provide for the realization of the revenue in the first instance, and for the protection of the agricultural body from the vexatious imposts, and the ever-varying demands, to which, under all native Governments, they are more or less liable. It is a temporary expedient, which always becomes necessary on the acquisition of a new province, and will be superseded, as soon as a regular settlement, on the basis of a professional and field survey, can be accomplished. It is impossible to determine what interval will elapse before this important measure can be carried into effect; but, until it is, nothing like a definitive settlement, or one for any prolonged period, can be introduced. More than one Survey Establishment will have to be organised, and, as this work must be effected, in almost all instances, by officers who have already been employed on the duty, this will be a work of time; but it must be entered upon early, as indispensable, not only to the determination of the revenue, but to the introduction of an efficient system of police.

34. There are only two points connected with this subject which call for consideration. The one is the system of settlement which shall be followed; and the other, the agency by which it shall be executed.

35. On the first point, there is hardly any room for difference of opinion or discussion. The tenure being identical, the existence of coparcenary communities of village proprietors being certain, and the nature of the country, as well as the agricultural usages of the people being similar, the system of village settlements in the North-Western Provinces, as fully and lucidly elaborated, and explained, in the "Directions for Settlement Officers," and as modified, in its application to the Punjab, by the employment of a different agency in the execution of village measurements, should unquestionably be adopted. Whether or not the labors both of the Settlement and the Survey Departments may be abridged, by requiring field measurements and field maps only in those estates which are well cultivated, or in which the absence of a definition of rights and possession is likely to lead to misunderstandings among the coparcenary proprietors, is a practical question, which, at the

I. B.—A full detail of the plan followed in the
) will be found in the accompanying No. 3 of
lections from public correspondence in the
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fitting time, should receive your careful and earnest consideration. Another question, in connection with this branch of revenue subjects, is the adjustment and demarcation of boundaries. This is an essential preliminary, and, when commenced, it must be prosecuted in every district with the utmost vigour, till there is not a single disputed claim left, throughout the whole country. The mode of determining boundary questions in the North-Western Provinces is well known; and, as a practice of more than twenty years has failed to suggest a better and more expeditious system, and as it is highly popular even among the litigants, it should be introduced into Oude without modification. But it will be for your consideration whether this work shall be at once commenced under the direction of the Deputy Commissioner, or whether it shall be postponed until the Departments of Survey and Settlement can be organised. In any event, however, care should be taken, in the uncultivated tracts, not to insist rigidly that village boundaries should be necessarily conterminous. Many tracts may, perhaps, be found to intervene, which may admit of being marked off as separate estates, the property of Government, and either bestowed on the terms usually applicable to grants of waste land in the forests of the Doon and the sub-Himalaya, or be reserved till the spread of cultivation, which invariably follows our rule, enables us to dispose of them to advantage.

36. On the second point, viz., the agency by which the settlement operations shall be conducted, the Governor-General in Council is clearly of opinion that, as in other provinces, a separate Settlement Department should be organised, and officers, qualified by their knowledge of our fiscal system, and by the experience which they may have gained elsewhere, should be specially selected for it. His Lordship in Council, besides that he sees no good reason for departing from a practice which has proved successful wherever it has been tried, apprehends that, at no time, will the district officers, charged with the heavy and responsible duty of carrying on the ordinary administration of the country in all its branches, be enabled to give to the important and difficult task of effecting a regular settlement on the basis of a detailed survey, and in the complete form which will be requisite, that degree of attention and labour without which the work cannot be satisfactorily accomplished. The Governor-General in Council will, accordingly, be prepared, at a fitting time, to receive specific proposals from you as to the organisation of a Survey and a Settlement Department, as to the number of parties which you would recommend for employment, the parts of the country which should be at first commenced upon, and other details of the necessary arrangements.

37. Subordinate to the subject of revenue generally, is that of customs. In the present state of his information, the Governor-General in Council can only suggest to you that you should at once put yourself in communication with the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, on the subject of the abolition that will be required of the frontier line, in consequence of the administration of Oude being transferred to the British Government. All transit duties, as you have been informed, are to be forthwith, and finally, abolished, and means should be immediately taken for the removal of all the roadside customs' chowkees, and of all the establishments belonging to them.

38. There is only one other subject connected with this branch of the administration, which calls for immediate consideration, and that is the determination of questions affecting the validity of grants to hold lands rent-free. The Governor-General in Council, adverting to the circumstances which have forced upon the Government the extreme measure of superseding the Native Government in Oude, and the absence of any participation, on the part of the people, in its acts or omissions, is clearly of opinion that the only just and politic course will be for the Government to show its respect for existing rights by confirming and maintaining all grants for which sufficient authority can be produced and established. But this resolution does not, in any way or in any measure, do away with the necessity of attention being immediately directed to the determination of all claims to rent-free holdings, in order that the minds of the people may, at the earliest possible period, be set at rest upon a matter which

most nearly concerns their personal interests, and will, very naturally, engage their warmest feelings. For, as has been observed on another occasion; "it is obvious to remark that the longer the investigation is delayed, so much the more do these tenures acquire the force of prescription, and make resumption more unpopular, and apparently unjust." In our older provinces, notwithstanding the frequent declaratory enactments respecting the right, and the intention, of the Government, the investigations were delayed to so late a period as to give to our proceedings a character of injustice and severity.

39. The Governor-General in Council is not possessed of any information as to the extent and value of rent-free holdings in Oude, or as to the practice which may have prevailed under the Native Government, in respect of these grants; but it is an accepted principle, upon which the British Government has always acted, that the actual Ruler of the country is the only person whose grants are unquestionably valid, provided that they prove, on scrutiny, to be genuine, and that they have been followed by uninterrupted possession of the thing granted. I am, accordingly, desired to communicate to you the resolution of the Government, that, in the adjudication of claims of the class under consideration, the following general rules shall be observed:—

1st. That all grants of land, or money, shall be confirmed in conformity to the actual terms of the Sunnud, if the authority of the grantor, and the authenticity of the grant, shall be established by proof.

2nd. That all Sunnuds bearing the seal, or sign-manual, or both (as may have been the practice), of any of the Viziers or Kings of Oude, and none other, shall be accepted as valid, provided they prove, on sufficient inquiry, to be genuine.

3rd. That grants supported by no valid Sunnuds shall, nevertheless, be maintained, for the lives of the incumbent occupants, if uninterrupted possession in the third generation, or for a period not less than twenty years, shall be established.

4th. That all endowments, *bonâ fide* made for the maintenance of religious establishments, or buildings for public accommodation, shall be maintained, as long as the establishments or buildings are kept up, provided they are not exorbitant in amount.

5th. That all grants, whether in land or money, conferred for service done, and intended by the grantor to be for the life of the grantee, shall be maintained for the life of the holder.

6th. That all grants conditional on a service to be done, shall be resumed, if the service is no longer required by the Government.

7th. That grants may be continued to the legitimate male issue of the holder for a certain number of lives, or in perpetuity, either in virtue of prescriptive possession, or of the grantor's authority, or on special considerations of family influence and antiquity or of individual character and service.

40. Every grant of land or money must be made the subject of separate investigation, and be reported (with the exceptions to be hereafter noted) in the tabular forms used in the Punjab, for the orders of the Government of India.

41. In carrying out these investigations according to the general rules above prescribed, it will be proper to bear in mind that no rent-free tenure should be continued in favor of any man who may, either openly or indirectly, oppose our occupation of the province, or endeavour to frustrate the measures of the local officers for the introduction of our administration; that no rent-free holder should be allowed to retain any police authority within his tenure; that the Government revenue should be assessed on each village or tract which constitutes a separate tenure, so that the holder, if his tenure be maintained, may not have it in his power to rack-rent his tenants, or derive more from the land than would be taken by the Government whose place he will occupy; that every holder of rent-free land, who is confirmed in his tenure by the Government, must yield up every document in his possession on which his claim to exemption from revenue was founded, and a new grant must be given to him under your seal and signature. I am only desired to add, on this point, that the

rules prescribed by the late Board of Administration, in their Circular No. 5, dated the 16th of January, 1850 (page 19 of Revenue Circulars), had better be observed, in investigating, and reporting on, claims to hold land rent-free: they are remarkable for their simplicity and their precision; they are calculated to reduce to a minimum the harassment and vexation to which the people and the village office-bearers must be, in some measure, subjected; and they are so framed as to expedite the completion of these troublesome and irritating inquiries, and to ensure the submission of the results to the deciding officers, in a clear, concise, and compendious form.

42. The State pensions should also form the subject of early scrutiny; and the same principles should be observed in investigating their validity.

43. The administration of Civil Justice is the next subject which calls for the instructions of the Governor-General in Council, and here again very material assistance is derived from the results of experience acquired in the Punjab. It is believed that the Civil Courts in our older provinces have proved more distasteful to the people than any other of our institutions. The laws which they administer, though founded on equitable principles, are encumbered with many forms and technicalities, the tendency of which is to favour groundless and vexatious litigation, and to prevent the prompt dispensation of justice. And, if such has been felt and acknowledged, and is still felt, to be the effect of the technical and complicated laws by which the Civil Courts of our older provinces are fettered, there is the stronger reason for introducing simpler rules in a new province, the people of which are unaccustomed to technical litigation, and will view with impatience a system which has little to recommend it but its supposed approximation to that which has grown up in England under circumstances so totally different as to afford no excuse for imitating it here.

44. In 1847-48, a few rules for civil judicature were drawn out for the guidance of the officers employed in the Cis and Trans-Sutlej States; these were, in 1849, extended to the Punjab; and it was left to the officers charged with the local administration, laying upon these the foundation of the judicial system, to improve, amend, and elaborate them, as practical experience might suggest. In 1854, some "Rules for the better Administration of Civil Justice in the Punjab," consisting of two parts—the first relating to the "Principles of Law," and the second to "Procedure"—were prepared, and submitted to the Governor-General in Council, who, while he demurred, for obvious reasons, to their being promulgated under the authority of the Government of India, still made no objection to their being circulated by the Chief Commissioner, on his own authority, so that they might have the same force as Circular Orders of the Suddur Dewance Adawlut. These rules now, for the most part, guide the proceedings of the Judicial Courts in the Punjab, and they have been found so well fitted to the requirements of a new province, and a simple people, so easy in their application, so acceptable to the population, no less than to the officers themselves, and so beneficial in their results, that the Governor-General in Council advises that they should be made the ground-work of the civil judicial system in Oude. Several printed copies of these "Rules" will shortly be furnished to you for distribution.

45. There appears to be no reason whatever for supposing that the Rules of Procedure will not be as applicable to the Civil Courts in Oude as to those in the Punjab, and there can be no objection to their immediate introduction. It is believed also that the "Principles of Law" will be found sufficient, in the first instance, to guide the judicial officers in dealing with the various questions which will come before them in this branch of their duty. But it will not escape your observation that, in the preparation of the rules under notice, much attention has been given to the *lex loci*, and that, especially in matters relating to inheritance, marriage, divorce, and adultery, adoption, wills, legacies, and partition, as well as in all commercial transactions, a due regard to local usage has been enjoined. It cannot, of course, be supposed that the *lex loci*, or local custom, in provinces differing so widely as the Punjab and Oude, is in all, or even in many, respects, identical, and it follows that those provisions of the

"Rules" which rest on the *lex loci* in the Punjab, cannot, with any propriety, or without risk of injurious failure, be extended to the Province of Oude.

46. While, then, the Governor-General in Council directs your attention to this collection of principles of law as calculated to afford material assistance, in the absence of any better or more appropriate treatise, he refrains from requiring the strict observance of them, until it can be ascertained how far they are applicable to the peculiarities of the province, and the customs of its people. With this end in view, his Lordship in Council desires me to suggest that all the Commissioners and District Officers, and the most experienced of the Assistants, should be required to study the "Principles of Law," in their daily application to the business brought before the Civil Courts, and, after the lapse of a twelvemonth or more, as may be hereafter determined, to report to the Judicial Commissioner the opinions which they may have formed, of the applicability of the "Rules of Law" to the people of Oude, and to offer, at the same time, any remarks and suggestions which may have occurred to them. It may, perhaps, be advisable also to invite the opinions and observations of a few of the native Extra Assistants, whose past career, and official knowledge, and more immediate contact with the people, may have qualified them to form a judgment on those points which touch upon native customs, and to give sound advice. On receipt of all these reports, it will be the duty of the Judicial Commissioner to study the suggestions which they contain, and to recast the collection of Rules of Law. It is not anticipated that the Rules of Procedure will call for much, if any, alteration, but it will rest with the Judicial Commissioner to give his consideration to these also at the same time, and to introduce such modifications as may appear advisable, provided they do not tend to introduce those complications and technicalities, the removal of which is the main, as it is the most acceptable, feature of the system successfully followed in the Punjab.

47. You are aware that another feature of that system has been the employment of the Tehseeldars, instead of a separate class of judicial officers, called Moonsiffs in the North-Western Provinces, in the administration of civil justice. This measure has proved most beneficial. The effect of it has been to bring justice to every man's door; to reduce the expense of litigation, and divest it of all technicalities, quibbles, and legal fictions; to encourage the amicable adjustment of suits, and to expedite their decision, when contested. It has been received, by the people of the Punjab, as a great boon; and, strictly supervised by the district officers under the large discretion vested in them by the rules to be presently noticed, it has been most successful in its operation.

48. I am, therefore, directed to request that, from the first, such of the Tehseeldars as may be found qualified, be invested with judicial functions, to be exercised in accordance with rules, of which several copies will be shortly sent to you. A translation of these rules may be procured from the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, or may be made on the spot without difficulty. These rules, you will observe, lay down the extent of the powers to be exercised by a Tehseeldar, and the limits of his jurisdiction; they describe the suits which he may, and those which he may not, entertain; they prohibit absolutely the admission of vakeels and agents in the Tehseeldar's Courts, and enjoin the processes by which, if possible, the passing of an *ex parte* decision shall be avoided; they prescribe certain precautions to be observed in accepting the amicable adjustment of suits, and describe the course which shall be followed on a confession of judgment being entered; they require that, generally, arbitration shall be encouraged, and that, in some cases, it shall be imperative, and they then lay down the manner in which the award of arbitrators shall be dealt with; they describe how evidence shall be taken, what evidence shall be accepted, how the attendance of witnesses is to be enforced, and how they are to be examined; and they then proceed to provide for various matters of detail, which, though they form an essential part of the rules, do not call for particular notice in this place. The rules, you will further remark, are preceded by a copy of a circular letter which was addressed

by the late Board of Administration to the Commissioners in the Punjab, for their guidance in giving effect to this measure.

49. The system, thus devised, is, in all essential respects, identical with that which the Deputy Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner's Courts are required to follow by the "Rules of Procedure," which have been commended to your attention in paragraph 44 of this letter. It is marked principally by its simplicity; by its freedom from all the forms and technicalities which encumber the proceedings of the Civil Courts in the Regulation Provinces; by the exclusion of vakeels and agents, whose practice it is to mystify and distort the real facts in dispute; by the compulsory attendance, instead, of the litigants themselves confronted, and their personal examination on the points at issue; by the general use of the popular institution of Punchayets; and by the imperative employment of it in all matters of dispute relating to caste, family, inheritance, betrothal, and accounts; and, above all, by the power which is conferred on the District Officers of revising the decisions of the Tehseeldars, *even though no appeal be preferred.* The Governor-General in Council is persuaded that this system, judiciously and carefully supervised, is well suited to secure substantial justice, and is certain to be much more acceptable to a people unaccustomed to technical litigation, than the more complicated laws by which the Courts in our older provinces are guided, and he desires that every effort be made to introduce it in its integrity, and to ensure that its operation shall be effective.

50. Several copies of circulars issued, in the Judicial Department, by the late Board of Administration for the Affairs of the Punjab, will be forwarded to you as soon as they have been printed; the intention being that they shall be carefully examined and scrutinized by the Judicial Commissioner, and such of them as may be found applicable extended to the Province of Oude.

51. The subject which next calls for direction is the administration of criminal justice and the management of the police.

52. It is not the wish of the Governor-General in Council that the voluminous regulations which govern the proceedings of the magistrates of our older provinces in this department, should be introduced bodily in Oude. It will be sufficient that their spirit be observed, in regard to the processes for the apprehension of offenders, the responsibility of landholders, the crimes finally cognizable by the magistrates, and those committable to Sessions Courts, the sentences allowable on conviction of different crimes, and appeals. The magistrates of a new province must necessarily have a larger discretion than might be elsewhere, and under a more settled state of things, permissible; and it will be the duty of the Commissioner to see that the limits of a sound discretion are not overstepped. Beaufort's "Digest of the Criminal Law" is a very good summary of criminal and police regulations, and every district office should be furnished with a copy, if this work be procurable.

53. You will observe, on reference to the judicial circulars of the Punjab, that corporal punishment has been extended to certain offences for which that penalty cannot be adjudged in the North-Western Provinces, and that certain restrictions on the reception of appeals from the decisions of the magistrates, as they are laid down in Act XXXI of 1841, have been received in that province. These are both considered to be beneficial modifications, and are recommended to your attention.

54. Further, in connection with this subject, I am desired by the Governor-General in Council to advise you that Tehseeldars in the Punjab, who have been found qualified for that duty, have been invested with authority to try petty criminal cases, the object being "to obviate the inconvenience and distress to which people are exposed, by being obliged to travel to considerable distances from their homes, before they can obtain a hearing in the most trivial cases." The rules under which this authority has been exercised, are clear, precise, and simple; and there can be no doubt that, care being taken to employ only well-qualified and trustworthy men in these duties, and to vigilantly supervise them, in their discharge thereof, the system is fraught with many advantages, both to the people, and to the officers charged with the administration; and the

Governor-General in Council desires that it be introduced in Oude, under the restrictions which are described in paragraph 2 of the circular issued by the Punjab Board, under date the 11th of May, 1852. Several copies of that circular, and of the rules to which it gave currency, will be sent to you hereafter. In distributing them to the Commissioners and District Officers, you will impress upon them the certain fact, prominently noticed in the first of the two documents, that "native officials usually take their tone from their own superiors. If they find that these superiors are really in earnest; that they know their duty, and scrupulously practise it; that honor and consideration follow good service, and prompt and severe punishment is as surely the result of venality and ignorance; such incentives to exertion will be created," that an effective native agency may be confidently expected to arise, which will be an honor to your administration, and a blessing to the people of the country about to be committed to your control.

55. The experience which the Commissioners (who will also be Superintendents of Police) and the Deputy-Commissioners have gained in the management of the district and rural police, during their past service in the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab, will be their best and most efficient guide in this branch of the administration. The Regulation XX, of 1817, of the Bengal Code, has been now in operation for nearly forty years; scarcely a section of it has been rescinded, or materially modified, since its enactment; it contains a body of rules which provide for almost every contingency with which the police officer can have to deal *proprio motu*, and possesses the advantage, moreover, of being very generally known. This Regulation may, therefore, be at once declared in force in Oude, and translations of it should be furnished to every Darogah of Police, and to every Tehseeldar who may be appointed head officer of police within the limits of his division.

56. The employment of the Tehseeldars in this capacity was first provided for by Regulation XI of 1831, but it was not until 1845 that the Government of the North-Western Provinces exercised the authority with which that enactment invested it. The aid of the Tehseeldars in this branch of the administration added greatly to its efficiency in the North-Western Provinces, and, in 1852, the measure was introduced into the Punjab, in accordance with certain rules prescribing the mode of procedure which the Tehseeldars should observe, and defining their position and powers relatively to the Darogah of Police. Several copies of these Rules will be forwarded to you as soon as possible, in view to their distribution, and the introduction, substantially, of the system which they describe. Translations may be procured from the Chief Commissioner in the Punjab, or may be made on the spot, as you may find most convenient.

57. It has been stated, in the 55th paragraph, that the Commissioners will also be Superintendents of Police. It becomes, therefore, necessary to explain that, in addition to the rural police, which is to be reorganised, and the district or detective police, which is to be composed as usual of Darogahs, Mohurrirs, Jemadars, and Burkundauzes, a military police, consisting of three battalions, each 800 strong, will be organised on the model of the Punjab military police, and a separate officer, to be styled "Superintendent of Military Police," with three Commandants subordinate to him, will be appointed. He will have no concern with, or authority over, the district police, and his functions will not therefore clash with those of the Commissioners or the District Officers. In this military police the existing Oude frontier police will merge, and the special duty of this force will be to strengthen the hands of the district police; to hunt down Dacoits and other violent transgressors of the law; to overawe the population of large towns and turbulent localities; and to furnish guards for the district jails, and the Mofussil (Tehseel) treasuries. For this purpose, the force will be, necessarily, much scattered in small detachments, all over the province, and the detachments, so long as they are employed in any district, will be at the disposal, and under the direction, of the Deputy Commissioner and Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner and Commissioner will also be authorised, whenever they may see occasion, to make requisitions on the "Superintendent of Military Police," for an addition to

the strength, or the number, of the detachments serving in their respective districts; and it will be the duty of the Superintendent to give immediate attention to such requisitions, to the extent of the means at his disposal. But, for the organisation, the discipline, and internal economy of these police battalions, the Superintendent will be responsible solely to you, and, through you, to the Government. With him will rest the power of making promotions, and discharging, or otherwise punishing, men for misconduct, subject to your approval and concurrence; and, for the purpose of enabling him the better to check such misconduct, the Superintendent will possess the powers of a joint magistrate, in so far as the men of the police battalions are concerned. Men belonging to detached parties, employed at a distance from the head-quarters of the battalion, if they are charged with misconduct or disobedience of orders, must be sent to the Superintendent, who, after inquiry, will pass such orders as he may think proper.

58. The Governor-General in Council is aware that there are objections to the divided authority to which the men of the police battalions will thus be subject. Bound, while employed in the districts, to obey the orders of the magisterial officers, they will be liable to punishment for disobedience of those orders only by the sentence of the Superintendent; but it appears to his Lordship that, by confining to the latter the power of punishment, there will be less risk of collision of authority than under any other arrangement; and he is persuaded that, if there be between the district officers and the Superintendent that cordial operation for the general good which should exist, the service will suffer no inconvenience.

59. Subordinate to the subject of police and criminal administration, is that of jails and jail management. At first, any buildings that may be available, must be used for the purposes of a jail in each district. Hereafter, a central jail will be erected at Lucknow, capable of accommodating 2,000 prisoners, and, at the Suddur station of each district, whenever these may have been finally determined, a jail of adequate capacity will be sanctioned. The plan of all the district jails will be uniform, and will, at the fitting time, call for your consideration, in concert with the officers of the Public Works Department, which it is intended hereafter to organise.

60. Within the last eight or ten years, a great deal of attention has been given to the question of jail management in the North-Western Provinces, and the improved system which has thus been brought into operation has been fully extended to the Punjab. A more severe discipline, a stricter economy, and a better classification of prisoners, have been enforced, and, in the Punjab, out-door labour has been entirely discontinued, and in-door labour substituted, with the greatest advantage. You will be pleased to call upon the Government of the North-Western Provinces for copies of Mr. William Woodcock's several reports, and for such other official documents, of subsequent date, as touch upon jail management, and the reforms which have been lately introduced; and you will also request the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab to forward to you copies of all instructions that may have been issued, on similar subjects, in that province. With these documents to guide him, the Judicial Commissioner will have no difficulty in establishing from the first, and carrying out afterwards to completion, the most approved system of jail management which experience has yet suggested in India.

61. An Inspector of Jails, as you have been already advised, will be in due time appointed, and it may perhaps be convenient and practicable to add to his duties that of Superintendent of Charitable Dispensaries. These institutions involve but little expense, compared with the benefits which they extend to suffering humanity; they are most useful, and fully appreciated by the people; and one is to be established at each of the Suddur stations of the Province of Oude, as soon as circumstances may permit. A sum of 500 rupees is sanctioned for each building, and the establishment specified on the margin will be allowed for each dispensary, as soon as you may certify the necessity of its being entertained.

1 Dresser	
1 Compounder	
2 Cooks at 4 Rs.	
1 Bheestee	
1 Sweeper	
Diet allowance	
Native medicines	
Extra Allowances :—	
To Assistant Surgeon	
To Sub-Assistant Surgeon	
To Native Doctor, when in charge . ..	

62. There are a few miscellaneous matters that call for a passing notice, before I proceed, under the direction of the Governor-General in Council, to define the powers of the several officers, and bring these instructions to a close.

63. Of these, the language of record is one. The Governor-General in Council can have no doubt that this should be Oordoo. Oordoo is the colloquial language of the Court, as well as, in some of its numerous dialects, the language of the people; it is the language of business, and of record, in our neigbouring provinces, and must be the most appropriate for Oude, which in every respect resembles those provinces.

64. Another is the subject of town duties. You have been already advised, in paragraph 19 of this letter, to establish these in the cities and large towns, for the purpose of meeting the charges of municipal, conservancy, and police arrangements, within the places where they are levied; and the only further instruction which is requisite is, that the system should be put on precisely the footing which obtains in Lahore, Umritsur, and other towns of the Punjab. Copies of the regulations by which the Punjab Deputy Commissioners are guided in levying these duties, and expending the proceeds, can be obtained from the Chief Commissioner in that province, and to him you are requested accordingly to apply for them. It is believed that these duties will be infinitely less obnoxious to the residents of towns than the inquisitorial and invidious Chowkeedaree tax which prevails in our older provinces, and that, besides having the advantage of being applicable, without question, to the purposes of cleansing, lighting, draining, &c. (a virtue which the Chowkeedaree tax does not properly possess), they will be greatly more productive, with much less sensible burthen on the payers.

65. Another subject is that of ferries; these, like town duties, are not a source of general revenue, the proceeds being, as a rule, held available for the particular purposes specified in Regulation VII of 1819, and other cognate objects. The demand, however, is a perfectly legitimate and just demand, and the people receive the full equivalent of their payments in the maintenance of a safe and efficient ferry, while the administration derives its advantage, no less than the people, from the control which it possesses over the ferries, in the aid and support which that control gives to police arrangements. Public ferries are, therefore, to be established on such rivers, and at such points, as may be thought most advisable; and they are to be managed in accordance with the rules which the Regulation above cited enacts. The proceeds will be considered available for the purposes specified in the same Regulation, under the restrictions to be hereafter described.

66. The powers to be exercised by the several officers of the Commission may be briefly defined.

67. As Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General, you will possess plenary authority and control in all departments.

68. In the departments of Civil Judicature, Police, and Revenue, the supervising authority will be primarily exercised by the Judicial and Financial Commissioners; and it will be, for the most part, either as ultimate referee, or as the channel of communication with the Government, that business will devolve upon you in these departments.

69. In the department of Criminal Justice, all trials in which the Judicial Commissioner may record a capital sentence will be submitted to you, and, without your concurrence, no such sentence can be inflicted.

70. In the Revenue Department, you will have authority finally to resume all holdings that may be pronounced, after inquiry, to be invalid. You will also have authority finally to dispose of all claims to all grants of land rent-free, under fifty acres, which should, in your opinion, be released for the lives of the occupants. All other cases wherein it may be proposed to release land, above fifty acres in extent, to the incumbents for their lives, or to release land, of any amount, to the second generation, or in perpetuity, or wherein it is proposed to release land forming an integral village, or a specific fractional portion of a village, for any period of time, must be reported, by you, for the final orders of the Government.

71. Such business as there may be of a political character, all commu-

nications with the King and the King's family, all matters relating to their stipends, and all questions connected with the allowances secured by Treaty to any family or persons, or for any specified purpose, &c. &c., will be conducted by you.

72. An efficient secretary will be appointed, on a salary of 2,000 rupees per mensem, and you will correspond, through him, with the Government, and all other authorities.

73. A Military Secretary, on a salary of 1,200 rupees per mensem, will also be appointed, and, through him, all correspondence connected with the organisation, in the first instance, and the management, subsequently, of the Oude Irregular Force, and the Military Police, will be carried on. This officer will also be appointed "Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent in Oude," for the purpose of aiding you in your communications with the King and the King's family. The correspondence on these points, and on all political subjects, however, will be conducted through the Civil Secretary.

74. A departmental abstract of your correspondence, whether in the English, or the Native language, should be furnished every week, for the information of the Governor-General in Council.

75. As regards expenditure, you have been already advised that all charges for the new establishments which will be immediately required, will be passed in contingent bills, on your authority.

76. You will also have authority, hereafter—1st. To sanction expenditure not exceeding 10,000 rupees (from the general revenues) for the construction of any single public work, civil or military; 2ndly. To sanction the payment of compensation for lands taken up for public purposes, such compensation being calculated according to the rules observed in the North-Western Provinces; 3rdly. To sanction the purchase of tents for the use of the several public officers, according to the scale which has been fixed in the North-Western Provinces; and 4thly. To pass ordinary contingent charges.

77. Items of expenditure, other than these, chargeable to the general revenues of the Government, must receive the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council.

78. The Civil Auditor will pass all fixed and authorised charges, and all charges which you have now been permitted to sanction, without reference to Government; and he will reject, of his own authority, and without reference to Government, all such as have not previously received sufficient sanction. If any accounts submitted for audit contain any disbursements not duly sanctioned, they will stand, until sanctioned, at the personal responsibility of the officer by whom they may have been made.

79. An annual report should be submitted by you on each department of administration, to be compiled from returns transmitted by the Judicial and Financial Commissioners, and Commissioners of Divisions, detailing the work performed by their subordinates, the manner in which they have acquitted themselves, remarking on their habits of application, their accessibility to the people, the merits which are due to them, the deficiencies with which they are chargeable, together with comments on the prevailing crimes, the state of the revenue, and the police, and evils that require correction. The first report should be prepared on the model of the two printed Punjab reports. Subsequent reports may be succinctly drawn up, in the form prescribed by a recent circular from the Home Department, of which a copy is inclosed for your guidance.

80. The Judicial Commissioner will be charged with the direction and control of the administration of civil and criminal justice; and he will be the ultimate judge in all cases of a judicial character.

81. In civil suits, the decision of a Commissioner will, ordinarily, be final, but the Judicial Commissioner, on cause being shown by a dissatisfied party, or in the event of such course appearing, from the periodical returns, or from any other cause, desirable, will be authorised to call for the record of any civil case, and pass such orders thereon as may seem fit.

82. In respect of criminal cases finally decided by Commissioners of Divisions, the Judicial Commissioner will possess the same authority.

83. In trials referred for his orders by Commissioners of Divisions, the Judicial Commissioner will be authorised to pass sentence of imprisonment for life, in transportation beyond the seas. Cases in which he may consider a capital sentence to be necessary, must be referred by the Judicial Commissioner, with his opinion, and the reasons for it, duly recorded, for your concurrence; and, without such concurrence, no capital sentence will be executed.

84. To the Judicial Commissioner is also to be intrusted the superintendence of all matters relating to the civil or district police, the management and control of jails, the establishment and management of public ferries, and the introduction and future supervision of the system of town-duties which has been recommended to your notice. On these subjects, his orders will be final; but it will be proper that he obtain your approval of any important circular, or general orders, which he may desire to issue regarding them.

85. The local funds arising either from Nuzzool property, the one per cent. road-fund, public ferries, town-duties, or otherwise, will be under the control of the Judicial Commissioner, and he will have authority, subject to the concurrence of the Chief Commissioner, to sanction expenditure therefrom not exceeding 10,000 rupees for any one work, subject, of course, to the restriction that the proceeds of each fund can be devoted only to those special purposes for which it is designed.

86. Questions regarding the construction, and regarding important alterations, of all judicial public buildings, and regarding judicial establishments, must be referred, by the Judicial, to the Chief Commissioner.

87. Questions which may hereafter arise connected with ecclesiastical and judicial matters, will be dealt with, in the first instance, by the Judicial Commissioner; the more important questions in these and other departments being referred to the Chief Commissioner for decision, or for submission to Government.

88. The Judicial Commissioner will be authorised to pass contingent bills (in his department) to the extent of 500 rupees for one work, and to sanction temporary establishments, for extraordinary purposes, for a period not exceeding six months.

89. The Financial Commissioner will exercise much the same powers as are exercised by the Suddur Board of Revenue in the North-Western Provinces.

90. It will be his duty to direct and superintend the revenue administration in all its branches, to introduce system, regularity, and order, in the collection of the revenue, and to carry out such measures as may seem best calculated to inspire the people with confidence in the moderation and good faith of the British Government.

91. Whenever the great measure of a regular settlement, on the basis of a professional and field survey, may be commenced, the entire direction and control thereof will rest with the Financial Commissioner.

92. In the meantime, he will have authority finally to sanction all summary settlements, and to sanction, without further reference, remission of balances, in estates temporarily settled, and in estates held "Kham," as well as refunds of land revenue, and excise wrongly demanded.

93. He will have authority to call for the proceedings of the Commissioners of Divisions, in any cases finally decided by them in the Revenue Department, whenever, on cause being shown by a dissatisfied party, or for any other reason, he may deem such course expedient, and to pass thereupon such orders as he may think proper.

94. He will have authority finally to dispose of all claims to grants of land rent-free under ten acres, whenever he may be of opinion that such holdings should be released for the lives of the incumbents. All other cases of this class must be sent on, with his opinion, to the Chief Commissioner, either for decision, or for submission to Government.

95. He will have authority to grant "tukkavee," for the construction of wells, or other works of permanent utility, to an extent not exceeding 500 rupees in each case.

96. All questions connected with revenue, surveys, and settlement generally, with stamps, excise, and pensions, will be in the Financial Commissioner's Department. The more important questions will be submitted by the Financial Commissioner to the Chief Commissioner for decision, or for reference to Government, as the case may require.

97. All questions regarding projects for the extension of irrigation, for the preservation of forests, and for developing the resources of the country, as well as all questions relating to revenue buildings and establishments, will pass through the Financial Commissioner's office to the Chief Commissioner.

98. The Financial Commissioner will be authorised to exercise, in regard to pensions and pensioners, all the powers that reside in the Suddur Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces.

99. He will also be authorised to pass contingent bills (in his department), to the extent of 500 rupees for one work, and to sanction temporary establishments for settlement or other extraordinary purposes, for a period not exceeding six months.

100. Both the Judicial and the Financial Commissioner will furnish to the Chief Commissioner a weekly index of correspondence, and nothing in the above rules shall be held to prevent the Chief Commissioner from calling for any papers and proceedings, and submitting the same for the revision or orders of Government, whenever he may think fit.

101. The Commissioners of Divisions will be Commissioners of Revenue, Sessions Judges, and Superintendents of Police, in their respective divisions.

102. As Commissioners of Revenue and Superintendents of Police, they will perform the functions of the officer of the same denomination in the North-Western Provinces, but they will be required to exercise a stricter supervision and control over the Deputy Commissioners than would be required where a regular routine of business is well established and understood.

103. As Sessions Judge, the only cases which the Commissioner will be required to refer to the Judicial Commissioner will be those involving a sentence of capital punishment, or of imprisonment for life in transportation beyond seas.

104. In cases of less aggravation, he will have authority to sentence to fourteen years' imprisonment, and two additional in lieu of stripes.

105. If, in any case within his competency, he should consider the punishment he is authorised to award insufficient, he must refer it for the orders of the Judicial Commissioner.

106. With a view of rendering the administration of criminal justice more prompt, of relieving parties and witnesses from the expense of attendance on distant courts, and of lessening the burthen of judicial duty on Commissioners, the Commissioner will be authorised to pass sentence on the record of the trial of the Deputy Commissioner's Court in certain classes of committed cases, viz.:—

1st. Commitments within the final cognizance of the Commissioner, on which a sentence not exceeding nine years (two in lieu of stripes) is legally awardable, may be tried, and sentence passed, upon the proceedings of the Deputy Commissioner, without the attendance of parties and witnesses in the Commissioner's Court.

2ndly. In cases within the competency of the Commissioner, requiring above nine years' imprisonment, as above, a regular trial must be held by the Commissioner whenever a plea of "not guilty" may have been entered before the Deputy Commissioner, or other committing officer.

3rdly. In cases within the competency of the Commissioner to punish, in which the prisoners may have voluntarily confessed their guilt before the Deputy Commissioner, the trial may be held by the Commissioner on the record of the Lower Court, and sentence may be passed, without summoning the parties and witnesses.

4thly. Whenever the Commissioner, on a perusal of the proceedings of the Deputy Commissioner, or other committing officer, may deem the prisoner entitled to his release, sentence of acquittal may be passed, without summoning the parties and witnesses.

In hearing appeals in criminal cases the Commissioner will be authorised to enhance the punishment awarded by the Lower Court, and to reverse sentence of acquittal, whenever he may see fit.

107. The Deputy Commissioners will be Civil Judges of their respective districts; and in this, as in the Departments of Police and Criminal Justice, they will be aided by Assistant-Commissioners, Extra Assistant-Commissioners, and Tehseeldars.

108. The Deputy Commissioner will try all original suits for property, real or personal, exceeding in value 1,000 rupees; and an appeal will lie from his decisions, in such cases, to the Commissioner, whose order, as stated in a foregoing part of this dispatch, will, ordinarily, be final.

109. Suits for smaller amounts may be tried by the Assistants, covenanted and uncovenanted, who will have, the former, jurisdiction in original suits to the extent of 1,000 rupees, and the latter, to the extent of 500 rupees. Suits up to 300 rupees will be triable by the Tehseeldars, under the rules which have been already adverted to.

110. The Deputy Commissioner will exercise an appellate authority in respect of all decisions passed by his Assistants, Extra-Assistants, and Tehseeldars, in original suits; and, from his order on such first appeals, a second, or special appeal, will lie to the Commissioner, whose judgment will, ordinarily, be final.

111. In the Departments of Revenue, Police, and the administration of Criminal Justice, the Deputy Commissioner will exercise the full powers of a Magistrate and Collector, as described in the regulations applicable to the ceded and conquered provinces. These are so well known that further specification is needless.

112. The Deputy Commissioner will use his discretion in making over to his subordinates such portion of his work in these departments as he may think proper.

113. The Assistant Commissioners of the first class will hold the same position as Joint Magistrates and Deputy Collectors in the North-Western Provinces, and will exercise the same powers. They will be exempt from examination.

114. Appeals from the decisions of the Deputy Commissioner, and the First-Class Assistant Commissioner, will lie direct to the Commissioner.

115. The Assistant Commissioners of the second class will exercise the special powers of an Assistant Magistrate and Collector, as described in Regulation IX of 1807, III of 1821, and Section 21 Regulation VIII of 1831, and appeals from their decisions, as well as from the decisions of the Assistant Commissioner, third class, and of the Extra-Assistant in the Departments of Revenue and Criminal Justice, will lie to the Deputy Commissioner.

116. Such of these Assistants (second class) as have not already passed the examinations prescribed for Assistants will be required to pass them, as will also Assistants of the third class, before they can be considered entitled to promotion.

117. If the Extra-Assistants should be employed in the Magisterial and Revenue Departments, the powers to be conferred upon them may be determined by the Judicial and Financial Commissioners, on report from the Commissioner of Division, with due reference to their past career, and the opportunities they have had of acquiring knowledge and experience.

118. Such of these last-named officers as have not passed examinations will be required to pass them, in accordance with the Punjab Rules, as modified by a recent resolution of the Government of India in the Home Department, of which copies accompany this dispatch.

119. The subject of office and mofussil establishments calls for instructions.

120. You have been informed that, for the first six months, charges on account of all establishments, Suddur and Mofussil, will be passed in contingent bills countersigned by your authority. Before the expiration of that period, it is hoped that complete schedules of all Civil establishments may be submitted for the formal sanction of Government. These

schedules, after being sent up by the local officers, should be considered by you in classes; that is to say, Commissioner's establishments with Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner's with Deputy Commissioner, Tehseeldar's with Tehseeldar, and so forth, so that the test of comparison may be applied to each. Every salary above the common average will thus at once attract attention, and be properly checked.

121. To assist the several officers and yourself in the preparation of these schedules, I am desired to inclose a transcript of a complete set of statements of establishments which have been sanctioned in the Punjab. These will show the strength, and cost, of the establishments entertained in the offices of the Chief, the Judicial, and Financial Commissioners, of a Commissioner of Division, and of a Deputy Commissioner inclusive: the latter of Tehseeldaree, Thannah, Treasury, and Jail Establishments. The scale herein exhibited should be your guide, and any great deviation from it will need explanation.

122. It is hoped that the foregoing paragraphs contain instructions sufficiently comprehensive and detailed to enable you, with the ample and efficient advice and aid which will be at your disposal, to put the Civil Administration of the Province, in all its branches, on a sound and durable footing. In connection with this subject, it only remains for the Governor-General in Council to remind you that, under the proposed Treaty, the British Government engages to make ample provision for the improvement of the country. It will, therefore, be the duty of every officer not only to develope, as much as possible, the resources of the country in agriculture and manufacture, but to record the results of his experience and observation, so that, within a short time, a body of information may be accumulated, which will show the real value of the province, the occupation of which has been forced upon the Government. Trade should be protected, encouraged, and fostered by every means; attention should be given, at an early period, to the improvement of existing communications, and the construction of new lines; means should be taken for the efficient protection of traffic from lawless violence, as well as from unlicensed extortion. The practicability of extending irrigation, by means of canals, may form the subject of inquiry and consideration; and the introduction of valuable products may very well claim your early attention. The Governor-General in Council, you may rest assured, will be prepared to encourage all feasible schemes for the improvement of the country, so far as the means available in men and money will permit.

123. A Public Works Department will be hereafter organized, in accordance with details which will be elaborated in that Department at the Presidency, and duly communicated to you.

124. I am to add, that a military force, to be called the "Oude Irregular Force," will be in due time organized, under instructions which will be communicated to you in full detail from the Military Department. It will consist of eight regiments of Infantry, three of Cavalry, and three Horse Field Batteries; a Brigadier will be appointed to the command of it; and, to each regiment of Infantry and Cavalry, the usual complement of three European officers will be assigned. The force will be organized on the system which has been found completely efficient in the Punjab, and will, it is expected, be a perfectly reliable force, able, with the aid of the Military Police, to maintain internal tranquillity, and such as to put the Government in a position to withdraw nearly all the regular troops, now, and heretofore, cantoned in the Province of Oude.

125. You will, doubtless, recognise the necessity of absorbing, in the Irregular Force, and the Military and District Police, &c., as many of the soldiers belonging to the King's army (which will of course be disbanded) as may be found physically fit for the duties that will be required of them, and willing to accept service under the British Government. Hitherto, licentious and disorderly, and subject to little or no discipline, these men have lived upon the plunder of the land, and have been an absolute scourge to the country which they were employed to protect. If these men be suddenly deprived of their means of subsistence, they will be

driven, for their support, to violence and robbery, and will become a greater, and more injurious, nuisance than they have hitherto been.

126. But his Lordship in Council is aware that the establishments, military and civil, which are to be formed in Oude, will not absorb one-half of the King's army, and that, moreover, there will be many civil *employés* of the native Government who will be unequal to the duties which must be required of them under our system.

127. With a view to make provision for those who are wholly inefficient, or for whom suitable employment cannot be obtained, the Governor-General in Council has resolved that pensions and gratuities shall be granted, on the following scale, provided that the parties be, in other respects, deserving of consideration and favour:—

Service from twenty-five to thirty years shall entitle the party to one-fourth of his emoluments as "pension."

Service from thirty to thirty-five years shall entitle the party to one-third of his emoluments as "pension."

Service from thirty-five to forty years and upwards, shall entitle the party to one-half of his emoluments as "pension."

Persons, whether of the civil or military establishment, who may not have served long enough for pension, according to the foregoing scale, shall be entitled to gratuities, according to the following scale, provided that they are wholly inefficient, and are otherwise deserving; provided also, that no person shall be recommended for pension, or gratuity, who may decline employment, offered to him under the British Government:—

For seven years', and under fifteen years' service, three months' pay.

For fifteen years', and under twenty years' service, six months' pay.

For twenty years', and under twenty-five years' service, nine months' pay.

All cases falling under these heads must be reported ultimately, in tabular statements, for the orders of Government; but, if you should think it necessary, you are authorised to discharge gratuities at once, according to the above scale, and in conformity to the foregoing instructions.

128. It is not intended, as you will readily understand, that these instructions should fetter your discretion in dealing with special cases. You have already been advised, in my (Secret) letter No. 7, dated the 23rd ultimo, that the objects in view will be facilitated, by the early adoption of measures to conciliate the minds of all persons whose interests, or personal consideration, may be affected by the dissolution of the existing Government; and you have been authorised to exercise your discretion in giving such assurances, and holding out such advantages as (without imposing any undue burthen on the State) will tend to reconcile the minds of influential persons in Oude to the intended transfer of the powers of Government. You will, in due time, state, for the information, and orders, of the Governor-General in Council, your sentiments in regard to the persons of this class for whom it may be expedient and just to provide; and you will suggest the amount, and the mode, of provision, which you may consider suitable.

129. In entrusting to your hands the entire administration of the affairs of the Province of Oude, the Governor-General in Council is persuaded that no efforts on your part will be wanting to diffuse the blessings of good government, to make our rule popular and acceptable, and to advance the credit of the British name, among a people who, by their proximity to our own districts, and their knowledge of the British character, are well able to appreciate our good faith, our moderation, and our justice.

I have, &c.

G. F. EDMONSTONE.

Inclosure 8 in No. 4.

Major-General Outram to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir, *Lucknow, January* 31, 1856.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for the information of the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council, Notes of Conferences I have had with the Minister yesterday, and this morning.

The officer referred to, at the conclusion of yesterday's conference, whom I had required from the Durbar to conduct the troops from Cawnpore, was sent to me by His Majesty last night, and must, I trust, have joined Colonel Wheler to-day, who will pass the Ganges into Oude to-morrow morning. To-day, His Majesty sent me a purwannah, directing all the authorities on the road to comply with the requisitions of his officer on behalf of the troops.

I have not yet been able to learn the effect on His Majesty of the communications I have made to him through the Minister.

I have, &c.

J. OUTRAM.

Sub-Inclosure 1 to Inclosure 8 in No. 4.

(A.)

Note of the Interview between Major-General Outram and the Prime Minister of Oude, Alee Nukkee Khan Bahadoor, January 30, 1856.

ON the arrival of the Resident at the suburbs of Lucknow, he was met by the Prime Minister, who was present to pay his respects, according to established usage. During a brief conversation, the Resident requested the Minister to accompany him to the Residency, in order to converse on matters of public importance.

At 3 P.M. the Minister waited on the Resident, who, after some introductory remarks, imparted to the Minister, for the King's information, that he had been detained in Calcutta under the following circumstances. Anxious to pay his respects to the Governor-General, prior to his Lordship's departure from India, the Resident had intended to pass but a few days in Calcutta. Subsequent to his arrival in that city, he was given to understand that, by the expected mail, dispatches relative to Oude were momentarily looked for, and, therefore, his stay at Calcutta was deemed necessary. Soon afterwards it appeared important to the Governor-General that the Resident should still further postpone his departure, until General Outram might be in possession of the views of Government relative to the expected dispatches, and be enabled to convey to His Majesty the sentiments of his Lordship in Council. The Resident, therefore, had thought it necessary to request the Minister to mention these facts to the King, lest His Majesty might suppose that the Resident's language on taking leave could have been misunderstood.

The Resident then proceeded to acquaint the Minister that the time had at length arrived when the British Government felt necessitated to adopt a policy towards the Government of Oude, which could no longer be averted. This policy had been dictated by the Honourable the Court of Directors, and had received the sanction of Her Majesty's Ministers. The King could not be ignorant that, soon after the Resident's arrival at Lucknow, he was called upon to report on the state of the Administration, and the general condition of Oude. After patient and searching inquiry, it was the Resident's painful duty to confirm, in all particulars, the deplorable and distressing details which his predecessor, Colonel Sleeman, had been obliged to submit to Government, of the anarchy and misrule existing in Oude. The Governor-General had likewise deemed it imperative to forward that report, with his Lordship's sentiments, for the consideration and instructions of the Home Government, and, within the last few

weeks, the orders had reached India, and would now be carried into effect.

The Resident then, in general terms, informed the Minister of the contemplated changes, and of the explicit instructions with which he had been honoured by his Lordship; and mentioned that, in order to prevent the chance of a disturbance, on the part of evil-disposed persons, a strong brigade of troops was directed to cross the Ganges, and march on the capital.

The Minister appeared much surprised and distressed at this intelligence, and declared that the presence of any British troops was altogether unnecessary; that His Majesty was in the hands of the Resident, who had simply to express his wishes to ensure their fulfilment.

The Resident assured the Minister that His Majesty might implicitly rely on the favor and consideration of the British Government, which would guarantee that nothing should be done which could in any degree detract from the King's rank, position, or personal comforts, or in any way diminish His Majesty's dignity, or honour.

The Minister replied that, if the country was to be taken, there was little occasion to make any stipulations of the kind, and that the Government had the power to resume that which they had conferred.

He then attempted to contrast the reign of the present King with those of his predecessors, and to point out the manifest reforms which were to be seen on all sides; but the Resident replied that it was now useless to discuss that, or any other question, and that he was compelled by the tenor of his instructions to offer to His Majesty either of the alternatives to which the Resident had already alluded.

The Minister again declared that the march of the troops was entirely unnecessary, and begged that their presence might be dispensed with.

The Resident declared that the advance of the troops was indispensable, and suggested that some confidential seryant of the King should be deputed to meet the force, in order to arrange with the Commanding Officer for compensation for whatever damage to the fields the encampment of the troops might have occasioned.

The Minister promised to acquaint His Majesty with the Resident's suggestions, and also with all that had passed during the interview, assuring the Resident that the name of the officer selected to accompany the troops should be communicated before evening.

As it was late in the afternoon, the Resident requested the Minister to be good enough to call at the Residency on the following morning, in order that he might peruse, in detail, the various documents which would be laid before the King, and thus have an opportunity of fully and fairly imparting to the King the object of the interview which the Resident would be obliged to seek with His Majesty in a few days. This would enable the Minister to give the fullest information on all points to the King, and prevent the possibility of His Majesty being kept in ignorance of the wishes and policy of the British Government, or of stating that the King had not received timely and adequate intimation of the determination of the Government, and of the changes which the Resident was charged to carry into execution.

After some further remarks from the Minister, deprecating any necessity for the advance of the troops, and asserting the desire of the King to meet the wishes of the Resident in all things, the Minister paid his respects, and withdrew.

FLETCHER HAYES,
Assistant to the Resident.

Sub-Inclosure 2 to Inclosure 8 in No. 4.

(B.)

Note of the Interview between Major-General Outram and the Prime Minister, January 31, 1856.

AT 11 A.M., according to agreement, the Minister waited on the Resident, who, after some introductory remarks, gave copies of the Proclamation and of the Treaty, which were yesterday referred to, for the Minister's perusal.

The Minister, having attentively read all their contents, declared that he was authorised by the King to state that His Majesty was the servant of the British Government, and was of course ready to do whatever was required.

With reference to the Treaty, the Resident assured the Minister that he was authorised to declare that the King would be most liberally and honorably provided for; that a sum of twelve lakhs of rupees would be assigned for his personal expenses, to which a further addition of three lakhs would be made for the payment of the King's guards; but the Resident would not conceal from the King that, unless the Treaty was signed and ratified within the prescribed period of three days after presentation, His Majesty may render himself liable to a less liberal provision. Should the King, however, be so ill-advised as to refuse to sign the Treaty, it would follow that His Majesty could have no claim whatever, by right of Treaty, to any fixed provision from the British Government, and that his maintenance would then depend on the pleasure of the Government. The Minister declared that the King would be glad to receive whatever the Government might assign; but it could not but be expected that His Majesty would feel deeply distressed, and that he would ignore the necessity which caused the contemplated changes: the King would necessarily contrast the improvements in his reign with the condition of the country in the time of his predecessors, and would protest against the measure about to be adopted. The Resident replied, that he could not enter into any discussion on that point; it would be a waste of time; the decision of the Government was final and irrevocable.

It was based on the various official reports from time to time submitted to Government, on the views of the Government of India, and had met with the unanimous approbation and approval of the Court of Directors and of Her Majesty's Ministers: the Home Government was desirous that the measures alluded to should be carried out by Lord Dalhousie in person, and that they should not be deferred until the arrival of his successor, himself a member of the Cabinet which had approved of them. The Minister then urged that the King might be permitted to attend on Lord Dalhousie, or even to visit England; possibly, the matter might be reconsidered, and some decision more favorable might be the result. The Resident entreated the Minister to believe that no further consideration of the question could be entertained; that Government would not allow the question to be opened; and, should any evil-disposed person work on His Majesty's good sense, and prevent the formal ratification and signing of the Treaty, it was obvious that the consequences would rest on His Majesty, who would be responsible for whatever might happen. The Minister then adverted to the reluctance with which the King would naturally sign away his territory; but the Resident declared that every possible respect and attention had been paid to the King's feelings; that, in order to prepare His Majesty for the communication which he, the Resident, would have to make in person, he had thus previously acquainted the Minister with their nature, for His Majesty's information; moreover, that three days, after placing the Treaty before His Majesty, was the utmost limit that could be allowed to him for his final decision, affording ample time to consult with his advisers. But the Resident would beg the Minister distinctly to understand that, on the expiration of the three days, in the event of His Majesty's declining to

sign the Treaty, he, the Resident, would assume the government of the country, and, by virtue of his instructions, would proclaim the views of the British Government; moreover, should the King refuse to sanction the ratification of the new Treaty, and abstain from proffering that aid which the British Government has a right to expect, by directing his subjects to obey the new administration, the Government would have no alternative left but to declare His Majesty answerable to the British Government for any hostile opposition which might ensue in consequence. There could be no doubt, therefore, that His Majesty would suffer to a ruinous degree, should he persist in so disastrous a course. The Minister replied that, as a matter of course, both the King, and all his subjects, were dependent on the power and pleasure of the British Government, and that he would not fail in imparting to the King, to the utmost of his power, the substance of the papers which he had perused, and of the conversation which had passed; and, after some further remarks, the Minister paid his respects to the Resident, and withdrew.

FLETCHER HAYES.

NOTE.—In the narrative of this day's Conference, it has been accidentally omitted that the Resident desired the Minister to ask His Majesty to appoint a day upon which the Resident might wait on the King with the Treaty. The Minister promised to inform the King, and to acquaint the Resident on what day His Majesty would be glad to see him.

Inclosure 9 in No. 4.

Major-General Outram to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir, *Lucknow, February* 1, 1856.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for the information of the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council, a translation of a letter I received this morning from the King, and of my reply.

The Queen-Mother has sent an earnest request that I would visit her, and I purpose doing so this afternoon. As she has much influence with the King, her son, and is a sensible woman, I could not have a better channel for conveying advice to His Majesty.

Brigadier Wheler crossed the first column of troops over the Ganges yesterday, and reports that it is to-day encamped at Onow, about eleven miles on this side of the river, and that the second column will have crossed the Ganges this morning. I had requested General Penny to exercise his discretion in delaying the march of the troops, should rain continue, which it had every appearance of doing, when I left Cawnpore the day before yesterday; consequently, they have marched a day sooner than I expected.

Brigadier Wheler reports that the people are very civil, and provide all they can. He is most careful to protect cultivation and the property of the villagers.

The city is perfectly tranquil, and the demeanour of the people as respectful as usual.

I have, &c.

J. OUTRAM.

Sub-Inclosure 1 to Inclosure 9 in No. 4.

(A.

The King of Oude to Major-General Outram.

After titles and compliments. *February* 1, 1856.

HIS Majesty acquaints the Resident that the Prime Minister has communicated to the King the substance of the conversation which took place yesterday at the Residency, and of the tenor of the document which he had perused.

The King is much astonished, and distressed, that any evil should happen to his throne, in the incumbency of the present Resident. Let it not be concealed from the Resident that His Majesty's ancestors have been at all times obedient to the wishes of the British Government.

Since His Majesty ascended the throne, the King has never wilfully performed aught that could offend the British Government; on the contrary, for the least of its servants, every step has been taken to please.

It is notorious that the administration of Oude has been always supported, by the British Government, and, up to the present moment, as far as it was possible, everything has been done to obey whatever instructions may have been received.

For instance, after the admonition of Lord Hardinge, the whole country has been placed under a new arrangement, and transferred from the Izarah to the Amanee scheme; police stations have everywhere been formed; and the number of culprits who have been punished is manifest. If His Majesty was of opinion that all his endeavours for the better government of his country had been disapproved of, he was willing to adopt any other system which the dictates of friendship might point out, and this would tend to display how much importance the British Government attaches to its promises and Treaties.

It is also notorious that thousands are dependent on His Majesty, and that they have never had any occasion to look to others.

Notwithstanding all His Majesty's compliance, and endeavours to please, and being anxious to govern in any way that may be pointed out, it is assuredly contrary to Treaties that any such changes should take place, such as have been alluded to, and imparted to the Minister; and there can be no doubt that they are opposed to all the amicable relations which have hitherto existed.

His Majesty has the strongest reliance on the Resident's goodness; and, therefore, with reference to what the Resident stated to the King's agreeing to the new policy, and attesting it by His Majesty's seal, the King entreats the Resident to intercede most imploringly with the Most Noble the Governor-General, to put off the adoption of the new policy, and to be assured that other steps might be taken which would tend to improve the condition of the King, and, at the same time, be agreeable to the British Government, the particulars of which can be communicated to the Resident, should he be anxious to be made acquainted with them.

The good name of the Resident cannot fail to be identified with his conduct and endeavours in this matter.

Sub-Inclosure 2 to Inclosure 9 in No. 4.

(B.)

Major-General Outram to the King of Oude.

After titles and compliments. *February* 1, 1856.

THE Resident begs to inform His Majesty the King of Oude that, out of consideration for the King's feelings, and in order that His Majesty might be in possession of all the particulars which it would be the Resident's duty to communicate to the King personally, General Outram had deemed it necessary to impart to the Prime Minister the commands of the British Government. The Resident, however, much regrets to find that his kindly consideration for the King's feelings should have been so very much misunderstood as to have induced His Majesty to have addressed to the Resident the letter now under acknowledgment.

In the discharge of his duties to the British Government, the Resident is compelled to declare that he must decline to discuss any of the arguments, or to notice the assertions, in his Majesty's letter. It is his solemn duty to acquaint His Majesty, in terms the most unequivocal and explicit, that the resolution of the Government of India is irrevocably taken; moreover, that the assumption of the government of Oude has been directed by

the Court of Directors, with the unanimous consent of Her Majesty's Ministers, of whom the future Governor-General of India was one; likewise, it is the Resident's duty to state unreservedly to His Majesty, that the Most Noble the Governor-General of India, Lord Dalhousie, has been directed to carry into execution the policy to which the Resident has alluded, prior to his departure from India. Under these circumstances, and in compliance with the stringent directions which have reached his Lordship, the Governor-General is precluded from receiving any further letters or references, nor will any delay be granted beyond the three days subsequent to the day on which the Resident shall present the Treaty to His Majesty; and, beyond that term of three days, no further delay can be conceded to the King, nor is the Resident authorised to extend that term.

In the interview which took place yesterday, between the Resident and the Prime Minister, the Resident requested the Minister to desire His Majesty to be good enough to name a day, as early as convenient, on which the Resident might be able to wait upon the King, for the purpose of presenting to His Majesty the letter with which the Resident had been honored, and commissioned to deliver; but the Resident cannot conceal his disappointment that, up to the present moment, no communication has been received, relative to the request which the Prime Minister promised to convey.

Inclosure 10 in No. 4.

Major-General Outram to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir, *Lucknow, February* 2, 1856.

I HAVE the honor to transmit, for the information of the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council, notes of a conference I held yesterday with the Queen-Mother. The palace courts were densely crowded as I passed, but the people quite civil as usual.

The Minister is to visit me this afternoon, when I trust the day will be fixed for my presenting the Treaty.

I hear that those about the King, by whom he is principally influenced, urge His Majesty to decline the Treaty, but that the Minister advises its acceptance, and I hope the latter course will be advocated by the Queen-Mother.

Brigadier Wheler reports this morning that the troops have advanced another march, the leading column being to-day at Nawalgunj, twenty-five miles from Lucknow. The Brigadier speaks favorably of the Durbar officer deputed to accompany the troops.

I have, &c.
J. OUTRAM.

Sub-Inclosure to Inclosure 10 in No. 4.

Note of a Conference with the Queen-Mother.

ON the 1st of February, 1856, at the request of the Jenab Aulea Begum, mother of His Majesty, the Resident, Major-General Outram, paid her a visit, at the Zurd Kothee Palace, at 4 P.M., when a conversation passed between the Resident and the Queen, of which the following is a summary.

After the usual compliments, the Queen, who appeared deeply moved, entreated the Resident to inform her what His Majesty had done, and why he had incurred the wrath of the British Government, and implored the Resident to intercede for the King, and to avert the destruction of the King's authority, by the adoption of any measures which might afford His Majesty the opportunity of showing how anxious he was to administer the Government of his country in a manner satisfactory to the British Power,

and advantageous to His Majesty's subjects. The Resident, in reply, deeply regretted that he was wholly incapable of opening the question, or of acting in any way save by the tenor of his instructions: he had, that very day, in reply to a communication of His Majesty, stated, in terms the most unequivocal and explicit, that the resolution taken by the Government was irrevocable and final; that it was based on the orders of the Court of Directors, supported by the unanimous decision and approval of Her Majesty's Ministers, one of whom was the future Governor-General of India; moreover, that the present Governor-General of India had been directed to carry out the policy alluded to, prior to his departure from India; consequently, his Lordship was unable to alter in any one tittle the orders received from the Home Government.

The Queen implored the Resident to reflect on the utter ruin to the King; that he would be degraded in the eyes of the world, and be deprived of everything which he had been accustomed to and brought up to; but the Resident assured the Queen that the British Government had been pleased to declare that His Majesty should be dealt with in the most liberal and honorable manner; that nothing should in any way detract from His Majesty's rank, honors, dignities, or high position; that he should have placed at His Majesty's disposal, solely for the King's personal expenses, 1,00,000 rupees per mensem, which sum would be guaranteed to His Majesty's heirs for ever and ever; moreover, that 3,00,000 rupees per annum would be assigned for His Majesty's guards, of whom he might retain as many as he pleased; that His Majesty's relatives of the blood-royal would be amply provided for, and those of His Majesty's principal and confidential servants would have no reason to regret the contemplated changes; that the Resident felt perfectly assured that, in a very short time, His Majesty, relieved of the care, anxieties, and responsibilities of the Government, would gratefully thank the British Government for relieving him of so responsible and harassing an anxiety; and would, surrounded by all that could afford comfort and happiness, and fully provided with all that could maintain himself and family in affluence, rank, and distinction, gladly acknowledge that the British Government had been his benefactor. The Resident forcibly pointed out that His Majesty had, not only privileges to enjoy, but duties to perform; that he was responsible to God and man for the constant and unceasing misrule, anarchy, and misfortunes which have existed in his country, and have ruined his subjects. The Resident was well aware that His Majesty was personally incapable of afflicting any of his subjects; but, as the King had devolved his duties and responsibilities on worthless and undeserving favorites and Ministers, it was obvious that the British Government had no alternative but to look to His Majesty, and to hold him responsible for the enormous evils which had impoverished the country, and necessitated the policy which was now imperatively commanded, and about to be carried into effect.

The Queen begged that a further period might be allowed, during which the King might be enabled to show to the world, by the adoption of vigorous reforms, how anxious and eager he was to obey, and follow out, the instructions and advice which the British Government might point out. The Resident again declared that it was useless to argue the matter; he had no authority whatever to act in any way but according to his commands; and he, therefore, must decline to enter on that subject. The Queen reiterated her entreaties that the impending measures might be delayed, and protested against their adoption; but the Resident assured the Queen that it was impossible the measure could be deferred, and that, by procrastination, or refusal to accept the Treaty, the King would needlessly jeopardize the liberal maintenance now offered to him; in that case, it followed that the King could have no security for title, or stipend, and would have to be content with whatever might be granted for his support by Government. The Resident was empowered to lessen the grant which had been determined on by the Government, should His Majesty not have the good sense to sign the Treaty, and to cause his subjects to afford that aid and cooperation to the new administration which it was confidently hoped His Majesty would never hesitate to afford; on the other hand, the Government was prepared to treat His Majesty

with all possible courtesy, liberality, and munificence, should His Majesty sign the Treaty, and realize the expectations of the British Government.

If the Queen-Mother really felt interested in the welfare and prosperity of His Majesty, her son, she would not fail to urge, with all that good sense and intelligence for which she was so remarkable, the evil consequences which most assuredly would blight His Majesty's prospects, by the adoption of any measures which would be displeasing to the Government, but which could not avert the change of the policy about to be carried out. After some further conversation, and protestations on the part of the Queen-Mother, the interview terminated, and the Resident took his leave, with all the usual honors and ceremonies.

Inclosure 11 in No. 4.

Major-General Outram to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir, *Lucknow, February* 4, 1856.

ON the evening of Saturday, the Minister visited me—not, however, to name a day for my audience with the King, as I had expected, but to ask leave to take notes of the various papers I had shown him, lest he may have overlooked anything of importance which he ought to communicate to His Majesty. On this, I gave him the papers themselves for the King's perusal, saying that my earnest desire was to spare His Majesty's feelings from the shock of having anything brought unexpectedly before him when I should meet him in person, but on condition that they should be regarded as privately, not officially, submitted. Those papers were, the copy of the Governor-General's letter, and Proclamations A and B; an attentive study of which, I hoped, might have a salutary effect on the King's mind, and possibly incline him to accept the Treaty, when first presented. I also permitted him to take notes of the terms of the Treaty itself, for His Majesty's information.

I availed myself of that opportunity to remind the Minister, and I enjoined him to tell the King, that His Majesty would render himself responsible for the consequences of the non-acceptance of the Treaty, should evil-disposed persons in Oude be induced, on that plea, to oppose the introduction of our rule, by acts of hostility; and that it would be well at once to prepare proclamations, to be issued simultaneously with mine, directing his subjects to obey the British Government.

I expressed to the Minister my disappointment that he was not empowered to name the day for my presenting the Treaty to the King, and my expectation that Monday next (to-day) should be fixed.

Late last night, I received an invitation from the King to visit him this morning, and, at the hour appointed, I waited upon His Majesty.

On this occasion, the Palace Courts were nearly deserted, the guns which guard the inner gate were dismounted from their carriages, and the guard of honour which received me was without arms, and saluted me with their hands, instead of presenting arms.

I was received by the King, and his brother (whom I had never before seen), with the usual embrace. Only three confidential persons, besides the Minister, were present. What passed at the interview is faithfully detailed in the accompanying report, drawn up by Captain Hayes immediately afterwards.

His Majesty's expressions and manner would lead me to suppose that he will not be induced to accept the Treaty, but a circumstance has come to my knowledge which induces me to hope that he will do so. I have learnt that proclamations (or orders) are actually being prepared for issue to the District Officers, Talookdars, &c., directing their obedience to the British Government. But it is possible that their issue may merely be intended to preserve the King from the consequences of hostile opposition, against which I had warned him, though still avoiding to sign the Treaty.

Brigadier Wheler's leading column is now encamped on the Cawnpore road, eight miles from Lucknow, where I have requested him to halt for the present. The second column will close up to him to-morrow.

I have, &c.

J. OUTRAM.

Sub-Inclosure to Inclosure 11 in No. 4.

Note of an Interview which took place between the King of Oude and Major-General Outram, at the Zurd Kothee Palace, on the morning of the 4th of February, 1856.

GENERAL OUTRAM, accompanied by Captains Hayes and Weston, proceeded at 8 A.M. to visit His Majesty, by appointment. The approaches to, and the precincts of, the Palace were unusually deserted; the detachments of artillery on duty at the Palace, together with the detachments of His Majesty's Foot Guards, were unarmed, and saluted without arms; the artillery was dismounted, and not a weapon was to be seen amongst the courtiers and officials present to receive the Resident on his entering the Palace. The Resident was received, at the usual spot, by His Majesty in person, with the customary honors.

During the conference, in addition to the Prime Minister, His Majesty's brother Sekunder Hashmat, the Residency Vakeel Muhsee-ood-Dowlah, his Deputy Saheb-ood-Dowlah, and the Minister of Finance Rajah Balkishen, were present.

The Resident, after assuring His Majesty that, from kindly consideration to his feelings, he had been induced to forward, through the Minister, a copy of the Most Noble the Governor-General's letter, two days ago, to afford the King ample time to peruse, and reflect on, the contents of his Lordship's letter, now felt it his duty, in pursuance of his instructions, to deliver to His Majesty in person the Governor-General's letter, in original. His Majesty, after attentively perusing the letter, observed that he had already been made acquainted with its purport and contents, not only by the Minister, but by the copy of the letter which the Resident had been good enough to transmit, and for which the King expressed his obligations. After a brief pause, His Majesty turned towards the Resident, and said, "Why have I deserved this? What have I committed?"

The Resident replied, that the reasons which had led to the new policy were explicitly, clearly, and abundantly, detailed in his Lordship's letter to His Majesty, and that he was unable to discuss the subject, or to deviate in any way from the tenor of the instructions with which he had been honored; but the Resident had little doubt that, on mature reflection, the King would readily acquiesce in the proposals made by the British Government. His Majesty should consider how amply and liberally the Government had provided for His Majesty's maintenance. The King's titles, honors, rank, and dignity would be scrupulously preserved, and transmitted to His Majesty's descendants, in the male line, in perpetuity. His Majesty's authority would be absolute in his palace and household, always excepting the power of life and death, over the King's servants and subjects thereunto appertaining. His Majesty's relatives, and confidential servants, would likewise be adequately provided for; and the Resident had every reason to hope that His Majesty's good sense would induce him to meet the wishes of Government. The Resident was bound, by the solemn discharge of his duties, to announce to His Majesty that the Treaty of 1801 no longer existed. The systematic oppression and misrule which had existed in Oude ever since its ratification, the violation of all the solemn obligations which the Rulers of Oude had faithfully bound themselves to perform, as one of the High Contracting Parties to that Treaty, had necessarily caused its infraction, and rendered it imperative on the British Government to adopt a policy which should secure the lives and property of His Majesty's suffering subjects. That policy had been commanded by the Honorable the Court of Directors; it had been sanctioned, and

approved of, by Her Majesty's Ministers unanimously; and the Most Noble the Governor-General of India had been directed to carry into effect the measures alluded to, prior to his Lordship's departure from India. Under these circumstances, the Resident was persuaded that His Majesty would readily acknowledge that the British Government had no authority whatever but to give effect to the commands of the Home Government, and, with this view, had directed that a Treaty should be prepared for submission to His Majesty, which, embracing every suitable, adequate, and ample provision for His Majesty's maintenance, and omitting nothing which could in any degree redound to the King's honour, titles, and dignity, transferred the administration of the Government of Oude into the hands of the East India Company. A copy of that Treaty the Resident had now the honour to submit, for His Majesty's perusal and consideration, in the firm belief that the King would acknowledge the liberality of the British Government, and justify its expectations.

His Majesty received the Treaty with the deepest emotion, and handed it to Saheb-ood-Dowlah, with directions that it should be read out aloud; but that confidential servant of the King, overcome by his feelings, was unable to read but a few lines; on which, the King took the Treaty from his hands, and carefully perused each Article.

His Majesty then gave vent to his feelings, in a passionate burst of grief, and exclaimed:—

"Treaties are necessary between equals only: who am I, now, that the British Government should enter into Treaties with? For a hundred years, this dynasty has flourished in Oude. It has ever received the favour, the support, and protection, of the British Government. It had ever attempted faithfully and fully to perform its duties to the British Government. The kingdom is a creation of the British, who are able to make and to unmake, to promote and to degrade. It has merely to issue its commands to ensure their fulfilment; not the slightest attempt will be made to oppose the views and wishes of the British Government; myself and subjects are its servants."

Muhsee-ood-Dowlah hereupon observed that His Majesty had issued orders that all his guns should be dismounted and his troops disarmed, which His Majesty immediately repeated, and declared that the Resident must have observed how defenceless and incapable of resistance were his subjects and soldiers.

His Majesty then again spoke of the inutility of a Treaty; he was in no position to sign one. It was useless; his honor and country were gone; he would not trouble Government for any maintenance, but would proceed to England, and throw himself at the foot of the Throne to entreat a reconsideration of the orders, and to intercede for mercy. The Resident begged his Majesty to reflect that, unless the King signed the Treaty, he would have no security whatever for his future maintenance, or for that of his family; that the very liberal provision devised by the British Government would inevitably be reconsidered, and reduced; that His Majesty would have no guarantee for his future provision, and would have no claim whatever on the generosity of the Government. The Resident's instructions were concise, clear, and definitive; the resolution of the Government irrevocable and final; and the Resident entreated the King to consider what evil consequences might alight upon His Majesty and family, by the adoption of any ill-judged line of conduct. The Prime Minister warmly seconded and supported the Resident's advice, and protested that he had done everything in his power to induce His Majesty to accede to the wishes of the British Government. Hereupon, His Majesty's brother exclaimed that there was no occasion for a Treaty. His Majesty was no longer independent, and in a position to be one of the Contracting Powers. His office was gone, and the British Government was all-powerful. His Majesty, who was moved to tears, recapitulated the favors which his ancestors had received at the hands of the British Government, and pathetically dwelt upon his helpless position. Uncovering himself, he placed his turban in the hands of the Resident, declaring that, now his titles, rank, and position were all gone, it was not for him to sign a Treaty, or to enter into any negotiation. He was in the hands of the British

Government, which had seated His Majesty's grandfather on the Throne, and could, at its pleasure, consign him to obscurity.

He touched on the forlorn fate which awaited his heirs and family, and declared his unalterable resolution to seek in Europe for that redress which it was vain to find in India.

The Resident felt himself unable to act in any other way than by the tenor of his instructions, and assured His Majesty that, at the expiration of three days, unless His Majesty acceded to the wishes of the British Government, the Resident would have no alternative but to assume the government of the country.

After some further conversation, and the expression of the unalterable reluctance of the King to sign the Treaty then and there, the Resident intimated that no further delay than the three days could be permitted, and then, with the usual ceremonies and honors, took his leave of the King.

Inclosure 12 in No. 4.

Major-General Outram to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir, *Lucknow, February* 5, 1856.

IN a fit of petulance, the King had ordered all his troops, at the capital, to be at once paid up, and discharged, from the 24th of this Mahomedan month (3rd instant), and they were deprived of their arms, and withdrawn from various posts which they occupied in the city. As the peace of the city might be disturbed in consequence of this measure, I addressed a note to His Majesty, of which a translation is annexed (A), and I received verbal assurances in reply that, though the troops were being discharged, the police force remained to preserve tranquillity. I have since ascertained that the troops have not really been discharged (from want of funds to pay up their arrears properly), although deprived of their arms, and that the city police have not been disturbed. I have deemed it prudent, however, to cause it to be made known to the King's troops at Lucknow, through officers connected with them, that all that are fit for service will be enrolled in the regiments about to be raised, and those that are not fit will be either pensioned, or discharged with a gratuity.

2. The fact of the King's determination to dismiss his troops reached me last night, and I then sent a message, by the Vakeel, to the effect of what I have to-day stated to His Majesty in writing (A). This appears to have opened his eyes to the serious consequences, in the event of disturbances resulting from the measure. For, before the King received my letter, the Vakeel brought to me copies of proclamations His Majesty promised to promulgate, of which translations (B and C) are annexed.

3. Though the King's note forwarding these documents states that they had been issued, the Vakeel declared that they were only yet preparing. I, therefore, returned (B) to His Majesty, with a message pointing out the impropriety of the concluding sentence, which I have marked in brackets, and requested that the Proclamation might be issued without the obnoxious paragraph: I have not yet learnt the result. The second Proclamation (C), addressed to the army, I made no objection to, though it contains an assurance from the King that the British Government will pay up their arrears; because, while we are certainly bound to cause those arrears to be discharged, this pledge of the King does not bind us to make them good from our own funds, and, should the question be raised hereafter, he will of course be given clearly to understand that I look to him for the means.

4. The tenor of these documents, and a message I to-day received from the Queen-Mother, lead me to hope that the King is becoming more sensible of his real interests.

5. I have deemed it prudent, although I really do not apprehend any disturbance, to move the wing of a native regiment from cantonments to the neighbourhood of the Residency, and another wing to the vicinity of

the houses occupied by the Oude European local officers, for their protection, in case of necessity. And I have directed Brigadier Wheler to occupy positions within two miles of the city to-morrow morning.

I have, &c.

J. OUTRAM.

Sub-Inclosure 1 to Inclosure 12 in No. 4.

(A.)

Major-General Outram to the King of Oude.

After titles and compliments. *February* 5, 1856.

THE Resident informs His Majesty that he has learnt that the King had recently dismissed all his troops, police, and kotwalee establishments: hence the Resident deems it necessary to inform the King that, until the British Government assumes the administration of the Government, it is incumbent on His Majesty to retain, in their respective quarters and positions, the above-mentioned soldiery, and police, up to the morning of Thursday next. Should, unfortunately, any disturbance take place, His Majesty will be held responsible, and will be made answerable for the same.

Sub-Inclosure 2 to Inclosure 12 in No. 4.

The King of Oude to Major-General Outram.

After titles and compliments. *February* 5, 1856.

HIS Majesty begs to inform the Resident that he forwards, for the Resident's perusal, the accompanying copies of orders which have been issued to His Majesty's Amils, Talookdars, and officers of the King's army.

Sub-Inclosure 3 to Inclosure 12 in No. 4.

(B.)

First Proclamation.

To all Amils, Talookdars, Malgoozars, Zemindars, Military Officers, Thannadars, Kanoongoes, Chowdries, and to all His Majesty's subjects.

BE it known that, according to the orders of the British Government, the servants of that Government have been appointed for the administration of the Kingdom of Oude, and will assume the Government; therefore, take heed to obey all orders which may be issued, and to pay the revenue to them, and to become faithful subjects to them: on no account, resort to resistance or rebellion. The army ought, on no pretence, to revolt or mutiny, because the servants of the British Government have the power to punish.

[When His Majesty proceeds to Calcutta, to bring his case to the notice of the Governor-General, and on His Majesty's departure for England to intercede with Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, you are on no account to attempt to follow or accompany His Majesty.]

No date of the month, but simply, Jemad-ul-awal, 1272.

Sub-Inclosure 4 to Inclosure 12 in No. 4.

(C.)

Second Proclamation.

To all the officers of the army.

BE it known, that you ought to remain at your post and on your duties in readiness as usual, and on no account are you to commit any violence or lawless act, and on no pretence allow of any unsoldierlike conduct.

The balance of your pay, after the deductions made for advances received, will be paid to you by the East India Company (Sirkar Kampani).

Let no man leave his post; and pay particular attention to these orders.

Inclosure 13 in No. 4.

Major-General Outram to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir, *Lucknow, February 7, 1856.*

I REGRET to have to report that the King has declined to execute the Treaty. His Majesty's resolution was conveyed to me at 8 o'clock this morning, in a brief note, of which a translation is annexed (A).

2. I had sent for the Minister, on the previous evening, to intimate to the King that the term of three days allowed for deliberation would expire at 9 A.M. to-day, and to propose that I should wait upon His Majesty this morning to receive his decision. What passed at the interview is detailed in the accompaniment (B).

3. The King has been encouraged and sustained in his resolution to adopt a course of negative opposition and passive resistance, by the advice, I am told and believe, of Mr. Brandon, a merchant at Cawnpore, whose antecedents of meddling mischievousness are well known to his Lordship in Council. This individual assures His Majesty that, if deputed to England as his Agent, he will, without a doubt, obtain his restoration. The "Central Star," of which Mr. Brandon is the proprietor, by its purchased advocacy of that person's views, has confirmed the King in his mistaken resolution.

4. His Lordship in Council will have gathered from the translation of the conference which I held with the Queen-Mother, that I promised that lady an annual stipend of one lakh of rupees, provided that the King would accept the Treaty. During the Minister's audience yesterday, I impressed upon him that, in the event of the continued contumacy of His Majesty, I should not of course consider myself bound by the promise entered into with the Queen-Mother, and again set before him, in the most explicit terms, the consequences which the King would entail upon himself, by the refusal of the liberal terms offered him by the British Government; and I should here mention that, throughout, I have not availed myself of the latitude afforded me in paragraph 14 of my instructions, which empowered me, in the event of the objection of the King to sign the Treaty being founded on the amount of stipend proposed for him, to raise the offer from twelve lakhs to fifteen lakhs. In none of the interviews was the smallness of the personal allowance dwelt upon by the King, or by his advisers, as a main ground of his refusal. He has uniformly declared his intention to be, to carry his supposed grievances to the foot of the Throne, with the view of his kingdom being restored to him in its integrity; and, as I was convinced that the offer of double the sum, or of any amount of more money, would have failed to induce him to change his mind (though I had hoped that other influences might have accomplished the desired end), I thought it unworthy of the Government whose Representative I am, to make any proposition to raise the proposed personal stipend by a lakh or two per

annum; especially as, had more money been his object, the promise of the additional lakh to the Queen-Mother would have probably induced him to waver, and would, at all events, have made him desirous of ascertaining whether the Government would be prepared to give more, in the event of ready compliance. But such a contingency, or a hint that an increase of stipend might cause the King to alter his determination, was never touched upon, at any of the conferences.

5. With reference to the letter I had addressed to the King on the 5th instant, alluded to in my dispatch of that date, warning His Majesty of the consequences of suddenly disbanding his army, I have the honour to inclose, for the information of his Lordship in Council, translation of the reply I yesterday obtained (marked C), and also a translation of another from the King (D), in reply to my suggestion that a passage in his proclamation to which I objected should be omitted. His Majesty cannot be induced to abandon the idea, with which his flatterers have impressed him, that a general exodus of his subjects must follow his own departure; or, rather, I suspect, this absurd flourish has been introduced into the proclamation, at the suggestion of his advisers, who hope to excite sympathy in Europe thereby. Another manœuvre has also been had recourse to, with the same object, doubtless. For two days past, a written declaration of satisfaction with His Majesty's rule, has been circulated for signature in the city, where it may probably meet with considerable success, as of course most classes at Lucknow will suffer, more or less, from the deprivation of the national plunder, which is squandered at the capital.

6. I am happy to be able to state that the city is in a state of tranquillity, and that everything bids fair for the quiet introduction of our rule.

At a conference held this morning between myself and the Judicial and Financial Commissioners, who arrived yesterday, the charge of the city was made over to Major Banks, who at once proceeded to enter upon the duties of his office, with the timely aid of the Kotwal, an active and zealous officer, whose name I shall shortly have to bring forward for the favorable consideration of Government.

The Minister, and the chief officers of revenue and police, appeared at a conference held at 12 o'clock, when the assumption of the management of affairs by our Government was formally communicated, and measures immediately entered into by Mr. Gubbins and Mr. Ommanney, in concert with those functionaries, for taking possession of the records, the treasury, and other public offices of the city.

I have sent an urgent requisition to the several officers assembled at Cawnpore to join me at Lucknow, when they will be immediately dispatched to assume charge of their respective districts.

I have, &c.
J. OUTRAM.

Sub-Inclosure 1 to Inclosure 13 in No. 4.

(A.)

The King of Oude to Major-General Outram.

After titles and compliments.

His Majesty begs to inform the Resident, with reference to the Resident's wishes to ascertain His Majesty's intentions relative to the signature of the Treaty, that the King has already intimated to the Resident, at the interview on the 26th Jemad-ul-awal (4th February, 1856), the King's resolution on that point.

Sub-Inclosure 2 to Inclosure 13 in No. 4.

(B.)

Note of a Conference between Major-General Outram and the Prime Minister of Oude, February 6, 1856.

AT 4 P.M., the Prime Minister waited on Major-General Outram, C.B., the Resident, when the following conversation took place:—

The Resident alluded to the absurd reports which evil-disposed people had circulated, regarding the Resident's intention to arrest the Minister, and trusted that the Minister had not, for a moment, given credence to such monstrous fabrications; he hoped that he would at once dismiss from his mind any apprehensions of that nature. The Minister declared that he never, for a moment, believed in any of the wicked reports in circulation, and knew very well that the Resident was altogether incapable of such conduct; but he could not conceal from the Resident that his earnest and unremitting endeavours to persuade the King to accede to the wishes of the British Government, and to sign the Treaty, had raised a host of enemies, from whose wrath and machinations neither his person nor his property were safe; in fact, if it were not known that the Resident extended his protection to him, his dwellings and property would long since have been pillaged, and himself subjected to the vilest indignities. The Resident was well aware of the Minister's zealous and untiring conduct in the matter, and assured him that he had nothing to fear as long as he persevered in that course. The Resident had wished to see him, simply because he had conveyed to His Majesty, through the Residency Vakeel, that it would be necessary for His Majesty to depute the Minister, or some high officer of State, to the Residency, to acquaint the Resident with His Majesty's intentions—whether it was His Majesty's pleasure that the Resident should wait on the King on the following morning, and witness the signing and ratification of the Treaty, or whether the King wished to send, in writing, His Majesty's declaration and determination that he would not sign the Treaty. No further delay could be permitted than after 9 A.M. to-morrow morning, and hence it was desirable, nay imperative, that His Majesty's intentions should be known as soon as possible.

The Minister replied, he would at once proceed to the palace, and again do all in his power to persuade the King to sign.

The Resident once more forcibly pointed out the great disadvantages which would probably result to His Majesty, should he refuse to sign, and reiterated, as on previous occasions, that he (the Resident) had taken upon himself to allot one lakh of rupees per annum for the maintenance of the Queen-Mother; that this was a concession which he granted on his own responsibility, because it stood to reason that the Government had the right to suppose that the Queen-Mother, as one of His Majesty's nearest and dearest relatives, ought to have been maintained on the personal allowances granted to His Majesty. However, the Resident would not urge that point, and would allot the sum which he had specified. In addition to this, the Resident begged the Minister to understand, and impress on the King, that all the mahals and buildings occupied by the ladies of His Majesty's family, and by those of His Majesty's ancestors, should remain in their possession; that all the public buildings and offices of the State only should be attached for the use of the British authorities; that the King's authority will be absolute, always excepting the power of taking life, in his own immediate palaces; whereas the other dwellings would necessarily be subject to the British jurisdiction, should, unfortunately, any occasion arise to call for interference.

The Resident would impress on the Minister to lay before His Majesty all these important concessions and advantages, and to declare to His Majesty that the grant of the one lakh of rupees per annum to the Queen-Mother would be considered as in a great measure contingent on the signature of the Treaty, and would be dealt with as if it had not been

under consideration. The Minister caused the Residency Vakeel, who was in attendance, to write down the substance of the Resident's declaration, which he promised he would lose no time in submitting to the King, and would urge him, by all means in his power, to accede, promptly, in signing the Treaty. The Resident, for the last time, pointed out all the advantages which would follow from the King's complying with the wishes of the Government, and depicted the folly of pursuing any other course, which would leave His Majesty without any security for the future, and would make him the dupe of designing and intriguing characters, who well knew that they were adopting a line of conduct which would be ruinous to the King, but remunerative to themselves. The Minister then took leave, with the usual ceremonies, promising to depute some one t intimate His Majesty's intentions.

Sub-Inclosure 3 to Inclosure 13 in No. 4.

(C.)

The King of Oude to Major-General Outram.

After titles and compliments. *February 6*, 1856.

THE King acknowledges the receipt of the Resident's letter, in which the Resident mentions that he had heard that His Majesty had disbanded the police and soldiery, and states that, formerly, the King's orders were, that none of his subjects should be armed, with the exception of the police of the city. The King has already informed the Resident that the troops which he had sent for would have the effect of creating anxiety and uneasiness amongst the King's subjects. The Resident must be well aware how troubled and disconcerted the people of Lucknow now are. Notwithstanding all this, such have been the King's precautions and arrangements, that no disturbance whatever has taken place. The King declares that there is no foundation whatever for the statement that His Majesty's troops and establishments have been disbanded and dismissed; on the contrary, the King has, since his interview with the Resident, given additional and stringent orders for the preservation of the peace; and, more than this, what can the King's Government do?

Sub-Inclosure 4 to Inclosure 13 in No. 4.

(D.)

The King of Oude to Major-General Outram.

After titles and compliments. *February 6*, 1856.

THE King states, with reference to what the Resident spoke to the Residency Vakeel, regarding the King's departure for Europe, that His Majesty's reasons for issuing the Proclamation were as follows: ever since his subjects have heard of the new arrangements, they have altogether abstained from food, and have never ceased to lament and wail; hence, if immense multitudes of His Majesty's subjects should forsake the country to accompany the King, there would be a great loss to the collection of the revenue; therefore, the King deemed it necessary to forbid them. The Proclamation had been issued prior to the receipt of the Resident's message.

Inclosure 14 in No. 4.

The Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oude to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir, *Lucknow, February* 11, 1856.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner to state that, since his dispatch dated the 7th instant, he has been unable, from press of business, to submit any detailed report, which, however, was little necessary, the only occurrences of importance, during the interval, having been daily reported by telegraph.

2. As already reported, charge of the city and various departments of the State was formally assumed on the 7th instant; the Durbar Executive officers being directed to continue in the performance of their duties for the present, under the orders of the Commissioners. Proclamation (B) was posted in prominent places throughout the city, and extensively promulgated by dispatch to all the Amils, Tehseeldars, &c., in the districts: copies being also forwarded, through their Vakeels, to all the principal Chieftains and Zemindars, with a letter addressed to each individual. The King's troops were informed, through their officers, that the arrears due to them would be discharged, after due investigation; that such as were fit for service, and desired to engage, would be enrolled in the new Contingent, and all others either discharged with a gratuity, or pensioned, according to their length of service. Similar assurances were dispatched to the troops in the districts, a body of whom, who had mutinied for their arrears, and placed Nazim Agaie Alee Khan and his three brothers in restraint, have been called upon to make those persons over to the Officer Commanding at Seetapore (in the neighbourhood of which station they are situated), pending investigation of their claims.

3. On the 8th instant, guards were placed over the several arsenals and gun depôts, situated in different parts of the city, and every necessary precaution taken to prevent disturbance at the capital, of which there is now no apprehension.

4. A Committee, of which Brigadier Grey is President, commenced this day to investigate the claims of the troops, which will be a task of great difficulty, no regular accounts having, it appears, ever been kept. A very large sum will, the Chief Commissioner apprehends, be required to liquidate the arrears due to the army; and, so far as is yet ascertained, there is scarcely a rupee in the State Treasury.

5. Another Committee, of Artillery Officers, is employed in taking an account of the guns, ordnance stores, &c.

6. On Saturday, the Chief Commissioner detached a regiment of Native Infantry, a troop of Irregular Cavalry, and a Native Artillery Battery, under Colonel Goldney, to Fyzabad, where that officer will assume the duties of the Eastern Division. He is accompanied by a proportion of the Deputy Commissioners and Assistants already arrived.

7. To-day, Mr. Commissioner Christian moves towards Khyrabad, to assume the charge of the Western Division, escorted by a regiment of Infantry, a troop of Irregular Cavalry, and accompanied by Deputy Commissioners and Assistants; and Mr. Commissioner Wingfield marches, at the same time, on Bharaitch, similarly escorted and accompanied, where he will assume charge of the Northern Division. The steps taken for apportioning the country into divisional and zillah districts, with the several officers assigned to each, will be reported hereafter, when the measures now in course of operation shall have been completed.

8. The Chief Commissioner desires me to state, for the information of Government, that the King openly expresses his determination to proceed immediately to Calcutta, accompanied by the Queen-Mother, his brother, and other relations, to lay his case before the Governor-General in Council; and, in the event of his appeal to his Lordship being unsuccessful, he declares his intention of sailing thence for England, to prosecute his claims before the Home Authorities.

I have, &c.
G. COUPER.

Inclosure 15 in No. 4.

The Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oude to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir, *Lucknow, February* 14, 1856.

I AM directed to forward, for the information of the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council, a copy of a translation of a letter from the King, dated the 13th instant, in which he requests that the district officers may be desired to collect supplies for his camp; and of the Chief Commissioner's reply, stating that the orders of Government will be taken on His Majesty's requisition, and requesting to be furnished with a complete list of the attendants and cattle which are to accompany him.

2. The Chief Commissioner desires me to say that, notwithstanding this application, he is of opinion that His Majesty does not really intend to proceed to Calcutta. If he had been in earnest, he would not have omitted to state the retinue with which he intended to be accompanied; and would have asked to be paid the usual marks of respect, on his arrival at the several stations *en route*. Another circumstance gives colour to this opinion: two days ago, His Majesty furnished the Chief Commissioner with a number of his Proclamations, issued prior to our assumption of the Government, as reported on the 5th instant, with the objectionable passage referred to in that dispatch omitted.

3. The Chief Commissioner is, on the whole, inclined to think that this demand of the King is merely a blind to hide ulterior purposes; and that it is by no means improbable that His Majesty will end by requesting to be permitted to sign the Treaty. He presumes that the Government will offer no objections to the King's journey to Calcutta, should he persist in the design he professes at present, though he would be glad to be favored with instructions on this point; and he particularly begs the orders of his Lordship in Council as to what course he is to pursue, in the event of His Majesty, at this late hour, requesting to be allowed to sign the Treaty.

I have, &c.
G. COUPER.

P.S.—Since writing the above, the King has expressed a wish to start the day after to-morrow, and has sent in a list of his attendants. He has been told, in reply, that it is not customary for nobles of his rank to travel without the previous sanction of Government, in order that arrangements might be made for their accommodation, and for their proper reception at the respective stations at which they may halt. The Chief Commissioner is still of opinion that the proposed journey is not seriously contemplated.

Sub-Inclosure 1 to Inclosure 15 in No. 4.

The King of Oude to Major-General Outram.

After titles and compliments. *February* 13, 1856.

THE King has learnt from Muhsee-ood-Dowlah that, after the assembly of a Committee, orders should be given for the supplies of His Majesty's camp. Three days have already elapsed, and the King is bent on travelling immediately. Without the orders alluded to, the King will be put to much trouble, and requests that the Resident will be good enough to issue orders to all the officers in charge of districts, for the collection of supplies as soon as possible.

Sub-Inclosure 2 to Inclosure 15 in No. 4.

Major-General Outram to the King of Oude.

After titles and compliments. *February* 13, 1856.

ACKNOWLEDGES the receipt of the King's letter relative to the orders on district officers; and states that the Chief Commissioner will not fail to submit the matter for the consideration of Government.

As it is not known how many attendants, and what number of cattle, may accompany the King, the Chief Commissioner trusts His Majesty will be good enough to forward a complete list of them as early as possible.

Inclosure 16 in No. 4.

Minute by the Governor-General of India, concurred in by the Commander-in-chief.

February 13, 1856.

OUDE.

1. THE dispatch of the Honorable Court of Directors, regarding the affairs of Oude, No. 33 of 1855, dated the 21st of November, was delivered to me at midnight on the 2nd of January. The Honorable Court in that dispatch gave authority to the Government of India to carry into effect the policy in relation to Oude which had been recommended in the Minutes of the Governor-General, and of the Members of Council, recorded during the past year. The Honorable Court, moreover, intimated their wish, that the measures which the Government of India might adopt should be carried into execution by myself before my departure. My resignation having been fixed for the 1st of March, and my successor being already on his way, there remained barely two months within which to make all necessary preparations, to complete the negotiations which would be requisite with the King, and to organize and introduce the new Government in Oude. None of these preparations could have been made beforehand, for, until the final decision of the Court were known, troops could not be moved, or officers warned, without giving publicity to intentions on the part of the Government which might never have been carried into effect; and the abandonment of which would have been injurious to its authority, by imparting an air of vacillation and feebleness to its proceedings.

Paragraph 19.

It was obvious, therefore, that, in order to fulfil the wishes of the Honorable Court, it would be necessary to depart from the usual forms of transacting business observed by this Government; and, having recourse once again to the more summary modes of proceeding, which had been adopted by us on several former occasions, to discuss, decide upon, and execute our measures at once, and to leave the written record of them to be formed at a future time.

2. Accordingly, on the morning after the dispatch was received, a Special Council was summoned for the following day.

When the Council met, the dispatch from the Honorable Court was laid before it; and, after a very full discussion, the Government of India unanimously resolved upon the course of its policy, and determined that it should at once be executed.

3. Communicating with the Quartermaster-General's Department, in the absence of the Commander-in-chief, who was on his march to Mooltan, and could not be consulted without great delay, I had previously selected the troops which might be made available to support, in the field, the resolution of the Government regarding Oude. The detailed orders were prepared after the Council broke up, and, early next morning, they were dispatched by means of the electric telegraph. It was calculated that, with these aids, the troops required would be assembled at Cawnpore by the 29th of January.

4. The Resident at Lucknow, General Outram, had been privately summoned to the Presidency, some time before. In conference, and constant communication, with him, the measure of the Government were matured.

5. At successive special meetings of the Council, the drafts of the Treaty which was to be proposed to His Majesty; of the letter from the Governor-General to the King; of the alternative proclamations which were to be issued in the event of the King consenting to sign the Treaty, or declining to do so; and, lastly, the draft of instructions to be addressed to General Outram, for his direction in introducing the administration of the British Government into Oude, when the territory should have passed into our hands; were severally considered, and finally approved.

6. On the 24th of January, General Outram returned to Lucknow.

7. Having narrated the proceedings that were taken by the Government for the immediate execution of the policy in regard to the affairs of Oude, which had been authorized, and enjoined, in the dispatch from the Honorable Court, I have now to record the principles upon which the ultimate resolution of the Government was founded, and the several considerations which led to its adoption.

8. The Honorable Court had observed that, although the Governor-General and the members of the Council were unanimous in recommending that final measures should now be taken for the settlement of the affairs of Oude, they differed in opinion as to the mode in which that object should be attained. The Honorable Court, acknowledging that the mode of proceeding proposed by myself had some advantages over the other modes suggested, yet saw practical objections to my proposal. The Honorable Court abstained from expressing any opinion on the principles laid down by the several members of Council; and they concluded by leaving the
ıragraph 19. mode of attaining "the indispensable result" which had been resolved upon, to the discretion of the Governor-General, acting with the advice of the members of the Supreme Council.

9. In common with all my colleagues, I felt grateful for the confidence which the Honorable Court had been pleased to repose in us. The sense I entertained of the reliance which the Honorable Court had shown itself willing to place in us, redoubled my desire that all the members of the Administration should act together in complete harmony upon this important question; and that the Government should frame its policy entirely in accordance with the liberal and generous spirit which was apparent in the instructions that had been addressed to it by the Honorable Court.

10. Following the example of the Honorable Court, I do not propose to discuss the opinions of my colleagues recorded in their Minutes regarding Oude. But it is necessary to the right understanding of our present proceedings, that I should advert to them very briefly.

11. The proposal of Mr. Dorin, that "the King should be required to
ırt of Directors, abdicate the sovereign power he has abused (on condition, however, of
ragraph 10. ample personal provision for himself and his family), and to consent to the incorporation of Oude with the territories of the British Crown," appeared to me to be unnecessarily harsh. I felt it to be irreconcileable, not only with my own conviction, but with the conviction entertained by the Honorable Court, of the consideration which was fairly due to "a family who, whatever may have been their offences towards their own subjects, have not been unfaithful to the British Government."

12. To the view which was propounded by Mr. Grant, namely, that the King of Oude was no independent Sovereign, but only a Soobahdar, whom the British Government, as Paramount Power in succession to the King of Delhi, was entitled to remove at its pleasure, I could by no means yield assent.

The theory itself is, in my humble judgment, destroyed at once by the simple fact of the acknowledged existence of Treaties concluded between the British Government and the Rulers of Oude, for Treaties can be formed only between independent Powers. The apparent arguments in support of the theory, which have been drawn from the proceedings of Lord Wellesley, could, I affirm, be readily refuted from his Lordship's own dispatches.

So entirely did I dissent from the views which had been taken by my honorable colleague, and so erroneous did it seem to me, that, if unfortunately it had found favor with the Honorable Court, I must have

declined to take part in the establishment, or enforcement, of any policy which might have been founded upon it.

13. The motives which actuated my mind in proposing the course which was advocated by myself, may be very briefly stated.

It was assumed that our obligations towards the people of Oude, which were imposed by the Treaty of 1801, but which had hitherto been imperfectly fulfilled, should henceforth be fully acted up to. For the purpose of placing the British Government in a condition to fulfil the obligations to which I have referred, I considered it to be my duty to suggest, not the mode of proceeding which might seem to be the shortest and the easiest for the Government of India, but that mode of proceeding which, while it should be fully effectual for the purpose designed, should, at the same time, be most in accordance with established usage, and most in conformity to international law, and, therefore, least liable to criticism or cavil, and least open to the attack of those who might be expected to condemn and oppose the measure.

If, after consideration of what I might suggest, it should be the pleasure of the Home Authorities to prefer a course more direct, though more subject to assault, it would be for them to direct the Government of India to walk in that course. But it was not for me to suggest, for the adoption of the Honorable Court, in the first instance, and without necessity, any line of political action which was likely to create a keener opposition, and to call forth severer comment, than would be elicited by adherence to the usual course of action, which public law and settled custom had prescribed.

14. Acting upon this view of my duty, I considered that it was open to me to advise only one of two courses, either that the fulfilment of the Treaty of 1801 should be compelled by force of arms, or that the Treaty should be declared null and void, by reason of the continuous violation of it by the Rulers of Oude.

15. The former alternative, which has been advocated by Mr. Peacock, was rejected by me, and has been, in like manner, rejected by the Honorable Court, as neutralised in this particular case, and rendered insufficient to secure the object at which we were aiming, by the peculiar provisions of the Treaty of 1801 itself. Court of Directors, paragraph 13.

"By those Treaties," the Honorable Court has observed, "by those Treaties, the King of Oude is bound, in general terms, to govern according to the advice of the Resident, and specifically to introduce into his territory a reformed system of administration. But it is also provided that this reformed system shall be carried into effect by his own officers; and, throughout the period of more than half a century, during which the Treaties have existed, *this one provision has frustrated all the efforts that have been made to induce the Sovereigns of Oude to fulfil their obligations to the British Government and to their own subjects.*"

16. The alternative of compelling the fulfilment of the Treaty by force of arms being thus closed against us by the peculiar provisions of the Treaty itself, I felt myself bound to advise that the Treaty of 1801 should be declared null and void, that our troops should be withdrawn, that our protection of the Government should cease, and that all our relations with it should be broken off.

17. I have never affected to conceal my conviction that this measure would lead to precisely the same result as the more peremptory course advised by others, but with some intervening delay.

18. I beg permission respectfully to dissent from the opinion expressed by the Honorable Court, as well as by my colleagues, that, in this interval of delay, "the most terrible evils would, at least temporarily, be brought on the people of Oude, whose benefit is the sole motive, as well as the sole justification, of the proposed measure." Court of Directors, paragraph 7.

On the contrary, it is my belief—a belief which is warranted by the high and recent authority of Colonel Sleeman—that the withdrawal of British troops would be the signal for the immediate emancipation of the people of Oude from the oppression they have been long enduring; and that, in less than the month which Colonel Sleeman specified, either the King's subjects would have "marched over" the King's troops, and "pil-

Letter from Resident, June 21, 1849, paragraph 21.

laged the capital of Lucknow," or the King, to save himself, would hav been glad to agree to whatever engagements might be offered to him b the British Government.

19. With deference also, I must beg permission to dissent from th view that our guarantee to certain subjects of Oude must be regarded a a bar to the withdrawal of our troops from Lucknow.

The chief guarantee which we give to those persons is for th periodical payment of the interest of a sum of money, the principal o which is in our own Treasury, the interest of which is in our own hands and the security for which to the guaranteed persons is consequently jus as good, whether we pay at Lucknow or at Cawnpore.

We are further bound to protect them in their persons and property But I submit that we are equally able to give this protection, whethe our troops are in their cantonment beyond the Goomtee, or fifty mile away on the other side of the Ganges. We do not undertake to maintai soldiers near their persons, or to guard them against assassination. Ou guarantee is one of general protection to their lives and property. Th certainty that any injury to either would be regarded as a *casus belli* b the Government of India, would be at least as effectual a protection fo them against the King of Oude and all his subjects, as the presence of th Brigade at Lucknow would be. The shield of the British Government i broad enough to cover all who are entitled to claim its shelter, ever though it be extended over them from within the bounds of our ow frontier.

20. Holding firmly to these views of the expediency of guiding ou political action in relation to Oude by established law and custom, an finding no weight in the objections that have just been noticed to th course which had been already advised, I should have preferred to act o the suggestions which were originally submitted to the Honorable Cour in my Minute of the 18th of June.

Court of Directors, paragraph 15.

But the sentiments of my colleagues were adverse to the course I hac proposed. The Honorable Court had intimated their doubts of its expe diency, and had stated that they were "fully prepared to take the respon sibility of authorising, and enjoining, the only other course by which ou duties to the people of Oude can be fulfilled—that of assuming authori tatively the powers necessary for the permanent establishment of gooc government throughout the country."

Moreover, I am bound in candour to say that the risk incidental t the withdrawal of the British troops from Lucknow had, since the date o my Minute, been considerably increased by the fanatical violence of Amee Alee and his followers towards the fakeers of the Hunoman Ghurree— violence which happily ended in the timely extinction of that firebrand but which, at one time, threatened to spread into an armed religious conflict, dangerous to the peace of our own provinces, and likely to cal for a very prompt and summary settlement of the Oude question by th hands of the Governor-General in Council.

Having regard, therefore, to the several opinions and circumstance which have just been mentioned, I resolved to forego my own preferences and, in dealing with Oude, to adopt the more peremptory course which had been advocated by my colleagues, and which was manifestly more accept able to the Honorable Court.

21. Accordingly, it was unanimously resolved, that a Treaty should be prepared for the acceptance of the King, whereby the Government o the territories of Oude should be transferred for ever to the Honorable East India Company, while ample provision should be made in it for the dignity, affluence, and honor of the King and of his family; and that, if the King should refuse to accept the Treaty, the Government of India, in pursuance of the injunctions of the Honorable Court, should at once proceed to assume the powers which were necessary for the permanent establishment of good government throughout the territory of Oude.

22. A copy of the Draft Treaty is annexed.

As it differs in some material respects from the draft of which an outline was given in the former Minute upon Oude, I propose to advert to its several provisions in their order.

23. By the Ist Article of the Treaty, it was declared that "the sole and exclusive administration of the civil and military government of the territories of Oude should be henceforth vested, for ever, in the Honorable East India Company, together with the full and exclusive right to the revenues thereof; the said Company hereby engaging to make ample provision for the maintenance of the Royal dignity, as hereinafter mentioned, and for the due improvement of the said territories."

24. The terms of this Article were taken, advisedly, and almost literally, from the IVth Article of the Treaty of 1801, by which the Government of the Carnatic was vested for ever in the Honorable East India Company.

25. The reasons which led to the adoption of words from a former Treaty were these :—

The relations which were about to be formed with the territories of Oude, and the circumstances under which we were about to form them, differed materially from the relations, and the circumstances, belonging to our connection with the other provinces which have recently passed under our rule. The Punjab and Pegu were conquests of war. Nagpore was a lapse by reason of total failure of all heirs.

The circumstances of Oude corresponded with none of these; but they were nearly identical with the circumstances of the Carnatic, when Lord Wellesley had resolved to enter into a Treaty with Azeem-ood-Dowlah, whereby the Nawab should make over the government of the Carnatic to the East India Company, while he retained the sovereign title he had previously held, and a certain share in the revenue of the country.

For this reason, the terms of the Carnatic Treaty of 1801 were adopted in the proposed engagement with Oude, in order that, if the King should accept the Treaty, it might be made manifest that the authority of the British Government over the territories of Oude was identical with the authority which, for more than fifty years, it had exercised over the territories of the Carnatic, with such differences in the form of administration as the Government of India might think fit to introduce.

26. The sentence in the Ist Article which relates to the revenues of Oude, practically gives effect to the proposal contained in the VIth Article of the Draft of the 18th of June, which was assented to by the Council, and has received the tacit acquiescence of the Honorable Court.

It declares that the revenues of Oude (after providing for the charges of management in the usual manner) should be applied to the payment of the King's stipend, to the due improvement of the territory, and, thereafter, to the general benefit of the Indian Empire, of which Oude originally was, and still is, no more than a province.

27. The IInd Article declared that "the sovereign title of King of Oude should be retained by His Majesty, and that it should descend in continual succession to the heirs male of his body born in lawful wedlock."

28. In the original Draft of the 18th of June, no mention was made of successors.

Bearing steadily in mind the numerous evils which have sprung from the retention of a nominal, and richly endowed, sovereignty at Delhi, and at Moorshedabad, in the Carnatic, and in Tanjore, I would gladly have limited the continuance of the sovereign title in Oude to the life of the King by whom it is now held. But, on the other hand, adverting to the claims which the fidelity of this family has established upon our consideration and favor, observing the confidence which the Honorable Court had expressed that the necessary change in Oude would be brought about "with every proper and humane consideration to all persons whose feelings have a just claim to be consulted;" and chiefly, and above all, perceiving the policy of treating the Sovereign whom we were about to depose with the utmost degree of indulgence which was not incompatible with the fulfilment of our purposes for the general good of the people, in order that we might thereby secure his assent to the Treaty about to be offered to him; I concurred with the Members of the Council in determining that hereditary succession to the sovereign title should be conceded

Court of Directors, paragraph 19.

to the sons and descendants of the King by the Treaty which was to be prepared.

29. It will be seen, however, that the succession was limited to the children born in lawful wedlock, and was not extended to collateral heirs.

30. The IIIrd Article requires no comment, as it simply declared that His Majesty the King, and his successors, should be treated upon all occasions with the attention, respect, and honour, which are due to a Sovereign Prince.

Court of Directors, paragraph 18.

31. The IVth Article reserved to the King, and to his heirs, exclusive jurisdiction within their residence in the city, and within the gardens which were specified by the Honorable Court.

32. The power of life and death, however, was withheld from the King, even within this exclusive jurisdiction; provision being made that sentence of death by the King's orders should be executed only with the previous consent of the Governor-General in Council.

33. The Vth Article declared that the stipend of the King should be twelve lakhs of rupees per annum, together with a further sum of three lakhs for the maintenance of Palace guards.

34. The personal allowance of twelve lakhs allotted to the King was fixed, partly with reference to a calculation which had been made by Colonel Sleeman, that this was the annual sum His Majesty was usually able to obtain, and partly with reference to the stipend of the King of Delhi, which has also long been fixed at twelve lakhs.

35. The sum was large; but, in this case, a liberal policy was just, as well as wise; and the Honorable Court had entirely concurred in the opinion expressed by the Government of India, that "the provision for the reigning family should be very liberal."

36. In conformity with the further opinion, expressed by the Honorable Court, that it was not necessary "that the permanent provision for the King's descendants should be of so large an amount" as that which might be conceded to the present King for his life, the aggregate stipend allotted in the Treaty to the heirs of the King was reduced from fifteen to twelve lakhs.

37. The VIth Article obliged the East India Company to provide a fitting maintenance for the families of former Rulers of Oude. These persons are now separately endowed by the King; and, as he will no longer enjoy the revenues of the country, he cannot be expected to meet this heavy charge from his own personal stipend. It will be seen, however, that the Government does not bind itself to the grant of any particular sum for this purpose.

The charge, in the first instance, will be a heavy one, but it will gradually decrease.

38. The VIIth and last Article of the Treaty declared that "all former Treaties between the Honorable East India Company and the Rulers of Oude, which are now in force, and which are not contrary to the tenure of this engagement, are confirmed by it."

39. This Article is at variance with the Ist Article of the former draft, by which it was proposed to annul all previous and existing Treaties.

This intention was abandoned when, upon closer examination, it was found that such an Article would have annulled certain Treaties regarding loans and guaranteed payments, which the Government of course desired to uphold, free from all doubt and question. A new Article, therefore, was introduced of the usual form and tenor.

40. Such were the terms of the new engagement which it was proposed to offer for the acceptance of the King of Oude, in substitution for the violated, and now abrogated, Treaty of 1801.

41. Although there was no reason to suppose that forcible opposition would, under any circumstances, be made to the will of the British Government in Oude, the Resident was empowered, as a proper precautionary measure, to direct such portion of the force assembled at Cawnpore as he might think necessary, to proceed to Lucknow.

42. The Resident was instructed, on his return to that place, to summon the Minister Alee Nukkee Khan, and to communicate to him the purpose of the Governor-General in Council, in order that, when the Resident should be admitted to an interview with the King, His Majesty might not be taken by surprise, or placed at a disadvantage.

43. If the King should show reluctance to sign the offered Treaty, the Resident was authorised to concede to the King three days, for consideration, and for consultation with his advisers.

But, as the orders of the Honorable Court required immediate execution, as the cold season was passing away, and as three days' space afforded ample time for reflection and decision, the Resident was forbidden to assent to any longer delay than that of three days; so that no pretext might be afforded to the persons about the King, for attempting evasion, or procrastination.

44. If the King should immediately, or ultimately, consent to sign the Treaty, the Resident was directed to issue the Proclamation marked (A), of which a copy is annexed, and to assume the government of Oude. The Resident was, at the same time, enjoined to endeavour to persuade the King to issue a Proclamation on his own part, directing his subjects and servants to submit themselves in all things to the orders of the British officers.

45. If the King should refuse to sign the Treaty, at the expiration of the three days which were allowed for consultation, the Resident was directed to issue the Proclamation (B), of which a copy is annexed, and to assume at once all the powers of Administration and Government in Oude.

46. The intention, and the effect, of such Proclamation would be to establish the authority of the British Government over the territory of Oude, in the same manner, and to the same extent, as it would have been established by Article I of the proposed Treaty, if the King had consented to sign it. Thus, the authority of the British Government in Oude, under the Proclamation made, would be identical with the authority, which it has exercised, since 1801, over the territories of the Carnatic.

47. On the 29th of January, as had been expected, the troops intended to form the field force were all assembled at Cawnpore. They were ordered by the Resident to proceed to Lucknow.

48. It is not necessary to narrate the course of the negotiation, of which the details will be found in the several dispatches of the Resident.

It is enough to state that the King, while he disclaimed all idea of resistance to the British power, declared to the Resident, from the first, his resolution not to sign the Treaty which had been tendered to him.

To this resolution he adhered, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Resident addressed to His Majesty himself, to the Queen-Mother, and to the Minister, who appears to have done his utmost to induce the King to sign the Treaty.

49. A dispatch from the Resident, which reached me yesterday, and which was dated on the 7th instant, has formally announced that the King, upon that day, had finally refused to sign the Treaty, and that the Resident, in obedience to his instructions, had thereupon assumed the Government of Oude, and had issued the Proclamation prepared for that event.

50. It must be matter of deep regret to us all that the King should have been so unwise, or so ill-advised, as to refuse to sign the Treaty, by which royalty, affluence, and honour were secured to him, and to his children after him, in the vain hope that the sceptre would yet be restored to his hands. The terms which were offered by the Government for His Majesty's acceptance, in respect of dignity and royal revenue, were liberal in the extreme. No exception has been taken to these provisions, either by the King, or by his advisers. The Resident has done his utmost to convince the King of his true interests, and to persuade him to consult them by present acquiescence. But the resolution declared by the King has been founded on a fixed determination never to surrender the government of his country; and it is manifest now that no concessions, however

large, no liberality, however profuse, could have moved him to depart from the resolution he had taken.

51. If, then, the Government of India has ultimately, and of necessity, had recourse to the harsher line of policy towards the King of Oude, it has been compelled thereto by the act of the King himself. The Government has no omission of consideration, forbearance, or respect towards the King, with which to reproach itself.

52. General Outram reports that the King has issued proclamations to the army and to his subjects, enjoining them to submit themselves with entire obedience to the orders of the British Government. Tranquillity has hitherto prevailed, both at the capital, and in the districts; and there seems every reason to hope and expect that this desirable condition of affairs will be preserved.

53. The Resident having assumed the Government of Oude, he has proceeded to constitute the Civil Government thereof, in accordance with the letter of instructions which had been addressed to him for his guidance. A copy of those instructions is annexed.

54. It is unnecessary to enter into any detailed explanation, or description, of the system of administration which is to be introduced into Oude, since it is already familiar to the authorities and to the public. It is proposed to establish in the new province the same simple and effectual form of government which has been in operation, for nearly seven years, in the Punjab, and which has been found eminently well suited to its purpose there.

55. The Government will be vested in a Chief Commissioner, a Judicial, and a Financial, Commissioner, four Commissioners of Divisions, twelve Deputy Commissioners, eighteen Assistants, and eighteen Extra Assistants. Their duties, functions, and powers will be similar to those of the corresponding ranks in the Punjab. In deference to the opinion which was lately expressed by the Honorable Court, the salaries of these offices have also been fixed at the same rate as those of the corresponding offices in the Punjab. But I beg respectfully, and earnestly, to represent again that experience has taught the Supreme Government that the salaries in the Punjab, though they were sufficient under the peculiar circumstances of the time, have been found inadequate, as a general standard, to place the officers of that province on as favourable a footing as their brother officers in the older territories; and are consequently insufficient to remunerate duly the great labours performed, or to command the willing and zealous service which is essential to the prosperity of a new province.

56. Preparations have been made for the immediate organization of a local military force. It will consist of—

Three Horse field-batteries.
One reserve Company of Artillery.
Three Regiments of Cavalry.
Eight Regiments of Infantry.

57. The proposed constitution and establishment of this force will be found in the annexed memoranda, marked C, D, E, F, which embody the suggestions of Major-General Outram. The force will be in all material respects on the same footing as the Punjab Irregular force. But, as the duties in Oude will be far less severe than those which are performed by the troops upon the western frontier, the allowances suggested by General Outram, and already received by the two Oude local regiments which have been in the service of the British Government since 1837, will be amply sufficient for the purpose.

58. It is also proposed to raise three battalions of military police, with some police sowars attached to each. A scale marked G is annexed.

These also will be on the same footing as the military police in the Punjab.

But, as they will probably, at first, be actively, and constantly, engaged in suppressing the numerous and powerful gangs of dacoits by which the districts of Oude are infested, it has been thought expedient to give one European officer to each battalion. For this duty, some of the officers who

have heretofore been in the service of the King of Oude have been selected, and it is believed that they will be found singularly well qualified for duties of police.

59. If it should be thought that the irregular force which is proposed is more numerous than might have been expected, regard being had to the absence of all external enemies upon the borders of Oude, I would beg, in explanation, to refer to the political expediency of providing by service, at least in the first instance, for some considerable portion of the officers and troops whom we find in the pay of the King of Oude.

His Majesty's army is numerically very strong upon paper. It is less so in reality. But, after making full allowance for men of straw, and for men who will be found ineffective, and must be discharged with pension or gratuity, there will still remain a very considerable number of soldiers, who, by the dissolution of the King's army, will be left wholly without employment.

Such men will not readily turn to habits of industry. If they should remain unemployed, they must either starve, or rob; and they will certainly prefer the latter alternative.

As a means, therefore, of preserving the peace of the country, and of keeping a large body of men from violence and mischief, to which, without some provision for them, they will certainly resort, their enlistment in the local and police force will be a measure both of prudence and of economy. Hereafter, when the present necessity has passed away, any one or more of these irregular regiments may be disbanded without difficulty, and the force reduced as much as may be desired.

60. The formation of these regiments will, at the same time, enable the Government to conciliate the Sirdars who have been attached to the troops, and whose fidelity and goodwill are worth having.

61. It seems desirable that these troops should be enlisted to serve *wherever they may be called upon to serve*, with the recorded assurance that their usual sphere of service will be within the Oude territories, and that, on any occasion on which they may be called upon to march beyond the limits of those territories, they will receive, while so employed, the same allowances as troops of the line.

62. Great difficulty has been found, in the present state of the civil and military services, in finding the large body of officers which is required for the immediate duties of the Province of Oude.

They have been selected to the best of my judgment, and by reason of their qualifications only. Those of them who are of any standing are believed to be of proved efficiency. The juniors must always of necessity be selected more at hazard, since they have had neither time nor opportunity to prove their qualifications.

63. There are two departments which, it will be observed, are not yet provided for—the Medical Department, and the Department of Public Works.

64. The junior branches of the Medical Department I hope to be able to fill very shortly, with the aid of the Medical Board.

General Outram was desirous to have, from the first, the services of a medical officer to superintend the jails, and, at the same time, to control dispensaries and minor medical establishments. I believe that the measure will be a judicious one, and I will hereafter submit the name of an officer for this duty.

65. In the Department of Public Works, a single engineer officer, Lieutenant Anderson, has been appointed to attend to the most immediate and pressing wants of the new establishments.

At the present moment, it is utterly impossible to form an Establishment for Public Works in Oude, by reason of the paucity of officers fit for the duty, and the large and incessant demands which are made for them in every quarter.

At the very earliest moment at which it may be found practicable, a Department of Public Works for Oude, under a Chief Engineer, and with the usual machinery, should be formed, and brought into active operation.

66. It only remains for me now to suggest the measures which the Government should take in regard to the King of Oude, and the members of his family.

67. It was, distinctly, and repeatedly, explained to the King, that the advantage which he would gain by entering into the new engagement that 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 his kingly title, or for the stipend which, in other circumstances, would be permanently settled upon him.

The King has refused to enter into any new engagement with the British Government. He has thus placed himself in entire dependence upon its pleasure.

68. Nevertheless, it is by no means my wish to deprive the King of any of the titles or dignities which he now enjoys. I would propose that he should be permitted to enjoy them throughout the rest of his life.

But His Majesty's refusal to enter into the agreement which was tendered to him disinclines me to waive a second time the objections to the continuance of a nominal and highly-endowed sovereignty, which were stated in the 28th paragraph of this Minute, and which I declared myself willing to forego, partly in consideration of the Oude family, but chiefly as a politic concession which was likely to facilitate the conclusion of the Treaty we desired to obtain.

I would propose, therefore, that no guarantee should now be given, and no promise made, of hereditary succession to the Royal title for the descendants of the King. The question should be left entirely open for the consideration of the Government, upon the decease of the present King.

69. In fixing the future stipend of the King, I am of opinion that the Government should still fulfil its intention of making the provision liberal and ample. I would propose, therefore, to allot to His Majesty the sum of twelve lakhs per annum, which was originally fixed as his personal allowance, and which is enjoyed by his former Suzerain, the King of Delhi.

It cannot be expected that we should now allot to the King the additional three lakhs, which were formerly proposed solely as a politic concession.

70. The stipend which should be allotted to the King's heir, after His Majesty's decease, ought, like the Kingly title, to be reserved for consideration by the Government, upon the occurrence of that event.

71. The maintenance of the families of former Rulers of Oude will be undertaken by the Government of India, in the same manner as it would have been undertaken under the VIth Article of the Draft Treaty, if it had been concluded by the King.

72. The other immediate members of the Royal family must be provided for by the King himself, from the stipend which has been assigned to him.

73. The peculiar jurisdiction, within certain limits, which it was proposed that the King should retain under the IVth Article of the Draft Treaty, should be reserved to His Majesty, undiminished, for his lifetime.

74. Lastly, all deference and respect, and every Royal honour, should be paid to His Majesty Wajid Alee Shah, so long as he may live.

75. The proceedings of the Governor-General in Council, in carrying into effect the policy towards the Kingdom of Oude which was authorised, and directed, by the Home Authorities, the principles on which the Supreme Government has acted, and the measures it has taken, have now been placed upon record.

76. At the close of my former Minute, a confident hope was expressed, in words which were recorded in years long past, that, if the policy which the Honorable Court had been advised to adopt, in relation to the Kingdom of Oude, should now be approved and sanctioned, the British Government would at last "become the instrument of restoring to affluence and prosperity one of the most fertile regions of the globe, now

reduced to a condition of the most afflicting misery and desolation by the depraved Administration of the Native Government of Oude."

I trust the Honorable Court will think that the measures which have now been taken by us are well calculated to realise those fair anticipations.

DALHOUSIE.
GEORGE ANSON.

Inclosure 17 in No. 4.

Minute by Mr. Dorin.

February 16, 1856.

THE Minute by the Most Noble the Governor-General records, faithfully, and completely, the steps which have been taken consequent on the receipt of the Honorable Court's instructions, as to the policy to be observed in relation to the Kingdom of Oude, and I have only to add that I concur entirely with his Lordship as to the altered provision to be made for the King, now that he has refused to enter into any Treaty for the future regulation of the Oude territory. I would allot twelve lakhs of rupees as an annual stipend to His Majesty during life, but neither guarantee this sum to his heirs, after his decease, nor make any stipulation as to hereditary succession to the Royal title.

It will be quite sufficient, in my opinion, that the Government of the day shall determine these points, as no doubt it will, in a liberal spirit, whenever the occasion for their settlement shall arise.

J. DORIN.

Inclosure 18 in No. 4.

Minute by Major-General Low.

February 18, 1856.

I QUITE agree with all the sentiments above expressed by my honorable colleague, Mr. Dorin, except as regards the salary of the heirs, alluded to in the last sentence of his Minute.

I see no objection to leaving the questions respecting the Royal title, and the extent of jurisdiction, to the Government of the day, on the demise of the present King of Oude; but I think that the Government of the day at that time, which may perhaps be many years hence, would very probably not sufficiently bear in mind the claims on the British Government of the Oude family (for comfortable income at least), arising from their long-continued and cordial fidelity, and from the useful cooperation, and substantial aid, that have been given to us, from time to time, by former Kings of Oude.

I should have preferred it, if the present Governor-General had made a specific proposal to the Court of Directors respecting the allowance to be allotted to the heirs. It is exclusively a money question. It has nothing whatever to do with either power or influence in India, and hence there is no necessity for its being left to the decision of the Local Government.

As the case now stands, my humble advice is this, that the Indian authorities in England should, after consultation with the Marquis of Dalhousie, send out specific orders to the Government of India, as to the amount of salary that is to be allowed to the heirs of the present King of Oude.

My own opinion is, that that allowance ought not, under any circumstances, to be less than ten lakhs of rupees per annum, and I should much prefer it if twelve lakhs were allotted to the heirs.

The sons of the present King are so young that they cannot be in any

degree blamed for his blunder in not signing the proposed Treaty, and, therefore, they ought not to be made to suffer for it.

For many reasons, I regret, as the Most Noble the Governor-General does, that the King did not sign the proposed Treaty, but, in a pecuniary point of view, his not doing so has been advantageous to us. If he should live many years, we shall save a very considerable sum of money by his mistake. To himself the loss has been great; he has lost no less than a third of the income that he might have enjoyed, if he had agreed to our terms. He is, therefore, sufficiently punished for his blunder; and, as he issued all the orders and proclamations that we could desire, and did his utmost to prevent all risk of strife at the capital, by dismounting his artillery, 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 make the King sustain, we were also to injure the interests of his heirs, by curtailing the income that was 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.

J. LOW.

Inclosure 19 in No. 4.

Minute by Mr. Grant.

February 19, 1856.

THE orders issued to the Resident at Lucknow, on the receipt of the Honorable Court's final dispatch upon this question, being clearly explained in the Minute of the Most Noble the Governor-General, and having been agreed to unanimously in Council, require in themselves no remarks from me. But a passage in his Lordship's Minute renders a few words of explanation from me unavoidable.

After carefully studying the Honorable Court's despatch, we have all arrived at the same conclusion as to what was the proper course of action, under the instructions therein contained. The choice lay between assuming the Government of the Province with, or, if necessary, without, the King's consent, and endeavouring to obtain the King's consent by threatened, or, if necessary, actual, disconnection, and withdrawal of all physical and moral support. The Honorable Court's instructions left a latitude upon this point to the Government of India; and the decision which the Government of India unanimously has come to upon it, is in accordance with the practical conclusion which the view I took in my original argument upon this question led me to form. But the Governor-General, in his present Minute, has recorded his unqualified and strong dissent from what his Lordship understands to be the view propounded by me in that argument. I believe that my view has not been perfectly apprehended, and on so great a subject I am naturally anxious to correct any misapprehension that may exist. The general case of Government will not, I believe, suffer by this correction.

The view which I am understood to have taken is, "that the King of Oude was no independent Sovereign, but only a Soobahdar, whom the British Government, as the Paramount Power in succession to the King of Delhi, was entitled to remove at its pleasure." I certainly was, and am, of opinion, with all the world, that the King of Oude was no independent Sovereign. No King of Oude, and no ancestor of any King of Oude, and no person on the part of any King of Oude, or of any of his ancestors, whether before, or after, our connection with Oude, has ever claimed independent sovereignty for the Ruler of Oude, by whatever name he has been called. But I never was of opinion, and never contended, that the British Government, at any time, or in any capacity, was entitled to remove the Ruler of Oude, *at its pleasure*. Since 1801, as long as the Rulers of Oude

substantially performed the obligations of the Treaty of that year, that Treaty could not be justly annulled; and, so long as it was in operation, the British Government certainly was not entitled to remove the Ruler of Oude. Before that time, although the Rulers of Oude, since our first connection with them, had never been allowed, in matter of fact, to have more than a share in the Government of that Province,* although they owed the restoration of their rule, such as it was, to the clemency of the British Government, and although they were maintained in their sway, by the strength of the British power, by which alone they were supported—yet, so long as they substantially performed their obligations, the British Government was not entitled to remove them.

There is nothing in my paper to the contrary; and, indeed, these positions, are taken as the starting-point of the argument throughout. Shuja-ood-Dowlah, when he laid his turban at Lord Clive's feet, owed the restoration of his territory, and the promise of support, to the pleasure of the British Government; but it has never been argued by me that, so long as he and his successors performed their obligations, they owed their maintenance, as dependent and subordinate princes, to anything but its justice. Certainly, it was my argument that, in undertaking to support these dependent Rulers, the paramount Government did, in effect, undertake to rule the people of Oude by their means, and so came of necessity under superior—indeed, under the highest possible—moral obligation to the people, whom it caused to be thus ruled. And, certainly, it was my argument that, in case of an irreconcileable conflict of these duties, the higher, more universal, more sacred, duty must prevail. So, also, I endeavoured to show that this principle had been acknowledged, and acted upon, by the Governments of the day, and that our existing Treaty was a coercive measure founded upon it, and justifiable on no other principle. But this, I submit, is very different from arguing that the British Government was entitled to remove the Ruler of Oude at its pleasure.

The additional argument I drew from the fact of our succession to the Paramount Empire of the Great Mogul, has been much misunderstood, owing, doubtless, to some fault of expression on my part. It is incontestable that as, in matter of fact, the Ruler of Oude has, ever since 1765, been dependent upon the British Government, so, in matter of theory, he never was, at any time, independent of some Paramount Power or another. This dependent position of the Ruler of Oude appeared to me a material point. But I never intended to lay the strain of the case upon the accident of our succession to the Emperor of Delhi; and I think I said no more, on this last point, than that "when the British Government succeeded to the Empire of the Mogul, it acquired paramount dominion over Oude by a *double* right," and other words to the same effect. If reference is made to the paper in which I endeavoured to set forth my view, it will be perceived that the whole groundwork of the case is laid long before our conquest of Delhi, and that the greater part of my argument may be condensed into this one theme, viz.: whatever were the rights, and the obligations, of Lord Wellesley, in 1800, towards the Ruler and People of Oude, such are our rights, and obligations, now, whenever the Treaty of 1801 is justly pronounced to be dissolved. That may, or may not, be a good argument, and I may, or may not, be wrong as to Lord Wellesley's rights, and obligations, in 1800, and as to the principle on which that statesman's action at that time was based. But, when it is remembered that all this action was over, two years before the British Government could possibly claim any right, "as Paramount Power in succession to the King of Delhi," it will be conceded that there is no need to repudiate any policy founded upon the view taken by me, on the ground of disagreement

Paragraph 48.

Paragraph 47

* Perhaps this fact has not been sufficiently set forward in the paper referred to. The double Government in Oude, after our connexion with it, is however a well-known historical fact. In paragraph 6 of my Minute, I have cited, from the correspondence of Lord Cornwallis, a passage which will show what interference there had been up to 1788. In a letter from Mr. Dundas, written as President of the Board of Control, in 1799 (page 109, vol. ii, of the "Wellesley Despatches"), the circumstance of a double Government in Oude is still spoken of, as similar to the double Government at that time of the Carnatic.

regarding the effect of that succession which I myself freely admit to be an accident of comparatively small importance.

I hope I shall be excused for this endeavour to set myself right. With this explanation, I will say no more than that I adhere to the argument, as well as to the practical conclusion, of the Minute recorded by me, dated the 7th of August, 1855.

I agree, without reserve, in all the recommendations of the Most Noble the Governor-General, consequent upon the refusal of the King to sign the proffered Treaty.

Having in my mind our late resolution, formed in complete consonance with that of the Madras Government, in the case of the titular Rajahship of Tanjore; acknowledging the positive ill effects of these mock Courts, with their titular Princes; and adhering, as I do, to the general opinion of the inadvisability of securing the empty name of King to unborn generations, expressed in my former Minute, I could only, after some hesitation, unite in the resolution to offer the continuance of the title of King, from generation to generation, as a part of the proposed Treaty. I am, like our honorable colleague General Low, and like all connected with Government in India and at Home, sincerely desirous that the personal treatment of the Royal family of Oude should be very generous; but I do firmly believe that it is for the happiness and well-being of no man to be an hereditary fictitious King. I felt similarly upon the question of proposing to fix, by Treaty, the allowance of the descendants of the present King, from generation to generation. Now that no object is to be gained by tying the hands of all future Governments, I do not think it would be discreet to do so. I do not think that we have any reason to fear that future Governments will be wanting in generosity to the Oude family; and I am sure that arrangements which they may make, from time to time, in accordance with the spirit and circumstances of their own day, and with reference to the general conduct of the stipendiaries themselves, are much more likely to be suitable than any predeterminations that the Government of the present day, whether at Home or in India, could come to.

J. P. GRANT.

Inclosure 20 in No. 4.

Minute by Mr. Peacock.

February 21, 1856.

THE Minute of the Most Noble the Governor-General, dated the 13th of February, contains so complete a record, and explanation, of all the proceedings which have been adopted by the Government of India, in relation to Oude, that it is unnecessary for me to do more than to record the fact of my full concurrence in all the measures which have already been adopted, and in those which his Lordship recommends to be adopted. In reference, however, to paragraph 15 of his Lordship's Minute, I wish to explain, as I fear that I did not make my meaning sufficiently clear, that I did not intend, by my Minute of the 22nd of August last, to advocate that the mere fulfilment of the Treaty of 1801 should be compelled by force of arms. I stated, in effect, that there could be no security for the future good government of the country, if that government should continue to be conducted by the officers of the King, and that any proposal to that effect would be utterly futile; but that, if the King would consent to vest the whole civil and military administration of his kingdom in the East India Company, for ever, a sufficient guarantee for the future good government thereof would be obtained. (Paragraphs 29, 30, and 31.)

I expressed my opinion that nothing less than the second project proposed by his Lordship's Minute of the 18th of June, 1855, would be sufficient. That project was, that the King should be permitted to retain his Royal title and position, but should be required to vest the whole

civil and military administration of his kingdom in the Government of the East India Company, for ever.

I humbly recommended to the Honorable Court of Directors the adoption of the measures proposed in the second project; and that, if the Honorable Court should determine to propose the second project, and the King should refuse to accept the terms offered, the East India Company should exercise that power, which I believed was, in strictness, vested in them, in consequence of the violation of the VIth Article of the Treaty, and should remove the King, and his heirs, for ever, from the Throne. (Paragraphs 26, 32, 38, and 39.)

B. PEACOCK.